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Residential Outcomes of HOPE VI Relocatees in Richmond, VA

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Urban and Regional Planning at Virginia Commonwealth University.

by

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May, 2007

Acknowledgement

First and foremost, I would like to thank my mother for her unrelenting support and patience while in pursuit of my postsecondary education. You have all my gratitude. I would also like to thank my grandparents for always keeping the light on as I commuted weekly from Richmond to D.C. to work in support of my education. I would also like to thank Dr. Michela Zonta for her invaluable guidance throughout this project, as well as for introducing me to the significance of housing policy and the implications of such policies on the lives those in the urban environment. Finally, I would like to thank Dr. Gary Johnson and Mr. T.K. Somanath for their patience and insight throughout this work—your help is greatly appreciated.

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Abstract

RESIDENTIAL OUTCOMES OF HOPE VI RELOCATEES IN RICHMOND, VA

By Lallen T. Johnson-Hart, M.U.R.P.

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Urban and Regional Planning at Virginia Commonwealth University.

Virginia Commonwealth University, 2007

Thesis Director: Michela M. Zonta, Assistant Professor, L. Douglas Wilder School of Government and Public Affairs

In 1997 the Richmond Redevelopment and Housing Authority received a HOPE VI grant from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development in the amount of $26.9 million to revitalize the Blackwell scattered site public housing community. The mixed income approach of HOPE VI calls for a reduction of public housing units, thus requiring all households to relocate to other neighborhoods. This research analyzed socioeconomic data to examine the relocation of households, assess whether they moved to better neighborhoods, and compare them to other poor households. Over half of all households moved to other distressed neighborhoods in the Northside, East End, and Southside sections of Richmond. While voucher households moved to better neighborhoods, public housing households appeared to move to neighborhoods of similar and worse quality than Blackwell. Overall, relocated households moved to less stable communities than other poor households. Research suggests that a regional approach is needed to open suburban housing options to low-income families in order to effectively deconcentrate poverty.

Chapter I: Introduction

Research has shown that the spatial concentration of poverty can have damaging effects on the residents of high-poverty neighborhoods and the communities surrounding them. High-poverty neighborhoods are subjected to significant disinvestment of municipal and market driven services. Such disinvestment has historically been the result of the flight of middle- and upper-income residents who may provide a disproportionate amount of taxes in exchange for city services deemed necessary. As lower-income residents are left behind, many of these communities begin a downward spiral towards an impoverished state. High-poverty communities become stigmatized by crime, the fear of crime, or at least the perception of crime and many of the local residents have less access to legitimate social networks to acquire employment (Goetz, 2003). These issues collude to create breakdowns in what Sampson (2004) calls collective efficacy, or the willingness of neighbors to work together to create a shared understanding of what is in the general best interest of the neighborhood.

Tenant-based and place-based programs are two strategies that have been used to address many of the problems described above. Tenant-based programs attempt to give residents the opportunity to seek their own housing, with goals of deconcentrating and dispersing poverty. Examples of this include the Housing Choice Voucher Program (formally the Section 8 Voucher Program), the *Gautreaux* program, and the Moving to Opportunity Program (Denton, 2006). Place-based programs focus on repairing the

damage of particular neighborhoods not by dispersing residents, but through revitalization, the creation of programs to address social issues such as unemployment, and/or by attracting higher-income residents (Denton, 2006). The HOPE VI program incorporates both tenant-based and place-based strategies. Although other programs are of equal significance, this research focuses exclusively on the HOPE VI program. HOPE VI, also known as the Urban Revitalization Demonstration Program evolved out of recommendations by the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing in 1992. It allows local Public Housing Agencies (PHAs) to apply for grants to demolish and/or revitalize their public housing on a competitive basis, while incorporating lower density development, and mixed uses as tools to deconcentrate poverty and create a mix of incomes within the neighborhood (Popkin et al. 2004).

The Richmond Redevelopment & Housing Authority (RRHA) of Richmond, VA is one such PHA that received HOPE VI funding in 1997 to revitalize its Blackwell neighborhood (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2006). This research focuses on the City's implementation of the process for a variety of reasons. First, Richmond currently has a very tight housing market with a very high demand for affordable housing, but very little supply. Second, like many central cities in metropolitan areas, Richmond bears the burden of providing affordable and low-income housing (Redmond, 2004, October 31, A1). This is due to the high concentration and centralization of poverty within the City limits. Lastly, the first two issues are exacerbated by the lack of affordable housing in the surrounding suburban counties.

The purpose of this thesis is threefold. First, this research examines the locations of Blackwell relocated residents. Second, this research assesses whether the relocated residents moved to better neighborhoods, or neighborhoods of similar or worse quality. Third, this research compares the neighborhoods of relocated households to those of other poor households.

For the purpose of this research, better neighborhoods are those that represent increased access to basic services and opportunities. Neighborhoods are assessed by housing quality, household income, job density, transportation, and presence of amenities.

Findings indicate that over 50% of HOPE VI relocated households moved to the Northside, East End, and Southside sections of the City. Households that used vouchers to relocate tended to move to neighborhoods with higher socioeconomic status while their public housing counterparts moved to neighborhoods similar to and worse than Blackwell. When comparing the neighborhoods of residents of all relocated households to those of public housing residents, voucher recipients, and households below the federal poverty line, this study finds that relocated households moved to tracts that are highly segregated by race, and were less likely than all other groups to live in tracts where the median household income was over $30,000.

This thesis is arranged into six chapters. Chapter I introduces the work and describes the purpose of the thesis. Chapter II discusses the creation and evolution of the HOPE VI program. It then progresses to outline major arguments for and against HOPE VI. Chapter III presents the study's methodology and states the research questions. It

also describes sources of collected data and the tools used for the analysis. Chapter IV discusses the history of the HOPE VI Blackwell redevelopment process. Topics discussed in Chapter IV include the relocation process, supportive services provided to residents, property acquisition, redevelopment plans and federal government oversight. Chapter V presents descriptive statistics of relocated household data, as well as the results of the socioeconomic and spatial analyses. Chapter VI summarizes the results, makes connections with prior research, discusses data limitations, and provides policy recommendations and recommendations for future research.

Chapter II: Literature Review

2.1. The National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing

In 1989, Congress passed the Department of Housing and Urban Development Reform Act creating the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing charged with doing the following:

1.) Identify those public housing projects in the Nation that are in a severe state of distress;

2.) To assess the most promising strategies to improve the condition of severely distressed public housing projects that have been implemented by public housing authorities, other Government agencies at the Federal, State, and local level, public housing tenants, and the private sector;

3.) To develop a national action plan to eliminate by the year 2000 unfit living conditions in public housing projects determined by the Commission to be the most severely distressed (Library of Congress, 1989).

Although the Act never gave a clear definition of what severely distressed housing entails, it mandated that the Commission give special attention to projects that have significant design problems. Additionally, notice should be taken to housing that has a high number of distressed individuals, as indicated by high rates of teenage pregnancy, low educational attainment, high unemployment, single-parent homes, and long-term dependence on welfare. Other qualifiers include projects with substantial criminal

activity, poor or defunct management, and any other standards set forth by the Commission (Library of Congress, 1989).

After identifying the severely distressed public housing, the Commission was responsible for evaluating strategies to eradicate such conditions that were implemented by all levels of government. Of particular importance was the assessment of alternative management strategies, supportive resident services, ways to reduce project density and eliminate poor designs, provisions of mixed-income housing, and project deconstruction. The conclusions of the above assessments were included in an action plan that created objectives for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). It provided a schedule of implementation, recommended legislative changes, provided recommendations for housing replacement, and outlined a budget for necessary expenditures (Library of Congress, 1989).

2.2. The HOPE VI Program

As a result of recommendations by the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing, the HOPE VI program was created by way of the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, and the Independent Agencies Appropriations Act of 1993 (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2006). The Commission found that 86,000 housing units qualified as severely distressed, with a cost of $7.5 billion for revitalization to take place (Popkin et al. 2004).

Funds for HOPE VI are to be used for physical neighborhood improvements, better management practices, and to provide supportive services for community

members. PHAs are able to obtain HOPE VI funding on a competitive basis. Every fiscal year, HUD releases a Notice of Funding Availability (NOFA) for potential PHA applicants. The NOFA contains application requirements, ratings, and selection processes that are used to determine which PHAs are eligible to receive grants. HUD reviewers then rank eligible grant applicants to select those which are most competitive. As a general rule, HUD uses four main factors to evaluate grant applications: need, capacity, quality, and leveraging. Need indicates the level of distress at a public housing site. Capacity represents the PHA's ability to implement the plan via its own available resources. Quality pre-determines whether a project will be successful, and leveraging assesses what other funds will be used to accomplish the project goal (U.S. General Accounting Office, 2003).

PHAs awarded grants are to use the funding to achieve the major objectives of the HOPE VI program:

1.) Improve the living environment for residents of severely distressed public housing through the demolition, rehabilitation, reconfiguration, or replacement of obsolete projects, (or portions thereof);
2.) Revitalize sites on which such public housing projects are located and contribute to the improvement of the surrounding neighborhood;
3.) Provide housing that will avoid or decrease the concentration of very low-income families; and
4.) Build sustainable communities (Buron et al. 2002).

The aforementioned objectives are to be accomplished through design, mixed-income, mixed-financing, and supportive service strategies. In general, HOPE VI encourages new urbanism principles as a means of modernizing these neighborhoods to current design trends. It recommends that street patterns be reconfigured to fit in with the surrounding community. Additionally, the program supports the provision of defensible space to make residents more invested in their property and to encourage upkeep of the community as a whole. HOPE VI encourages PHAs to create smaller developments at lower densities to create more open space. Homes are designed with amenities such as air conditioning, washers and dryers, and bay windows to attract higher-income residents. The homes of upper- and lower-income residents typically look the same to blur the distinction between public housing and market rate housing (Popkin et al. 2004).

Inherent in the mixed-income strategy is the assumption that lower-income and higher-income residents of the neighborhood will interact with one another to facilitate networking relationships and the provision of role models. The by-product of income mixing and density reduction is the net loss of housing units for low-income residents. The one-for-one rule replacement rule that prohibited the demolition of public housing without the construction of an equal number of units was repealed in 1995. As such, PHAs are now only required to replace occupied units, and can do so by providing hard or soft units (Popkin et al. 2000).

The Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act of 1998 (QHWRA) reinforces the mixed-income and poverty deconcentration goals of HOPE VI. In order to facilitate poverty deconcentration the QHWRA allows PHAs to skip lower-income families on the

public housing waiting list for families with higher incomes interested in occupying public housing projects. It also mandates that households living in dwellings targeted for demolition receive notice 90 days prior to their displacement (Hunt et al. 1998).

The mixed-financing approach allows PHAs to combine HOPE VI funding with private funds to redevelop public housing. Federal funding can be used to leverage funds from private entities. Additionally, HOPE VI funding can be combined with other sources such as Low Income Housing Tax Credits, Community Development Block Grants, and Tax Increment Financing. Mixed-financing also allows PHAs to use funds to contract public housing construction to private developers so that funds can be given to the developer for capital improvements, as necessary (Popkin et al. 2004).

HOPE VI funding requires that a certain amount of allocated funds be earmarked for resident supportive services. The exact percentage is dependant upon what is specified in the yearly NOFA. Supportive services may include, but are not limited to relocation services, job training, and day care. The Uniform Relocation Act requires displaced residents to be relocated to a unit that is of similar quality. When a project is selected for demolition, residents may be offered a new unit on the site, opt for a Housing Choice Voucher, or be relocated to other public housing. Some PHAs assist displaced residents by educating them about their housing choices, helping them find other units, or providing budgeting training (Popkin et al. 2004).

According to HUD (2000) "[w]hether or not original residents plan to return to the HOPE VI development after revitalization, service packages must provide the tools to enable them to improve their life skills and capacities and secure living wage jobs and,

when they choose to do so, to relocate to a new neighborhood of their choice" (p. 1). In accordance with that mandate, HUD (2000) outlines five key principles of HOPE VI Community and Supportive Service Programs (CSS). First, PHAs must conduct a survey of resident needs and provide resources that will assist them in moving toward self-sufficiency. These resources may include, but are not limited to life skills, family and budget management, and standards of community conduct. Second, PHAs must address the needs of families on a case-by-case basis via a case manager who can analyze each family and refer it to the proper services. Third, case managers must provide housing search counseling to ensure residents are knowledgeable about their housing choices and can make an informed choice as a result. Fourth, throughout the planning and implementation process, program administrators should utilize the "community building" approach to foster resident involvement and support. Fifth, PHAs must monitor the success of their CSS Programs. All CSS plans are required to be approved by HUD prior to implementation (HUD, 2000).

The HOPE VI program continues to exist today, however, with very limited funding. The Bush administration has called for elimination of HOPE VI in the 2004, 2005, and 2006 budget proposals (Turbov & Piper, 2005). According to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (2006), Congress has reinstituted the program, however with a much smaller budget of $126,884,932 in 2004. Prior to 2004, the program had a budget of about $500 million every year. At the program's inception, PHAs could apply for grants up to $50 million, over time that cap was reduced to $35 million and subsequently to $20 million (Turbov & Piper, 2005). In 2005, HUD awarded

$156,895,528 in grants and $71,900,000 in 2006 (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2006b).

2.3 Arguments for HOPE VI

There are three main arguments in support of HOPE VI. The first claims the program improves the visual appeal of communities by removing physically neglected units and constructing new ones (Buron et al. 2002; Popkin et al. 2002, 2004, 2004a; U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2006). Second, the original residents benefit from income-mixing through the provision of role models and better market services (Kingsley et al. 2003); Naparstek et al. 2000; Smith, 2002). Third, HOPE VI allows and encourages PHAs to mix public and private financing to create a larger pool of resources for community revitalization (Popkin et al. 2004; Turbov & Piper, 2005; Turner et al. 2005).

Obviously, the HOPE VI program removes dilapidated public housing units for replacement with more attractive housing. As of March 2006, the HOPE VI program provided 235 grants with a total of $5,757,839,850 to 122 PHAs in 34 states, Washington, DC, and Puerto Rico (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2006). According to Popkin et al. (2004) "[h]undreds of profoundly distressed developments have been targeted for demolition, and many of them are now replaced with well-designed, high-quality housing serving a mix of income levels" (p. 3).

Many of these communities were in extremely poor physical condition. Popkin et al. (2002) performed a panel study of baseline of residents living at five HOPE VI sites in Atlantic City, NJ; Chicago, IL; Durham, NC; Richmond, CA; and Washington, DC.

They administered in-person surveys about current housing conditions to 887 heads of households and achieved an 86% response rate. Questions asked about the presence of rats and roaches, and other rodents, the condition of heating and plumbing, whether there was any presence of mold, and the condition of the walls. About 1/3 of respondents reported some malfunction with their heating unit. Forty-two percent had a problem with leaking water in the past year. About 25% reported cockroach infestations and 16% had problems with mice and rats.

Buron et al. (2002) performed a resident tracking study of the living situations of 818 residents of eight HOPE VI sites after redevelopment in Denver, CO; Newark, NJ; Springfield, IL; San Francisco, CA; Louisville, KY; Tucson, AZ; Paterson, NJ; and Albany, NY. The central purpose of this study was to determine "… how their living situations have changed" (Buron et al. 2002, p. i). Results showed that although only 19% or 155 of the original residents moved back to the completed HOPE VI sites, 76% of those residents believe that their new home is in a better condition than their previous one. As compared with the Popkin et al. (2002) baseline report, only 4% reported a problem with their heating units, 6% reported a plumbing problem, 4% had cockroach infestations and only 1% experienced a problem with mice or rats.

The second argument for HOPE VI is that the original residents endure significant benefits through the deconcentration of poverty and the mixing of income levels. The damaging effects of spatially concentrating poor households in public housing developments lead to a host of social issues that are compounded and exacerbated in select neighborhoods (Goering, 2005). Therefore, the solution to this problem includes

relocating some original residents, and creating mixed-income neighborhoods in place of public housing (Popkin et al. 2004a).

In theory, mixed income developments are attractive because they have a diversity of incomes residing in the neighborhood and can attract services that, under normal circumstances, would not enter a low-income neighborhood. Mixed-income neighborhoods usually include better schools, retail options, and community centers. Atlanta's Centennial Place neighborhood was an area stigmatized by high crime, poor school performance, and social breakdown. Prior to its 1993 selection as a HOPE VI grantee, not one child from Centennial Place (then Techwood Homes) attended the Georgia Institute of Technology, which is literally located across the street. Following the redevelopment process, the neighborhood attracted a $4 million YMCA fitness center, a new elementary school, and a new retail center that includes a grocery store. Similar stories are exemplified in other HOPE VI sites such as Lockwood Gardens of Oakland, CA which developed a new village center, and Hillside Terrace in Milwaukee, WI that garnered a $3.2 million Boys & Girls Club (Naparstek et al. 2000).

The hallmark of the mixed-income strategy is the deconcentration of poverty and the infusion of higher-income residents in formally lower-income communities. Inherent in this strategy is the idea that higher-income residents will serve as role models for lower-income residents. By seeing the socially acceptable behavior (e.g. maintaining employment, maintaining property) of higher-income residents, lower-income residents may feel inclined to adopt similar behaviors. Additionally, spatial proximity may foster

the creation of social networks where residents increase their access to employment, and educational opportunities (Popkin et al. 2004).

Smith (2002) expounds on the role model thesis by describing popular explanations as to why it is a motivator for mixed-income housing. Alluding to the above, lower-income residents are less likely to engage in socially unacceptable behavior when higher-income residents are present. That reformed behavior translates into improved public safety and a reduction in crime. Furthermore, the behavior of higher-income residents encourage their lower-income counterparts to become less reliant on the public welfare system and therefore, more likely to take control and responsibility of their own lives.

Buron et al. (2002) examined the extent to which HOPE VI fulfills its deconcentration goal in the *Hope VI Resident Tracking Study*. Evidence provided in this study suggests that residents that are relocated may be in neighborhoods of lesser poverty than the original neighborhood. Of the 818 residents studied, 146 moved into market rate housing on their own, 268 used a Housing Choice Voucher, 155 moved into the HOPE VI public housing, and 236 moved to other public housing.

Seventy-four percent of the residents who entered market rate housing moved more than one mile from their original neighborhood. The average poverty rate in their original public housing was 48%, whereas their current neighborhood has a rate of 26%. There is also some evidence of racial deconcentration. On average, the original public housing neighborhoods were 39% black and 32% Hispanic; average minority percentages in current neighborhoods are 31% black and 28% Hispanic.

Forty-eight percent of those who opted for Housing Choice Vouchers moved over a mile from the original neighborhood. Although on average the original public housing neighborhoods had a 43% poverty rate, the current neighborhoods have poverty rates that are 17 percentage points lower. Black residents made up 63% of original public housing neighborhoods, but 45% of the population of current neighborhoods. Voucher users moved to communities with higher Hispanic populations. The original neighborhoods were 12% Hispanic on average; yet, the populations of current neighborhoods are 20% Hispanic.

Sixty-four percent of residents relocated to other public housing moved more than a mile from the original neighborhood. The average poverty rate of the original public housing neighborhoods was 46%, but current neighborhoods were somewhat lower at 31%. Blacks comprised 49% of the original neighborhoods and 36% of the current public housing neighborhoods where these individuals were relocated. The difference between the percentages of Hispanic residents in the original neighborhood and current public housing was a reduction of 1 percentage point, from 26% to 25% respectively.

Kingsley et al. (2003) also analyzed the spatial patterns of relocatees. They used records submitted by PHAs to HUD via the Multifamily Tenant Characteristics System to gather data on 19,413 households in 73 HOPE VI sites of 48 cities. The relocation data were geocoded and merged with 1990 census tract data to compare the neighborhoods of relocation to the original neighborhoods. Of that total, 5,979 households were relocated using Housing Choice Vouchers.

Their research found that voucher users moved a median distance of 2.9 miles and an average of 3.9 miles with a standard deviation of 3.5 miles. The average distance moved was smaller for smaller cities ($d < 2.0$ m.) (e.g. Chester, PA; Elizabeth, NJ) and larger for larger cities ($d > 5.5$ m.) (e.g. Atlanta, GA; St. Louis, MO).

On average, the census tract poverty rate for voucher holders living in HOPE VI sites before relocation was 61%. Sites in Atlanta, Cleveland, Chicago, and Louisville had poverty rate averages of over 70%. Data show that during the relocation process, voucher holder households moved to tracts with lower poverty rates, with an average rate of 27%. Voucher users in Baltimore, Portsmouth, and Milwaukee moved to tracts that on average had poverty rates below 20%. Correspondingly, there was a reduction in the average minority composition from the original sites to the relocation sites. Blacks and Hispanics made up 88% of the original HOPE VI tracts before relocation. However, the same groups make up 68% of the relocation tracts.

Kingsley et al. (2003) analyzed the issue of clustering, or the concern that many relocatees may concentrate in a selected number of neighborhoods and upset the current social conditions of those neighborhoods. To determine how extensive a problem this is, or if it is a problem at all, the researchers made comparisons using the number of Housing Choice Voucher households in a census tract and the percentage of those households within each tract. The researchers found that 4,288 voucher holders live in 2,170 census tracts, which equates to an average of 2 voucher holders per tract. Sixty-eight percent of the relocatees live in tracts with less than 5 relocatees, 83% live in tracts with less than 10 relocatees. Overall, 33 of the 38 cities have no tracts with 10 or more

HOPE VI voucher relocatees. Considering the above, "… spatial patterns of HOPE VI relocatees receiving Section 8 (and, in fact, of Section 8 recipients overall) are better characterized as dispersed than concentrated" or clustered (Kingsley et al. 2003, p. 445). Additionally, this research also proves that HOPE VI does deconcentrate poverty by mixing incomes.

The third argument claims that the mixed-finance strategy of HOPE VI allows PHAs to infuse additional private capital back into the original low-income neighborhoods—an approach that wasn't allowed in HOPE VI or any other housing program until 1996 (Popkin et al. 2004; Turner et al. 2005). Allowing PHAs to use public funds to leverage private funds brings private market investment back into neglected communities. Additionally, the mixed-finance rule allows housing authorities to use public capital funds to be transferred to private developers for constructing public housing, or use HOPE VI funding in conjunction with other public financing such as Community Development Block Grants (CDBG), Low Income Housing Tax Credits, and/or Tax Increment Financing.

According to Turbov & Piper (2005) "HOPE VI funds can attract new investment into places where the market was previously absent" (p. vi). Furthermore, the authors note that the revitalization needed often exceeds the amount allocated by federal housing programs. The funding extracted from other sources mitigates the shortfall experienced by the PHA during the implementation stages. Park DuValle in Louisville, KY exemplified this as they used a HOPE VI grant, $10 million in CDBG funding, investment from PNC Bank, and a Homeownership Zone grant to improve infrastructure,

parks, community facilities, and the neighborhood health center. Murphy Park in St. Louis, MO used city land contributions and a $10,000 grant in addition to the HOPE VI grant to prepare the site for construction. This multi-source investment attracted a new grocery store, dry cleaner, and laundromat.

2.4. Arguments against HOPE VI

Existing literature on poverty deconcentration and dispersal provides a series of arguments against HOPE VI. Among these is the belief that it is fallacious to believe higher-income residents will positively influence lower-income residents (National Housing Law Project, 2002; Popkin et al. 2000, 2002, 2004; Schwartz & Tajbakhsh, 1997). Also, while attempting to deconcentrate poverty, HOPE VI reduces the public housing stock, which only hurts poorer residents (Popkin et al. 2004). Lastly, opponents argue that the program does very little to improve the overall state of poverty; HOPE VI merely shifts poverty from one neighborhood to another (Pendall, 2000).

The first argument attacks the claim of HOPE VI advocates who believe that the spatial proximity of lower- and higher-income residents will allow the values of higher-income residents to be adopted by lower-income residents. Supplementary to this is the belief that lower-income individuals will be exposed to social networks that will facilitate upward mobility. However, opponents of this belief argue that there is very little empirical research to support such claims (National Housing Law Project, 2002; Popkin et al. 2000, 2002, 2004; Schwartz & Tajbakhsh, 1997). According to Popkin, et al (2000) "… there is no empirical evidence that it is even possible to artificially create a *community* where people interact rather than a development or neighborhood where

people of different income levels simply share the same physical space" (p. 928). Popkin et al. (2000) also note that there isn't sufficient evidence proving that such spatial cohabitation will lead to better employment and/or educational opportunities for lower-income residents.

Popkin et al. (2000) outlines the faulty assumptions that proponents of HOPE VI generally share. The following are worth mentioning:

1. Lower- and higher-income residents have different values and behaviors
2. Higher-income residents would make good role models for lower-income residents
3. The poor behavior of lower-income residents would not influence the behavior of higher-income residents

These assumptions also fail to be substantiated by existing literature.

