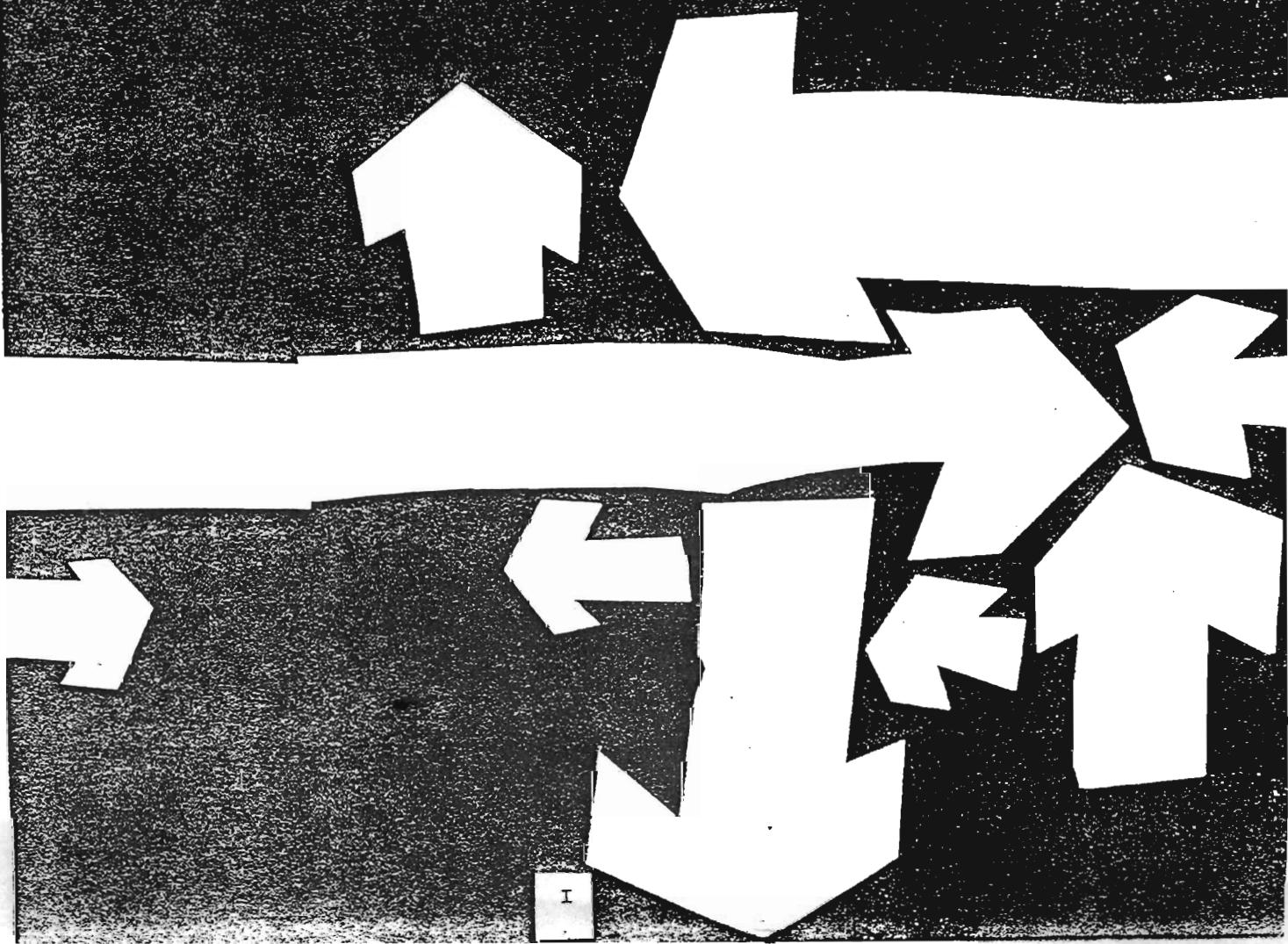




Gautreaux Housing Demonstration

An Evaluation of Its Impact on Participating Households.

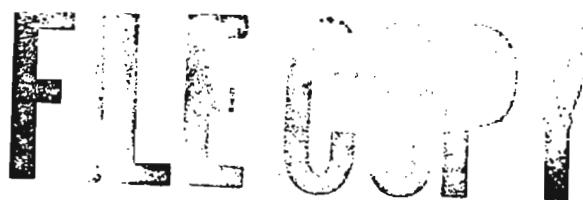


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Gautreaux Housing Demonstration

An Evaluation of its Impact

on Participating Households



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**U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development
Office of Policy Development & Research
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The research forming the basis for this report was conducted by the Division of Policy Studies in the Office of Policy Development and Research, U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

FOREWORD

Thirteen years ago, the late Dorothy Gautreaux and a number of others charged that the Chicago Housing Authority and HUD were contributing to racial segregation by the very rules established for selecting sites for public housing and assigning tenants to them. The charge was ultimately upheld in court. In 1976, after a Supreme Court decision, HUD agreed to a series of efforts to increase the housing opportunities of public housing tenants in the greater Chicago area.

This report is an evaluation of one very important aspect of the Gautreaux demonstration -- the impact on participating families. This demonstration provided rent subsidies to a small number of eligible families through HUD's Section 8 Housing Assistance Payments Program so that they could live anywhere in Chicago or the six surrounding counties.

The programmatic implications of our findings and the demonstration itself will be debated for years. But if one thinks of people, then in addition to teaching us about one approach to providing low-income families with the housing opportunities all other Americans enjoy, the Gautreaux demonstration has made it possible for certain families to improve the quality of their lives.

The report was prepared by staff members of the Division of Policy Studies: Martin Abravanel, Director, Cloteal Davis, Ronald Jones, and Kathleen Pexoff, in collaboration with Richard Curtin and Robert Marans of the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan.



Donna E. Shalala
Assistant Secretary for
Policy Development and Research



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Gautreaux demonstration, the result of a series of court actions, is one of the most significant and visible Federal efforts to explore ways of providing metropolitan-wide housing opportunities for low-income Americans. The demonstration makes it possible for a small number of tenants in and applicants for public housing in Chicago to move to any part of the Chicago metropolitan area and to neighborhoods which contain only a small number of minority families. Using housing market, demographic and personal interview data, this study assesses the impact of the demonstration on participating families.

How many families are participating?

Approximately 43,000 families are eligible to participate in the Gautreaux demonstration. The maximum number of participants, however, is limited by the number of rental assistance certificates made available for the demonstration. Four hundred certificates were provided for the first year and 470 for the second year.

The number of families actually participating is less than the maximum number of certificates available; 168 families were placed during 1977-78 and 287 families were placed during 1978-79. Furthermore, as of May 1979, between 75 and 80 families (18 percent of the total) have ceased to participate after initially being placed and receiving a rental assistance certificate.

Although this study was not designed to explain why fewer families participated in the demonstration than was possible, it is useful to examine the information gained during this research to provide some clues to the answer. First, various eligibility criteria and selection procedures for choosing and placing participants were established which have had an effect on participation rates. Second, although most families preferred to live in integrated settings, most did not want to live in the suburbs. Third, while there were technically enough units available in the Chicago metropolitan area to place the maximum number of participants, many of these units were not advertised, except by word-of-mouth, and others were in suburban areas which were very distant from the city. Furthermore, the Chicago-area rental market has been tightening in recent years and this may have affected landlords' willingness to participate in a government housing program.

What are the characteristics of participating families?

The heads-of-household in the Gautreaux demonstration, like those who are receiving regular Section 8 Existing assistance in Chicago, are predominantly low-income black females between the ages of 25-34.

- o While most Gautreaux recipients are unemployed, have low incomes, and have no advanced education beyond high school, Gautreaux family heads are more likely than eligible non-participating family heads to be employed, to hold white-collar jobs, and to have more income and more years of education.
- o Gautreaux families differ markedly from eligible non-participating families by their preferences to live in the suburbs. While two-thirds of the Gautreaux families desired to live in the suburbs, only 12 percent of the eligible non-participating families preferred the suburbs.

Was there racial and economic dispersion?

Most of the participating families moved from neighborhoods with a high concentration of minority residents into neighborhoods with very few minority families.

- o A typical participant in the Gautreaux demonstration moved from neighborhoods with an average of 60 percent minority residents to neighborhoods with an average of only 5 percent minority residents. In comparison, the typical recipient of regular Section 8 assistance in Chicago lives in neighborhoods in which 61 percent of the residents are minorities.
- o Gautreaux participants moved to neighborhoods characterized by higher average income and education, as well as lower unemployment than their previous neighborhoods or than the neighborhoods to which regular Section 8 families moved.

How did participants evaluate the overall experience?

Most Gautreaux families are satisfied with their participation in the demonstration. Substantial majorities are pleased with their new neighborhoods (especially the schools), their housing, and with public services. The major problems are inadequate transportation and locational inconveniences.

Some families, however, are not as content with their new suburban locations. Although two-thirds of Gautreaux participants prefer to remain in the suburbs, one-third of those still active in the demonstration (most of whom are residing in the suburbs) desire to live in Chicago.

Implications for metropolitan-wide mobility

Most participating families moved into higher income neighborhoods with fewer minority residents than their previous residence. Since the number of participating families is relatively small, however, neither Chicago nor its suburbs was changed substantially as a result of the demonstration.