Rosenbaum et al. (1998) performed a study of the Lake Parc Place mixed-income housing development to determine, in part, if there was any interaction between lower- and higher-income residents. Lake Parc Place was originally a public housing project of two 15 story buildings in Chicago. The renovated buildings included 282 apartments, of which half were set aside for families earning between 50% and 80% of the area median income, or between $21,700 and $34,700. The remaining units were exclusively for families making less than 50% of the area median income. At the time of the study, only ten units were vacant.

The researchers interviewed a total N of 198 households, composed of 118 non-project households (those who did not live in public housing prior to their current move)

and 82 project households (those living in public housing before their current move). Descriptive statistics of Lake Parc Place after the redevelopment showed that non-project households had a mean income of $21,879, while project households earned an average of $4,930. Approximately 83% of non-project residents were employed in the year prior to their most recent move, as compared to 45.9% of project residents.

Respondents were asked to rate how often they perform a particular neighbor interaction related activity on a '0' to '5' scale, where '0' represents never, '4' is once a week, and '5' is almost daily. Both project and non-project groups have a 4.69 average for greeting neighbors. In regards to spending more than 10 minutes talking to a neighbor, the project group averaged 3.67 and the non-project group averaged 3.42. Because of the discomfort caused in asking members of both groups to specify if they interact with a member of the other group, 20 in-depth interviews were used to gauge interaction. The most information that the researchers provided on such results was that the in-depth interviews show that some non-project people interact with project people. Although this study shows that people in mixed-income developments interact with one another, it doesn't give any reasonable evidence that lower-income residents interact with higher-income residents, or that one group is able to influence the behavior of another. Such information is not enough to conclude that spatial proximity produces desired effects on lower-income residents.

The second argument against HOPE VI is that it produces a net loss of public housing units. A series of factors make this possible within the program, some of which are mentioned above including the repeal of the one-for-one replacement rule, and other

provisions of the Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act of 1998. Additionally, Hunt et al (1998) note that the Act disallows families with members with histories of alcohol or drug abuse related activity. Known as the one-strike rule, this provision allows entire families to be evicted regardless of whether all family members are involved in the illegal act. Evidence shows that implementation of the one-strike rule isn't uniform across PHAs. According to Popkin et al. (2000) "[s]ome cities, including Chicago, interpret this provision broadly to apply to any household with any evidence of drug or felony activity, such as a drug-related arrest rather than an actual conviction" (p. 916).

The panel study mentioned above and performed by Popkin et al. (2002) asked residents of HOPE VI sites before the redevelopment if they would like to return the revitalized neighborhood or use a Housing Choice Voucher to find housing on their own. About 70% of respondents preferred to return to the neighborhood post-redevelopment. This may be because of the strong connection certain residents feel with their community, the interest in additional public services that may arrive, or the thought that the new neighborhood will have high-quality housing. However, the intention to return does not materialize for many residents due to the net reduction in units. The following HOPE VI sites were included in the panel study: Shore Park/Shore Terrace – Atlantic City, NJ; Ida Wells – Chicago, IL; Few Gardens – Durham, NC; Easter Hill – Richmond, CA; and East Capitol Dwellings/Capitol Plaza – Washington, DC. In comparing the amount of occupied public housing units to planned public housing units, the net reductions in public housing units were 39%, 37%, 30%, 7%, and 91% respectively.

Third and lastly, the mass relocation of the original residents may simply mean relocation of poverty. There is some evidence that public housing relocatees and voucher users aren't moving to neighborhoods of better quality than the original neighborhood. The net loss in public housing and the deconcentration focus of HOPE VI allows PHAs to move poorer residents with vouchers (Popkin et al. 2000). First, if the goal of HOPE VI is to deconcentrate public housing by creating mixed-income developments, then current relocation practices are certainly counter-productive to that goal. Most residents aren't relocated using Housing Choice Vouchers. Kingsley et al. (2003) analyzed HOPE VI data from 1993 to March 2000 and found that 31% of relocatees used vouchers, 49% moved to other housing projects, and the remainder used other federal assistance or is not using public assistance at all. This signifies more of a poverty shift rather than deconcentration.

Poor relocation may be related to the reduction in HOPE VI funds allocated towards community and supportive grants over the years (National Housing Law Project, 2002). According to Popkin et al. (2004) housing authorities offer very little support to help displaced residents find suitable homes. Buron et al. (2002) highlights some of the issues relocated residents had to deal with. Some individuals simply were rushed out of their units, thus giving them less time to find nicer units to move to. Others discovered that many landlords aren't willing to accept vouchers. Many residents found that when a PHA gives out too many vouchers at one time, the market is not able (or willing) to accommodate the increased demand. There also may not be enough vouchers for those who need them. A prevailing theme was the general lack of education in searching for

apartments. Many of these issues could be mitigated by better supportive services prior to and during relocation.

Second, Pendall (2000) indicates that instead of moving to seemingly better communities, some voucher users are moving to other distressed communities. Using 1990 socioeconomic census data, Pendall used a series of variables as indicators to identify tracts as mildly distressed and severely distressed. Of the 44,034 metropolitan tracts in his sample, 4,034 (9%) were classified as mildly distressed and 702 (1.6%) were severely distressed. Seventeen percent of voucher users live in mildly distressed tracts and 2.3% live in severely distressed tracts.

Results showed that, compared with other renters, Housing Choice Voucher users largely live in distressed neighborhoods. "In […] 32 MSAs and PMSAs (10.6 percent) […] voucher and certificate holders were 1.4 times more likely to concentrate in mildly distressed tracts as other poor renters" (Pendall, 2000, p. 901). There are two explanations for this. The first is that voucher users will only be able to live in neighborhoods with sufficient amounts of rental housing, and distressed tracts have large amounts of rental housing. The second explanation is that voucher users are disproportionately minority – 40% black and 15% Hispanic. Black households are more likely to move to distressed tracts due to discrimination, especially when the head of the household is a black unwed mother. The implications of the above data are that relocation assistance is necessary to prevent residents from moving from one neglected neighborhood to another.

2.5. Summary

In response to significant problems with public housing, the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing was formed in 1989 to identify severely distressed projects, assess various strategies to improve such developments, and create a national action plan to eradicate severely distressed public housing by the year 2000. After determining that 86,000 units of public housing qualified as severely distressed, recommendations by the Commission transformed into what became the HOPE VI program. Program goals included improving the living environment of public housing residents, revitalizing such sites, ensuring that new housing prevents the concentration of poverty, and building sustainable communities.

HOPE VI allows local PHAs to apply for grants on a competitive basis to revitalize distressed projects. PHAs are then to use HOPE VI funding to leverage other capital from public and private sources to support their projects in addition to the funding. This is known as mixed-financing. In order to deconcentrate poverty via the mixed-income strategy, PHAs typically relocate at least some residents to public housing, provide Housing Choice Vouchers, or allow residents to depart from public funding altogether in search of market rate housing. Supplementary supportive services may be provided to residents to assist their relocation.

Like any other government program HOPE VI has supporters and opponents who give a series of arguments for their positions. Supporters claim that the program actually does what it was intended to do – eradicate severely distressed public housing. From 1993 to 2006, HOPE VI has provided $5,757,839,850 in grant funding to public housing

authorities to revitalize their most notorious developments. Additionally, the mixed-income strategy brings higher-income residents who are more likely to attract private investment and better services, and serve as role models for lower-income residents. The third argument presented states that mixed-financing allows HOPE VI funds to be combined with other public and private funding, creating a larger pool of resources to improve public housing communities.

Opponents find many of the claims that HOPE VI is an effective program to be unsubstantiated. First, they claim that there is no evidence that higher-income residents and lower-income residents will interact because of spatial proximity, thus there is a faulty assumption that higher-income residents will actually serve as role models to lower-income residents. Secondly, opponents point to the net loss in low-income housing units when comparing the original number of public housing units to the planned number of public housing units, post-HOPE VI. That combined with the provisions of the Quality Housing and Work Responsibility of 1998 present barriers to low-income residents who must find housing after being displaced. Third, HOPE VI may be relocating poverty rather than deconcentrating it. Some research provides evidence that voucher users are moving from the original site to other distressed neighborhoods. Regardless of supporting and opposing arguments, the fate of HOPE VI appears grim, as evidenced by a series of federal budget cuts.

Chapter III: Methodology

3.1. General Approach and Purpose

This research attempts to answer two critical questions. First, to what neighborhoods did the displaced Blackwell residents relocate? Second, are these neighborhoods of equal, better, or worse quality than the original neighborhood before revitalization? Third, how do the relocated households compare to other poor households? This research attempts to answer those questions by exploring key differences in characteristics of Blackwell and the comparison neighborhoods.

A primarily quantitative approach was thus adopted to compare the various neighborhoods using statistical and spatial analysis and a series of socioeconomic indicators. In addition, in-person interviews were held with government and non-profit stakeholders to form an understanding of the HOPE VI relocation process as it pertains to the City of Richmond and the Blackwell neighborhood specifically.

3.2. Qualitative Data

Qualitative data allowed one to evaluate and gain an understanding of the HOPE VI process as it relates to the relocation of original residents. Such information was derived from a review of related federal documents from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, local documents from the City of Richmond and RRHA, and scholarly works regarding HOPE VI and dispersal programs. Interviews took place with representatives of RRHA and Better Housing Coalition. As primary stakeholders in the

process, their insight provided the information necessary to understand the implementation of the project. A complete description of the Blackwell HOPE VI redevelopment process is included in Chapter IV – Blackwell Redevelopment Process.

3.3. Data Collection

Data from the Richmond Redevelopment & Housing Authority (RRHA) was obtained on the relocation addresses of Blackwell displaced residents. Besides addresses, this dataset includes the following variables: new bedroom size, housing tenure, housing costs, community name, the housing program under which residents reside (if applicable), TANF recipient status, current and previous employers, wages, the number of times employed, and job skills training. The original data include a total of 312 cases. Of that total, 14 cases were excluded due to incomplete addresses. Three hundred cases were geocoded, resulting in 286 matched and 14 unmatched addresses. Of the 14 unmatched cases, 8 cases were not recognized as legitimate addresses and 6 were outside of the Richmond MSA. Relocation addresses were geocoded and assigned census block group FIPS codes. Descriptive statistics were calculated based on the data provided by RRHA on relocated families.

3.4. Data Aggregation

As a result of the geocoding process, I identified the neighborhoods in which relocated households reside, as defined by DataShare Metro Richmond (VCU, 2006). Neighborhood boundaries provided by DataShare Metro Richmond are based on the aggregation of block groups with homogeneous socioeconomic characteristics, and on the neighborhood boundaries defined by the City of Richmond, which denote neighborhoods

that in general are much smaller than census tracts, the standard definition of statistical neighborhood (VCU, 2006). Census tract boundaries are used as the neighborhood for suburban jurisdictions for which neighborhood boundaries are not provided by DataShare Metro Richmond.

5.4. Spatial Data Analysis

The study performs includes a spatial analysis of the 286 geocoded address of relocated households provided by RRHA. A series of buffers were created around each point representing an address in order to assess the proximity of households to a number of services and amenities.

The City of Richmond (2007) GIS layer transportation files were used to map existing Greater Richmond Transit Company (GRTC) bus stop locations to determine neighborhood transportation access. Public transportation access represents a key indicator of neighborhood quality in that a lack of it may represent a barrier to employment opportunities. Therefore, a 0.25 mile buffer was created around each relocation point to examine whether bus stops are within walking distance from relocated households.

Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (2007) data were used to map the number of existing bank offices in the neighborhoods. The number and type of financial institutions partly determine the amount of private investment in neighborhoods and resident access to financial portals. The addresses of pay day loan establishments were obtained from Housing Opportunities Made Equal (2007) – a state non-profit agency that works to prevent and cite housing discrimination in Virginia. Financial institutions were

geocoded to show how many financial institutions are available in each neighborhood and whether they are banks or pay-day loan establishments. In order to gauge resident access, a 0.25 mile buffer and 0.5 mile buffer were used.

The Yellow Pages (2007) were used to extract the addresses of local grocery and convenience stores. These addresses were geocoded and mapped in ArcGIS to determine how many (if any) are located in neighborhoods of relocated households. Because grocery stores usually serve large geographic markets, 1.5 mile and 2 mile buffers were used. Conversely, 0.25 mile and 0.5 mile buffers were used to assess convenience store access. The addresses of childcare facilities were obtained from the Virginia Department of Social Services (2007, 2007a) to measure resident access to daycare, which is critical to single parent households. A 0.25 mile buffer was used.

It is common for cities to have disproportionate amounts of liquor stores in their most economically distressed neighborhoods. Thus, it was also necessary to determine if this is also true for Richmond Metropolitan Area neighborhoods, specifically neighborhoods of relocation. To test that assertion, the addresses of local ABC stores were derived from the Virginia Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control (2007). These addresses were also geocoded for spatial analysis. Here, 0.25 mile and 0.5 mile buffers were utilized.

According to Taylor (2004) "[t]here is more crime in some places than in others. The physical environment (PE) is different from place to place, therefore the PE is somewhat responsible for these place-to-place differences" (p. 413). To evaluate neighborhood quality in terms of crime rates, the analysis utilizes crime data provided by

the Richmond Police Department (2007). This information comes from the Crime Incident Information System which reports the number of founded crimes from January 1, 2000 to December 31, 2000. Although this dataset provides information on crimes ranging from trespassing to homicide, this research utilizes those which are property, personal (which includes homicides), drug and prostitution crimes (See Appendix F for descriptions). The addresses of crime locations were geocoded for spatial analysis. A 0.25 mile buffer was used to understand resident proximity to homicides, prostitution, drug crimes, and overall personal and property crimes.

Further, the analysis compares the relocation outcomes of public housing relocated households, and those of households receiving housing choice vouchers. These two groups were compared based on access to services and amenities (bus stops, banks, supermarkets, convenience stores, and daycare) to determine which group moved to better neighborhoods.

To compare the amenity access of HOPE VI relocated households to other poor households, data was extracted from HUD User (2007). This dataset, entitled "A Picture of Subsidized Households: Virginia" provides the longitude and latitude locations of public housing and Housing Choice Voucher Households in Virginia and the number of occupied units. The locations of both groups were geocoded in ArcGIS to compare their access the above amenities to the access of HOPE VI relocatees. Because the above data is analyzed by census tract, data on the total number of people living in households below poverty level is also used as a group of comparison. All groups were analyzed by the percentage of households in each census tract with access to each amenity.

5.5. Socioeconomic Data Analysis

Socioeconomic characteristics include multiple variables indicative of community quality. Contextual variables were derived from the U.S. Census Bureau, Decennial Census 2000 for Richmond neighborhoods to determine the socioeconomic characteristics of neighborhoods in which relocated households reside. The neighborhood quality of the Blackwell area was compared to all neighborhoods of relocation, and the neighborhood qualities of public housing households were compared to housing choice voucher households, using the following indicators: racial/ethnic breakdown, household composition (single-female headed households with children under 18 years of age), tenure, median household income, median home value, and population living below the federal poverty line. A location quotient (LQ) of poverty was calculated for each neighborhood in the Richmond MSA to identify the neighborhoods in which the population living below the poverty line is overrepresented. The location quotient was calculated as follows:

$$Q_i = \frac{\left(S_i / P_i\right)}{\left(S^* / P^*\right)}$$

Whereas S_i represents the total neighborhood population living below poverty level, P_i = total neighborhood population for whom poverty status is determined, S^* = total MSA population below poverty level, and P^* = total MSA population of whom poverty status is determined.

In addition, the analysis explored employment status to identify neighborhoods with high unemployment rates. Unemployment rates were calculated by dividing the

number of unemployed individuals by the total civilian population in the labor force. The analysis also employed data on modes of transportation to work to identify neighborhoods with large proportions of transit-dependent workers. The 2000 Census of Transportation Planning Package (CTPP), Part 3, was used to examine the commute of residents of particular neighborhoods to their workplaces. CTPP, Part 2 was used to map the total number of jobs in each census tract.

Educational data was extracted from the Virginia Department of Education (2002). The 2002-2003 Accreditation Ratings reflect evaluations of Virginia schools for the 2001-2002 school year. Ratings were used to determine whether households moved to areas of differing school quality. There are 4 statuses of school accreditation, including: Accredited with Warning, Fully Accredited, Provisionally Accredited/Meets State Standards, and Provisionally Accredited/Needs Improvement.

To compare the socioeconomic conditions of relocation households to other poor households, the HUD User (2007) dataset was also used, yet this time to compare tract level 2000 census data by racial composition, public assistance, poverty, housing tenure, unemployment, household income, rents, elderly population, and job density.

Chapter IV: Blackwell Redevelopment Process

4.1. Background

The Richmond Redevelopment and Housing Authority (1997a) recognized that a comprehensive strategy must be adopted in order to restore Blackwell to its original significance, and address the physical and social problems of the community. Therefore, on July 18, 1997 RRHA submitted an application to HUD for HOPE VI funds to demolish 440 public housing units and revitalize much of the surrounding community. The need for revitalization was evidenced by many undesirable social conditions resulting from the scattered-site approach of several public housing units in the neighborhood (See Figure 4.1 below).

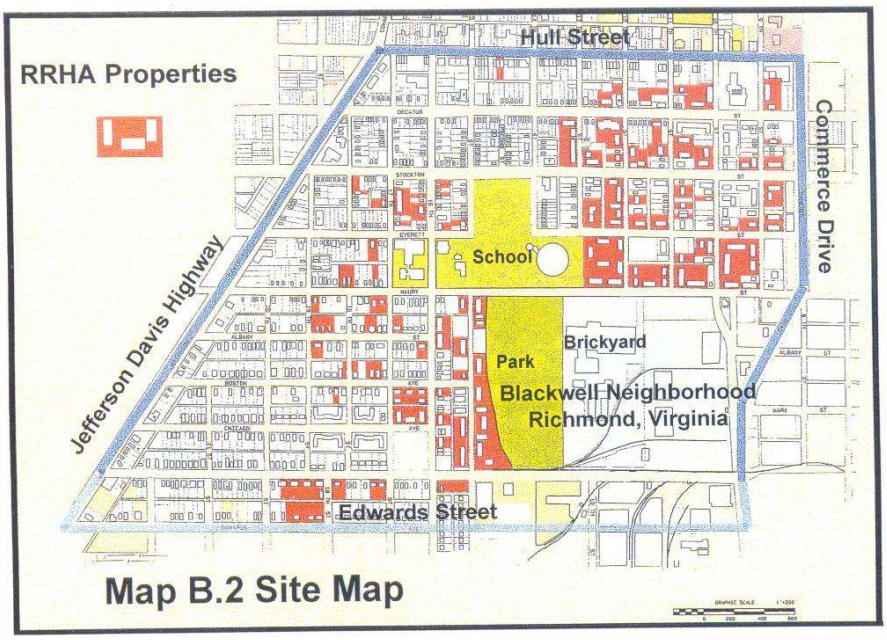


Figure 4.1 – Public Housing Properties within Blackwell
Source: RRHA. (1997a).

According to RRHA (1997a), in addition to the neighborhood issues mentioned in Chapter I, Blackwell became an area of disinvestment, declining property values, and segregation. At that time, over 60% of the housing units were "… obsolete or dilapidated beyond repair. Only 33% of all households are owner-occupied, far below the City of Richmond's 50% rate. An average of 390 calls per month are made from the Blackwell public housing development to the police department while both a double and triple homicide have occurred in the last year. Over a 25-year period, 55% of Blackwell's residents have not graduated from high school, and only 28% have high school diplomas" (p. 2).

On October 17, 1997, U.S. Representative Robert Scott presented a HOPE VI grant check in the amount of $26,964,118 to RRHA on behalf of then HUD Secretary Andrew Cuomo (RRHA, 1997; HUD, 2006a). Following grant allocation, RRHA embarked on a mission to achieve five overarching objectives in Blackwell, many of which are mentioned in its Five-Year Strategic Plan (RRHA, 2005):

1. Changing the physical shape of public housing
2. Establishing positive incentives (for residents)
3. Enforcing tough expectations (of residents)
4. Lessening the concentrations of poverty
5. Forging partnerships (with those who may assist the implementation of the plan) (RRHA, 1997a, p. 3) (See Appendix B).

4.2. Relocation

RRHA's *Handbook of HOPE VI Hot Topics* (1997b) briefly outlines the relocation process that was implemented. Because RRHA was required to submit a demolition plan to HUD for approval, the interim time was used to survey resident relocation preferences. According to RRHA (1998) the following four relocation options were presented to 366 households. Twenty-three families with reasonable incomes and good credit would have the opportunity to own a home. Fifty-four could return to Blackwell public housing following redevelopment. A maximum of 275 families could be given Housing Choice Vouchers and 81 families could relocate to other public housing projects. Relocation took place in phases so that not all Housing Choice Voucher users would enter the housing market at the same time. In accordance with HUD administrative law, once a resident selects a new unit, RRHA would be required to inspect the unit to ensure it meets required standards.

According to L.D. Goode (personal communication, December 13, 2006) the relocation of public housing residents began in January 1998 and ended November 2001. Each family was given $700 - $1,000 for relocation expenses, depending on the size of their housing unit. Additionally, each household was given 120 days notice. According to RRHA (2003a) a total of 394 families were relocated from public housing in Blackwell. Figure 4.2 below presents the relocation of former Blackwell residents within the City of Richmond.

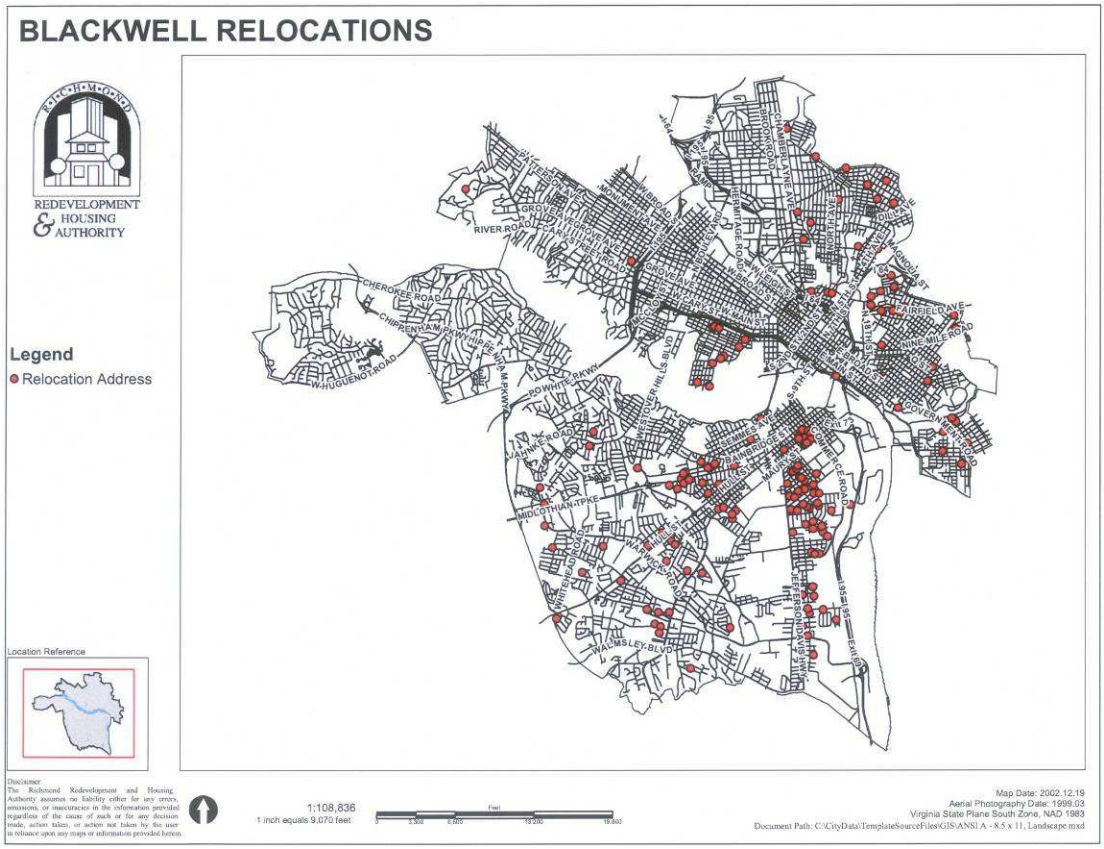


Figure 4.2 – Blackwell Relocations
Source: RRHA. (2002).

4.3. Community Self Sufficiency Program

As mentioned in Chapter II, community and supportive services are a mandatory component of every HOPE VI program. RRHA's (2005a) such program for Blackwell is termed the Community Self Sufficiency Program, henceforth referred to as CSSP. CSSP entails the following five foci: homeownership, job training, job placement, education placement, and referral. The objectives of CSSP that were included in the original HOPE VI application are the following:

1. Provide services to 380 relocated families
2. Enroll 178 residents in employment opportunities

3. Increase resident income from employment by 100%
4. Enroll 80 residents in education programs
5. Enroll 124 residents in job training programs
6. Create homeownership opportunities for 57 residents (RRHA, 2005a, p. 3)

The program first began in October 1997 and has seen several staffing changes up to the date of this writing. According to RRHA (2005a) "[a]t its peak, the CSSP staff was composed of six (6) relocation and self-sufficiency professionals" (p. 2). Additionally, the CSSP component enjoyed increased funding after the then HOPE VI CSSP Program Manager completed a program review in 2003 and found that five contracts were no longer necessary. As a result, $164,000 was reallocated to the self-sufficiency operations of Blackwell HOPE VI (RRHA, 2005a).