Most eligible but non-participating families indicated a desire to live in racially mixed settings. Most also expressed, though, a marked preference to live in the city rather than in the suburbs. This suggests that inter-jurisdictional mobility efforts under the Section 8 program may attract a minority of those eligible to receive rental assistance. Other evidence from this study indicates that those families attracted may have higher education and income levels. However, for that minority who prefers the suburbs, the inter-jurisdictional moves would be a positive experience.

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS USED IN THIS REPORT

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| Drop Out Families | Gautreaux families who initially participated in the Gautreaux demonstration but are no longer receiving rental assistance through the demonstration or through the regular Section 8 rental Assistance. |
| Eligible Non-participants/ Eligible Non-participating families | Technically, any families in the Gautreaux class who did not participate in the demonstration. In this report, however, this term refers to members of the Gautreaux class, requiring a two-bedroom unit or less, who did not participate. Because of the selection criteria used by the Leadership Council in placing families, only smaller families in the Gautreaux class were notified and could have participated. Comparisons between non-participants and participants in this report, therefore, are made only between those who actually participated and those who were notified but did not participate. |
| Gautreaux Class | Families included as part of a class action lawsuit filed by Dorothy Gautreaux against the Chicago Housing Authority and the Department of Housing and Urban Development for alleged discrimination in the location of public housing and in tenant selection procedures. The class consists of approximately 43,000 families residing in public housing or on the waiting list for public housing Chicago; these families were eligible to participate in the Gautreaux Housing demonstration. |
| Gautreaux Participants/ Gautreaux Families | Families or single-person households who are members of the Gautreaux class and who participate in the demonstration. |
| General Public | For purposes of this report families who, prior to participating in the regular Section 8 program in Chicago, had been living in private housing; that is, they were not in public housing or on the waiting list for public housing in Chicago. |

| | |
|--|---|
| General Public Housing Area | Designation for census tracts with less than 30 percent non-white residents. |
| Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities | A Chicago-based public interest group which administered the Gautreaux demonstration. |
| Limited Public Housing Area | Designation for census tracts with 30 percent or more non-white residents and any tracts within one mile of such tracts. |
| Multiple Movers | Participants in the Gautreaux demonstration who moved at least once after being initially placed by the Leadership Council and who continue to receive Section 8 rental assistance under the demonstration. |
| Regular Section 8 Recipients | Non-elderly recipients of Section 8 rental assistance in Chicago. In contrast to Gautreaux participants, such recipients could not move to the suburbs but had to reside within the city limits of Chicago. |
| Section 8 Program | A rent subsidy for lower-income families to help them afford decent housing in the private market. The Section 8 Program consists of several parts: New Construction, Substantial Rehabilitation, and Existing Housing. With respect to the Gautreaux Demonstration, only the Section 8 Existing Housing Program is involved. |

THE GAUTREAUX HOUSING DEMONSTRATION:
An Evaluation of Its Impact on Participating Households

SUMMARY

The Gautreaux demonstration, which began in August 1976, is one of the most significant and visible Federal efforts to explore ways of providing metropolitan-wide housing opportunities through the use of the Section 8 Housing Assistance Payments Program. This report on the impact of the Gautreaux demonstration on participating families first describes various aspects of the demonstration, including the following: 1) the legal background and mechanics of the demonstration; 2) the rental housing market in the Chicago SMSA; 3) numbers and characteristics of participating families, as well as families who dropped out of the demonstration after having participated; and 4) types of neighborhoods to which Gautreaux families moved as a result of the demonstration. The second part of the report evaluates the demonstration from the perspectives of those who participated. The evaluation focuses on the following issues: 1) reasons for participation and non-participation; 2) participants' overall satisfaction with the demonstration; and 3) participants' locational preferences and their plans to move in the future.

Background

In 1966, Dorothy Gautreaux and other tenants in, and applicants for, public housing in Chicago brought suit against the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) and the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), charging that these agencies had employed racially discriminatory policies in the administration of the Chicago low rent public housing program. In essence, these suits charged that public housing tenants were forced to live in segregated areas by virtue of tenant assignment and site selection policies adhered to by CHA and approved by HUD. Subsequent rulings of the District Court, the Appeals Court and, in 1976, the United States Supreme Court, generally were in favor of the plaintiffs, collectively referred to as the "Gautreaux Class". A significant ruling by the District Court in July 1969 divided Cook County into the "Limited Public Housing Area" and the "General Public Housing Area". The Limited Area consisted of those census tracts which had 30 percent or more minority residents or tracts within one mile of such minority impacted tracts. The remaining tracts,

In an effort to explore "metropolitan-wide," as opposed to "within city," housing strategies as a possible remedy in the case, the attorneys for the plaintiffs and for HUD entered into an agreement in June, 1976 to undertake a series of efforts designed to increase the housing opportunities of Chicago public housing tenants throughout the General Areas of the Chicago SMSA. A major component of the agreement was a demonstration with less than 30 percent minorities, constituted the General Area.

which provided for metropolitan-wide application of the Section 8 Housing Assistance Payments Program in an effort to promote greater racial and economic dispersion throughout the SMSA. For purposes of this demonstration, modified definitions of Limited and General Areas were expanded to include the remaining five counties of the Chicago SMSA. The demonstration which was designed to provide concentrated and tailored assistance to members of the "Gautreaux Class", is administered by the Chicago-based Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities. In the almost three years that the demonstration has been operating, 455 families have been placed, primarily in suburban areas with 30 percent or fewer minority residents.

In December 1978, HUD's Office of the General Council (OGC) requested a short-term study of the impact of the Gautreaux Housing Demonstration on participating families. The analysis, undertaken by HUD's Office of Policy Development and Research (PDR), was designed to address the questions outlined on the previous page. The answers to these questions should provide helpful information not only in assessing the impact of the demonstration on participating families but also in designing future inter-jurisdictional mobility programs.

This study should not be viewed as a comprehensive evaluation of the demonstration because several questions that were outside the intended scope of this study were not addressed. For instance, the study did not include a cost-benefit analysis of the Gautreaux demonstration, nor did it analyze the administrative aspects and/or problems of the demonstration. While the study examined the attitudes of the Gautreaux families, it did not focus on attitudes toward Gautreaux families held by their suburban neighborhoods or by apartment managers of units where Gautreaux participants were placed. These topics are subjects for further study.

How much rental housing was available in the Chicago area?

Data from the 1975 Annual Housing Survey (AHS) were analyzed to determine the availability of rental units within the Chicago SMSA which were suitable for Gautreaux participants.

During the period in which the AHS was conducted, there was an overall vacancy rate of 6.7 percent for the entire Chicago SMSA. However, not all of these units were appropriate for Gautreaux participants. For example, the vacancy rate for those units which met Section 8 quality standards and which rented at or below 120 percent of the Fair Market Rent set for the Chicago area was 2.9 percent. This figure is generally accepted as a "reasonable" vacancy rate for a housing market area. It translates into over 31,000 units which were potentially available for

Other available data, however, indicate a tightening of the market in the years since 1975. Vacancy studies conducted by the U.S. Postal Service and the Federal Home Loan Bank show a marked decline in multifamily vacancies in all counties in the Chicago SMSA. While such vacancy surveys are not always extremely accurate, they are usually indicative of general trends.

Taken together, the data sources suggest a picture of a rental market which had a normal number of vacancies during the earlier period of the Gautreaux demonstration but, since that time, has had a somewhat lower-than-normal number of units that were available to Gautreaux recipients.

The overall vacancy rate was not consistent across the entire Chicago SMSA. Annual Housing Survey data from 1975 indicate that the rate varied by geographical location and size of unit. Generally, those units in the inner suburbs had lower vacancy rates; furthermore, many of these were not advertised, except by word-of-mouth.

Vacancy rates ranged between 5.4 percent and 9.0 percent in the distant counties of Kane, McHenry and Will, and were lowest in those counties which are closer to the city of Chicago. In DuPage, suburban Cook and Lake Counties, the rates ranged from .7 and 1.7 percent. Chicago had a vacancy rate of 3 percent, roughly equal to the SMSA average. However, many of the units in Chicago were in areas of high minority concentration and, therefore, were not compatible with the major goal of the demonstration. These vacancy rates translate into 10,000 available units in Chicago, 500 in Lake, 350 in DuPage, 2,800 in Will and McHenry, 1,700 in Kane, and 3,700 units in suburban Cook County.

Most (78%) of the vacancies were either one- or two-bedroom units. A little over 9 percent of all vacancies were in three-bedroom units and most of these were in Chicago. Only 1.6 percent of all suburban vacancies were three-bedroom units.

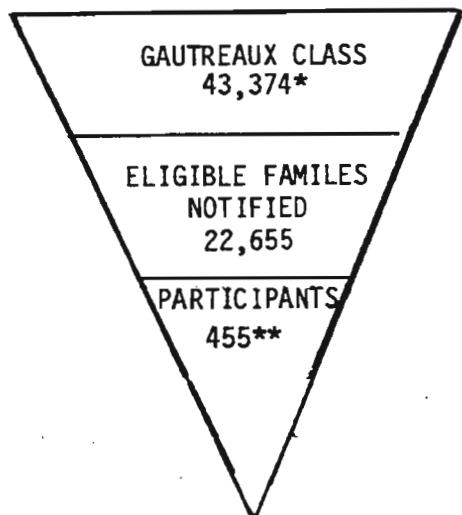
These patterns in vacancy rates help to explain why most Gautreaux families were placed in the outer suburbs and why larger families, requiring three or more bedrooms, were much more difficult to place. Consequently, the Leadership Council concentrated on placements of families requiring one- or two-bedroom units.

There were fewer units of any size available in the suburbs which were close to the city of Chicago and even fewer larger units available anywhere in the suburbs. Therefore, those units meeting Section 8 eligibility and Fair Market Rent criteria were restricted in size, location and number.

Who is participating in the Gautreaux demonstration?

The Gautreaux class consisted of approximately 43,000 families. For operational purposes, however, the number of eligible participants was

just over one-half this size. The Leadership Council sent notices of eligibility for the Gautreaux demonstration to approximately 23,000 persons -- that sub-group of the larger Gautreaux class which needed two-bedroom units or less. Of this group, the Leadership Council placed 455 families as of March 31, 1979.



To answer the question of "who is participating," two data sources were used: (1) interviews with Gautreaux participants, with eligible and notified Gautreaux families who did not participate, and with recipients of regular Section 8 assistance through the Chicago Housing Authority, and (2) Section 8 application forms completed by both regular Section 8 families in Chicago and Gautreaux participants.

These data reveal that the participants in the Gautreaux demonstration are typically very low income, black females who are under age 35, separated or divorced, and who have children in the household.

In regard to these characteristics, Gautreaux recipients are similar to eligible and invited non-participating families.

On the other hand, Gautreaux families are more frequently employed, more often hold white-collar jobs, have more income and education, and are more likely to have been married in the past than notified non-participating families.

In regard to these latter characteristics, therefore, Gautreaux recipients are not a representative sub-set of all eligible families in the Gautreaux class who were notified of their eligibility.

* As of July, 1978

** As of March 31, 1978

Gautreaux families were generally more similar, as a group, to regular Section 8 participants than to the eligible non-participants. They differed from Section 8 families by their younger average age and by their ownership of cars. The latter difference is due to the preference given by the Leadership Council to placing families with cars. Since many of the placements were in the outer suburbs where public transportation was not very accessible, car ownership became a relatively important criterion in selecting families for placement in the demonstration.

In addition to the differences revealed in the demographic analysis, it is likely that the Gautreaux participants differed in other ways from those not participating, due to the screening procedures used by the Leadership Council. For example, the Gautreaux participants included only those who passed a credit check, only those without prison records or drinking problems, and primarily those who wanted to live in the suburbs.

While most Gautreaux participants (84%) were placed in the suburbs, the remaining 16 percent (68 families) moved within Chicago. Approximately one-half of these Chicago placements moved to or remained in Limited Housing Areas. Since the thrust of the demonstration was to move Gautreaux participants into new residential environments, it is of interest to compare these two groups of families in order to discover whether family characteristics might explain where they were placed.

The analysis reveals that Gautreaux households who moved to the suburbs had a younger head of household, more children, and a higher income (after allowances) than Gautreaux families who were placed in Chicago. City residents, on the other hand, were more likely to be elderly or disabled, without children, and to rely on benefits as their sole source of income than were suburban families. Other family characteristics did not differ very much, both suburban and urban Gautreaux families were mostly black, female-headed households.

Similarly, Gautreaux families who moved to Limited Areas were somewhat more likely to be elderly, disabled, or handicapped than those in areas with fewer minority residents. Also, families in either participant group who lived in General tracts were more often white. Of those Gautreaux families in the General Area of the city, 11 percent were white, while none of the families in the Limited Area was white. This comparison is even more striking among regular Section 8 families. Thirty-one percent of the Section 8 participants in the General Area were white compared to only one percent of those living in the Limited Area.

Since only 21 percent of all regular Section 8 families were in General Areas, and 31 percent of these were white, the effective racial dispersion occurring in the regular Section 8 program in Chicago was minimal.

How Many Families Dropped Out of the Demonstration or Made Multiple Moves While in the Demonstration?

Between 75 and 80 participants (18% of all families placed) appear to have dropped out of the demonstration and are no longer receiving Section 8 housing assistance in the Chicago area. Unfortunately, most of these people could not be found for personal interviews so their reasons for dropping out of the demonstration could be tapped only indirectly. Information on their family characteristics and the area to which they originally moved suggests that these families tended to have a younger head of household and less income when compared to other active Gautreaux families.

The areas to which they moved also differed from the neighborhoods of those still in the demonstration. First, almost all of the dropout families moved from Chicago to the suburbs. Second, they lived in suburban areas with lower average incomes and slightly fewer minority residents than the areas where the still-active families lived. The fact that a greater proportion of families placed in the first year of the demonstration (1/5) dropped out than of those placed in the second year (1/10) indicates that the length of time since initial placement may affect the likelihood of a family dropping out. This finding is consistent with survey responses which suggest that those families who resided longer in suburbs were less satisfied than those who more recently moved.

A recent report prepared by the Leadership Council provides the most up-to-date information on these families. According to this report, 42 families did not have their Section 8 certificate renewed either because the family neglected to renew it or because the Public Housing Authority refused to renew due to some violation of Section 8 regulations. In addition, three families were evicted. Nineteen families were known to have left without notifying the landlord or PHA. Finally, eleven families never moved in, i.e., they changed their minds about moving after their applications for the demonstration were made and accepted.

Those who made multiple moves while remaining in the demonstration exhibited a different sort of behavior than those who dropped out. They did not stop participating in the demonstration; they just changed locations. About 17 percent of all families placed through the demonstration moved after their initial placement. All of these families originally moved from Chicago to the suburbs. In comparison, the none of the 68 families placed within the Chicago city limits moved a second time.

Of those who moved again, over one-third stayed within the same census tract in which they were initially placed. In some cases, second moves were made to different apartments within the same complex. The majority of second moves was, however, to areas largely in the suburbs. Therefore, the second movers appear to have been less dissatisfied with their suburban location than they were dissatisfied with the particular housing unit in which they had been living.

The number of dropouts and multiple movers became apparent only during this study because, prior to this research, the Leadership Council was not aware of the size of these two groups. Since the Leadership Council was administratively responsible for the families for only 90 days after the initial placement, it usually lost contact with them after that three-month period. Furthermore, the Leadership Council was not involved in the second moves of many of the multiple mover families.

While this study was not intended to examine the administrative efficiency of the demonstration, the tracking procedures used in this study to locate families for interviews suggested several administrative problems in this interjurisdictional mobility effort. The most important problem was the lack of a central file with current addresses and other relevant up-to-date information on these families. Until recently, there appeared to be little communication between the suburban public housing agencies (who took over after the 90-day period) and the Leadership Council concerning the movements of particular families.

How did the participants' new neighborhoods compare to their previous residential locations?

Since a goal of the demonstration was to place minority families in non-minority General Areas, census tract level data were analyzed to assess whether, in fact, this occurred. The evidence suggests clearly that it did.

Prior to applying for rental assistance, both Gautreaux and regular Section 8 participants generally resided in census tracts characterized by large numbers of minority households and high concentrations of lower income persons. Gautreaux families, however, tended to move into areas with fewer minority households and higher socio-economic status characteristics while regular Section 8 families in Chicago moved to tracts which were not substantially different from their original residential areas.

Ninety percent of Gautreaux families, compared to 20 percent of Section 8 families in Chicago, lived in General Housing Areas -- those that had a small proportion of minority residents -- after receiving rental assistance.

Ninety-six percent of the Gautreaux participants moved to a new location, compared to 59 percent of Section 8 families. Most of these non-movers remained in Limited tracts. Gautreaux families moved from neighborhoods with an average of 60 percent minority residents and moved to neighborhoods with a minority population of five percent. Section 8 families in Chicago lived in neighborhoods with an average of 61 percent minority residents (based on 1970 census data).

Sixty-eight (16%) Gautreaux families were placed in Chicago. Although one-half were placed in General Areas and one-half in Limited Areas, the 50 percent in General census tracts within Chicago is much less than the 90 percent overall figure noted above.

Thus, dispersal occurred to a much lesser extent for the Chicago placements than it did for the suburban placements.
While the demonstration produced a considerable change in neighborhood characteristics for Gautreaux families taken as a group, this was less true for those Gautreaux recipients who were placed in Chicago.

If census tracts to which families moved are arrayed along a continuum whose upper limit consists of high levels of education, income and employment and low levels of racial concentration, Gautreaux suburban placements would be found closer to this upper limit, regular Section 8 participants would be located closer to the lower limit, and Gautreaux Chicago placements would fall between the two.

Many families participated in the demonstration because they wanted to go to a new area (as discussed on the next page), while Section 8 recipients were less concerned about location and more motivated by financial and housing unit considerations. In this respect, the expectations of Gautreaux families were probably met. Their neighborhoods had fewer minorities, were wealthier, contained more educated people, and were experiencing less unemployment than their previous neighborhoods or the current neighborhoods of Section 8 tenants.

Why Did Some Eligible Families Not Participate in the Demonstration?

Several factors explain why more of the 43,000 eligible families did not participate in the demonstration. First, not all 43,000 families could have been placed because, as of 1975, there were only 31,000 vacant units in the Chicago SMSA which met the Section 8 quality standards and which rented at or below 120 percent of the Fair Market Rent. Furthermore, there were indications that the rental market was tightening so that there may have been even fewer units during the years of the demonstration -- 1976 to present. Second, many families were excluded because of selection and placement criteria established by the Leadership Council. For instance, the Leadership Council gave preference to smaller families that could occupy one- or two-bedroom units because of the relatively greater scarcity of vacant, suburban units with three or more bedrooms. Thus, larger families were effectively excluded. The Council also emphasized families with cars because of the lack of convenient public transportation in many of the outer suburbs where families were being placed. Families without cars, therefore, were also effectively excluded from participating in the demonstration. Other families were determined ineligible by the Leadership Council because of poor housekeeping, prison records, alcoholism or, more often, bad credit. Third, many families were not interested initially or, if interested, lost interest when they attended briefing sessions on the demonstration or visited housing sites in the suburbs.