However, in 2004 the previous Blackwell HOPE VI Coordinator resigned, with an interim consultant filling in his duties. During that time, it was determined that the CSSP staff size should be reduced in the best interests of HOPE VI. In spite of the above, administrators believe that "… administrative and staffing changes implemented by the RRHA and its HOPE VI team have maintained performance in Case Management and customer service delivery. The Community and Supportive Services and Self-Sufficiency Training Programs have been nationally recognized on several occasions for innovative initiatives that exceed the "HUD required" needs of Blackwell HOPE VI residents" (RRHA, 2005a, p. 2). Currently, the CSSP staff consists of one full-time project manager, one full-time case manager, and one part-time consulting oversight position (RRHA, 2005a).

Considering the staffing changes described above, RRHA has made significant progress in meeting the six CSSP program objectives. As of 2004, relocation services were provided to 380 families, thus meeting the 100% objective. With the assistance of CSSP staff, 125 original residents have found jobs. The original average income of HOPE VI families was $7,900, which number has risen to $14,288, meeting the 100% increase objective. Nevertheless, the increased mean income is significantly lower than what is needed to purchase a home in Richmond. Sixty-nine of the 80 intended residents have enrolled in educational programs. One-hundred fifteen enrolled in job training programs, which is nine short of the 124 objective. Lastly, 14 residents have become homeowners (RRHA, 2005a) (See Table 4.1 below).

Table 4.1 – Original Goals, Progress and Remaining Challenges of CSSP

COMMUNITY SELF SUFFICIENCY PROGRAM – SUMMARY STATEMENT:

The table presented below describes the ORIGINAL GOALS, PROGRESS AND REMAINING CHALLENGES which confront RRHA in meeting its obligations under the CSSP.

ORIGINAL PROGRAM OBJECTIVES	PROGRAM RESULTS FROM 1997 TO PRESENT	Percent (%) Met	REMAINING OBJECTIVES
1. **Provide services to 380 relocated families**	1. Case management services were provided to 380 families, 198 of these families have enrolled in the SSTP program. Forty-seven (47) families have enrolled in the RRHA Family Self-Sufficiency Program.	100%	1. Goal has been met. Case management services continue through FSS as well as other service oriented programs and plans of action.
2. **Enroll 178 residents in employment**	2. 125 residents have been placed in jobs as a direct result of the efforts of HOPE VI staff. With the total number employed being 164 overall, HOPE VI staff efforts account for 70% of the total of all working Blackwell families.	72%	2. Assist 53 residents with employment, highlighting the opportunities through SSTP.
3. **Increase resident income from employment by 100%**	3. Initial average employment income of all HOPE VI families was $7,900. The Average employment income is $14, 288. Residents employed through SSTP, have an average income of $16,328.	100%	3. Goal has been met.
4. **Enroll 80 residents in education programs**	4. 69 residents who participated in SSTP have been enrolled in education programs.	87%	4. Enroll 11 residents into education programs.
5. **Enroll 124 residents in job training programs**	5. 115 residents have been enrolled in job training programs.	93%	5. Enroll 9 residents into job training programs.
6. **Create homeownership opportunities for 57 residents**	6. 14 residents have become homeowners with assistance outside of the designated HOPE VI Program.	25%	6. Assist 43 residents with home- ownership as construction begins in the HOPE VI program areas. Construction expected to begin April 2005.

Source: RRHA. (2005a).

According to RRHA (2005a), in order to meet the objectives where CSSP has fallen short, the case manager intends to find an additional 59 former Blackwell residents for job placement. Accordingly, "[a]gencies to be used to provide potential job

opportunities will consist of RCAC – Work Force Investment Board, Urban Ministries, the ECM Group, CORE Staffing, the Coca Cola Company, Chesterfield County and Henrico County among others" (RRHA, 2005a, p. 5). Thirteen former residents will be located for educational placement and referral with the assistance of the following agencies: the Adult Career Development Center, J. Sergeant Reynolds Community College, and Fresh Start. Nine residents will be placed in job training with the Richmond City Schools Job Training division, Goodwill, Boaz & Ruth Job Training Center, RRHA University, RBEDC Computer Training Center, and the ECM Group. Lastly, 43 residents will be contacted for homeownership consulting and training.

In addition to the above services, homeownership financial assistance is provided to qualified families via the CSSP budget. One-hundred eighty-eight homes will be developed on site in the Blackwell neighborhood. Of that total, 50 homes will be sold to families earning between 50% and 80% of the Area Median Income (AMI). For a family of four, that equals between $33,775 and $54,040. Such families will be eligible for "… a) subsidy to "write down" unit construction to create production costs commensurate with property appraised value, b) closing cost assistance, c) down payment assistance and d) second mortgage assistance" (RRHA, 2005a, p. 6). Approximately $1,884,150 in the above assistance will be available to families earning between 50% and 80% of the AMI. That same assistance will be provided in the amount of $2,566,662 to families earning between 80% and 115% of the AMI (RRHA, 2005a).

One-hundred twenty homes will be developed under the Blackwell HOPE VI program, yet off site. Of that total 20 homes will be exclusively for families earning

between 50% and 80% of the AMI. Eligible families will receive closing cost, down payment, and second mortgage assistance. RRHA allocated $732,742 of the above assistance for those earning between 50% and 80% of the AMI, and $910,660 for families earning between 80% and 115% of the AMI (RRHA, 2005a).

Relocation assistance has been allocated in the amount of $130,000 for former Blackwell residents who wish to purchase homes at either on site or off site developments (RRHA, 2005a) (See table 4.2).

Table 4.2 – Blackwell HOPE VI CSSP Allocation

Item	Allocation	
	50% - 80% AMI	*80% - 115% AMI*
On Site Assistance	$1,884,150.00	$2,566,662.00
Off Site Assistance	$732,742.00	$910,660.00
Management Improvements	$174,000.00	
Administration	$391,800.00	
Relocation	$130,000.00	

Source: RRHA. (2005a).

4.4. Property Acquisition

According to RRHA (1998) "[t]he Blackwell HOPE VI project is unique because the public housing is interspersed throughout the neighborhood, rather than being located on one contiguous site. Therefore, RRHA must address the revitalization of public housing as well as private housing sites" (p. 1). The Blackwell Neighborhood Revitalization Plan also recognized this issue by calling for the rehabilitation of public housing units and the development of new single family homes throughout the community (City of Richmond, 1996). Because of the above challenges, private properties needed to be purchased for a more holistic redevelopment process to take place. The two major strategies used for the acquisition of private lands were the

designation of Blackwell as a Conservation and Redevelopment Area, and as a Neighborhood in Bloom (RRHA, 2007).

The Conservation and Redevelopment Program allows RRHA to outline blighted areas to rehabilitate current structures, or demolish them for the construction of new ones. In effect, the City of Richmond conferred eminent domain powers on RRHA to achieve these tasks in Blackwell and other communities. Condemned property owners were compensated by RRHA using CDBG funds (L. Householder, personal communication, October 5, 2006; RRHA, 1999). Appendix A shows the area defined as Blackwell's Conservation and Redevelopment area in 1997.

The Conservation and Redevelopment plan specifies a series of mandates for residential, public space, and commercial properties. It requires that existing housing be rehabilitated when possible, instead of being demolished. Additionally the plan requires the, "… eliminat[ion of] blighted and deteriorated conditions, untended vacant lots, and boarded up buildings that affect the physical, social and economic viability of the neighborhood" (RRHA, 1999, p. 8). Also, the plan aims to discourage economic development that may facilitate crime or incivilities (RRHA, 1999). Finally, the plan regulates future land uses, eviction, and sets a 15 year time limit on the execution of HOPE VI activities.

The NiB program designated Blackwell as a participating community, enabling RRHA to acquire more funding for the purchase of blighted property (L. Householder, personal communication, October, 5, 2006). According to the City of Richmond (2006) "NiB is an innovative program that supports the restoration of Richmond's historic

neighborhoods. It promotes housing renovation, restoration, construction, and sales in six select neighborhoods." Under the program, RRHA was able to purchase blighted properties in Blackwell, and then sell those properties to partnering agencies such as the Better Housing Coalition or Southside Community Development and Housing Corporation. These organizations then became responsible for constructing or rehabilitating properties under the guidelines of the Conservation and Redevelopment Plan. Homebuyers interested in Conservation and Redevelopment Area property were assisted with loans, downpayment assistance, and credit counseling.

4.5. Redevelopment Plans

The original application that was submitted to HUD in 1997 called for a total of 801 housing units. Two-hundred sixty one multi family units were to be constructed on site (Blackwell) and 325 would be constructed off site in the Fulton and Swansboro neighborhoods. Two-hundred eight single family units were planned for on site and seven for off site (RRHA, 1998).

A revised plan was submitted in October 1998 that significantly reduced the total number of planned units to 480. Of which, 148 would be multi family units constructed on site, and 24 would be constructed off site. Instead of 208 single family units being constructed on site and 7 off site, the 1998 plan calls for 188 units on site and 120 off site (see table 4.3). RRHA (1998) described a series of advantages that the 1998 plan had over the original plan. First, the 1998 plan shifted the focus of development from primarily multi family housing to single family housing. Secondly, the plan required RRHA to seek out public housing families to become homeowners of 50% of the new

housing through the Lease to Purchase program (in Blackwell). Third, the ratio of single family to multi family homes increased from 44% to 57%. Fourth, the superblock on site was redesigned to include 86 single family detached units at the core, and 148 multi family units in the periphery (Appendix C). Fifth, the number of single family units off site was increased significantly from 7 to 120, providing 100 single family homes for market rate purchase, and 20 for lease purchase. Sixth, the 1998 plan increased the number of public housing subsidized rental units in Blackwell by 20, from 54 to 74 (RRHA, 1998).

Table 4.3 HOPE VI Project Comparison by Year

SUMMARY		**1997**	**1998**	**Difference**
Multi Family		586	172	-414
Single Family		215	308	93
	Totals:	**801**	**480**	**-321**
BREAKDOWN				
On site				
Multi Family		261 (56%)	148 (43%)	-113
Single Family		208 (44%)	188 (57%)	-20
	Totals:	**469**	**336**	**-133**
Off site				
Multi Family		325	24	-301
Single Family		7	120	113
	Totals:	**332**	**144**	**-188**
Blackwell Subsidized Units				
Multi Family Public Housing Subsidized Rental		54	74	20
Multi Family Tax Credit Subsidized Rental		103	74	-29
Single Family/Lease Purchase Homeownership		100	50	-50
Single Family/Direct Sales Homeownership		108	138	30
	Totals:	**365**	**336**	**-29**
Relocation Resources for Public Housing Residents				
New Public Housing Rental Units		185	82	-103
New Public Housing Homeownership		100	50	-50
Available Section 8 Certificates		175	275	100
	Totals:	**460**	**407**	**-53**
Occupied Blackwell Public Housing Units		**440**	**366**	**-74**

Source: RRHA. (1998).

According to RRHA (1998) at the time of the 1998 plan, the single family homes were determined to cost from $80,000 to $110,000 each. Each home would range from 1,120 square feet to 1,840 square feet. Of the 188 homes planned on site, 147 would be constructed as 3 bedroom units, 29 as 4 bedroom units, and 12 as 5 bedroom units. Of the 308 planned single family units off site, 96 would be constructed as 3 bedroom homes, 17 as four bedroom homes, and 7 as five bedroom homes. Therefore, for a 3 bedroom, 1,500 sq. ft., $95,000 home, a household earning between $16,000 and $25,000 would spend from $4,800 to $7,500 annually in taxes with a mortgage payment ranging from $400 - $625. According to L.D. Goode (personal communication, October 5, 2006) the home prices above include a subsidy that every HOPE VI homebuyer would receive.

Other important elements of the 1998 plan include a new Blackwell Elementary School (also in the 1997 plan) that opened in September 1999 at 300 East 15th Street (Richmond Public Schools, 2006). Off site housing units consisted of 60 one and two bedroom townhomes to be located on the west side of Jefferson Davis Highway at Decatur Street, Maury Street, and Dinwiddie Avenue. Additionally, twenty-four loft units were planned to front Hull Street. Street landscaping would be added on Decatur, Maury, and Dinwiddie.

The 1998 plan divided the Blackwell neighborhood into three planning areas: Area 1 consisted of 77 single family detached homes, Area 2 included 25 single family detached homes, and Area 3 included 148 multi family units surrounding 86 single family detached units – all consisting of Italianate and Colonial Revival architecture. Overall, the neighborhood would be designed following the approach known as Crime Prevention

Through Environmental Design (CPTED), by creating defensible spaces that provide residents with a sense of ownership of property thus encouraging them to identify and discourage socially unacceptable behavior. The area south of Maury Street and east of Area 1 would be rehabilitated as parkland and commercial development (see Appendix C – 1998 Blackwell Site Plan) (RRHA, 1998).

The most recent plan is very similar to the 1998 plan and incorporates most of the on site single family development aspects. On April 29, 2002 RRHA hired The Communities Group (TCG) to construct all of the single family homes planned for Blackwell. TCG then became responsible for the entire on site HOPE VI project by serving as head contractor for the development. TCG failed to produce any homes by 2004, and as a result the development agreement was terminated by RRHA on February 17, 2005. Because RRHA would not be able to effectively implement the plan on its own, it decided to divide the entire project into three sets of phases—Single Family (On Site), Single Family (Off Site), and Multi Family—to be given to various contractors. However, the firing of TCG led to three major delays. Since then, changes in the economy have led to a housing boom, and consequently a significant increase in housing costs. During the same time, several turnovers in key government positions led to a loss in productivity as each new official had to educate his- or herself about the HOPE VI process. Lastly, the firing of TCG delayed RRHA from being able to construct any single family homes on site up to December 2006. This is because it takes about 6-9 months for a contractor to complete the HUD requirements of designing every house, specifying locations, and determining who those homes will serve (L.D. Goode, personal

communication, December 13, 2006, January 8, 2007; L. Householder, personal communication, October 5, 2006).

The single family on site development, tentatively named Southern Crossings, includes 4 distinct phases and a total of 188 units (see Figure 4.4). Phase I entails the completion of 37 homes to be built by the Southside Community Development and Housing Corporation (SCDHC). These units will be located in the Southeastern section of the neighborhood on Dinwiddie Avenue, Edwards Avenue, and between E. 16th and E. 17th Streets (RRHA, 2006). According to RRHA (2006a), preparation for the development of this phase is almost complete. Necessary legal and financial documents have been forwarded to HUD for their approval which was anticipated by early October. Construction was scheduled to follow immediately after. However, as of January 8, 2007, there has been no construction for this phase (L.D. Goode, personal communication, December 13, 2006; RRHA, 2006a).



Figure 4.3 – Drawings of Southern Crossings Models
Source: RRHA. (2003).

According to T.K. Somanath (personal communication, October 25, 2006) Phase II of on site single family homes will include 45 units to be completed by the Better Housing Coalition (BHC). This area of 4.5 blocks will be located in the Northeastern

section of the neighborhood and bordered by Decatur, Everett, E. 13th, and E. 11th Streets (RRHA, 2006). BHC and RRHA worked together to develop a timeline leading up to HUD approval no later than December 15, 2006 (RRHA, 2006a).

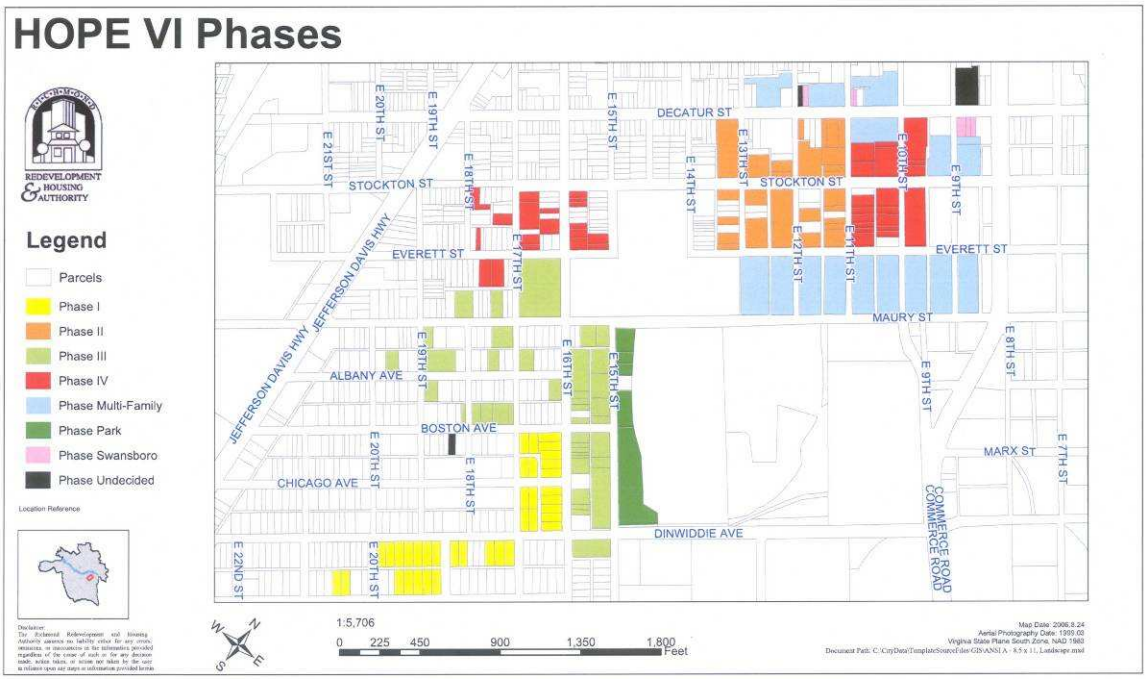


Figure 4.4 – On Site Hope VI Phases
Source: RRHA. (2006).

Phase III plans for 55 units between E. 15th and E. 16th Streets alongside Phase Park. Other units will be scattered in the southeastern section of the neighborhood between Maury Street and Boston Avenue, and on the northwest side of Maury Street between E. 16th and E. 17th Streets. Phase IV includes 51 units adjacent and northeast of Phase II, and scattered between Stockton and Everett Streets between E. 15th and E. 18th Streets. Two of those units will be on the southeast side of Everett Street near E. 17th Street (RRHA, 2006; 2007a).

As of September 2006, RRHA submitted an RFP (Request for Proposals) to find a builder for Phases III and IV. A conference took place on September 6, 2006 to

showcase the plans to interested contractors. Builder selection was planned to take place in September so that recommendations could be made to the Board of Commissioners in October 2006. In order to market the project, RRHA selected a builder to construct 2 model homes on August 18, 2006 (RRHA, 2006).

The off site single family housing component also includes 4 distinct phases with a total of 120 units. Phase I – Fulton Village I will comprise of 32 units currently under construction by Health-E Communities Enterprises, LLC. These homes are located in the East End section of Richmond near the 900 block of Admiral Gravely Blvd. Home prices will start at $160,000 and range from 1,500 sq. ft. to 2,000 sq. ft. Each unit will have 3 or 4 bedrooms, 2 and ½ bathrooms, and a single car garage in the rear of the home. They will also include carpeting, vinyl flooring, and have an energy star rating (L.D. Goode, personal communication, December 13, 2006; RRHA, 2007a).



Figure 4.5 – Drawings of Fulton Village Models
Source: HUD. (2006).

Phase II plans for the construction of eight homes by SCDHC in Blackwell (shown in Figure 4.4 as Phase Swansboro) and the Swansboro community on Pilkington Street. The square footage of these homes will be between 1,500 and 1,800 and range from $140,500 to $180,000. Each will have three or four bedrooms, 2 and ½ baths and carpeting. Phase II also includes an additional 8 existing homes that will be rehabilitated

in Swansboro, also by SCDHC (L.D. Goode, personal communication, December 13, 2006; RRHA, 2007a).

Phase III – Fulton Village II will include 26 additional units in the same area as Phase I and will also be constructed by Health-E Communities. RRHA is in the process of creating a developer agreement to begin construction (L.D. Goode, personal communication, December 13, 2006; RRHA, 2006a).

No hard units will be constructed under Phase IV. Instead, 46 homeownership opportunities will be provided through downpayment assistance. Families will be able to use the money provided by RRHA to purchase any home in the City of Richmond. RRHA began seeking firms on August 20, 2006 to handle the administration of grant money (L.D. Goode, personal communication, December 13, 2006; RRHA, 2006a).

The Multi family unit development is comprised of three phases, all of which are complete and include a total of 229 units. Phase I – Townes at River South (Blackwell) was completed in August 2001. This development comprises of rental townhouse units that have 2 to 4 bedrooms and range from 1,000 to 4,000 sq. ft. They also feature dishwashers, air conditioning, porches, carpeting, and mini blinds. The homes are located between Everett and Maury Streets in the northeastern section of Blackwell. RRHA chose H.J. Russell & Company, and Regency Development Associates to complete the project.

Phase II included 62 additional townhouse style rental units along Decatur Street and on the corner of Stockton and E. 9th Streets. RRHA selected Summit Contractors to

develop the project. According to RRHA (2003), of the 62 units "[t]wenty-five (25) will be public housing units and 37 will be tax credit homes" (p. 1).

Phase III includes 68 rental units on Hull Street that were constructed by Imani Community Development Corporation (RRHA, 2007a). See Table 4.4 below for a summary of the total units planned and/or developed under each phase.

Table 4.4 – Units Developed Under Each Phase

Phase	Location	Units	Developer
Single Family Phases (On site)			
I	Southern Crossings (Blackwell)	37	SCDHC
II	Southern Crossings (Blackwell)	45	Better Housing Coalition
III	Southern Crossings (Blackwell)	55	Not Determined
IV	Southern Crossings (Blackwell)	51	Not Determined
	total units:	**188**	
Single Family Phases (Off site)			
I	Fulton Village I	32	Health-E Communities
II	Swansboro	16	SCDHC
III	Fulton Village II	26	Health-E Communities
IV	N/A	46	Downpayment Assistance
	total units:	**120**	
Multi Family Phases			
I	Townes at River South (Blackwell)	99	H.J. Russell & Co., Regency
II	Townes at River South (Blackwell)	62	Summit Contractors
III	Hull Street	68	Imani CDC
	total units:	**229**	
	grand total units:	**537**	

Source: RRHA. (2003, 2007a).

All units planned under the Blackwell HOPE VI process were developed using energy conservation principles (L.D. Goode, personal communication, L.D. Goode, personal communication, December 13, 2006; T.K. Somanath, personal communication, October 25, 2006). According to HUD, ex RRHA Executive Director Sheila Hill-Christian is quoted in saying "[w]e believe that there is a direct correlation between

energy-efficiency and affordability. As this commitment suggests, we believe that investing in conservation now will save a whole lot more for homeowners later" (HUD, 2006). In order to accomplish this, RRHA is ensuring that units are developed with "… Energy Star rated windows, ventless crawl spaces, dehumidifiers, and interior HVAC units" (HUD, 2006). These inclusions along with cellulose insulation are expected to keep climate control expenditures under $100 per month (HUD, 2006).

4.6. Intra-Agency Issues

According to Ress (2006) RRHA was added to HUD's troubled list following a federal review of fiscal records in 2005. HUD found that RRHA did a poor job of record-keeping for its rental subsidy program. The designation required RRHA to submit a plan to correct the problem within "… the next several weeks." Anthony Scott, Interim Director of RRHA, claimed that the Authority had already taken steps to rectify the manner weeks before being cited by HUD. RRHA has been in contact with a Los Angeles area PHA to discuss a new record keeping system. HUD also discovered that RRHA had improperly calculated rents for the Housing Choice Voucher program. RRHA intends to fix the problem by adjusting incorrect payments.

According to Temme (2005) the Office of the Inspector General (OIG) – HUD initiated an audit of RRHA accounting practices after receiving a citizen's complaint. The OIG found that "[c]ontrary to its Annual Contributions Contract, the Authority improperly used $6.1 million in Public Housing Low Rent Funds to pay the administrative expenses of other HUD programs. Additionally, the Authority improperly used $1.5 million in HUD funds to support its nonfederal entities and could not support

all costs" (Temme, 2005, p. 1). The following programs received Public Housing Low Rent Funds: New Construction, CDBG, Homeownership for People Everywhere (HOPE VI) - $3,612,497.00, Homeownership for Public Housing Section 5H, Homeownership Made Easy, Resident Opportunity Self Sufficiency, Capital Fund Program, and Drug Elimination Drug Grants. As a result, HUD recommended that RRHA reconcile funding owed to the Public Housing Low Rent Fund, and be cognizant that such funds are not to be distributed to other programs.

4.7. Summary

In order to correct the physical and social problems of the Blackwell community, RRHA applied for, and received a HOPE VI grant in the amount of $26.9 million from HUD (HUD, 2006a; RRHA, 1997). Its mission was to use the funding to change the shape of public housing, create incentives and expectations for residents, deconcentrate poverty, and create partnerships with other agencies and non-profits (RRHA, 1997).