In fact, interviews with eligible families who did not participate in the demonstration revealed that only 12% desired to live in the suburbs. This suggests once again, that the participating Gautreaux families were atypical.

Why Did Families Participate in the Demonstration?

Although several reasons were identified, no one overriding factor motivated a majority of families to participate.* "Better housing quality", "to get out of a CHA project", "better neighborhood", "financial considerations", and "better schools", were among the factors mentioned affecting the family's decision to participate in the demonstration or the family's choice to live in a particular neighborhood. However, comparisons between Gautreaux and Section 8 participants indicate that Gautreaux participants placed a greater emphasis on neighborhood advantages such as good schools or less crime than did Section 8 families who were relatively more concerned with reducing their housing cost. For those families who moved out of public housing to receive Section 8 assistance, however, neighborhood concerns were relatively more important than financial factors. The other Section 8 families were living in private housing, with some of them on the waiting list for public housing, so financial relief naturally was of greater importance for them.

Because of the demonstration's goal to disperse minorities, all three groups of families were asked about the importance of racial and income mixes in their neighborhoods. Gautreaux families were more likely than either eligible non-participating families or regular Section 8 tenants to desire a neighborhood with an equal number of minorities and non-minorities, as opposed to a neighborhood with a predominance of either group. They were also more likely to desire a neighborhood in which most people had different income. This preference, however, did not appear to be a major consideration in the decision to participate in the program or to move to the suburbs.

While Gautreaux families were attracted by the benefits in the suburbs had to offer, 43 percent reported that they originally had doubts about moving to their present neighborhood, including fears of discrimination, inadequate public transportation, living in an unfamiliar place, and being

* Data used in answering this and subsequent questions on the levels of satisfaction and preferences of families come from a survey conducted by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan. Three groups of families were interviewed: (1) Gautreaux participants; (2) Eligible families in the Gautreaux class who did not participate in the demonstration; and (3) regular Section 8 recipients in Chicago's Section 8 program.

far from friends and family. However, one-third of Section 8 families who moved indicated that they also had doubts. Their doubts about moving were more focused on neighborhood crime, rather than on discrimination or on inadequate public transportation.

How Did Gautreaux Families Evaluate Their Move?

Despite expressions of doubts, most Gautreaux families and regular Section 8 movers reported that moves to new locations worked out as well or better than expected. Gautreaux families, however, were more likely to give neighborhood conditions as the reason for this while Section 8 movers more frequently cited housing characteristics. Gautreaux participants living in the General Area of Chicago and in those suburban areas closest to the city of Chicago (suburban Cook and DuPage Counties) were more likely to report that the move was better than expected than those living in outlying Will and Kane Counties or in Limited census tracts of Chicago. Except for public transportation, Gautreaux participants gave high ratings to public services in their current neighborhood and indicated that these services were better than provided in neighborhoods where they lived prior to participating in the demonstration. While Gautreaux families reported having greater difficulty getting to public assistance agencies, they also tended to indicate that services provided were much improved over social services in their old neighborhoods.

Gautreaux participants expressed higher levels of satisfaction with their neighborhoods and housing than did eligible non-participating Gautreaux families or the regular Section 8 movers.

About four-fifths of the Gautreaux participants reported that they were very or somewhat satisfied with their neighborhood compared to two-thirds of the regular Section 8 families and about one-half of the Gautreaux non-participants. The satisfaction expressed by Gautreaux participants was generally related to the neighborhood and quality of public services, such as police protection and recreational facilities. Gautreaux participants placed in the Limited Area of Chicago, however, expressed somewhat lower levels of satisfaction with their neighborhood than did those placed in the General Area of the city (77% vs. 85%).

Eighty-one percent of the Gautreaux families were also satisfied with the quality of their housing and their housing satisfaction exceeded that reported by regular Section 8 families (68%) or eligible but non-participating families (56%). In addition, not only did their housing cost drop by an average of \$33 but Gautreaux families were placed in units renting for one-third more than the units of the regular Section 8 families in Chicago.

Although most Gautreaux participants were satisfied with their move, they were no more likely than Section 8 movers to report an improvement in the overall quality of their life since participating in the demonstration. This finding may be explained in at least two non-mutually exclusive ways:

(1) the expectations of suburban life by Gautreaux families may have been overly optimistic, or (2) the suburban-urban trade-off of neighborhood advantages with poor transportation and locational inconveniences left an overall positive balance no greater than the trade-off balance for the Section 8 families in the city who had convenience but less attractive neighborhoods.

Since one of the unique features of the demonstration was to provide extensive counseling assistance and to locate appropriate housing for the Gautreaux families, those assisted were asked to evaluate the help provided them by the Leadership Council. Recipients in the regular Section 8 program of Chicago, most of whom received less help in finding a unit in the city, were asked the same question.

A substantial majority (93 percent) of Gautreaux participants said that the assistance they received from the Leadership Council was "somewhat helpful" or "very helpful".
A smaller but still very large proportion of regular Section 8 families who moved within Chicago (80 percent) said the more limited assistance they received from the housing agency was either "somewhat" or "very helpful".

Do Gautreaux Families Plan to Move Again?

A more indirect measure of overall satisfaction was used by asking Gautreaux participants about their plans for moving. Substantial majorities of Gautreaux participants (60%), Section 8 recipients (74%), and eligible non-participants (65%) said they would probably or definitely move in the next two years. Gautreaux participants living in the Limited Area more often said they would move than would those in the General Area. These findings, however, do not suggest a definitive conclusion. From one perspective, the fact that 60 percent of Gautreaux families probably will move seems very high especially since it is roughly equivalent to the percent of eligible non-participants who plan to move. It could be interpreted as a sign of dissatisfaction. On the other hand, 60 percent is lower than 74 percent of Section 8 families planning to move. Furthermore, it is not clear to what extent mobility plans indicate dissatisfaction. Part of the answer to this question is revealed in responses to questions on why and where Gautreaux families would like to live. Two-thirds of all Gautreaux participants said they still wanted to live in the suburbs while one-third preferred Chicago. This contrasts with one-sixth of the Section 8 families and only one-eighth of eligible non-participating families who indicated a preference for the suburbs. The reason given by close to 60 percent of the families for the preference to live in Chicago was, not surprisingly, good transportation and locational convenience. These same reasons motivate the even larger proportions of the other two groups of families who preferred to live in Chicago. For the two-thirds of the Gautreaux families desiring the suburbs, there was no predominant reason. Interestingly, however, Section 8 and eligible families in the city both emphasized "neighborhood quality". They sounded similar to the Gautreaux families when explaining the reasons for their original decision to move to the suburbs.

Conclusion

By way of overall summary, a few findings from this study emerge as important.

- o The families who participated in the demonstration were, by no means, a typical subset of the "Gautreaux Class": they had different personal characteristics and locational preferences. They more often preferred to live in the suburbs and in racially balanced neighborhoods.
- o The Gautreaux demonstration placed most of the participants in areas of less concentrated minority populations. However, since the number of participating families was relatively small, neither Chicago nor its suburbs were changed substantially in either their racial or income mixes, as a result of the demonstration.
- o While there were 31,000 rental units in the Chicago SMSA which met Section 8 rental criteria in 1975, the rental market was beginning to tighten during the years of the demonstration. Furthermore, more than half of these units were either in areas of high minority concentrations or in areas very distant from the city and, therefore, not compatible with or desirable for the demonstration.
- o Most Gautreaux families were satisfied with their move and felt the quality of their life had improved. They were satisfied with their housing and the public services in their suburban neighborhoods relative to those in the city. Two-thirds of them said they wanted to remain in the suburbs.
- o Most Gautreaux families were satisfied with the help they received from the Leadership Council, although a majority of Section 8 families in Chicago was also satisfied with the more limited assistance received from the housing agency.
- o Living in the suburbs proved to some to have its inconveniences. Poor public transportation was a problem for many of the families. This was the main reason given for wanting to move by one-third who preferred to live in the city and it may have been the reason for those (between 75 and 80, i.e., 18 percent of all placed families) who dropped out of the demonstration and apparently moved back into the city.

Thus, the demonstration offered low-income families an opportunity to take advantage of suburban life. Certain families were attracted to the perceived benefits of the suburbs, particularly neighborhoods with higher socio-economic characteristics and better schools. However, they

encountered a trade-off between these new benefits and the city's convenience and better public transportation. A large majority of these families remained satisfied with their choice; a much smaller proportion, but nevertheless a considerable number of families, suggested through their behavior or expressed preferences an inclination to choose the advantages -- and implicitly the disadvantages -- of living in the city. For most of the eligible families who did not participate, this would have been, or was, their choice in the first place.

CHAPTER I

PURPOSE AND METHODOLOGY

Responding to a request made in December 1978 by the Office of the General Counsel, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), HUD's Office of Policy Development and Research undertook a short-term study of the impact of the Gautreaux demonstration on participating families. The demonstration, an outgrowth of the Hills v. Gautreaux¹ decision, was intended to assist applicants, for or tenants of, public housing in the city of Chicago in obtaining housing in areas with low concentrations of minority residents throughout the Chicago SMSA.

Administered by the Chicago-based Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities, under contract with HUD, the Gautreaux demonstration is one of the most significant and visible efforts to explore ways of providing metropolitan-wide housing opportunities through the use of Federal housing programs. The demonstration is unique in that HUD's major rental-housing assistance program, the Section 8 Existing Housing Assistance Payments Program, has been modified in an effort to insure that racial, economic, and geographic dispersion occurs throughout a metropolitan area. Unlike the regular Section 8 program, which permits but does not require interjurisdictional mobility, this modified version of the program mandates area-wide dispersion as a remedy for the concentration of minority persons within the City of Chicago. An evaluation of the personal experiences and preferences of demonstration participants is essential for an understanding of the impact of the demonstration.

The study has three objectives:

- (1) To assess the number and location of rental units in the Chicago SMSA for potential use by eligible participants in the demonstration.
- (2) To identify the characteristics of participant households and their neighborhoods; and
- (3) To examine neighborhood and residential preferences and to evaluate levels of satisfaction of participating families.

¹ Hills v. Gautreaux, 425 U.S. 284, 1976 (see Background section for a history of the litigation).

The purpose of the study is to provide information about participating families that will assist HUD in its efforts to promote metropolitan-wide housing opportunities. The study is not, however, intended to be a comprehensive evaluation of the Gautreaux demonstration. No analysis was conducted on such issues as the administration, design or cost-effectiveness of the demonstration.² Furthermore, neither neighbors of participating families nor apartment managers of units where Gautreaux participants lived were surveyed with respect to their attitudes towards Gautreaux families. These topics are subjects for further study.

The procedures employed to carry out the study involved three major steps: the identification of major research questions; the collection of relevant data; and the analysis of the data.

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- 2 Certain cost data are available from various sources which allow comparisons to be made between the cost per Gautreaux family placement and the cost per regular Section 8 family assistance. Gautreaux administrative costs are of two types: 1) normal costs associated with Section 8 assistance; and 2) costs covering the Leadership Council's special functions of counseling participants and finding them units. The Section 8 cost per family is based on a one-time only start-up fee of \$275 and an on-going subsidy of 8-1/2 percent of the Fair Market Rent for a two-bedroom unit. In 1977, the subsidy in Chicago was \$23 per month for a walk-up apartment and \$26 for an elevator unit. In 1978, the subsidy increased to \$25 and \$28, respectively.

A range of figures exists for the additional cost per Gautreaux placement. According to Leonard Rubinowitz and Katie Kenny, in their report on the first year of the Gautreaux demonstration, this cost was \$750 per family placed during the first contract period. Other estimates, based on vouchers received by HUD from the Leadership Council, are higher. According to these estimates, the cost per family during the first period of the demonstration (8/76 to 11/77) was \$1,150 and for the second contract period (12/77 to 3/79) was \$1,037; the average cost per family for the entire period of the demonstration was \$1,079. Therefore, when the additional expenses of placing a Gautreaux family are added to the Existing Section 8 charges, the cost of the demonstration exceeds the cost of the Section 8 program by roughly \$1,000 per family. In other words, this is the cost of providing additional assistance offered by the Leadership Council. The total cost would include this figure and the normal administrative costs per Section 8 family.

Identification of Major Research Issues

To identify and clarify the major research questions relating to the impact of the Gautreaux demonstration on participating families, staff members of the Division of Policy Studies, Office of Policy Development and Research, first met with staff from HUD's Office of the General Counsel (OGC) who provided the broad parameters of the study. After discussing the general direction of the study with the Deputy General Counsel and after reviewing existing literature and documents relative to the Gautreaux demonstration, a preliminary list of research issues was developed and alternative research approaches were considered. Staff of the Policy Studies Division then met with representatives from other HUD offices, including the Office of the Secretary; the Assistant Secretaries for Housing, Community Planning and Development, and Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity; and the General Counsel, to solicit their comments on this list and to make suggestions on additional issues that should be addressed. As a result of these discussions, a decision was made to expand the scope of the study to include a survey of recipients of Section 8 Existing Housing Assistance in the city of Chicago and families who were eligible but did not participate in the Gautreaux demonstration.

Research Design and Methodology

A three-part study design was developed to address the major research objectives. The design included:

- o An analysis of the rental housing supply in the Chicago SMSA based on 1975 Annual Housing Survey data;
- o An analysis of (1) census tract data for neighborhood areas where Gautreaux and Section 8 families lived before and after receiving rental assistance, and (2) housing characteristics and housing cost data for both groups of participants before and after the move; and
- o An attitudinal and demographic³ survey of Gautreaux Class households (demonstration participants and eligible but non-participating households) and recipients of assistance in the regular Section 8 Existing Housing Program in Chicago.

3 In addition to demographic data collected in the survey, demographic information on Gautreaux and Section 8 families was collected from the Section 8 application form, "Tenant Eligibility and Recertification."

Part One -- The Rental Housing Supply Analysis

To analyze the supply of housing within the metropolitan area which would have been available to participants in the Gautreaux demonstration, it was necessary to obtain the most current existing data on the availability, cost, size, location and quality of rental units within the Chicago SMSA.⁴ Extensive discussions were held with housing market experts within HUD and with several Chicago-based agencies having housing market expertise in an attempt to identify and collect data on the Chicago-area rental housing market.⁵ These discussions, and a review of existing information, revealed a lack of current market data available at the census tract level or at a level sufficient for detailed neighborhood analysis. Much of the existing data were found to be sketchy and fragmented as well as dated. (See Appendix A for a more detailed discussion of problems of existing data.)

The best available data source was the 1975 Annual Housing Survey (AHS) of the Chicago SMSA, disaggregated by planning district or county. A planning district is a county subdivision with a population of approximately 250,000.⁶

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- 4 Time and cost constraints made it inappropriate to do primary data collection on these issues.
 - 5 Within HUD, discussions were held with the Directors and staff members of PDR's Division of Economic and Market Analysis and Division of Housing and Demographic Analysis. Discussions in Chicago were held with the Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission (NIPC), the Home Investment Fund (HIF), and the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities.
 - 6 The boundaries of the planning districts were further defined by certain demographic characteristics of the majority of its households including race, income, median rent, median housing value, and education. Only the data tape which divides the city of Chicago into 12 planning districts was available in time for this analysis. Thus, county-level data are presented for the suburban counties of the SMSA with data for Cook County disaggregated by the city of Chicago and the remaining suburban area.

Part Two -- The Analysis of Neighborhood and Housing Characteristics

For this analysis, data were collected on the neighborhoods and housing characteristics of families participating in both the Gautreaux demonstration and the Section 8 Existing Housing Program in Chicago. The data sources were:

- o The 1970 Census;
- o The Section 8 application form for "Tenant Eligibility and Recertification";
- o The Section 8 form used to compute the "Shopping Incentive Credit and Housing Assistance Payment";
- o The Section 8 form "Request for Lease Approval";
- o Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) Section 8 case files.

Once the data were collected, comparisons of the housing and neighborhood characteristics, before and after participation, were made for the following groups:⁷

- o Regular Section 8 vs. Gautreaux families;
- o Suburban-placed vs. Chicago-placed Gautreaux families;
- o Families in Limited Public Housing Areas vs. those in General Public Housing Areas (Gautreaux and regular Section 8);⁸
- o Movers vs. Non-Movers (Gautreaux and Regular Section 8);
- o Families participating in the regular Section 8 Existing Housing Program who moved from public housing vs. those who moved while on public housing waiting lists vs. those who moved from private housing.

The basis for the analysis of neighborhood differences is the 1970 Census. One problem in using these data is that the characteristics of neighborhoods in 1979 may not be the same as they were in 1970 when the census was conducted, particularly with respect to racial composition. However, several more recent special censuses conducted in the Chicago area indicate that most suburban communities had experienced very little change; they show that there have been only small increases in black suburban population during the 1970-76 period. Communities in which a large number of Gautreaux families were placed were overwhelmingly white, both in 1970 and in the late 1970's. (For a more extensive discussion of this issue, see Appendix B.)

⁷ Neighborhood comparisons for groups before and after moving were based on the census tract data rather than the community level data in an effort to allow for more detailed analysis. Addresses were provided by the Leadership Council and the Chicago Housing Authority.

⁸ See "Background" section for the definition of Limited and General Public Housing areas.

Part Three -- The Attitudinal Survey

This phase of the study had the following objectives:

- o To determine the family characteristics of participants and the factors influencing their participation in the Gautreaux demonstration and Section 8 Existing Housing Assistance Payments Program;
- o To determine the extent and nature of changes in housing and neighborhood evaluations among families as a result of participating in the demonstration or program; and
- o To assess residential preferences and prospective mobility among program participants.

To meet these objectives, personal and telephone interviews were conducted by the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center with heads of household of the following groups:⁹

- A) All participants in the Gautreaux demonstration under age 62 who could be contacted and who agreed to be interviewed;¹⁰
- B) A probability sample of eligible non-participating families in the Gautreaux demonstration under age 62, divided into two subgroups:
 - o Eligible non-participating families living in public housing; and
 - o Eligible non-participating families on public housing waiting list.
- C) A probability sample of recipients of Section 8 Existing housing assistance under age 62, in the city of Chicago, divided into four subgroups:

⁹ See Appendix C for a detailed discussion on the technical aspects of the survey including sampling, response rates, and non-response problems.

¹⁰ About 19 Gautreaux participants were age 62 or older. These participants were initially interviewed. Although they were subsequently contacted, the interviews were conducted too late to be included in this analysis.