To begin the redevelopment process, original residents were relocated to other public housing, given Housing Choice Vouchers, or given the opportunity to own a home (RRHA, 1998). Each household was given 120 days notice to vacate, along with $700 - $1,000 for relocation expenses, depending on the size of their original unit (L.D. Goode, personal communication, December 13, 2006). Additional resident support was provided through the Community Self Sufficiency Program (CSSP). According to RRHA (2005a) CSSP staff focused on homeownership, job training, job placement, education placement, and referral. Although originally funded to have six staff members, CSSP was eventually

reduced to one full-time project manager, one full-time case manager, and a part-time oversight position.

According to L. Householder (personal communication, October 5, 2006) RRHA used two methods to acquired property. The Conservation and Redevelopment Program allowed RRHA to select blighted structures and use eminent domain powers to purchase and demolish them for the construction of new ones. Neighborhoods in Bloom provided funds to RRHA to purchase homes in Blackwell, and then sell those homes to partnering agencies for rehabilitation or reconstruction.

While three different plans were submitted to redevelop Blackwell, the last one calls for 188 single family units in the original neighborhood, 120 single family homes off site, and 229 multi family units in Blackwell and off site along Hull Street.

Throughout the HOPE VI process RRHA has dealt with two major administrative issues. First, according to Ress (2006) RRHA was cited by HUD for improperly calculated rents for the Housing Choice Voucher Program, and keeping poor records for its rental subsidy program. Second, HUD also found that RRHA improperly used allocated funds to support other programs and projects, one being the HOPE VI program (Temme, 2005). RRHA subsequently took steps to correct all issues.

Chapter V: Results

5.1. Introduction

As described in Chapters I and III, the purpose of this research is to analyze the implementation of the HOPE VI program in Richmond, VA in order to assess whether former residents of Blackwell moved to neighborhoods of better, similar, or worse quality. It also compares relocated households to other poor households. This chapter begins with an analysis of descriptive statistics of the original relocation data provided by RRHA, and progresses to the spatial and statistical analysis of data.

5.2. Descriptive Statistics of Relocation Data

Two hundred eighty-six cases make up the data provided by RRHA. Each case represents one family that left Blackwell as a result of the relocation process that began in January 1998 (L.D. Goode, personal communication, December 13, 2006). Table 5.1 summarizes the relocation of former Blackwell residents based on the addresses provided by RRHA. Forty-five percent of families moved to other public housing units. Hillside Court received the highest amount of HOPE VI relocated families (9.1%). Seven percent of families moved to the newly developed Townes at River South, whereas only two families (0.7%) relocated to Afton. Appendix D illustrates the location of RRHA's public housing projects.

About 37% of households relocated by way of Housing Choice Vouchers. Fourteen percent opted for no assistance at all and moved into market rate rental units.

Lastly, 4.2% of households took advantage of homeownership opportunities via RRHA homeownership programs, or achieved homeownership on their own.

Table 5.1 – Household Relocation

	Frequency	Percent
Public Housing		
Afton	2	0.7
Bainbridge	7	2.4
Creighton	8	2.8
Dove	5	1.7
Elderly	3	1
Fairfield	10	3.5
Fulton	2	0.7
Gilpin	17	5.9
Hillside Court	26	9.1
Mosby	10	3.5
Randolph	4	1.4
Townes at River South	20	7
Whitcomb	4	1.4
Leased Housing	11	3.8
Other Housing		
Homeownership	12	4.2
Housing Choice Voucher	105	36.7
Moved on Own	40	14
Total	**286**	**100**

Source: RRHA. (2005a).

Table 5.2 illustrates the methods of assistance that were/are still used by families after leaving the Blackwell community. Most families moved on to other public housing units (45%). They include families that moved to Public Housing without being split, as well as families that were split into two or more units upon relocation (L.D. Goode, personal communication, March 14, 2007). An example of such would be when a mother

has two children, and one child bears a child of his or her own. Thus, the new offspring and birth parent may move to a unit of their own. In addition, at the time of relocation RRHA provided a Lease House/Public Housing program. Eligible tenants were able to rent single family homes that were owned by RRHA throughout the City and were required to abide by the same requirements held by the traditional Public Housing Program (L.D. Goode, personal communication, March 14, 2007). About 4% of families relocated via the Lease House/Public Housing program.

The second-largest method of relocation was by way of Housing Choice Vouchers. Thirty-seven percent used Housing Choice Vouchers to seek units in the community on their own.

HOPE VI Assistance was provided to 10.1% of families to move out on their own and leave the public housing system. Families here were helped by the Community Self-Sufficiency Program staff to find other units by the provision of transportation to visit market rate apartments, and referrals. RRHA's Lease Purchase/Homeownership Program allowed families to rent a home for a predetermined amount of time and then be given the opportunity to purchase the leased home by using the accumulated rent payments as a down payment (L.D. Goode, personal communication, March 14, 2007). This option was utilized by 1.4% of former Blackwell households. Finally, 2.8% became homeowners without any help from the leasing program or HOPE VI Assistance and 3.8% moved to other rental units without assistance.

Table 5.2 – Type of Housing Assistance

	Frequency	Percent
Homeownership (Other)	8	2.8
HOPE VI Assistance	29	10.1
Housing Choice Voucher	105	36.7
Lease House/Public Housing	11	3.8
Lease Purchase/Homeownership	4	1.4
No Assistance	11	3.8
Public Housing	100	35
Public Housing (Split)	18	6.3
Total	**286**	**100**

Source: RRHA. (2005a).

Table 5.3 presents the frequency distribution of bedrooms in the units of relocation. Such information is useful as an indicator of family size. RRHA data only provided bedroom information on 137 of the 286 cases that were geocoded, therefore 149 cases are missing from this analysis. Considering only the 137 cases with appropriate data, 43.1% of former Blackwell residents moved to 3-bedroom units. Twenty-nine percent moved to 2-bedroom homes, and 21% moved to 4-bedroom homes.

Table 5.3 – Number of Bedrooms in Housing Units After Relocation

	Frequency	Percent
1	9	3.1
2	39	13.6
3	59	20.6
4	29	10.1
5	1	0.3
Total	**137**	**47.9**
Missing Cases	**149**	**52.1**
Total	**286**	**100**

Source: RRHA. (2005a).

As shown in Table 5.4, 22% of relocated households received TANF benefits at the time of data reporting.

Table 5.4 – TANF Recipient Status

	Frequency	Percent
No	213	74.5
Unknown	11	3.8
Yes	62	21.7
Total	**286**	**100**

Source: RRHA. (2005a).

Rent information was provided for only 237 of the 286 cases. However, for 174 of those cases, rents were reported as $0. This analysis will only consider cases for those paying rents > $0, which includes 63 cases. HOPE VI rents range from $35 to $547, with a mean of $204.41. Table 5.5 displays employment income for the 139 cases of which employment could be determined. Annual employment income ranged from $600 to $39,182 due to selection of 139 cases where incomes are > $0. The mean employment income was $14,498.60. As shown in Table 5.5 incomes are evenly distributed across all four quartiles with 25% of households earning within the top quartile of employment incomes.

Table 5.5 – Employment Income Quartiles

	Frequency	Percent
Bottom Quartile	35	25.2
2nd Quartile	36	25.9
3rd Quartile	34	24.5
Top Quartile	34	24.5
Total	**139**	**100**

Source: RRHA. (2005a).

5.3. Areas of Relocation

The spatial analysis of geocoded[1] families reveals that former residents of Blackwell relocated to the following five jurisdictions of the Richmond Metropolitan Area: Chesterfield County, Dinwiddie County, Hanover County, Henrico County, and Richmond City (see Appendix E). An additional *N* relocated to other counties/states. Figure 5.1 below displays the relocation of former Blackwell households within Richmond and its immediate surroundings. Slightly over half of relocated households did not leave the City (56.4%), yet concentrated in the Southside, East End, and Northside sections of Richmond—places featuring high poverty rates. The central part of Henrico County experienced the largest amount of households that relocated outside of Richmond (23.6%). About 13% of households moved to Chesterfield County, and 5.5% moved to Hanover County along the I-95 corridor and between I-295 and the Henrico County line.

A comparison of the spatial relocation of public housing residents and voucher users suggests that the neighborhood options for public housing residents were much more limited than those available to housing vouchers. Appendix F shows that public housing residents concentrated in the East End, north of Downtown in the Gilpin Court community, and in South Richmond near the original neighborhood. Most voucher users concentrated within the City limits, and scattered throughout the Southside, East End, and Northside sections of Richmond. They also were able to access more distant areas such as central Henrico, Dinwiddie, Chesterfield, and Hanover.

[1] Geocoding is "… the process of creating map features from addresses, place-names, or similar information …" (Ormsby et al. 2001, p. 429).

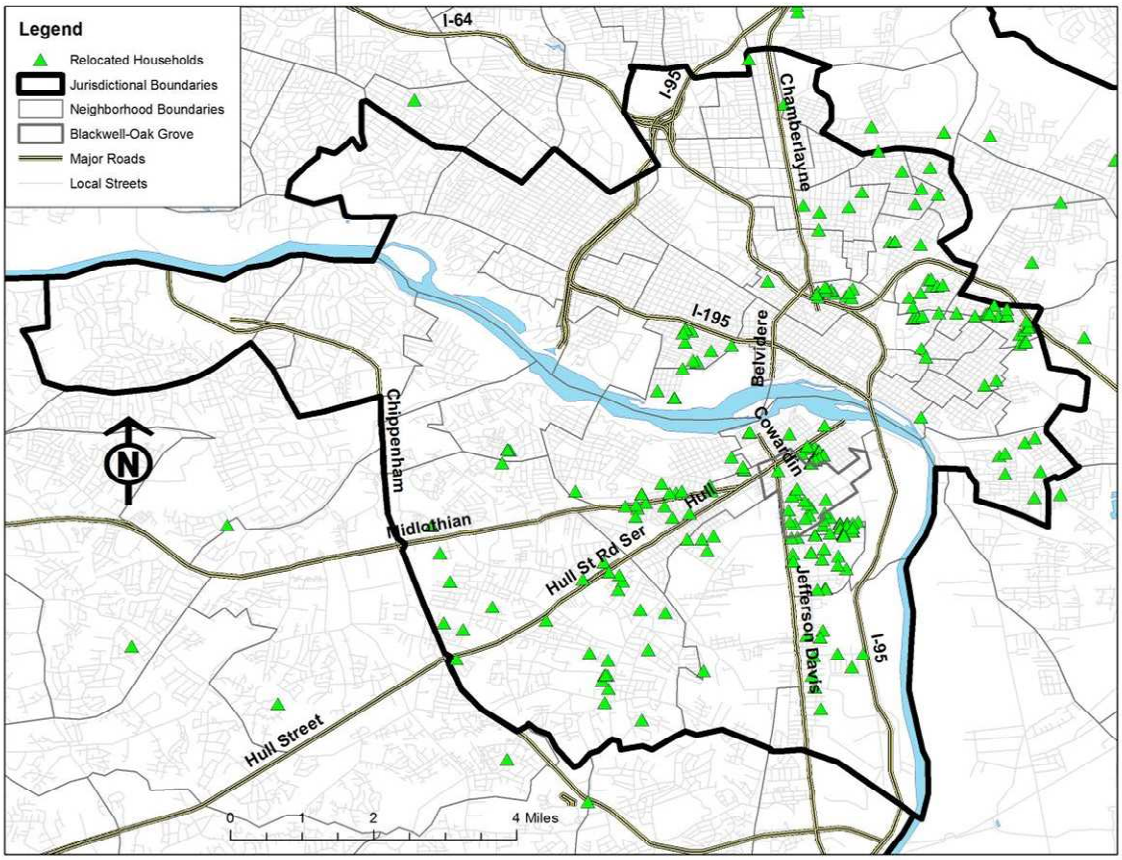


Figure 5.1 – Richmond Relocation Map
Source: City of Richmond. (2007a); RRHA. (2005a); U.S. Census Bureau. (2000c); Virginia Commonwealth University. (2006).

5.4. Neighborhood Socioeconomic Characteristics

To understand the outcome of relocation in terms of neighborhood quality, the analysis examines the socioeconomic characteristics of neighborhoods in which Blackwell relocated households reside (See Figure 5.2 for a map of Richmond neighborhood boundaries).[2]

[2] Neighborhood data boundaries were developed for Richmond, Chesterfield, and Hanover; however, census tract boundaries were used for Henrico and Dinwiddie.

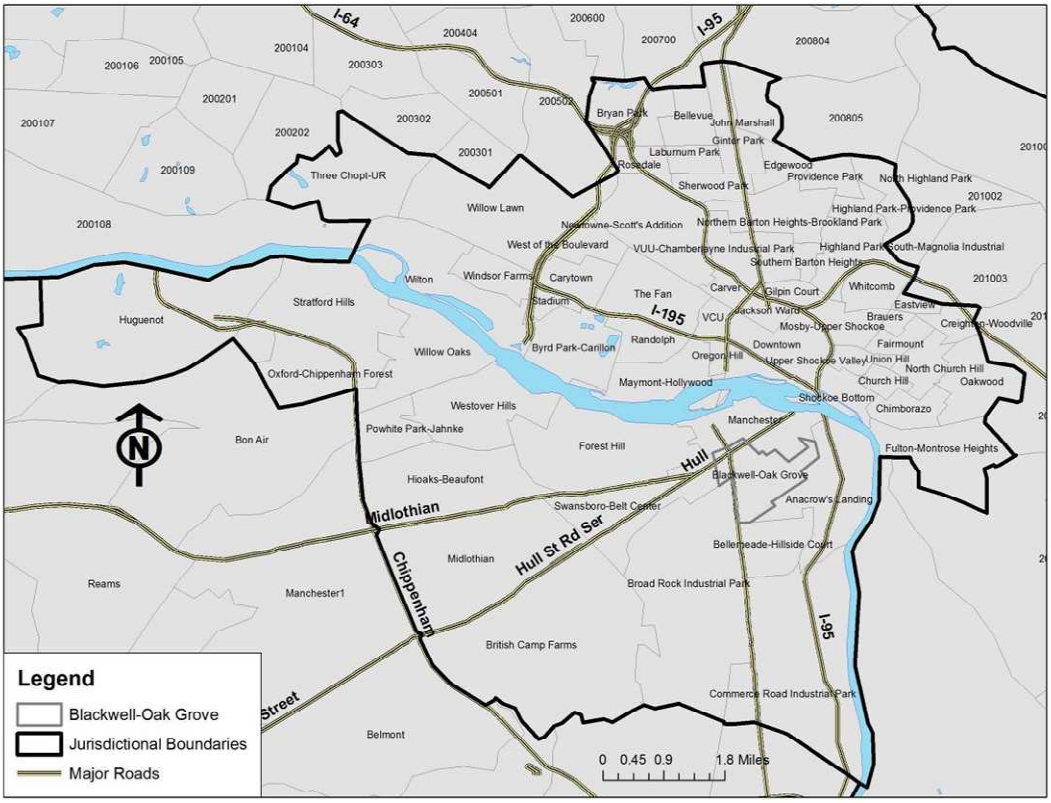


Figure 5.2 – Richmond Neighborhood Map
Source: City of Richmond. (2007a); U.S. Census Bureau. (2000c); Virginia Commonwealth University. (2006).

For the purpose of this research, better neighborhoods are those that represent more ideal socioeconomic characteristics, as compared to Blackwell. Neighborhoods are assessed by levels of racial segregation, presence of single female headed households, housing tenure, poverty, unemployment, and proximity to jobs.

In terms of racial/ethnic composition, the original Blackwell scattered public housing site and the Oak Grove neighborhood appear to be very segregated. In such neighborhoods, 92% of the residents are African American and only 6.4% are white. Households that moved to other public housing units may have found a slightly more diverse environment. On average, households relocating to other public housing projects

reside in neighborhoods in which about 86% of residents are African American, 11.3% are white and 1.0% are Latino. Voucher users moved to the most racially diverse communities. On average, these communities are 60.9% African American, 33.5% white, 2.3% Latino, and 1.7% Asian or Pacific Islander. Overall, relocated households moved to less segregated communities, featuring an average percentage of white residents equaling 30.6% compared to 6.4% in the Blackwell-Oak Grove area. The percentage of Latinos in these neighborhoods is also higher.

Table 5.6 –Racial/Ethnic Composition

	Blackwell-Oak Grove %	All Neighborhoods %	Public Housing %	Housing Choice Voucher %
White	6.4	30.6	11.3	33.5
African American	92.0	64.4	85.7	60.9
Latino	0	1.8	1.0	2.3
Asian or Pacific Islander	.3	1.1	.5	1.7
Other	.1	.4	.2	.3

Source: U.S. Census Bureau. (2000), SF 3, Variable P7.

Table 5.7 presents the average percentages of single female-headed households with children under 18 years of age in the neighborhoods of relocation. Blackwell-Oak Grove has among the highest percentages of such households (67%). The mean percentage of single female households in public housing neighborhoods is only 0.7 percentage points higher than Blackwell-Oak Grove. However, voucher users fared best compared to all relocated households. The mean percentage of single female headed households with children in such neighborhoods is 46.9%, or 20.1 percentage points lower than the original neighborhood.

Table 5.7 – Average % of Single Female-Headed Households

	Blackwell-Oak Grove %	All Neighborhoods %	Public Housing %	Housing Choice Voucher %
Single female headed households with children	67.0	48.7	67.7	46.9

Source: U.S. Census Bureau. (2000), SF 3, Variable P15.

Table 5.8 shows that Blackwell-Oak Grove has an almost equal amount of renters and owners living in the community. Public housing households relocated to areas where the average percentage of renters is clearly higher than the percent of owners (62.8% vs, 37.2%). Voucher users moved to neighborhoods where renter-occupied units represent 43.7% of all occupied housing units. Overall, relocated households moved to neighborhoods with lower percentages of renters (45.9%) and higher percentages of owners (54.0%).

Table 5.8 – Average % of Housing Tenure

	Blackwell-Oak Grove %	All Neighborhoods %	Public Housing %	Housing Choice Voucher %
Rent	49.0	45.9	62.8	43.7
Own	51.0	54.0	37.2	56.2

Source: U.S. Census Bureau. (2000), SF 3, Variable H7.

According to table 5.9, the Blackwell-Oak Grove area has a median household income of $22,145. The median household income of public housing resident communities ranges between $7,825 and $38,424. Voucher users moved to neighborhoods with significantly higher household incomes. These communities feature median household incomes ranging between $12,393 and $53,378. The median home value of the Blackwell-Oak Grove community is $48,980 as shown in table 5.9.

However, other public housing communities have median home values that range from $45,400 - $95,850. Voucher neighborhoods have median home values that range from $48,980, - $128,520.

Table 5.9 –Median Household Incomes and Median Home Values (RANGES)

	Blackwell-Oak Grove	All Neighborhoods	Public Housing	Housing Choice Voucher
Median Household Income	$22,145	$7,896 - $56,811	$7,825 - $38,424	$12,393 - $53,378
Median Home Value	$48,980	$45,400 - $155,433	$45,400 - $95,850	$48,980 - $128,520

Source: U.S. Census Bureau. (2000), SF 3, Variables P3, H76.

It appears that most households, regardless of support type, moved to neighborhoods of high poverty. Two-hundred one households or 70% moved to neighborhoods where at least 21% of the residents live below the poverty level. Twenty-five percent moved to neighborhoods where 41% or more residents live below poverty, and 8% relocated to neighborhoods where 61% or more residents live below poverty.

Figure 5.3 presents a map of the Richmond's poverty location quotients[3]. In other words, the map below shows where the population below the federal poverty line is overrepresented with respect to other neighborhoods in the region. Usually, a threshold of 2 is used for the City of Richmond (see Appendix G for a regional view). In total, 90,337 of 975,189 residents were living below poverty level in the year 2000.

[3]Location Quotients are indices used to calculate an area's share of an aggregate resource or burden. It is calculated using the following formula $Q_i = \frac{(S_i / P_i)}{(S^* / P^*)}$ whereas S_i represents the total neighborhood population living below poverty level, P_i = total neighborhood population for whom poverty status is determined, S^* = total MSA population below poverty level, and P^* = total MSA population of whom poverty status is determined.

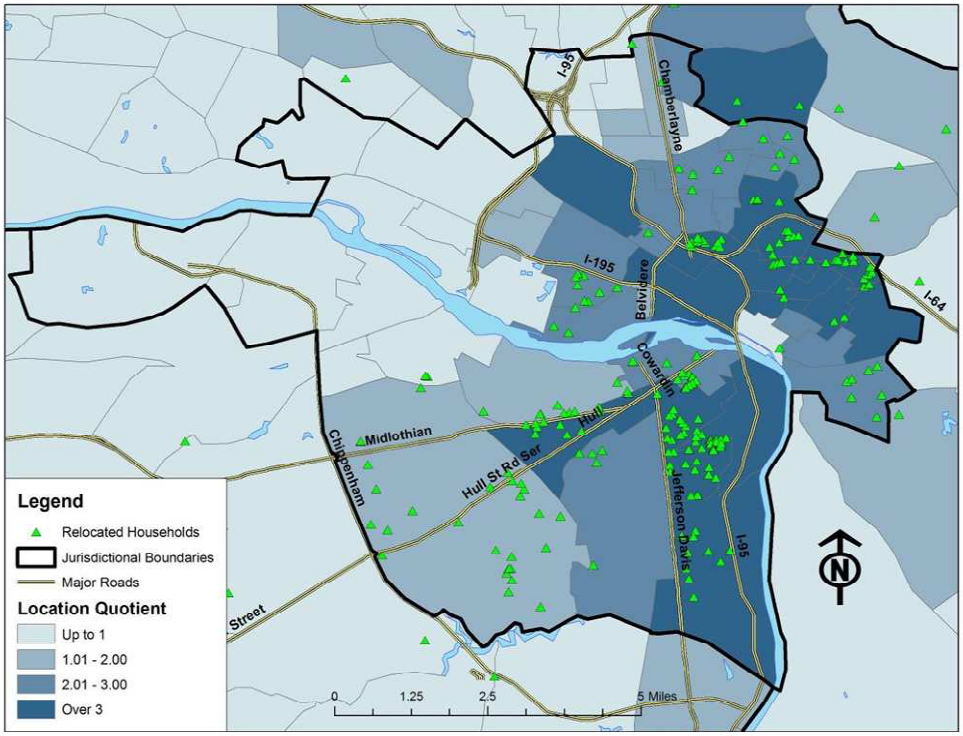


Figure 5.3 – Richmond Poverty Location Quotient Map
Source: RRHA. (2005a); U.S. Census Bureau. (2000, 2000c), SF 3, Variable P87.

Blackwell-Oak Grove has the highest location quotient (4.5) compared to other neighborhoods, indicating that the population living below the federal poverty line is largely overrepresented in this area (see table 5.10). Public housing households moved to communities with a lower average LQ than the original neighborhood. However, voucher users moved to neighborhoods with the lowest average LQ (2.4). All neighborhoods have a LQ (3.3) that is 1.2 points lower than the LQ characterizing Blackwell-Oak Grove (4.5).

Table 5.10 – Average LQ for Neighborhoods of Relocation

	Blackwell-Oak Grove	All Neighborhoods	Public Housing	Housing Choice Voucher
LQ	4.5	3.3	3.34	2.4

Source: U.S. Census Bureau. (2000), SF 3, Variable P87.

Civilian unemployed in Blackwell-Oak Grove represent 15% of the labor force, a higher percentage than all other comparison groups. Public housing neighborhoods have an average unemployment rate of 14.6%. Voucher users moved to communities with the lowest average unemployment rate (8.5%).

Table 5.11 – Average % of Civilian Neighborhood Unemployment

	Blackwell-Oak Grove %	All Neighborhoods %	Public Housing %	Housing Choice Voucher %
Unemployment	15.0	9.3	14.6	8.5

Source: U.S. Census Bureau. (2000), SF 3, Variable P43.

Table 5.12 summarizes the mode of transportation to work for the communities of relocation. Although 66% of Blackwell-Oak Grove residents over 16 rely on a car for transportation to work, this community also has the highest percentage of workers who rely on public transit (27%) and who walk (5%). In the public housing neighborhoods of relocation 73.3% use cars for transportation to work, while 19.7% use public transit. Voucher users were more likely to move to communities where vehicles are heavily relied upon for transportation. Eighty-seven percent of workers in such neighborhoods use cars for transportation to work, which is 23.7 percentage points higher than the use of cars in the original neighborhood.

Table 5.12 – Mode of Transportation to Work

	Blackwell-Oak Grove %	All Neighborhoods %	Public Housing %	Housing Choice Voucher %
Car	66.0	84.5	73.3	86.5
Public Transit	27.0	9.7	19.7	8.2
Bicycle	0	.4	.9	.35
Walk	5.0	2.6	3.9	2.2
Other Means	1.0	1.0	1.3	.7
Work at Home	1.0	1.4	.8	1.5

Source: U.S. Census Bureau. (2000), SF 3, Variable P30.