- o Participating families who did not move (leased-in-place) when they began to receive housing assistance;
- o Participants who moved from public housing units when they entered the program;
- o Participants who were on public housing waiting lists at the time they became involved in the Section 8 program; and
- o Participants who moved from private housing and were not on waiting lists when they became Section 8 recipients.

CHAPTER II

LEGAL HISTORY OF THE GAUTREAUX CASE

In 1966, Dorothy Gautreaux and other tenants in, and applicants for, public housing in Chicago brought suit against the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) and the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). The plaintiffs charged that the CHA and HUD had violated their constitutional rights by following racially discriminatory practices in the administration of the Low Rent Public Housing Program.

In the years that followed, the Gautreaux case involved numerous District and Appeals Court decisions, and in 1976, a Supreme Court ruling. In general, these rulings have been in favor of the plaintiffs and against HUD and the CHA. As a result of these decisions, HUD and the plaintiffs agreed to undertake a series of efforts designed to increase the housing opportunities of Chicago public housing tenants in non-minority impacted areas. A major component of these efforts involved a commitment of resources by HUD to a demonstration using the Section 8 Housing Assistance Payments Program. This demonstration provided concentrated and tailored assistance to tenants in, and applicants for, Chicago public housing. In the two and one-half years that the Gautreaux demonstration has been operating, over 450 families have been placed in existing housing, located primarily in non-minority impacted areas of suburban Chicago.

This section summarizes the legal history of the case, provides a brief outline of the regular Section 8 Housing Assistance Payments Program, differentiates that program from the demonstration, and describes certain problems unique to the administration of interjurisdictional Gautreaux demonstration.

The Legal History of the Case

In the original suit, the plaintiffs charged that the CHA had violated their Fourteenth Amendment rights by intentionally following project site selection and tenant assignment policies with the purpose of maintaining existing patterns of racial segregation in Chicago. The plaintiffs also filed a class action suit against the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) charging that HUD had violated

their Fifth Amendment rights by funding CHA projects with full knowledge of CHA's discriminatory housing practices.¹ Presiding District Court Judge Richard Austin held the HUD case in abeyance, pending his disposition of the case against the CHA.

In February 1969, the U.S. District Court found that the Chicago Housing Authority had violated the Constitutional rights of applicants for, and tenants in, public housing by following racially discriminatory policies.

The District Court ruled in favor of the plaintiffs and against the CHA on both the issue of site selection and tenant assignment. Regarding tenant assignment, Judge Austin noted in his Memorandum Opinion that, until 1954, the CHA had refused to permit black families to reside in four CHA projects located in substantially white areas. He also noted that in December 1967, black occupancy accounted no more than seven percent in any of these four projects. The contrast between these figures and both the racial composition of the population of all CHA projects and the CHA waiting lists for those projects -- 90 percent black in both cases -- was stark. The Judge also noted the uncontradicted statements of several former and, at that time, current CHA officials, regarding the existence of quotas and controls for admission to these projects. Judge Austin concluded, "...CHA's quotas clearly have maintained Negro occupancy at a permanently low level".² Regarding the charge of discrimination in site selection, Judge Austin noted two facts: 99 percent of all public housing units were located in areas in which 50 percent or more of the residents were black; and, all newly proposed public housing sites were submitted to Chicago Aldermen for their approval or rejection. In the opinion of the Court, "No criterion, other than race, can plausibly explain the veto over 99-1/2 percent of the housing units located on the white sites which were initially selected on the basis of CHA's expert

¹ In the initial complaint, the attorneys for the plaintiffs charged the CHA only with discrimination regarding the site selection procedures. They were not fully aware of discriminatory tenant assignment policies until March 1968. See F. A. Lazin, Public Housing in Chicago, 1963-1971 Gautreaux v. Chicago Housing Authority: A Case Study of the Co-optation of a Federal Agency by its Constituency (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Univ. of Chicago, 1973).

² 296. F. Supp. 907 (1969).

judgment and at the same time the rejection of only 10 percent or so of the units on Negro sites." ³

The District Court divided the city of Chicago into two areas; the Limited Public Housing Area -- largely minority populated sections in which further development of public housing was to be avoided -- and the General Public Housing Area -- predominantly white areas of Chicago in which public housing programs were to be expanded.

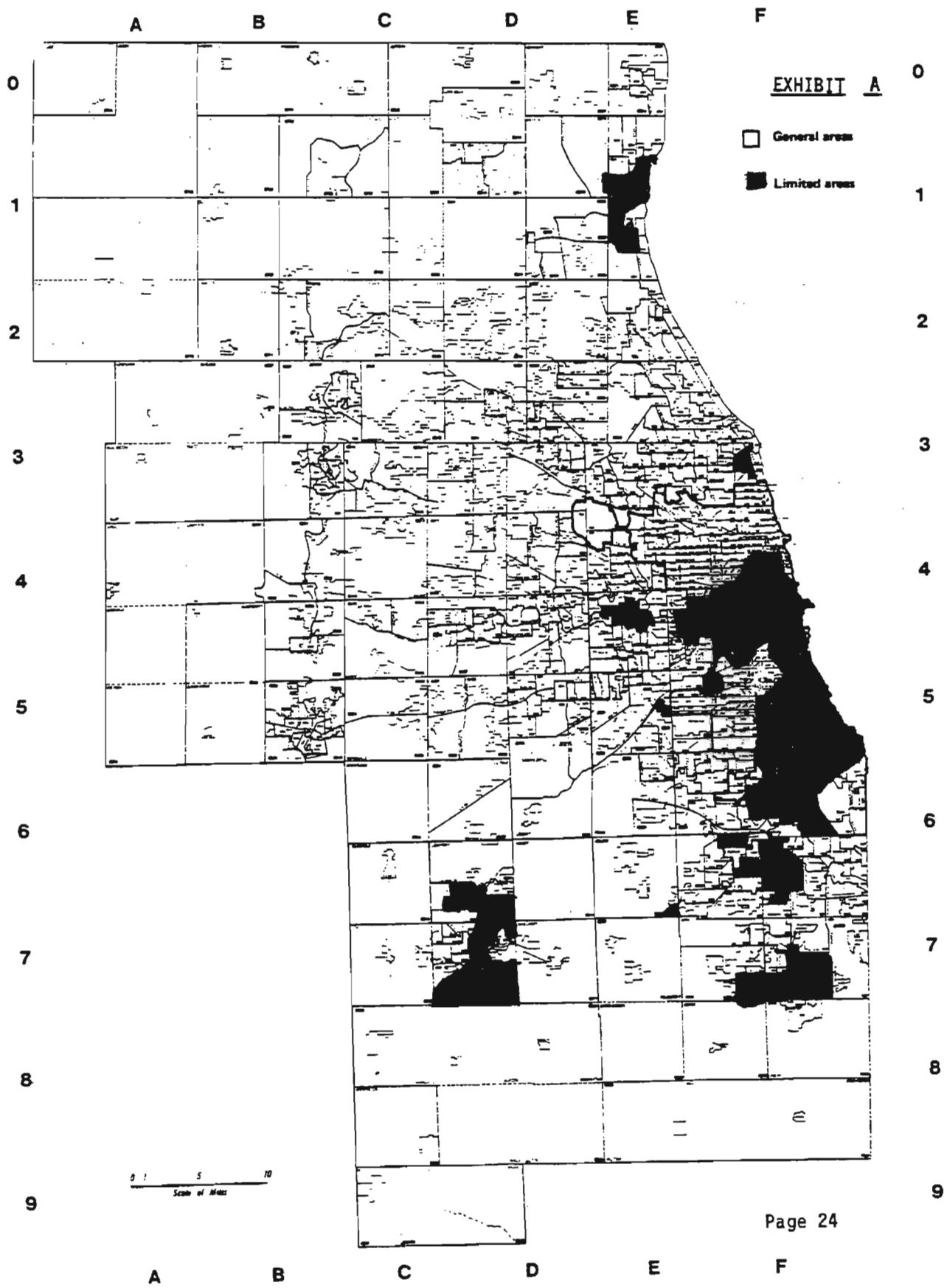
At first, the Court delayed the final judgment on all claims for relief to allow the parties (plaintiffs and CHA) to attempt to reach agreement on future actions and remedial efforts. These efforts failed, and consequently, Judge Austin solicited the views and comments of both parties towards a possible remedy. Then, in July 1969, the Court entered a decree which divided Cook County into two areas (See Exhibit A). The "Limited Public Housing Area" consisted of all census tracts which contained 30 percent or more non-white residents and all tracts within one mile of any point on the outer perimeter of such census tracts. The General Public Housing Area consisted of the remaining areas of Cook County. The decree required that: (1) the first 700 new units of public housing be built in the General Public Housing Area; (2) future projects be built for no more than 120 persons except in special cases; and (3) no families with children be placed any higher than the third floor of a building. Regarding tenant assignment, the decree required the CHA to submit revised procedures to the Court for review and approval.

In 1971 the Court of Appeals reversed the lower court and ruled that HUD had also violated the Constitutional rights of public housing tenants and applicants.