Figure 5.9 below presents jobs by census tract for the City of Richmond as of 2000. A total of 503,880 jobs are included in the Richmond MSA (see Appendix J for included jurisdictions). Job-poor tracts are those retaining 0.01% - 0.69% of the Richmond MSA job total. Job-good tracts consist of those between 0.70% - 2.90% of the MSA total, while job-rich tracts are those with 2.91% or more of the MSA total.

Job-rich tracts are located in Downtown Richmond – where the financial and government district is located – (Figure 5.4) and Innsbrook in western Henrico County (see Appendix J for MSA jobs by census tract). Job-good tracts are scattered in central Hanover County and in the western and eastern areas of Henrico County. Richmond also has some job-good tracts in areas near Downtown west of Belvidere Street in an areas occupied by Virginia Commonwealth University, along the southern portions of Chamberlayne Avenue, and in the West End of the city which is the area around the University of Richmond. Other city job-good tracts can be found north of Midlothian Turnpike near the Chesterfield County line and alongside Jefferson Davis Highway and Interstate 95.

Job-good tracts are also found in Chesterfield along Richmond's southern border and in the far east section of the county, just north of Colonial Heights and Hopewell. Other job-good tracts are located within the Tri-Cities area (Petersburg, Colonial Heights, Hopewell) where the Fort Lee military base has a strong presence.

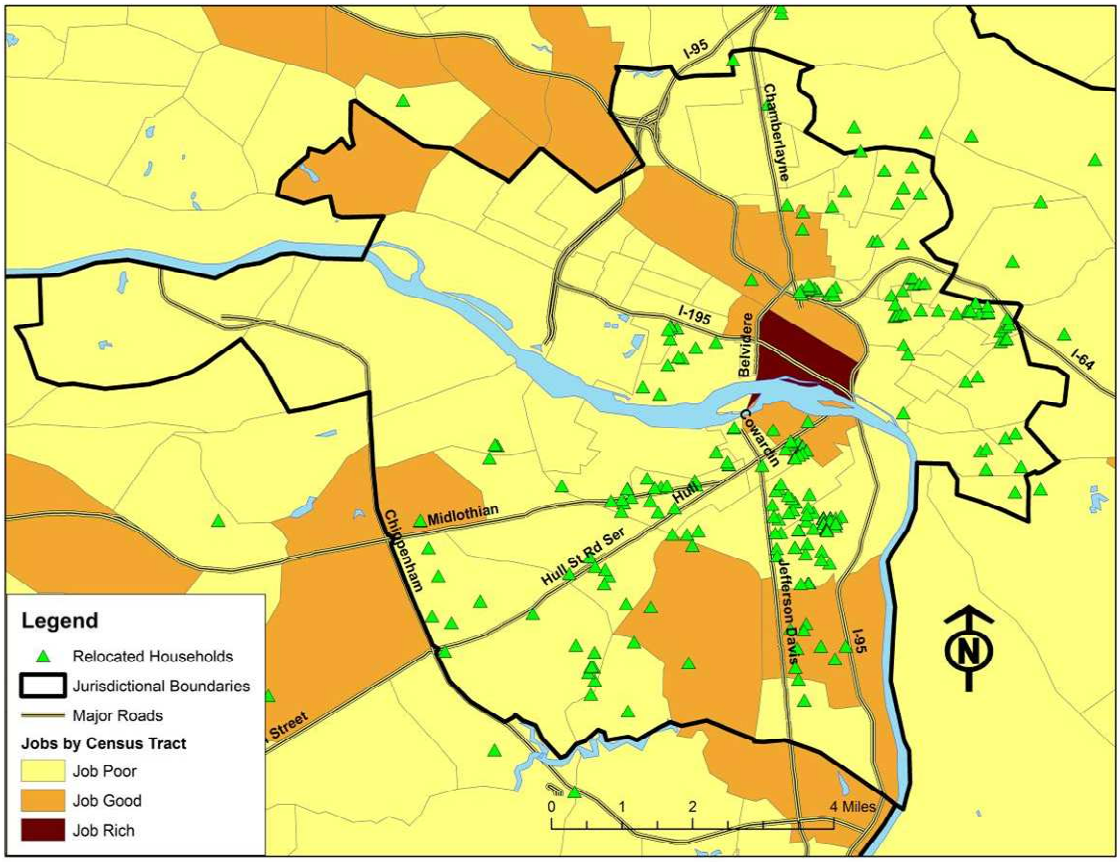


Figure 5.4 – Richmond Jobs by Census Tract
Source: RRHA. (2005a); U.S. Census Bureau. (2000a).

No relocated households moved to a job-rich census tract. Overall, households moved to areas that were job-poor (84%). Only 16% moved to job-good tracts. When isolating public housing households, it was found that about 87% of households moved to job-poor tracts with only 13% in job-good tracts. Voucher users fared best in this analysis as they had the lowest percentage of households in job-poor tracts (82%), and the highest percentage in job-good tracts (18%).

Table 5.13 – Household Relocation by Number of Jobs in Census Tracts

	All Households %	Public Housing %	Housing Choice Voucher %
Job Poor	84.3	86.8	81.9
Job Good	15.7	13.2	18.1
Job Rich	0.0	0.0	0.0

Source: RRHA. (2005a); U.S. Census Bureau. (2000).

The neighborhood boundaries of Eastview, Whitcomb Court, Gilpin Court, Mosby-Upper Shockoe, Creighton-Woodville, Brauers, and Fairmount were merged to examine resident work-flows. These particular communities were selected due to their spatial proximity to one another, and high concentration of public housing households. A total of 2,473 workers live in the combined neighborhoods, with 1,215 or 49% working within a 1/2 mile of that merged area. According to the 2000 Census, Summary File 3 a total of 2,596 workers live in the combined neighborhoods. The CTPP: Part 3 total fails to match the above total because CTPP data is tabulated from Summary File 1 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000b). Approximately 61% of workers have their own vehicle, while 30% rely on public transportation to commute to work (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

Figure 5.5 shows the neighborhoods of origin (denoted by the triangle) and their respective places of work by census tract. The darkest colored tracts show areas where over 3% of the workers are employed, including Downtown, and west of Downtown in Richmond. Disproportionate numbers of workers are also employed throughout Henrico County and eastern Chesterfield County. Although those employed in the Richmond and western Henrico may have access to GRTC bus transportation, those working in more distant places such as Hanover, Goochland, eastern Henrico, and eastern Chesterfield are not served by bus routes.

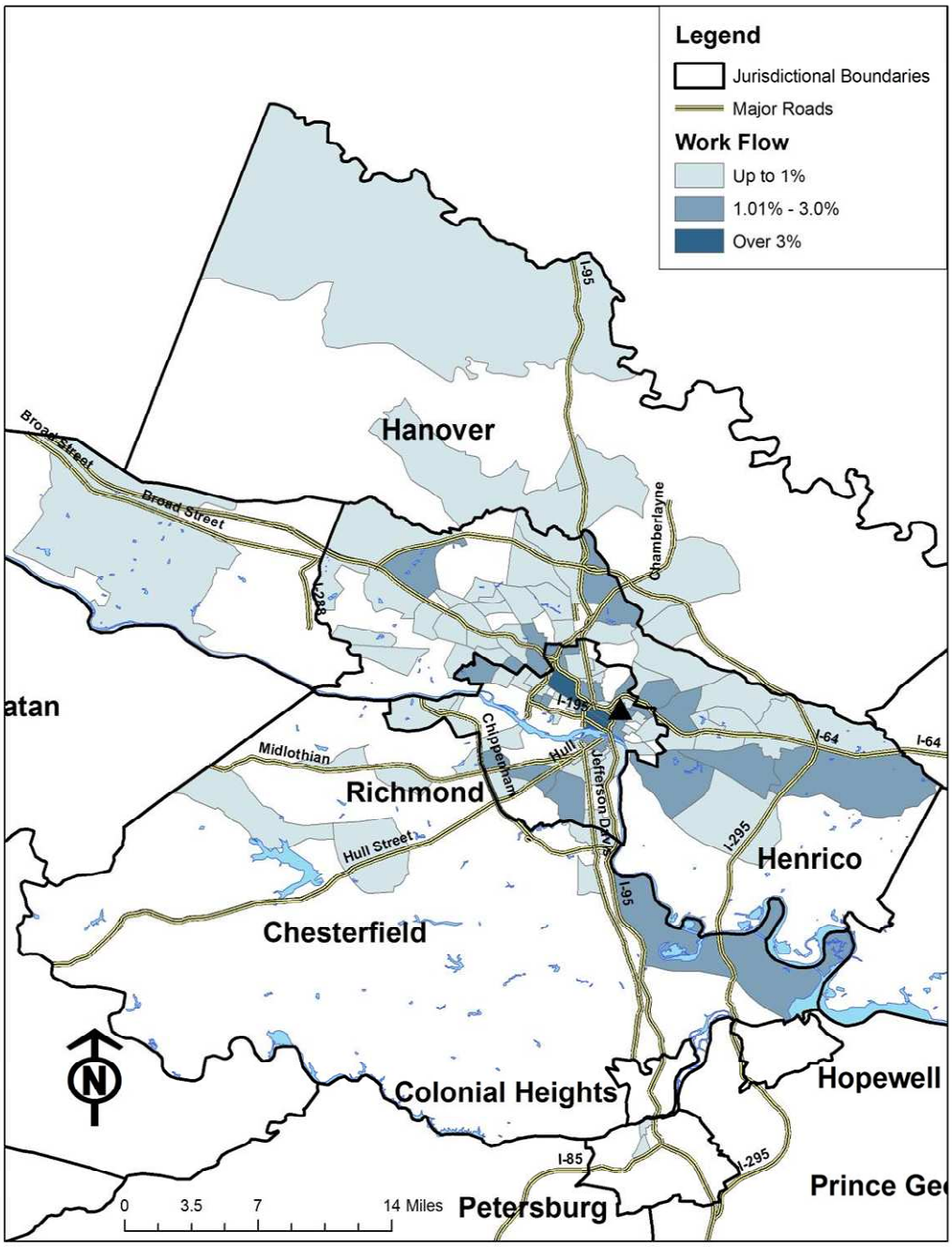


Figure 5.5 - Work-Flow of Eastview, Whitcomb Court, Gilpin Court, Mosby-Upper Shockoe, Creighton-Woodville, Brauers, Fairmount Neighborhoods
Source: U.S. Census Bureau. (2000b, 2000c).

Figure 5.6 displays the work-flow of Blackwell-Oak Grove, Anacrow's Landing, and Bellemeade-Hillside Court neighborhoods (denoted by the triangle). Combined, these communities include 2,213 workers, with 758 or 34% employed within a 1/2 mile of the merged area. Although there is a concentration of workers in the City of Richmond, many workers are commuting to more distant areas such as Powhatan, Charles City, and Petersburg. These areas are not linked to public transportation, thus indicating that residents of these communities are likely to have their own vehicles. According to the 2000 Census, Summary File 3, 2,284 workers live in the combined communities (2000). Seventy-one percent commute by way of cars, while 23% rely on public transportation (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

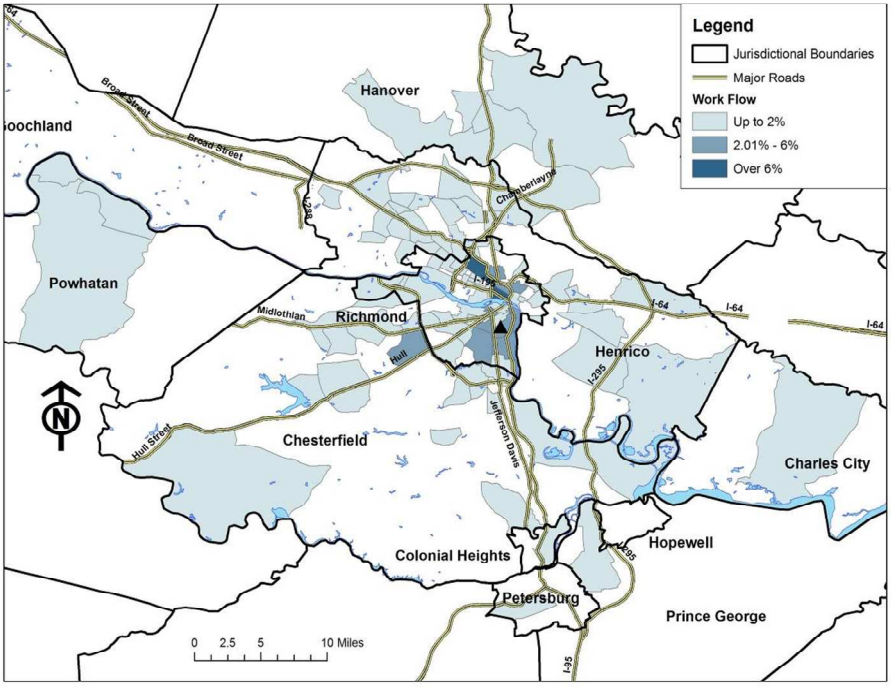


Figure 5.6 – Work-Flow of Blackwell-Oak Grove, Anacrow's Landing, and Bellemeade-Hillside Court Neighborhoods
Source: U.S. Census Bureau. (2000b, 2000c).

5.5. Household Access to Services

To better understand access of relocated households to transportation, a 0.25 mile buffer was created around each household to determine the percentage of residents located at walking distance from GRTC bus stops. Nearly 57% of the 286 households live within a 0.25 mile radius of a bus stop. Households residing in the Richmond area north of the James River clearly make up much of the percentage of those with access to public transportation. A number of relocatees residing along the eastern ends of Hull Street Road and Midlothian Turnpike are also within a 0.25 mile radius to public transportation. In contrast, households located in Richmond's Southside east of Jefferson Davis Highway are isolated from public transportation. Those living south of Hull Street Road, between Midlothian Turnpike and Hull Street Road near the Chippenham Parkway and South of the City also lack access to public transportation. The same is true for households residing north and east of Richmond.

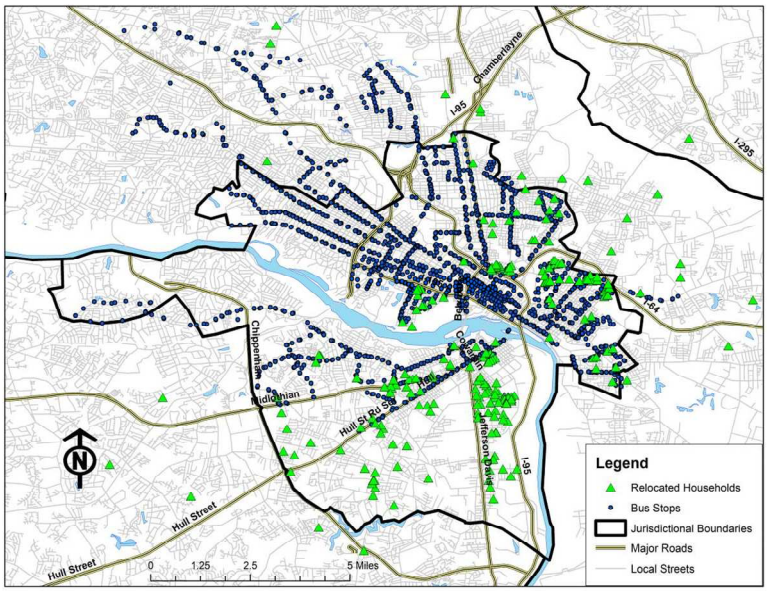


Figure 5.7 – Access to Bus Stops
Source: City of Richmond. (2007); RRHA. (2005a); U.S. Census Bureau. (2000c).

Richmond presents an interesting transportation situation. While transportation in Richmond, north of the James River is good, bus routes have failed to link City residents with job growth areas, which are in the suburban counties. Therefore, it is important to recognize that simply because a household lives within a .25 mile of a bus stop doesn't necessarily mean that they can access job rich areas. Figure 5.8 displays a map of jobs by census tract, along with GRTC bus stops. Job Good census tracts are scattered in Southside Richmond, just south of the City along its border, in eastern Henrico, and in Hanover. Nevertheless, as shown in figure 5.8, transportation fails to link households with these areas. Transportation does allow many of the relocated households to access job rich tracts located downtown and in western Henrico County. Yet, although

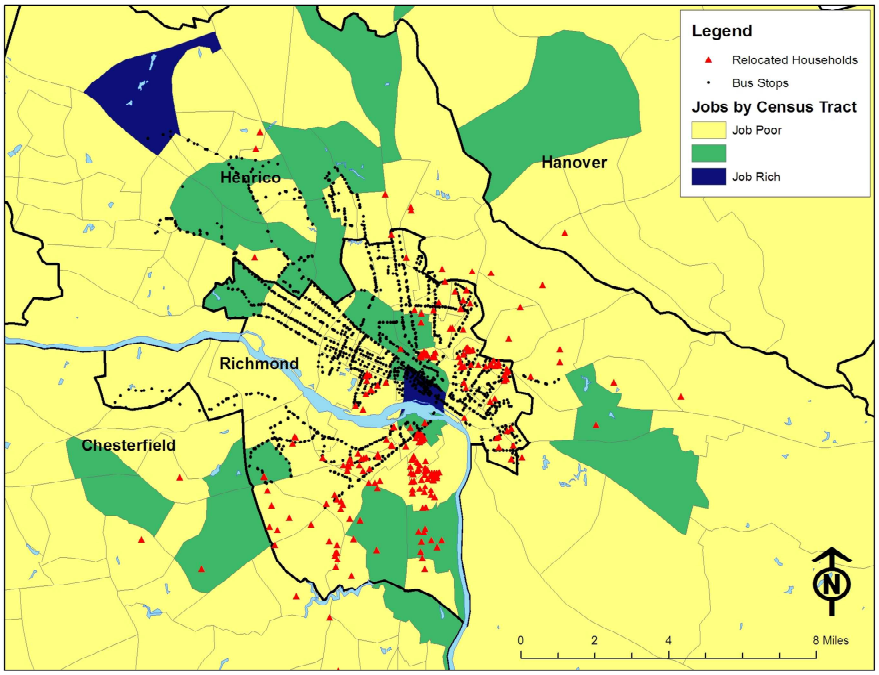


Figure 5.8 – Transportation Linkages to Job Rich Areas
Source: City of Richmond. (2007); RRHA. (2005a); U.S. Census Bureau. (2000a, 2000c).

households with access to transportation may be linked to these areas, their skill level may not match the high skill, postsecondary education requirements of such job positions. Therefore, it is important that this population have access to low skill positions that have shown growth in the suburban counties.

Overall, only 25% of relocated households are within 0.5 miles of a bank. These financial institutions are disproportionately located in Downtown Richmond, and south and west of the City in Chesterfield County along Midlothian Turnpike and Hull Street Road. There are also a significant amount of banks west of Richmond and South of I-64, and North of I-64 along West Broad Street. Figure 5.9 shows that most relocated households are in neighborhoods not currently served by financial institutions.

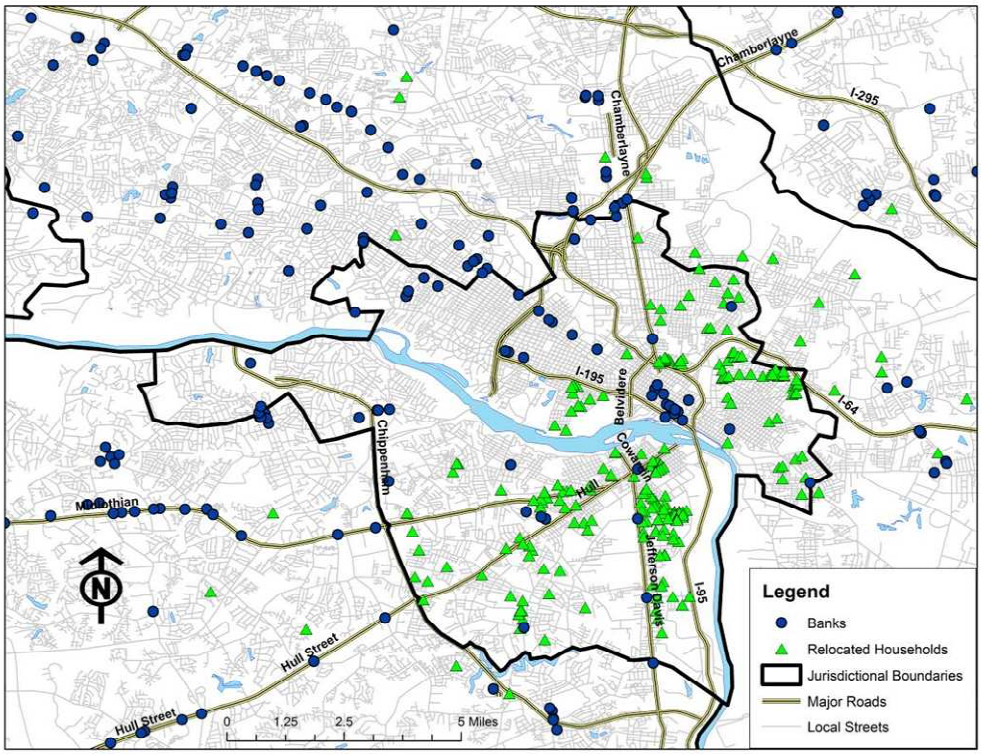


Figure 5.9 – Access to Banks
Source: Federal Deposit Insurance Company. (2007); RRHA. (2005a); U.S. Census Bureau. (2000c).

The majority of relocated households do not have access to supermarkets. Twenty-nine percent of relocated households live within 1.5 miles of a supermarket, and 39.2% within 2 miles of a supermarket. Considering that 43.4% of households don't live at walking distance from a bus stop, it may be difficult for them to access more distant food suppliers (considering also that such households, like many other low-income residents, are likely to be dependent on public transportation) Although this research does not include a market analysis determining the need for additional supermarkets in the East and South sections of Richmond, Figure 5.10 suggests that there is an obvious disconnect between demand and supply. For the most part, supermarkets are scattered south and west of the city limits. Those located within Richmond, with the exception of one location on Hull Street Road, are located in the more affluent west and southwest areas of the City.

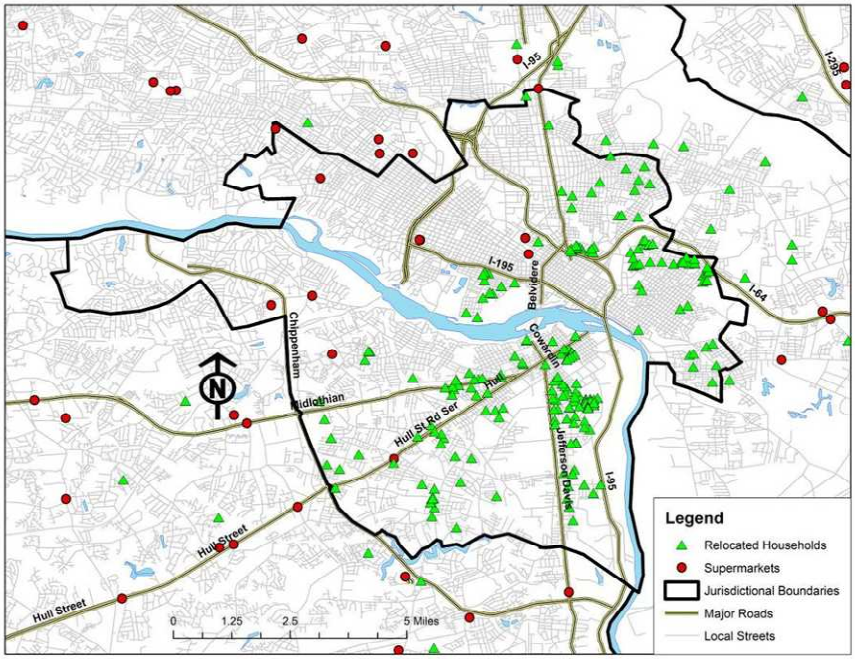


Figure 5.10 – Access to Supermarkets
Source: RRHA. (2005a); U.S. Census Bureau. (2000c); Yellow Pages. (2007).

It is likely that many relocated households rely on convenience stores for much of their food needs: 24.5% live within walking distance and 54% live within 0.5 miles of a convenience store.

Most households seem to have access to daycare facilities, in contrast with other types of services examined in this study. Fifty-seven percent of relocated households reside at walking distance from a daycare facility, and 84% reside 0.5 miles or less from childcare services. In regards to other financial institutions, 1.4% and 5.9% of relocated households are located within walking distance and within 0.5 miles of a pay day loan establishment, respectively. Five percent of households reside at walking distance from an ABC liquor store. Twenty-five percent of households reside no more than 0.5 miles away (see table 5.14).

Table 5.14 –Access to Public Transportation, Retail and Other Services

	Buffer (miles)	N	Percent
Bus Stops	0.25	162	56.6
Banks	0.25	14	4.9
	0.5	72	25.2
Payday Loan Establishments	0.25	4	1.4
	0.5	17	5.9
Supermarkets	0.25	2	0.7
	0.5	7	2.4
	1	34	11.9
	1.5	83	29.0
	2	112	39.2
Convenience Stores	0.25	70	24.5
	0.5	154	53.8
Daycare	0.25	162	56.6
	0.5	240	83.9
Liquor Stores	0.25	15	5.2
	0.5	72	25.2
Total Households		286	

Source: Housing Opportunities Made Equal. (2007); RRHA. (2005a); Yellow Pages. (2007); City of Richmond. (2007); Virginia Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control. (2007); Virginia Department of Social Services. (2007, 2007a).

Table 5.15 illustrates household proximity to reported crime incidents as of 2000. Because only Richmond crime data was used in this research, this analysis discusses household proximity to crimes only in the City of Richmond. Nearly 100% of households reside at walking distance from the occurrence of a personal crime (A description of aggregated personal crimes is included in Appendix I). Fifty-five percent reside within 0.25 miles of a nearby a homicide occurrence.

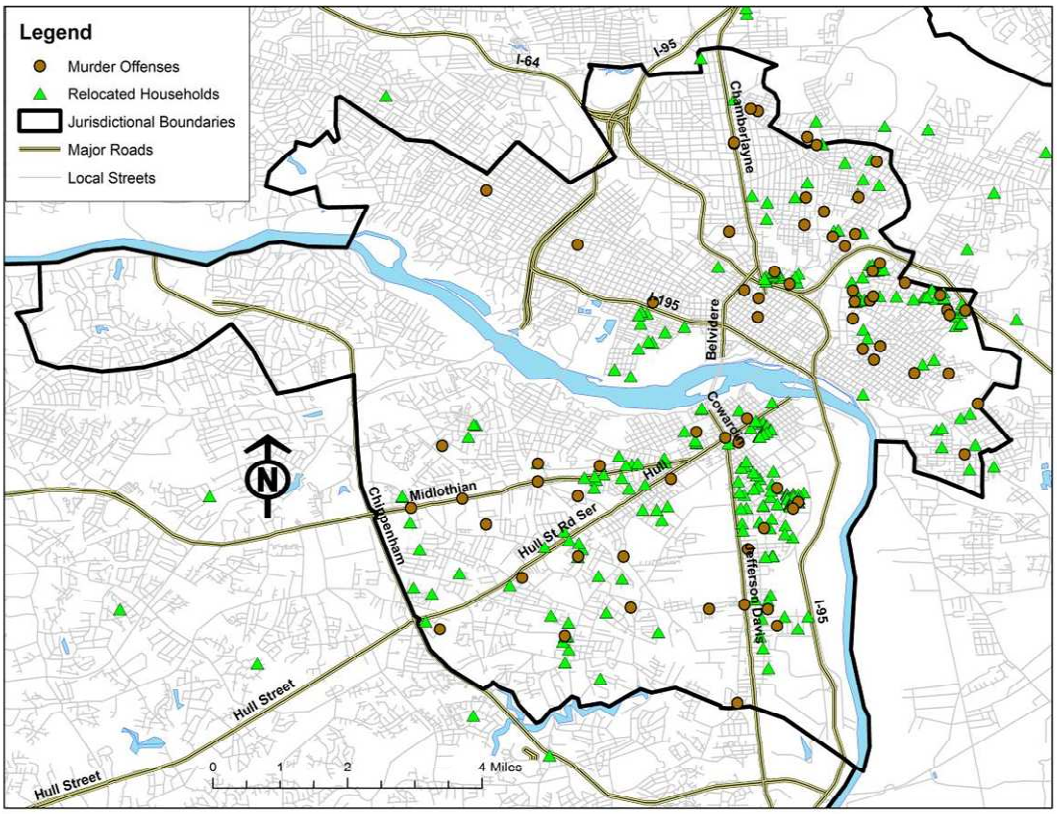


Figure 5.11 – Proximity to Murder Offenses
Source: Richmond Police Department. (2007); RRHA. (2005a); U.S. Census Bureau. (2000c).

Interestingly, figure 5.11 shows that most of the murders that did take place in Richmond in 2000 occurred in the Northside, East End, and Southside sections of Richmond—the same areas in which a disproportionate amount of relocated households reside. Only

35.5% live within 0.25 miles of a prostitution offense. This type of offense, however, occurs predominantly around Chamberlayne Avenue, Jefferson Davis Highway, the intersection of Midlothian Turnpike and Hull Street Road, and Gilpin Court, as shown in Figure 5.12.

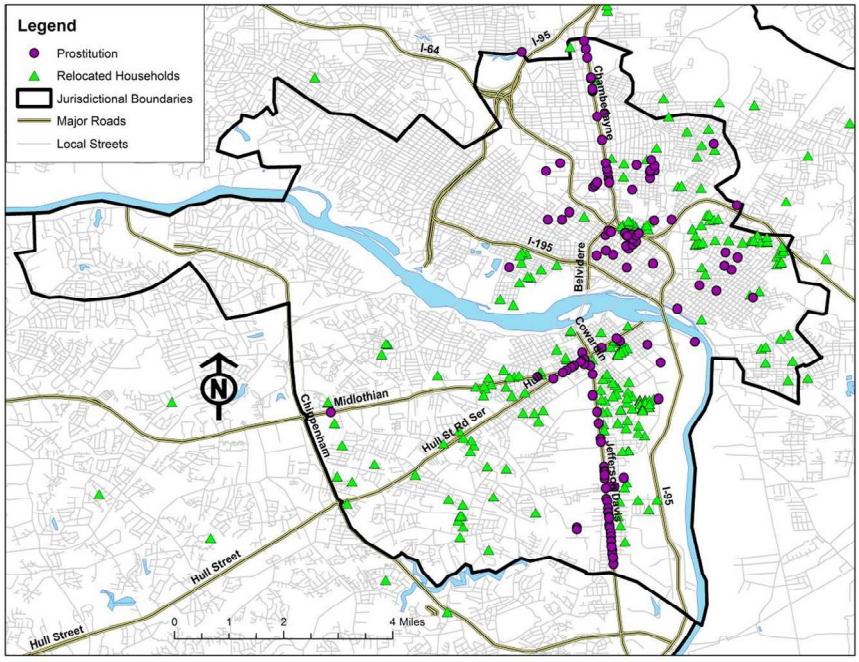


Figure 5.12 – Proximity to Prostitution Offenses
Source: Richmond Police Department. (2007); RRHA. (2005a); U.S. Census Bureau. (2000c).

Almost all households reside at close proximity to a drug/narcotic violation, or property crime occurrence.

Table 5.15 – Resident Proximity to Crime Occurrences

	Buffer (miles)	N	Percent
Personal Crimes	0.25	160	99.6
Homicide	0.25	88	54.6
Prostitution	0.25	57	35.5
Drug/Narcotic Violations	0.25	158	98.0
Property Crimes	0.25	161	100.0
	Total Households	161	

Source: Richmond Police Department. (2007); RRHA. (2005a).

To examine the differences in relocation outcomes among former Blackwell residents receiving different types of assistance, the following analysis compares access to public transportation, retail and other services of households that relocated to public housing (N = 118) and of those that received housing choice vouchers (N = 105). While 74.4% of public housing households reside within 0.25 miles of a bus stop, the same holds true for only 42.9% of housing choice voucher recipients. Public housing households appear to have poor walking access to banks, and only 19.5% seem to have access to such financial institutions when using the 1.5 mile buffer. Conversely, 10.5% of voucher users live within 0.25 miles of a bank, and 30.5% live within 0.5 miles. Public housing residents also have less access to supermarkets than voucher users. Although only 18.6 % live 1.5 miles or less from a supermarket, the same holds true for 45.7% of voucher users. In contrast, public housing residents are more likely to have access to daycare providers. Seventy percent live within 0.25 miles of a daycare provider, as compared to 48.6% of voucher households (see Table 5.16).

Table 5.16 –Access to Transportation, Retail and Other Services, Public Housing vs. Voucher Relocated Households

	Buffer (miles)	Public Housing N	Public Housing %	Voucher N	Voucher %
Bus Stops	0.25	89	75.4	45	42.9
Banks	0.25	0	0	11	10.5
	0.5	23	19.5	32	30.5
Supermarkets	1.5	22	18.6	48	45.7
Convenience Stores	0.25	35	29.7	26	24.8
Daycare	0.25	83	70.3	51	48.6
Total Households		**118**		**105**	

Source: Housing Opportunities Made Equal. (2007); RRHA. (2005a); Yellow Pages (2007); City of Richmond. (2007); Virginia Department of Social Services. (2007, 2007a).

Table 5.17 describes the educational quality of schools in neighborhoods of relocation for the 2002-2003 school year. The Blackwell-Oak Grove community is serviced by only one elementary school—Blackwell Elementary School, which explains its 100% provisionally accredited/needs improvement status. Public housing communities maintain many of the region's worst performing schools. In these neighborhoods, not one school received full accreditation status. Fifty percent of these schools were accredited with warning, 10% were provisionally accredited/met state standards, and 40% were provisionally accredited but needed improvement. Voucher user neighborhoods had the highest percentage of fully accredited schools (41.3%).

Table 5.17 – Elementary School Accreditation Status for 2002-2003 School Year

	Blackwell-Oak Grove %	All Neighborhoods %	Public Housing %	Housing Choice Voucher %
Accredited with Warning	0	23.6	50.0	17.4
Fully Accredited	0	38.2	0	41.3
Provisionally Accredited/Meets State Standards	0	14.5	10.0	15.2
Provisionally Accredited/Needs Improvement	100.0	23.6	40.0	26.1

Source: RRHA. (2005a); Virginia Department of Education. (2002).

5.6. Comparison of Relocated Households to Other Poor Households

How do relocated households fare compared to similarly situated low-income households in the area? Appendix H provides a comparison of relocated households, public housing households, voucher recipients, and households below the poverty level with respect to access to transportation, retail and other services. Thirty-four percent of relocated households reside in tracts with 1 to 3 banks compared to only 16% of public

housing residents. Fifteen percent of public housing residents, however, reside in census tracts with over 3 banks compared to 1% of relocated households. This is not surprising given the concentration of public housing in and around the Downtown financial district. Compared to the other three groups, voucher recipients are the least likely to live in tracts where no banks are located (40%).

Voucher recipients (82%) and those living below the poverty level (61%) are more likely to live in tracts that do not have access to convenience stores, while 52% of relocated households and 54% of public housing households reside in tracts with 1 to 2 convenience stores. Relocated families fare worse than all other groups except public housing residents in terms of access to supermarkets. Ninety-one percent of relocated families are in tracts without supermarkets as compared to 72% of voucher users and 83% of other poor households.

Because public transportation is concentrated in the City of Richmond and is hardly regional in scale, public housing residents who are confined to the City seem to have the best access. The freedom of voucher users to pursue housing opportunities outside of Richmond seems to be correlated with their likelihood of not being near bus stops. Fifty-nine percent of voucher households do not live near a bus stop. Data of households living below the poverty level are telling. Fifty-four percent of such households do not have access to a bus stop, possibly indicating that many of them live in high-poverty areas beyond the city boundaries. At the same time, 29% of households with access to over 20 bus stops are likely to include public housing residents living within the city boundaries. The 45% of relocated households living in tracts with over 20

bus stops are likely to be City, public housing residents, while the 39% without bus stop access are more likely to be voucher users or those living in Richmond along Jefferson Davis Highway, and south and east of Hull Street as shown in figure 5.7.

Eighty-three percent of relocated households reside in tracts without a payday loan establishment, compared to 2.4% living in tracts with over 4 establishments. Public housing residents (23%) and those living below the poverty level (18%) are more likely to live in tracts with 1 to 2 establishments. Seven percent of relocated households are in tracts with liquor stores. Households below the poverty level (14%) are most likely to live near a liquor stores as compared to 4% of public housing residents.

Relocated households have the best access to daycare facilities. This group has the lowest percentage of families living in tracts without daycare (11%) and the highest percentage of families in tracts with over 6 daycare facilities (22%).

Table 5.18 presents a comparison of relocated households to other public housing, voucher users, and households below the federal poverty line in the Richmond MSA. Relocated households are very likely to reside in neighborhoods that are over 50% Black (70%). Similarly, public housing units are located in neighborhoods that overwhelmingly Black (74%). In contrast, 25% of voucher recipients and 50% households living below the poverty level reside in neighborhoods in which African Americans represent the majority of the population.

HOPE VI relocated households are more likely than any other group to live in tracts where 5-10% of households are on public assistance (48%). Also, 18% of relocated households live in tracts where over 15% of households receive public

assistance, compared to 1% of voucher recipients and 8% of households below the poverty line. A similar breakdown is associated with neighborhoods in which the majority of the population lives below the poverty level. Public housing units present the highest percentage of residents living in tracts where over 50% of households live below poverty.

Relocated households tend to move to tracts with less stability in regards to housing tenure as compared to voucher users and households in poverty. While 71% of voucher recipients and 52% of households in poverty live in tracts where over 50% of housing units are owner occupied, the same holds true for only 32% of relocated

Table 5.18 - Socioeconomic Comparative Analysis

	Relocated Households	%	Public Housing (HUDUSER)	%	Housing Choice Voucher (HUDUSER)	%	Richmond MSA (Below Poverty Level)	%
	286	100	5,283	100	2,485	100	90,337	100
Racial/Ethnic Composition								
Over 50% Anglo	23	8.0	0	0.0	1,788	72.0	39,588	43.8
Over 50% Black	198	69.2	3,884	73.5	626	25.2	44,861	49.7
Public Assistance								
Up to 5%	66	23.1	1,105	20.9	2,052	82.6	53,527	59.3
5-10%	136	47.6	1,554	29.4	369	14.8	26,753	29.6
10-15%	32	11.2	178	3.4	29	1.2	2,882	3.2
Over 15%	52	18.2	2,446	46.3	35	1.4	7,175	7.9
Below Poverty Level								
Up to 10%	31	10.8	0	0.0	1,555	62.6	32,841	36.4
10-30%	78	27.3	1,196	22.6	791	31.8	35,752	39.6
30-50%	125	43.7	1,641	31.1	104	4.2	14,569	16.1
Over 50%	52	18.2	2,446	46.3	35	1.4	7,175	7.9
Owner-Occupied Housing Units								
Up to 10%	17	5.9	1,445	27.4	11	0.4	3,550	3.9
10-30%	72	25.2	1,886	35.7	221	8.9	14,315	15.8
30-50%	106	37.1	1,352	25.6	490	19.7	25,711	28.5
Over 50%	91	31.8	600	11.4	1,763	70.9	46,761	51.8
Unemployment Rate								
Up to 10%	96	33.6	951	18.0	2,280	91.8	63,834	70.7
10-20%	114	39.9	1,787	33.8	164	6.6	17,289	19.1
20-30%	59	20.6	1,916	36.3	32	1.3	6,766	7.5
Over 30%	17	5.9	629	11.9	9	0.4	2,448	2.7

Source: HUD User. (2007); U.S. Census Bureau. (2000).

Table 5.18 - Socioeconomic Comparative Analysis (cont.)

	Relocated Households	%	Public Housing (HUDUSER)	%	Housing Choice Voucher (HUDUSER)	%	Richmond MSA (Below Poverty Level)	%
	286	100	5,283	100	2,485	100	90,337	100
Median Household Income								
<=$10,000	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	160	0.2
$10,001-$20,000	0	0.0	1,072	20.3	20	0.8	1,350	1.5
$20,001-$30,000	123	43.0	1,035	19.6	255	10.3	17,300	19.2
>$30,000	163	57.0	3,176	60.1	2,210	88.9	71,527	79.2
Median Gross Rent								
Bottom Quartile	71	24.8	893	16.9	317	12.8	38,895	43.1
2nd Quartile	82	28.7	2,743	51.9	754	30.3	25,947	28.7
3rd Quartile	62	21.7	600	11.4	637	25.6	16,003	17.7
Top Quartile	71	24.8	1,047	19.8	777	31.3	9,492	10.5
Median Gross Rent <= FMR	245	85.7	5,006	94.8	1,319	53.1	62,690	69.4
Age 65+								
Up to 10%	172	60.1	2,954	55.9	439	17.7	36,792	40.7
10-20%	112	39.2	2,219	42.0	1,825	73.4	47,959	53.1
Over 20%	2	0.7	110	2.1	221	8.9	5,586	6.2
Job Density								
Bottom Quartile	70	24.5	1,656	31.3	1,125	45.3	14,639	16.2
2nd Quartile	103	36.0	792	15.0	347	14.0	20,466	22.7
3rd Quartile	41	14.3	1,410	26.7	341	13.7	29,525	32.7
Top Quartile	72	25.2	1,425	27.0	672	27.0	25,707	28.5

Source: HUD User. (2007); U.S. Census Bureau. (2000).

households. A vast proportion of relocated households (62%), conversely, live in tracts where 10-50% of households are owner occupied as compared to 61% of public housing households, 28% of voucher users, and 44% of those in poverty.

Six percent of HOPE VI households live in tracts with over 30% unemployment rates as compared to 0.4% of voucher recipients and 3% of households in poverty. Relocated households are also less likely than any other group to live in tracts with a median household income above $30,000 (57%). This is possibly attributed to RRHA's Community Self-Sufficiency Program which provided job training and placement assistance to the original residents, thus increasing the average income by $6,388 to $14,288. This explains that although the original households were able to avoid tracts

with the lowest median household incomes, they still don't have the best access to tracts with median household incomes over $30,000.

Relocated household are more likely than any other group except those in poverty to live in tracts where householders pay the bottom quartile of gross rent (25%). This gives the indication that the quality of housing for this sub-group may be extremely poor. In comparison, the same holds true for 17% of public housing households and 13% of voucher users. Relocated households are also more likely than public housing households and those in poverty to pay within the highest quartile of rent (25%). Voucher users have the best access to the best rental housing stock with 31% paying rents in the top quartile, which also correlates with the fact that this group presents the lowest percentage of households in tracts that pay less than the fair market rent value of $625 (53%).

Relocated households (60%) are more likely than all other groups to live in tracts where up to 10% of the total population is at least 65 years old as compared to 56% of public housing households, 18% of voucher users, and 41% of households living in poverty. Voucher households (9%) and those living in poverty (6%) have the highest percentages of households living in neighborhoods where over 20% of residents are at least 65 years old.

The job density data further illustrates the isolation of HOPE VI households from job opportunities. Considering the low average income of HOPE VI residents, it is extremely important for them to move closer to job-rich areas and eventually to better paying jobs. Nevertheless, 36% of relocated households reside in job-poor tracts (2nd

quartile) as compared to 15% of public housing residents, 14% of voucher users, and 23% of households in poverty. Households in poverty have the highest percentage of residents in job-rich tracts (29%) while relocated households present the lowest percentage (25%).

In revisiting the prior discussion on transportation access, it is understood that relocated households (of which 39% don't have access to bus stops) may not only be in job poor tracts, but not have access to transportation to be able to commute to job good tracts. Yet even if they do live near a bus stop, figure 5.8 shows that the current transportation system will not connect them to job good tracts scattered in eastern Henrico, Hanover, eastern Chesterfield, and the Tri-Cities area (also see Appendix H).

Chapter VI: Discussion

6.1. Introduction

This final chapter reiterates the research problem and significant portions of the methodology of the study. This chapter also serves to provide a summary of results followed by a presentation of the researcher's interpretations. Additionally, connections with prior related research are made, followed by an analysis of the data limitations of this research. Policy implications provide recommendations to administrating agencies of HOPE VI grants and public housing. This chapter concludes with recommendations for future research.

6.2. Review of Research Problem and Methodology

This research focuses on those most affected by the Blackwell, Richmond, VA HOPE VI program—the original residents. Considering the demolition and redevelopment of the Blackwell scattered site housing project, this research set out to examine the relocations of the original residents, determine if they moved to better neighborhoods, and compare their living situations to those of other poor households. The research design was primarily quantitative, using socioeconomic data ranging from 1998 to 2000.

Former Blackwell residents' addresses were obtained from the Richmond Redevelopment and Housing Authority (RRHA), and were geocoded and mapped in order to examine their relocation outcomes. A socioeconomic and spatial analysis was

performed to compare the quality of neighborhoods in which former Blackwell households receiving different types of assistance reside. Furthermore, the study compared the relocation outcomes of HOPE VI households to the quality of neighborhoods in which public housing residents, voucher recipients, and households below the poverty level reside to assess whether former Blackwell residents fare better than other similarly situated households across various indicators of neighborhood quality after relocation.

6.3. Summary of Results

A large portion of relocated households moved to other disadvantaged areas and used relocation methods that kept them in some form of public assistance. Fifty-six percent of households did not leave Richmond, but moved to other Southside communities, the East End, and Northside sections of Richmond. As shown in figure 5.1, these are areas that feature high levels of poverty. Forty-five percent of former Blackwell households moved to other public housing units while 37% moved to other neighborhoods by using housing vouchers.

The data also showed that access to opportunities may be limited for transportation dependant residents. Approximately 43% don't live within walking distance of a bus stop. This is particularly clear for those households that moved to South Richmond. Elderly residents who are unable to drive due to disabilities and those unable to afford vehicles may be extremely limited in their access to supermarkets, employment opportunities, and daycare. In such situations, it is likely that these residents must rely on friends, family, or other acquaintances with vehicles to get to their destinations.

Only 25% of households live within 1/2 mile of a bank. Furthermore, no public housing households (among those that relocated) reside within 1/2 mile of a bank. This may be related to the redlining practices historically adopted by financial institutions (Marcuse & Keating, 2006). As a result, public housing residents have to make longer and more costly trips than other residents to reach banking institutions.

Supermarkets also tend to be outside of the reach of many relocated households. About 29% of relocated households live within 1.5 miles of a supermarket. Therefore, the remaining 71% must commute longer distances or rely on smaller convenience stores (if nearby) for food purchases. In relation to the above, poor and elderly households that don't live near bus stops may find problems reaching large food chain stores.

As for households that relocated to other areas within Richmond, murder offenses tended to be in close proximity. Fifty-five percent of households lived within ¼ mile of a murder offense. Figure 5.5 illustrates these findings by showing that murder offenses tended to cluster in the Northside, East End, and Southside, which are the major regions of relocation for households staying in Richmond.

Several key findings were discovered in comparing public housing amenity access to voucher users. Public housing households were more likely to move to areas served by public transportation than their voucher user counterparts. This gives the indication that, overall, voucher users may have a reduced need for public transportation, which in turn expanded their relocation options. At the same time, however, it is important to note that it should be expected that public housing households would have better access to

transportation, due to the fact that all RRHA public housing units are located in the City, which has much better access to public transportation than neighboring jurisdictions.

While public housing households and voucher users have poor access to financial institutions, public housing households are totally restricted. Because of this, one may conclude that public housing households not only moved to neighborhoods where they must commute longer distances to reach a bank, but where there is very little fiscal investment.

In comparing Blackwell to all neighborhoods of relocation, those with public housing relocated households, and those where voucher recipient relocated households reside, voucher recipients tend to fare best. Relocated households moved to less racially segregated and more diverse communities as well as to neighborhoods with lower poverty rates compared to the Blackwell area and to public housing. However, an overwhelming 80% of all relocated households moved to job-poor households.

How do HOPE VI households fare with respect to other similarly situated households, i.e. public housing residents, voucher recipients and households below the poverty line in the metropolitan area? Relocated households are more likely than all other groups to live in tracts that are highly segregated by race. Seventy percent of HOPE VI households live in tracts where over 50% of residents are Black. They also are more likely to move to neighborhoods with high concentrations of poverty and unemployment, significantly more so than voucher households and households at or below poverty level.

Out of all four groups, relocated households have the lowest percentage of cases in tracts where the median household income is over $30,000. HOPE VI households and voucher users alike are more likely to live in job poor tracts. However, voucher users may have higher concentrations in job poor tracts due their ability to move to more suburban locations, while 45% of HOPE VI households are public housing residents who live in projects that are isolated from employment opportunities.

6.4. Interpretations

Based on the above, there is reason to believe a duality exists. It appears that voucher households (which make up 37% of relocated households) were able to move to better neighborhoods, as shown by the comparison of Blackwell to voucher neighborhoods, other public housing neighborhoods, and all neighborhoods. However, the comparison of all relocated households to other poor households shows that in general, relocated households are worse off than their counterparts. This is likely due to the high percentage of public housing households that make up the relocation group (45%).

As mentioned in Chapter II, according Buron et al. (2002) one of the goals of HOPE VI is to deconcentrate very low-income families in distressed communities. This research has shown that there has been a deconcentration of poverty in the Blackwell neighborhood, as all of the original public housing households (a total of 393 families) were displaced (RRHA, 2003a). However, the shifting of 45% of Blackwell households to other public housing projects signifies more of a poverty shift rather than deconcentration. With the reduction of public housing/very low income housing units in

Blackwell, moving families to other public housing is likely to increase the concentration of very low income families in communities of relocation. The result is that the conditions of these public housing neighborhoods may be exacerbated in that they will continue to see distress due to continued segregation from the rest of the Metropolitan area in terms of the spatial distribution of socio-economic resources.