In September 1970, Judge Austin dismissed the plaintiffs' case against HUD on the grounds that the Fifth Amendment did not provide jurisdiction in the circumstances alleged by the plaintiffs. The ruling was appealed by the plaintiffs and in September 1971, the Court of Appeals reversed the lower Court's decision and held that HUD had violated the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment and also violated Section 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In ordering such a reversal, the Court pointed to: (1) the \$350,000,000 that HUD had provided the CHA between 1950 and 1966; (2) HUD's acknowledgement that the operation of the low-rent public housing program is entirely dependent upon continuing, year-to-year, federal financial assistance; (3) HUD's unexercised discretion

³ Ibid. p. 312.

LIMITED - GENERAL AREAS: CHICAGO SMSA



in approving or rejecting both site selection and tenant assignment practices of local housing authorities; and (4) the fact that the actions which perpetuated a racially discriminatory housing system in Chicago had taken place with the awareness of the HUD Secretary and other HUD officials.⁴ The case was then returned to the District Court for a determination as to appropriate relief for the plaintiffs.

On October 1, 1971, the District Court granted the plaintiffs' motion and entered an order enjoining HUD from releasing Second Year Model Cities funds to the City of Chicago unless and until sites for at least 700 new public housing units in white areas of the City of Chicago were approved by the Chicago City Council. However, in March 1972, the Court of Appeals reversed this decision, citing the lack of relationship between discrimination in public housing and Model Cities activities.

On December 23, 1971, the Court directed the parties to prepare and submit a draft final order for entry by the Court in the HUD litigation. HUD filed its response on April 26, 1972. This consisted of (1) a draft order pledging to use its best efforts to cooperate with CHA in its efforts to increase the supply of dwelling units in conformity with all laws, regulations and final non-appealable court orders; and (2) a presentation of HUD's programs and policies designed to secure better housing opportunities for low-income families in furtherance of the goal established by the United States Congress.

On April 10, 1972, Judge Austin, citing the Chicago City Council's refusal to approve new sites that had been submitted by CHA, joined the city and City Council defendants with the CHA. The Court also suspended the Illinois state law that required approval of such sites before construction could begin. On May 15, 1973, the Court of Appeals approved this order and in January 1974, the U.S. Supreme Court denied the City of Chicago's petition for a hearing.

Judge Austin entered a final judgment order against HUD on September 11, 1973. The order, reflecting the draft which had been proposed by HUD, was one in which HUD agreed "to use its best efforts to cooperate with CHA in its best efforts to increase the supply of low-rent public housing on a non-discriminatory basis." In entering this order, Judge Austin also rejected the plaintiffs' proposal to order metropolitan-wide relief similar to that requested for the Detroit school desegregation suit Milliken v. Bradley. Judge Austin distinguished the two cases on the grounds that in Gautreaux v. Hills, the wrongs were committed solely within the city of Chicago and against residents of that city and without any allegation that CHA fostered discrimination in the suburbs. To order a

4 448 F.2d 731 (1971).

metropolitan-wide remedy would involve political entities which previously had nothing to do with the lawsuit.

In 1973, the Court of Appeals reversed the earlier District Court ruling against metropolitan-wide relief and held that such relief was permissible.

On November 9, 1973, the plaintiffs filed a motion of appeal with the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals, opposing the limited scope of relief ordered by the District Court. On November 13, 1973, the Government filed a notice of cross appeal. On August 26, 1974, the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals, in a two-to-one decision, reversed the September 11, 1973, final judgment order against HUD. The reversal of the District Court ruling was based on the Appeals Court's determination that "The equitable factors which prevented metropolitan relief in Milliken v. Bradley are simply not present here."⁵ The Court then noted five major differences: (1) the lack of a deeply rooted tradition of local control of public housing; (2) the existence of Federal statutes requiring HUD to administer housing programs affirmatively to further policies of non-discrimination; (3) the less severe administrative problems for a metropolitan-wide housing program than a metropolitan-wide school busing program; (4) the presence of evidence of suburban discrimination; and (5) the agreement of all parties involved that the metropolitan area is the single relevant locality for low-rent housing purposes.⁶ On September 30, 1974, HUD's Petition for Rehearing was denied by the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals.

Meanwhile, the lack of construction of public housing units led the plaintiffs to motion the Court to appoint a "Gautreaux Commissioner" to be paid by the defendants. The Commissioner would have broad powers to command the cooperation of all parties and would formulate a remedial plan. After acceptance of a plan by the Court, the Commissioner would monitor its implementation by the defendants.

On November 1, 1974, the Court denied the plaintiffs' request for appointment of the Gautreaux Commissioner, but appointed a U.S. Magistrate to serve as a Master. The Master was directed to study and review the existing patterns of racial segregation in Chicago housing, to determine and identify the causes of delay in the implementation of the Court's prior judgment orders, and to recommend a plan of action which would expedite the Court's mandate that the supply of dwelling units in the city of Chicago be increased as rapidly as possible, including utilization of the new housing programs established by the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974.

⁵ 503 F.2d 930 (1974).

⁶ Ibid. 936, 927.

On November 11, 1974, CHA filed with the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals a petition for a writ of mandamus against Judge Richard B. Austin seeking to require the Judge to vacate his order of reference to the Master. In February 1975 the Seventh Circuit, in a two-to-one decision, upheld Judge Austin's order of reference.

In the District Court, on February 24, 1975, Judge Austin granted the plaintiffs' motion to add parties as defendants and to file a supplemental complaint. Named as additional parties for purposes of relief were all of the housing authorities in the six-county Chicago SMSA, the Illinois Planning Commission, and the Director of the Illinois Department of Local Government Affairs. Since filing of the supplemental complaint, all parties and the District Court agreed to postpone indefinitely all further pleading in the "suburban aspect" of the Gautreaux litigation.

In April 1976, the United States Supreme Court upheld the ruling of the Appeals Court with respect to the appropriate scope of relief, finding that metropolitan-wide relief, in principle, is permissible.

On February 20, 1975, the Government filed a petition with the U.S. Supreme Court to review the August 26, 1974, judgment of the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals.

HUD contended that the Milliken decision barred a remedy affecting actions beyond the Chicago city limits on two grounds -- that such a remedy was incommensurate with the constitutional violation to be repaired and that it would require consolidating governmental units not implicated in the violations. The first of HUD's arguments was rejected by the Court because HUD, in contrast to the suburban school districts, committed violations of the Constitution and Federal statutes. The second argument was rejected due to the existence of the Section 8 Housing Assistance Payments Program. The Section 8 program permits HUD to provide leased housing units by contracting directly with private owners in locations where there is no public housing agency (PHA) willing and able to perform such functions. This option still allows local governments to comment on specific proposals, reject programs inconsistent with local housing assistance plans, and requires zoning restrictions to be observed. The program, therefore, does not require consolidation or any extensive interaction on the part of a PHA. On April 20, 1976, the U.S. Supreme Court, citing these points, upheld the judgment of the Court of Appeals and found that "A metropolitan area remedy in this case is not impermissible as a matter of law." The Supreme Court did not require a metropolitan area remedy; it only determined that the District Court had the authority to order one.

In June 1976, HUD agreed to voluntarily undertake a demonstration program designed to assist Gautreaux class families to find housing in suburban or other non-minority impacted areas of the Chicago SMSA.

Following the Supreme Court ruling, HUD and the attorney for the plaintiffs entered into a voluntary, one year agreement on June 7, 1976. It was intended that the voluntary undertakings set forth in the Letter of Agreement would enable the Court and the parties involved to consider metropolitan-wide relief in the future on a more informed basis. While the June 7 letter contained a number of commitments on the part of HUD, perhaps the most significant aspect in the agreement concerned the development of a Section 8 demonstration intended to relocate approximately 400 Gautreaux class families in existing housing throughout non-minority impacted areas of the Chicago SMSA. "Gautreaux Class families" were defined as families that met the income requirements of the Section 8 program and were also either tenants in, or applicants for, family public housing projects operated by the CHA. HUD implemented the demonstration by entering into separate contracts with two community-based organizations, the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities and the Fair Housing Center of the Home Investment Fund. The Leadership Council was responsible for activities related to facilitating the move made by Gautreaux class families from their current residence to other locations. This included locating units and contacting and counseling the families. The Leadership Council was not responsible for inspecting units, executing either the Housing Assistance Payment Contract or the actual Certificate of Participation, or any subsequent administrative tasks. All such actions were the responsibility of the PHA in whose jurisdiction the family was placed. The Home Investment Fund, a Chicago-based fair housing organization, was contracted by HUD to perform these services in areas in which no PHA operated or was willing or able to participate in the demonstration.

On July 29, 1977, HUD and the plaintiffs' attorney supplanted the June 7 Letter of Agreement with a new joint agreement. Under the July 29, 1977 letter, HUD not only extended and expanded upon the 400-unit demonstration program by signing second contract with the Leadership Council and the Home Investment Fund, but also agreed to make available to members of the plaintiff class no fewer than 500 units, among the counties in the Chicago SMSA, using the Section 8 New Construction and Rehabilitation programs and the traditional public housing program. Under the terms of the July 29 letter, the availability of units to Gautreaux class members under these programs was assured "through marketing arrangements reasonably acceptable to the plaintiffs." The July 29 letter has been amended on five occasions.