The same questions that were posed with regards to early urban renewal programs must also be posed in the case of HOPE VI program administration. Who benefits? Middle-income residents in pursuit of homeownership enjoy the outcome of the HOPE VI program when they purchase homes in revitalized areas. However, this research has shown that in order to adequately determine if the original residents benefit, one must also ask if they relocated to other public housing units or used Housing Choice Vouchers. If the prior method is used, then the likelihood of moving to better opportunities is significantly reduced. Such residents may see conditions very similar to their original neighborhood.

Briggs (2005) carefully explains how upward mobility and geography are inextricably linked. Relocated households that moved to other public housing communities are denied opportunities to services such as performing schools, supermarkets, and financial institutions. Therefore the implication of moving to these communities is that residents will see more of the status quo, and segregation by income and race/ethnicity—originally facilitated by the earlier federal public housing programs—persist (Denton, 2006).

6.5. Relationship to Prior Research

The results of this research are consistent with findings from earlier analyses of poverty deconcentration programs. Kingsley et al. (2003) analyzed Housing Choice Voucher patterns of relocation from 73 HOPE VI sites. The study found that on average, African Americans and Latinos make up 68% of the population of relocated census tracts. Comparatively, Blackwell HOPE VI voucher relocatees moved to tracts that on average are 63.2% African American and Latino.

Also consistent with prior research is the reduction in community and supportive services for residents. The National Housing Law Project (2002) found that during the first 4 years of HOPE IV, on average, PHAs budgeted 13% of HOPE VI grants to residential services for relocation assistance, job training, referral, etc. Yet, as of 2002 that number dropped by four percentage points to 9%. This research has found that RRHA has also reduced its community and supportive service resources over time. According to RRHA (2005a) before 2003, RRHA's community and supportive service staff for HOPE VI included 6 relocation and self-sufficiency professionals. As of December 2006, the entire HOPE VI staff consists of one project manager, one full time case manager, and one part time consultant (L.D. Goode, personal communication, December 13, 2006).

Also noted, and cited by the National Housing Law Project (2002), is that Housing Choice Vouchers aren't the primary method of relocation for HOPE VI residents. On a national level, 49% of relocated families moved to other public housing communities while 30.8% used vouchers. This research is consistent with such findings

by showing that 45% of Blackwell HOPE VI households moved to other public housing while 37% moved using vouchers.

Popkin et al. (2004) asserted that HOPE VI programs cannot help the neediest residents living in distressed communities. This research found the neediest residents to be public housing relocatees who moved to other distressed communities. Results show that although voucher users were able to move to seemingly better communities, the needs of 45% of relocated households were not met.

6.6. Data Limitations

Naturally, there were issues that limit the scope of this research. First, missing cases from the dataset of relocation addresses from RRHA prevented the researcher from performing a more accurate analysis of reported income levels, rents, number of bedrooms in relocation units, and TANF recipient status.

Second, this research did not have access to data on the age of householders or of any children in each unit. Such information would enable one to determine how many how many children were affected by the relocation process, and overall how significant the need is for relocatees to be in reasonable proximity to daycare services. It also prevents this research from making a stronger empirical point that those affected by the HOPE VI process were disproportionately single women with children.

Third, the spatial analysis of crime proximity to relocated households is limited in that it only includes crimes in the City of Richmond. About 44% of households left Richmond for communities in Henrico, Hanover, Chesterfield and Dinwiddie; therefore, their proximity to crime offenses cannot be determined.

Fourth, it is very likely that the HOPE VI relocations were not the last move for all of the families. Nevertheless, this thesis only analyzes relocation data related to the first move. As such, there is no way to form conclusions as to whether the initial moves were temporary or permanent, or if households moved to better neighborhoods *after* the first move.

Fifth, it is possible that double-counting took place in comparing relocated households to other poor households in the HUD User dataset, especially since that dataset focuses on subsidized households. Additionally, the comparison of groups by census tract in regards to amenities doesn't consider the square mileage of each census tract. For example, a large rural census tract without a grocery store may be more isolated from amenities than a smaller urban census tract that may not have its own supermarket but be adjacent to a tract with one.

Sixth, socioeconomic characteristics of neighborhoods were extracted from the 2000 census. However, the relocation process began in January 1998 and ended November 2001 (L.D. Goode, personal communication, December 13, 2006). The RRHA dataset does not provide any indication of how many families moved up to the year 2000. Therefore, this research does not capture the state of Blackwell before it began, but in the midst of the relocation process.

6.7. Policy Recommendations

Current housing segregation and poverty concentration are a result of prior mechanisms that isolated poor and minority households in select neighborhoods. As noted in Chapter II, the future of HOPE VI appears to be less than good. Therefore,

policy implications will focus on what can be done to improve housing opportunities for low income housing households in the Richmond area.

First, RRHA should improve their record keeping methods in order to better evaluate residential outcomes of HOPE VI residents. Effective program evaluation is important in determining whether a program is meeting its objectives. Without an evaluation of HOPE VI, administrators won't be able to tell whether residents are moving to better opportunities or if funding could be allocated more effectively. One way to determine if there is an overall improvement in householder opportunities would be to track their incomes over time, relative to inflation, to see if there are any real increases in purchasing power.

Second, Community Self-Sufficiency Program staff should be increased to target the 45% of households that moved to other public housing projects for assistance with employment training, and eventually homeownership opportunities. Although the baseline mean income of HOPE VI households was $7,900 and that number increased substantially to $14,288, the latter income does not represent much increased opportunity, especially since this research has shown that public housing relocatees move to neighborhoods with an average poverty location quotient of 3.34. With such a low income, they cannot afford housing close to job opportunities.

Furthermore, future program administration should consider bringing social service and counseling services on site before demolition to more effectively address barriers to moving to better neighborhoods, such as place attachment, childcare needs, and transportation. Although the Uniform Relocation Act requires displaced residents to

be relocated to a unit of similar quality, it fails to recognize that good housing incorporates more than the physical quality of the unit (Popkin et al. 2004). Among other things, good housing allows transportation dependent residents to be within walking distance of bus stops, is near daycare facilities for single mothers, and is serviced by performing public schools. The search process must be enhanced while keeping the above in mind. One way to do this would be to solicit the assistance of organizations that are most familiar with poor neighborhoods—Community Development Corporations (CDCs). Instead of the PHA handling the relocation process alone, they could collaborate with CDCs such as Better Housing Coalition and Southside Community Development and Housing Corporation to not only buy and redevelop property, but assist the original residents in moving to neighborhoods of opportunity.

Third, discussions must take place among GRTC, Chesterfield, Henrico, and Richmond about expanding public transportation to create a more regional system. The spatial analysis in Chapter V showed that 43.4% of relocated households don't live within ¼ mile of a bus stop, with many of those households clustered in the City along Jefferson Davis Highway. Poor households must have access to better employment opportunities in order to improve their situations. Regional transportation can help to open up housing opportunities for poorer residents to move to areas outside of Richmond.

Fourth, neighboring jurisdictions must be required to create more low and moderate income housing to deconcentrate poverty in the central city. Although the willingness of suburban jurisdictions to do this is non-existent, other methods can be used to ensure that jurisdictions carry reasonable portions of the housing burden. In *Southern*

Burlington County NAACP v. Township of Mt. Laurel, the NAACP along with residents and other individuals challenged a Mt. Laurel (a suburb of Philadelphia) ordinance that excluded residential zoning. The New Jersey Supreme Court held that the Mt. Laurel ordinance was exclusionary and that jurisdictions in New Jersey must satisfy a fair share of the demand for regional low income housing (Mandelker, 2003).

Considering the above, it is suggested that the City of Richmond along with interest groups take neighboring counties to court to challenge exclusionary zoning practices and call for a similar regional fair share clause. Such an act would highlight the zoning and development practices of select counties and draw attention to the seriousness of poverty in Richmond. This method is preferred to a state mandate through legislation because, as stated above, it is evident that suburban, affluent jurisdictions have little interest in providing opportunities to the poor. Therefore, while lobbying for a state mandate may be noble, the researcher believes that its likelihood of success is grim.

Finally, Richmond should require builders to subsidize a percentage of all new homes for low income households to ensure that new construction does not contribute to existing patterns of race and income segregation.

6.8. Recommendations for Future Research

This research focused on the residential outcomes of residents by analyzing socioeconomic and spatial data. However, it does not attempt to understand the resident perspective of the relocation process. Additional research seems needed on how residents feel about their current living situations to determine if resident satisfaction is congruent with methods of relocation. Contributions to Richmond HOPE VI research

can be made through case studies and qualitative data that apply theories of poverty such as and discuss the implications of poverty deconcentration.

There are a variety of ways to measure neighborhood quality, and this thesis only captures a few. Future research should explore other ways to gauge whether families moved to better neighborhoods. Potential variables could include access to educational programs, libraries, after-school programs, and parks.

As stated above, this research only analyzes relocation data after the first move. If moves were temporary only due to HOPE VI displacement, then it is possible that subsequent moves entail living situations different from what is reported in this research. In recognizing this limitation, future research should determine if any of the households moved again after the initial relocation, and compare households and neighborhoods of subsequent moves to the first move described in this research by using like variables.

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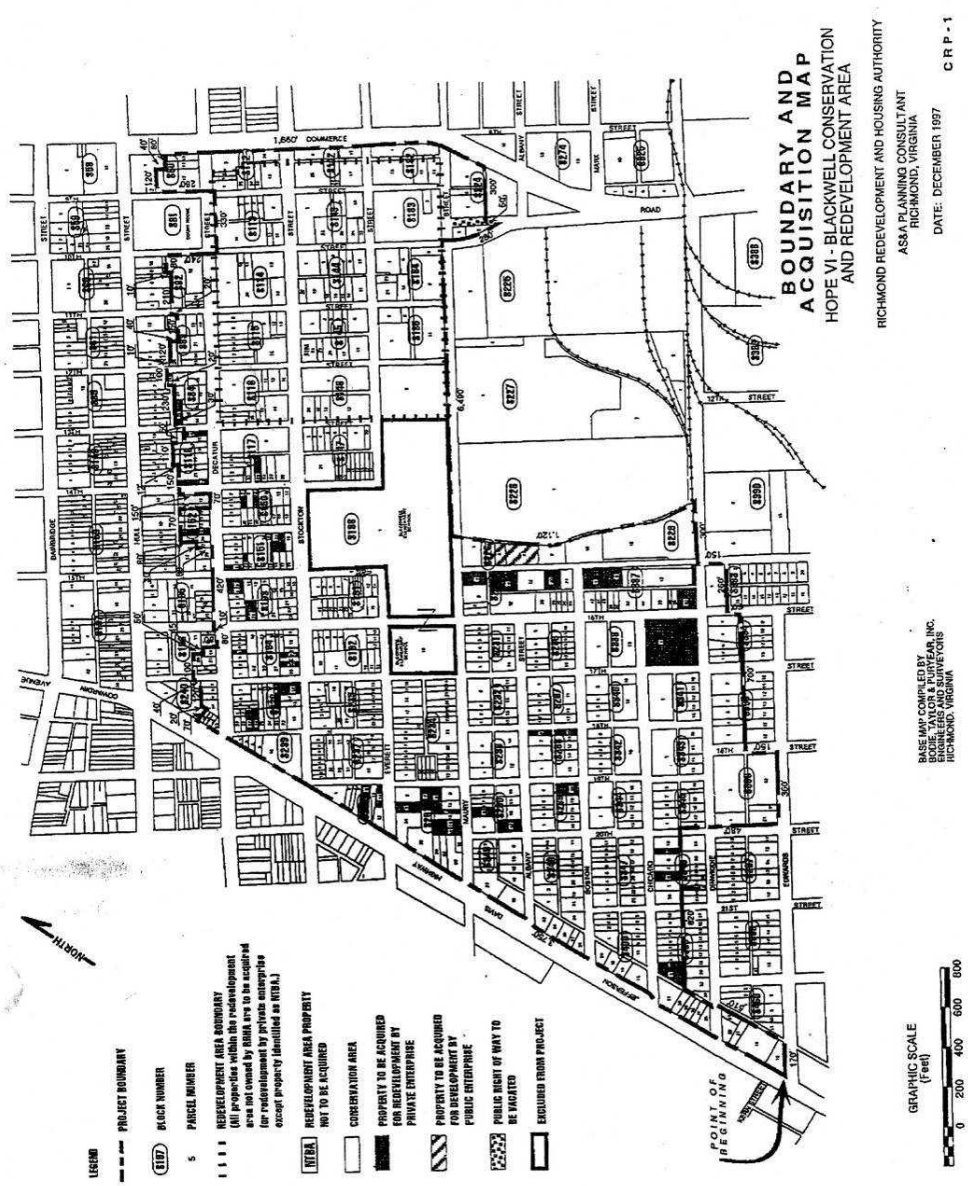
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Appendices

Appendix A

Blackwell Conservation and Redevelopment Area



Source: RRHA. (1999).

Appendix B

Objectives, Goals, and Timeline for Redevelopment included in the HOPE VI Proposal

OBJECTIVE	GOAL	TIMELINE
Changing the physical shape of public housing and the Blackwell neighborhood	1. Implement the physical revitalization including demolition, on-site and off-site development	Estimated completion measurement date according to measurement completion and phasing schedule
	2. Receive city approval for Blackwell's designation as Redevelopment and Conservation Area	1997
	3. Undertake aggressive code enforcement and acquisition strategy to demolish privately-held properties	Begin after and coincide with competition and phasing schedule
	4. Improve open space as required in the plan	2000
	5. Build new elementary school (Richmond Public Schools)	Open Fall 1999
	6. Build new recreation and community center (Richmond Public Schools)	Open Spring 2000
Establishing positive incentives	1. Create waiting list of existing Blackwell residents for new rental communities, lease purchase and homeownership units	1998
	2. Help 15% of public housing residents in Blackwell become homeowners	2000
	3. Have 100% of Blackwell public housing children under five attend early learning programs	2000
	4. Increase high school graduation rates by 25% over 1997 levels	2000

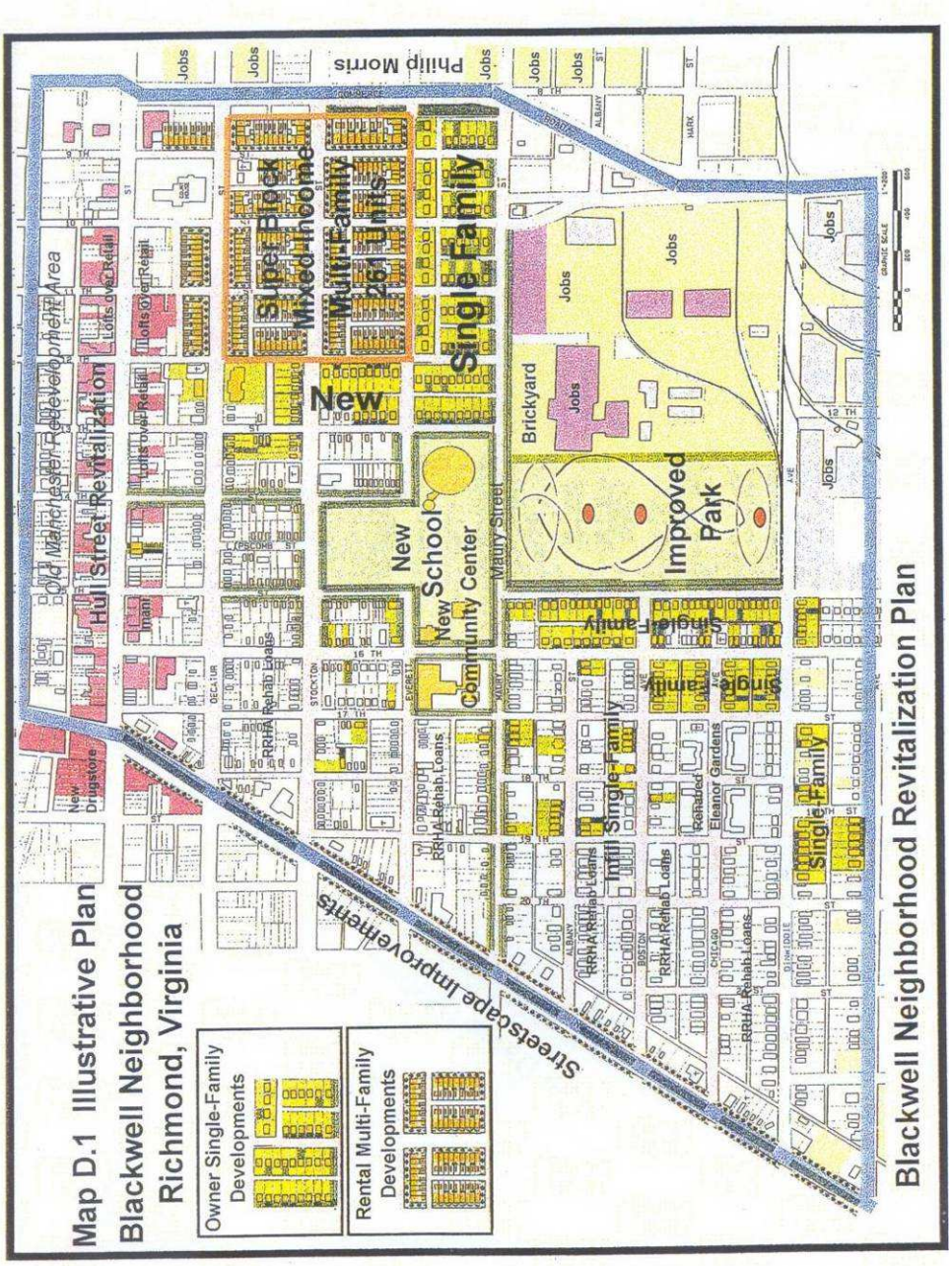
	5. Help public housing residents in Blackwell to accumulate average savings of $1,000.00	2000

OBJECTIVE	GOAL	TIMELINE
Enforcing tough expectations	1. Adopt touch screening and leasing provisions	1998
	2. Expand police coverage for new community from Blackwell (City of Richmond)	1998
Lessening concentration of poverty	1. Relocate a portion of the current public housing residents and develop mixed-income rental and homeownership community as planned	Follow construction and phasing schedule
	2. Have 100% of working-age public residents employed continuously for at least 6 months	2000
	3. Enable 5% of working-age public housing residents to become involved in entrepreneurial activity	2000
	4. Increase by 100% over 1997, the income of public housing residents in Blackwell	2001
Forging partnerships	1. Create implementation team to oversee revitalization plan	2 months after award
	2. Execute memoranda of agreement with all partners	1998 and 1999

Source: RRHA. (1997a).

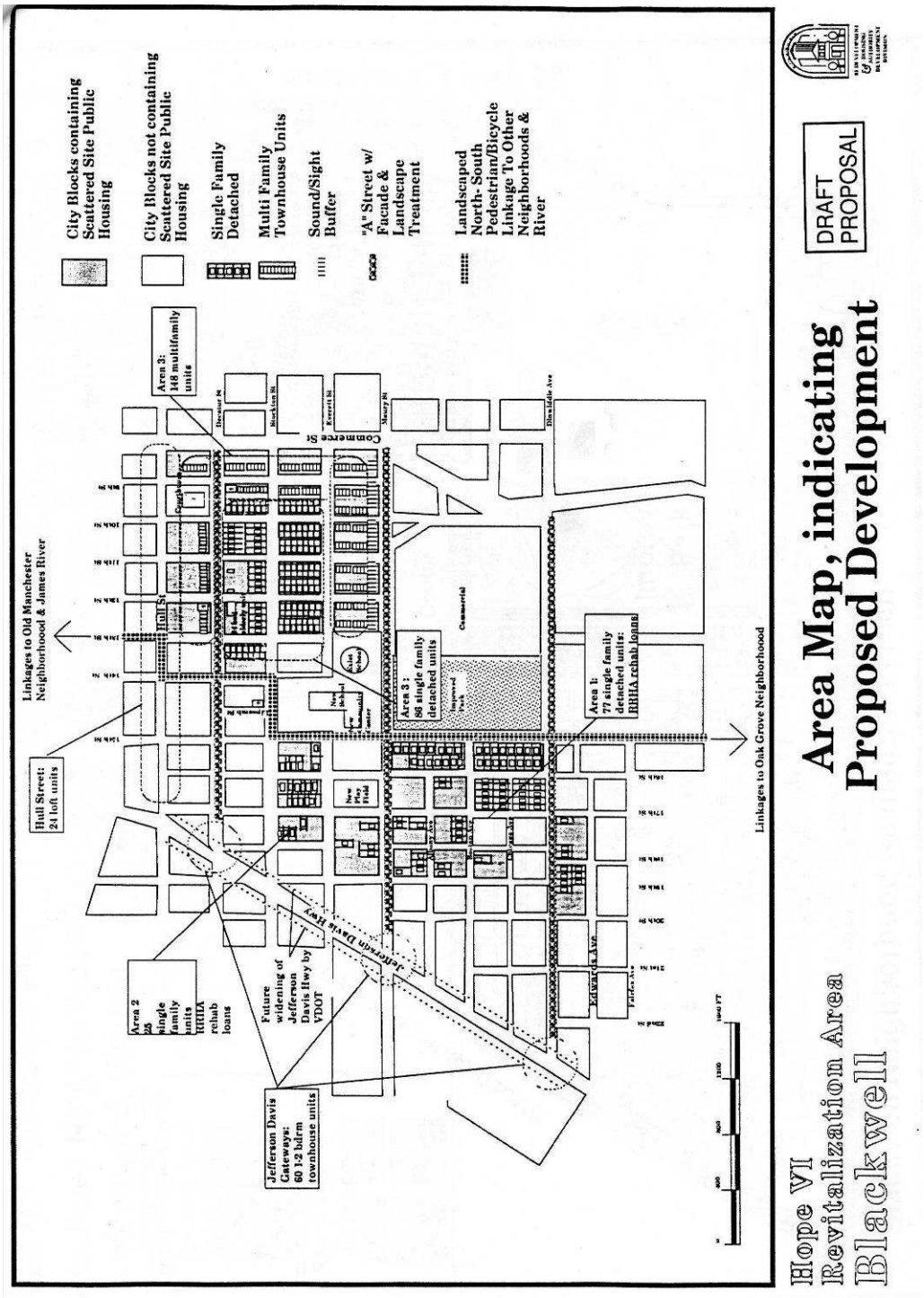
Appendix C

1997 Blackwell Site Plan



Source: RRHA. (1997a).

1998 Blackwell Site Plan



Source: RRHA. (1998).

Appendix D

Richmond Redevelopment & Housing Authority Public Housing and Senior Housing Sites

Family Developments

Development	Address	# of Units
1 Afton Avenue	2201 Afton Avenue Mgt. Office – 1500 Harwood St.	40 units
2 Bainbridge	24th & Bainbridge streets Mgt. Office – 1500 Harwood St.	18 units
3 Creighton	Mgt. Office – 2101 Creighton Rd.	504 units
4 Dove	Dove Street/First Avenue Mgt. Office – 2506 Phaup St.	59 units
5 Fairfield	Mgt. Office – 2506 Phaup St.	447 units
6 Fulton	Government Road/Scher Road Mgt. Office – 2101 Creighton Rd.	64 units
7 Gilpin	Mgt. Office – 1000 St. John St.	783 units
8 Hillside	Mgt. Office – 1500 Harwood St.	402 units
9 Mosby	Mgt. Office – 1543 Coalter St.	458 units
10 Overlook & Mimosa	Overlook & Mimosa streets Mgt. Office – 1500 Harwood St.	10 units
11 Randolph	Idlewood & Allen avenues Mgt. Office – 2302 Carmine St.	52 units
12 Oscar E. Stovall Place	24th & Bainbridge streets Mgt. Office – 1500 Harwood St.	30 units
13 Whitcomb Court	Mgt. Office – 2302 Carmine St.	447 units
Small House Program*		65 units
Used House Program*		50 units

*Multiple properties scattered throughout the city.

Senior Housing

Development	Address	# of Units
14 Frederic A. Fay Towers	1202 N. First St.	200 units
15 Melvin C. Fox Manor	18-A West 27th St.	50 units
16 1200 Decatur St.	1200 Decatur St.	24 units
17 2700 Idlewood Ave.	2700 Idlewood Ave.	23 units
18 1611 Fourth Avenue	1611 Fourth Ave.	105 units
19 Stonewall Place Apts.	1920 Stonewall Ave.	70 units
24 3900 Old Brook Circle	3900 Old Brook Circle	25 units
21 700 S. Lombardy St.	700 S. Lombardy St.	75 units

Other Senior Housing

Development	Address	# of Units
22 Group Home	800 Ordway Ave.	14 units

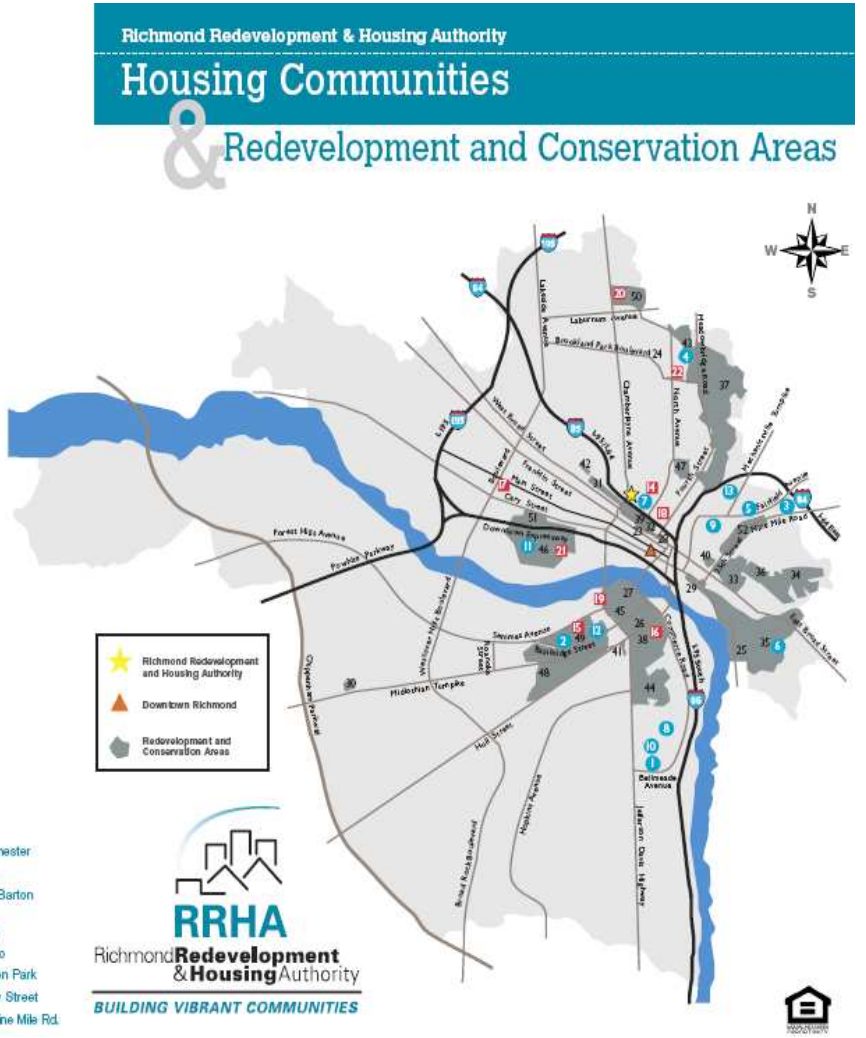
Redevelopment and Conservation Areas

COMMERCIAL

- 23 Broad Street
- 24 Brookland Park Boulevard
- 25 Fulton
- 26 Hull Street
- 27 Old Manchester
- 28 Project One
- 29 Tobacco Row

RESIDENTIAL

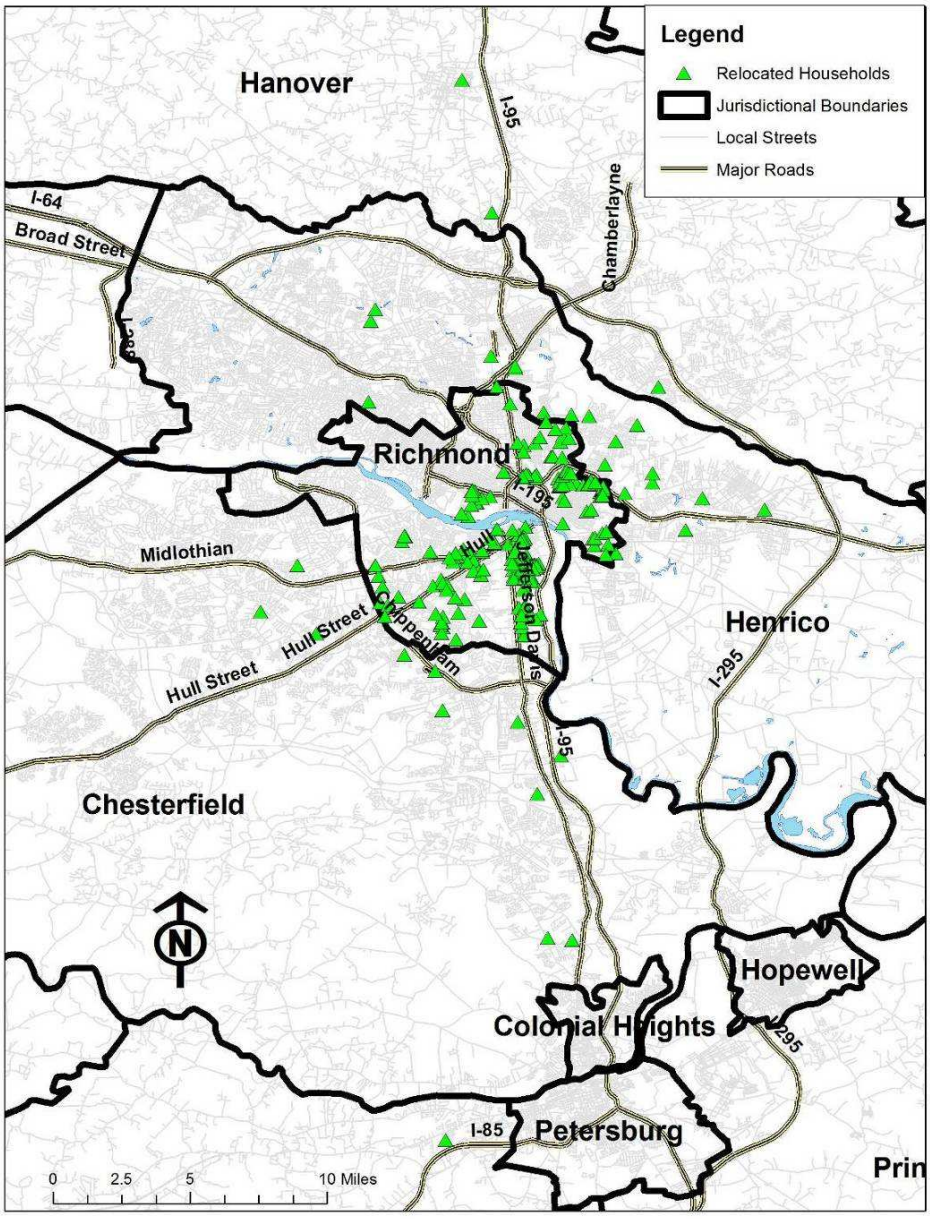
- 30 Beaufont Grove
- 31 Carver
- 32 Central Wards
- 33 Church Hill North
- 34 East End
- 35 Fulton
- 36 George Mason
- 37 Highland Park
- 38 HOPE VI/Blackwell
- 39 Jackson Place
- 40 Jefferson Park
- 41 Newtown South
- 42 Newtowne-West
- 43 Northside
- 44 Oak Grove
- 45 Old Manchester
- 46 Randolph
- 47 Southern Barton Heights
- 48 Southside
- 49 Swansboro
- 50 Washington Park
- 51 West Cary Street
- 52 25th St./Nine Mile Rd.



Source: RRHA. (2006b).

Appendix E

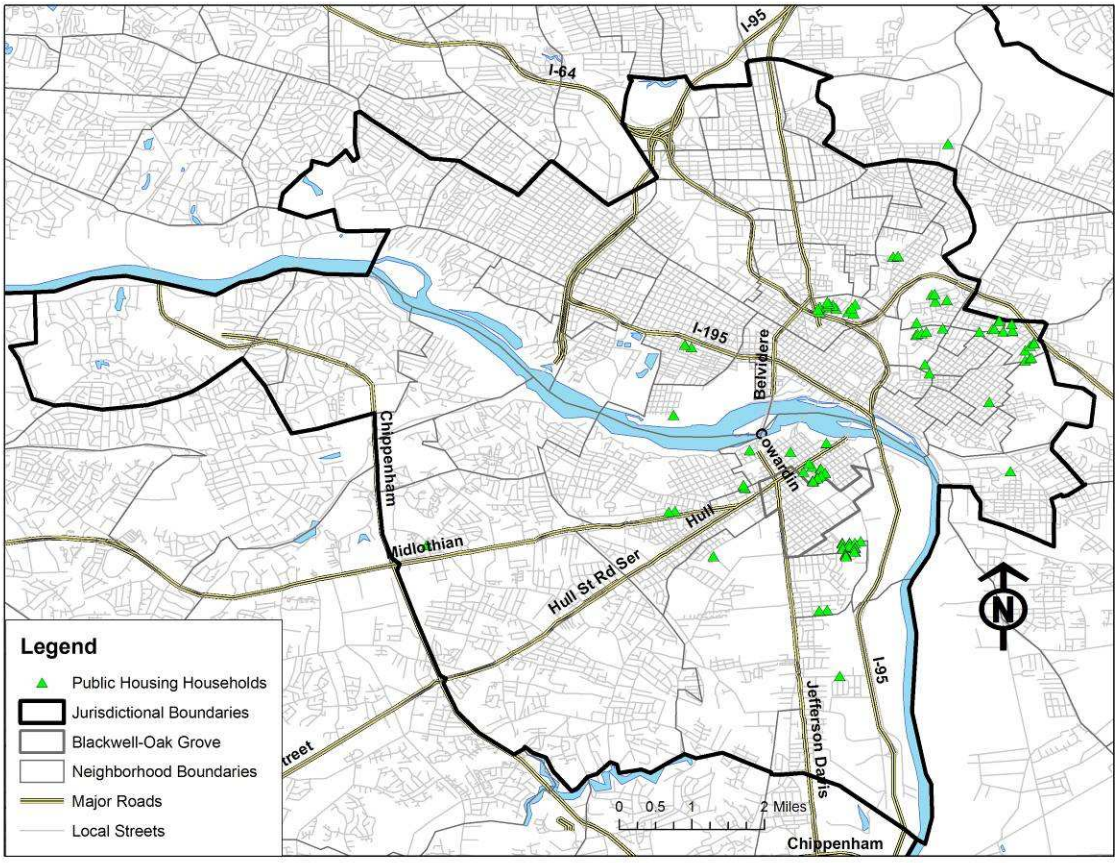
Regional Relocation Map



Source: RRHA. (2005a); U.S. Census Bureau. (2000c).

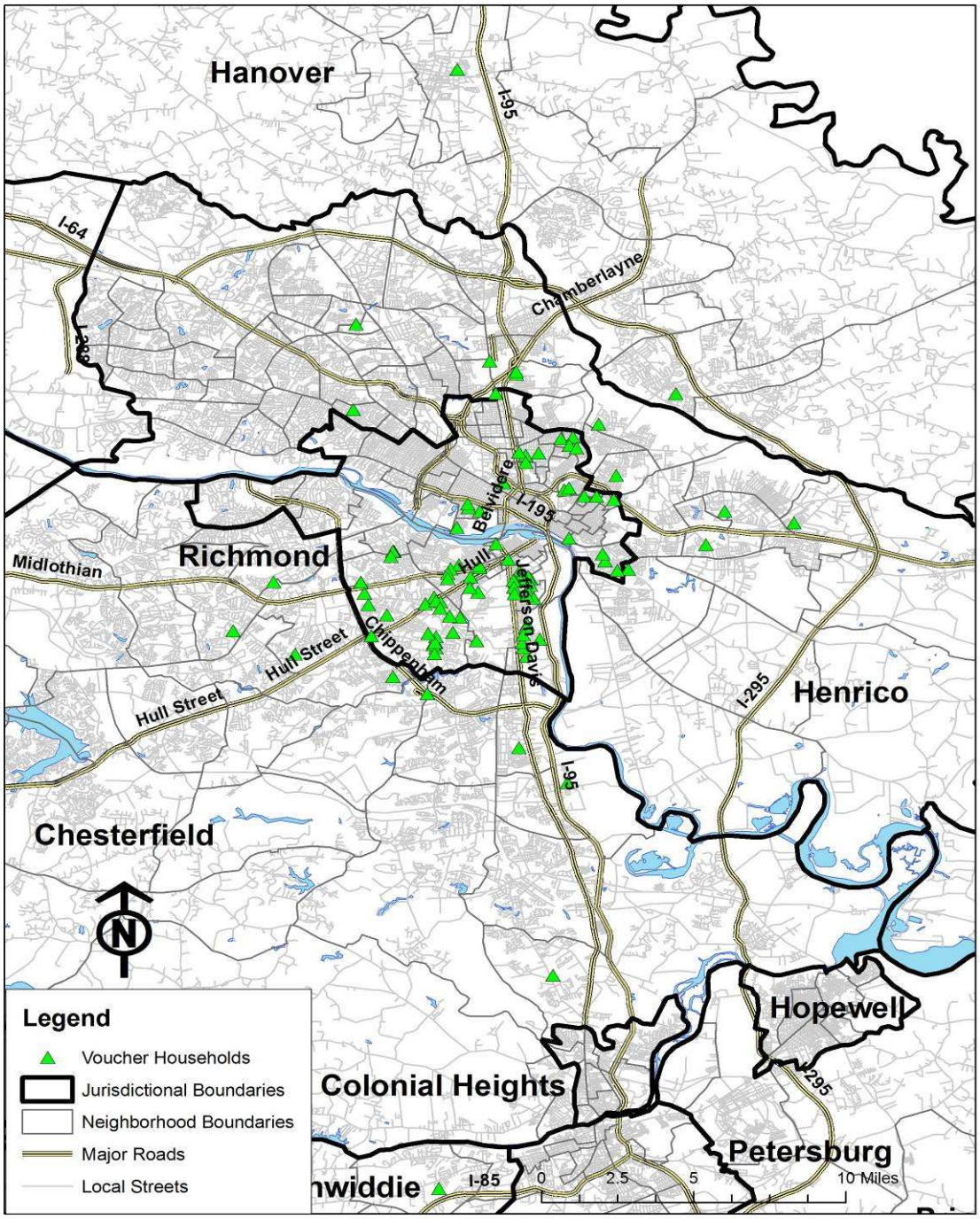
Appendix F

Public Housing Relocation Map



Source: City of Richmond. (2007a); RRHA. (2005a); U.S. Census Bureau. (2000c); Virginia Commonwealth University. (2006).

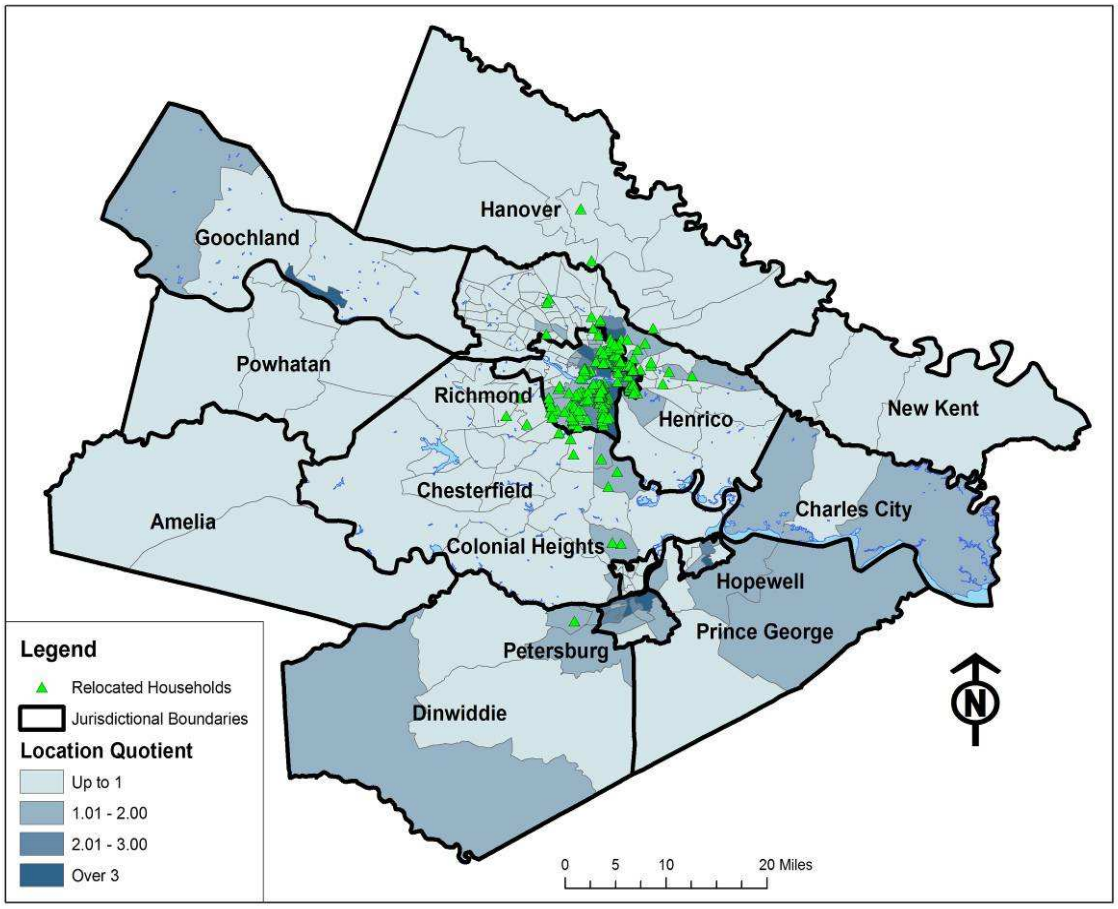
Housing Choice Voucher Relocation Map



Source: City of Richmond. (2007a); RRHA. (2005a); U.S. Census Bureau. (2000c); Virginia Commonwealth University. (2006).

Appendix G

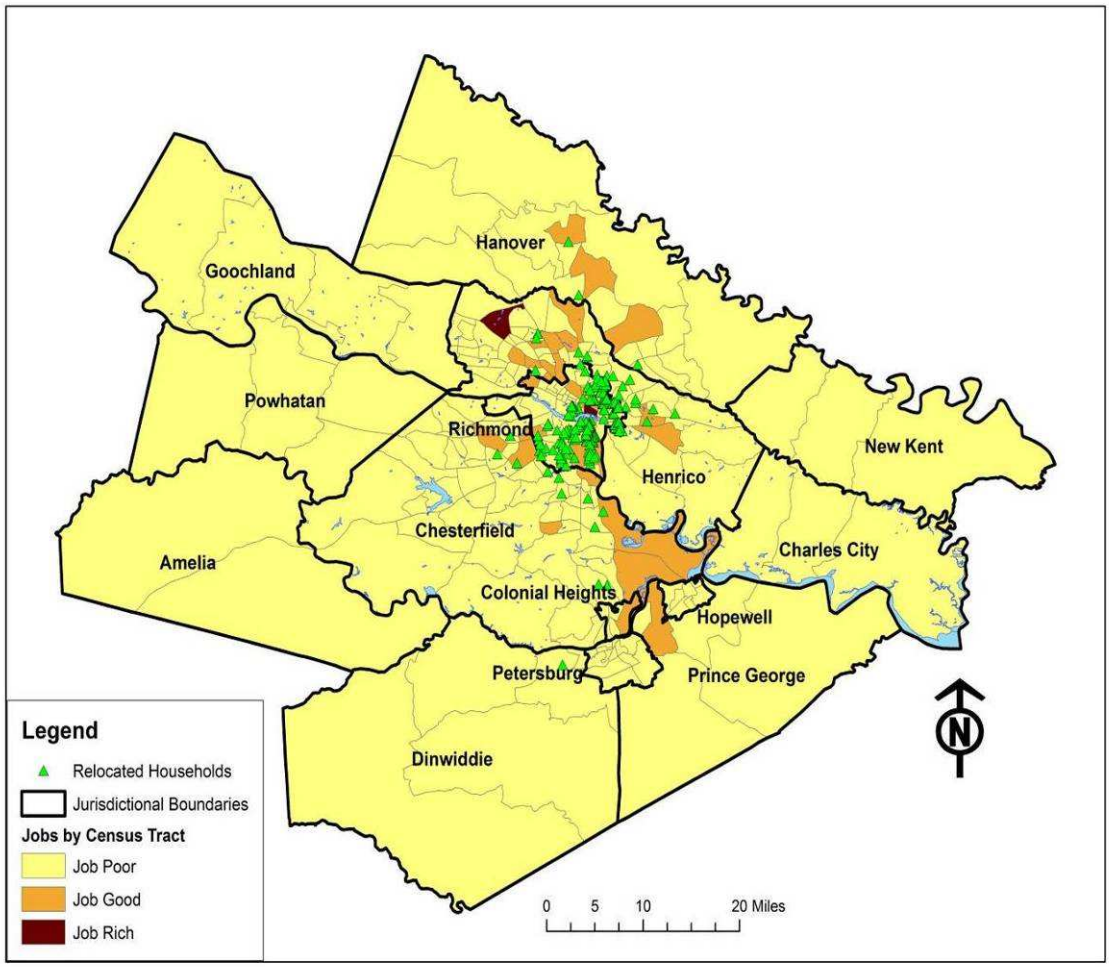
Richmond MSA Poverty Location Quotient Map



Source: RRHA. (2005a); U.S. Census Bureau (2000), SF 3, Variable P87.

Appendix H

Richmond MSA Jobs by Census Tract



Source: RRHA. (2005a); U.S. Census Bureau. (2000a).

Appendix I

Aggregated Crimes

Personal Crimes include:
- aggravated assault/attempted murder
- aggravated assault
- aggravated assault domestic
- justifiable homicide
- murder/non-negligent manslaughter
- robbery/atm
- robbery/bank
- robbery/carjacking
- robbery/commercial house
- robbery/individual
- robbery/residence
- shooting at occupied vehicle
- shooting at/within occupied dwelling
- shooting at/within/upon school grounds
- simple assault
- simple assault, domestic

Property Crimes include:
- arson
- burglary/breaking & entering/commercial
- burglary/breaking & entering/residential
- destruction of city property
- destruction of city property via graffiti
- destruction of private property
- destruction of private property via graffiti

Homicide Crimes include:
- justifiable homicide
- murder/non-negligent manslaughter

Drug Crimes include drug/narcotic violations

Prostitution Crimes include:
- prostitution
- assisting/promoting prostitution

Appendix J

Amenity Comparative Analysis

	Relocated Households	%	Public Housing (HUDUSER)	%	Housing Choice Voucher (HUDUSER)	%	Richmond MSA (Below Poverty Level)	%
	286	100	5,283	100	2,485	100	90,337	100
Banks								
0	187	65.4	3,604	68.2	996	40.1	54,280	60.1
1 to 3	96	33.6	863	16.3	1,353	54.4	31,252	34.6
Over 3	3	1.0	816	15.4	136	5.5	4,805	5.3
Convenience Stores								
0	85	29.7	1,828	34.6	2,039	82.1	55,377	61.3
1 to 2	149	52.1	3,386	64.1	399	16.1	28,739	31.8
3 to 4	43	15.0	69	1.3	44	1.8	5,107	5.7
Over 4	9	3.1	0	0.0	3	0.1	1,114	1.2
Supermarkets								
0	259	90.6	5,283	100.0	1,795	72.2	75,212	83.3
1	27	9.4	0	0.0	690	27.8	15,125	16.7
Bus Stops								
0	111	38.8	1,328	25.1	1,465	59.0	48,886	54.1
1 to 5	11	3.8	0	0.0	155	6.2	5,209	5.8
6 to 10	5	1.7	443	8.4	77	3.1	1,877	2.1
11 to 15	22	7.7	629	11.9	123	4.9	5,320	5.9
16 to 20	8	2.8	115	2.2	77	3.1	2,853	3.2
Over 20	129	45.1	2,768	52.4	588	23.7	26,192	29.0
Payday Loan								
0	237	82.9	4,081	77.2	1,981	79.7	69,229	76.6
1 to 2	38	13.3	1,202	22.8	266	10.7	16,579	18.4
3 to 4	4	1.4	0	0.0	232	9.3	2,202	2.4
Over 4	7	2.4	0	0.0	6	0.2	2,327	2.6
ABC Stores								
0	266	93.0	5,038	95.4	2,249	90.5	77,514	85.8
1 to 2	20	7.0	245	4.6	236	9.5	12,823	14.2
Daycare								
0	32	11.2	946	17.9	1,862	74.9	47,150	52.2
1 to 3	136	47.6	2,811	53.2	477	19.2	28,789	31.9
4 to 6	56	19.6	1,081	20.5	142	5.7	8,853	9.8
Over 6	62	21.7	445	8.4	4	0.2	5,545	6.1

Source: Housing Opportunities Made Equal. (2007); HUD User. (2007); U.S. Census Bureau. (2000); Yellow Pages. (2007); City of Richmond. (2007); Virginia Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control. (2007); Virginia Department of Social Services. (2007, 2007a).

Vita

Lallen Tyrone Johnson-Hart was born April 1, 1984 in Washington, DC, and is an American citizen. He graduated from Surrattsville High School, Clinton, MD in 2002. He received his Bachelor of Science in Criminal Justice from the University of Maryland Eastern Shore in 2005 and matriculated directly into graduate study.