While the "metropolitan" aspect of the Gautreaux litigation is set forth in the July 29 Letter of Understanding, the "intra-city" aspect has been the subject of regular hearings before the Court-appointed Master, U.S. Magistrate Olga Jurco, pursuant to the Order of Reference. Through these meetings, the 1973 "best efforts" order has been modified on several occasions. The modification of greatest significance was a May 5, 1975 court order which provided that the best effort order not be interpreted to preclude HUD from approving a Housing Assistance Plan filed with it by the City of Chicago if the City's plan provided (1) for a 60 percent allocation of Section 8 units for non-elderly housing; (2) for a 60 percent-40 percent locational requirement for Section 8 units between the General and the Limited Public Housing Areas; and (3) for a 50 percent availability of Section 8 units in Chicago. This 1975 Order was amended on February 24, 1978 to delete the Section 8 substantial rehabilitation program from the 60-40 locational restrictions and to reduce from 50 percent to 20 percent the availability requirement for units in Section 8 New Construction and Substantial Rehabilitation projects.

CHAPTER III

DESCRIPTION OF THE GAUTREAUX DEMONSTRATION

The Gautreaux demonstration was intended to assist members of the plaintiff class in obtaining housing in non-racially impacted areas throughout the Chicago SMSA and to develop, test, evaluate, and report on procedures to accomplish that goal. The initial goal was to house 400 families in the first year of the demonstration. At the time of the renewal of the contract for a second year, the goal of placing an additional 470 families was established. The vehicle used to carry out the demonstration was a modified version of the Section 8 Existing Housing Assistance Payments Program.

The Section 8 Program is usually operated by a local public housing agency (PHA) and provides a monthly assistance payment for housing to families or individuals who are income eligible and who can find privately owned units that meet the program's housing quality standards. Qualifying households receive housing subsidies equal to the amount by which the rents for modest housing units of appropriate size exceed 25 percent, or in some cases, 15 percent of the adjusted income of the family. Subsidies are paid to the landlords by the PHA as long as the units meet PHA housing inspection standards, the families remain income eligible, and the leases and Housing Assistance Program contracts are in effect. The amount of the subsidy may vary depending on the income and size of recipients' households and the Fair Market Rents (FMRs) that are established by HUD for the locality.

The PHA receives the Section 8 subsidy commitment from HUD through an Annual Contributions Contract (ACC). Under the commitment, HUD agrees to provide subsidies for a five-year period for a specified number of units. For each unit committed in the ACC, the PHA receives a preliminary fee to initiate the program (approximately \$275 per unit) and once the unit is leased up, the PHA receives an ongoing, monthly administrative fee of 8-1/2 percent of the Fair Market Rent for a two-bedroom unit for each leased unit or \$15, whichever is greater.

In administering its ACC with HUD, the housing agency is responsible for a variety of tasks. In addition to the administrative requirements, such as processing of applications, determination of eligibility, calculation of family contribution and assistance payments, disbursing assistance payments, inspection of units, and annual recertification of eligibility, several tasks are designed to be of direct assistance to the

¹ 24 C.F.R. 883.114.

recipient and potential recipient. PHAs are required to publish and disseminate information regarding the nature and availability of the housing assistance; invite owners to make units available for leasing; develop working relationships with landlords and appropriate associations; provide information to each certificate holder regarding housing quality standards, landlord and tenant responsibilities, and basic program rules; and, undertake efforts to provide opportunities for recipients to seek housing outside areas of economic and racial concentration.

Although PHAs make outreach efforts to attract households, families must take the initiative to apply to the PHA in order to participate in the Section 8 program. If families are certified as income eligible, they are placed on a waiting list. Once issued a Certificate of Participation, they have to find housing units that can pass the program's housing standards and that rent either at or under the rent ceiling or Fair Market Rent² for the PHA jurisdiction. Families can qualify for assistance in the units they are currently occupying or move to other units. They can live anywhere in the PHA's jurisdiction as long as the units they occupy meet the acceptability standards and rent criteria.

To participate in the Section 8 program, families must have incomes which do not exceed 80 percent of the median income for the area. Normally, a family's rent contribution is 25 percent of adjusted gross income but may be as low as 15 percent if the family (1) is large, with very low income; (2) is very large with low income; or (3) has exceptional medical or other expenses.³ A lower income family is defined as having an income that does not exceed 50 percent of the median income for the area. Families participating in the Section 8 program must sign a HUD approved lease with the landlord for the eligible housing unit. The term of the lease is usually one year and the PHA must approve any evictions by landlords of Section 8 recipients. The family and landlord must also inspect the unit and sign certification that the unit meets the PHA's housing standards. The landlord must execute a Housing Assistance Payments (HAP) contract with the PHA in order to participate in the program. The term of the HAP contract can be up to five years.

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- 2 Fair Market Rents are set for units of each bedroom size up to and including four or more bedrooms. These FMRs can be exceeded but rents are usually negotiated at the FMR or slightly below it. If the rent is negotiated below the FMR, the recipient may earn a small rent reduction credit, "shopping" incentive that reduces the recipient's contribution toward the rent.
 - 3 As defined by the Section 8 Regulations, a "large family" includes six or more minors (other than the head of the family or spouse). A "very large family" includes eight or more minors (other than the head of the family or spouse).
 - 4 24 C.F.R. 500.1, Part 882

The operation of the regular Section 8 program in Chicago has been modified by Gautreaux related decisions and Court orders. One modification establishes a quota system for the allocation of non-elderly Section 8 Certificates among eligible families. Apart from the Gautreaux demonstration, 50 percent of all such certificates in Chicago must be issued to members of the Gautreaux class -- 25 percent to families on the waiting list for public housing and 25 percent to public housing residents. The remaining 50 percent are distributed to eligible applicants in the public-at-large. The second modification requires the CHA to operate the Section 8 program so that no less than 60 percent of non-elderly units are located in the area designated by the Court as the General Public Housing Area.

The Gautreaux demonstration combined the Section 8 Housing Assistance Payments Program with the intensive use of targeted resources to locate, counsel, and assist Gautreaux class families and to match them with suitable units in non-racially impacted areas throughout the Chicago SMSA.

The Gautreaux demonstration differs from both the regular Section 8 program and the modified Chicago version of Section 8 in several ways. First, only members of the Gautreaux class are eligible for the demonstration. That is, only those families that meet the requirements of the regular Section 8 program, and are also either tenants in, or applicants for, family public housing projects operated by the CHA, are eligible for the demonstration.

A second major difference is the emphasis in the demonstration on relocation. In the regular Section 8 program, certificate holders are permitted to use their certificate to obtain housing in any area where the PHA is not legally barred from entering into contracts. PHAs are also encouraged to promote and facilitate the area-wide mobility afforded families receiving Section 8 housing assistance. Despite such opportunities, however, only about one-half of all certificate holders nationwide use their certificates to obtain a different unit from their pre-Section 8 residence and only about one-third obtain a different unit in a different neighborhood.⁵ The demonstration, however, virtually requires that participating families move to areas with less concentration of minorities. These areas are primarily in the suburbs of Chicago (See Exhibit A for designated Limited-General areas for Chicago SMSA).

5 Lower Income Housing Assistance Program (Section 8): Nationwide Evaluation of the Existing Housing Program; U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (1978).

A third major difference between the regular Section 8 program and the demonstration program is the extent of assistance provided to the eligible families. 6/ The assistance provided in the demonstration is both more intensive and more tailored to the needs of the Gautreaux class than the assistance provided in the regular Section 8 program. The special assistance takes two general forms: locating housing owners willing to participate in the program throughout the Chicago SMSA; and, contacting, counseling, and assisting Gautreaux class families in their selection of dwelling units.

The Leadership Council undertook an outreach program to locate landlords willing to make units available to Gautreaux class families.

The first task undertaken by the Leadership Council was to identify landlords who might be willing to rent units to Gautreaux demonstration participants. The Council subcontracted with a public relations firm to develop a brochure to explain the demonstration and the Section 8 program to the general public. The brochure and a cover letter were mailed to professional management organizations and to individual owners identified through previous Council contacts and published directories. A more detailed explanation of various aspects of the program was prepared for those owners who gave serious consideration to participating in the program. The staff of the Council also met with major rental management firms to obtain support and cooperation. These meetings resulted in some rental units being made available in the early stages of the demonstration and the establishment of a committee by one management organization to provide members with further information on the Section 8 Program.

Based on their experience, members of the Leadership Council staff selected geographic areas in which to concentrate their efforts. Existing vacancy surveys, reports, and published advertisements were also consulted to identify areas with available housing units. Council staff, and later subcontractors, telephone managers of management firms responsible for larger rental complexes. Owners of smaller complexes and individual units were identified primarily through the use of newspaper advertisements. The Council also invited local fair housing agencies to consider a subcontract for the purpose of assisting them in locating willing landlords.

6/ The following description draws heavily from two sources: the final report for the first year of the Gautreaux demonstration, by Kale Williams and Henry J. Zuba of the Leadership for Metropolitan Open Communities, and Metropolitan Housing Opportunities for Lower Income Families, Report on the Gautreaux Demonstration, Year I, by Leonard S. Rubinowitz and Katie Kenny of Northwestern University. The report was funded by a grant from the Ford Foundation to the Leadership Council.

As a result of these activities, the Leadership Council was able to accumulate a listing and description of apartments available for placement of Gautreaux class families.

The Leadership Council mailed over 41,280 announcements of the demonstration to about 22,655 eligible families. Virtually all of these mailings, however, went to that portion of eligible families needing two or fewer bedrooms.

The next major task faced by the Leadership Council was the identification and notification of eligible families from the three subgroups of the "Gautreaux Class":

- o Tenants in CHA family housing projects;
- o Families on waiting lists for CHA public housing; and
- o Families who leased apartments from managers under the Section 23⁷ program administered by CHA.

Originally, the Leadership Council intended to notify and invited 10 percent sample of all non-elderly tenants in CHA housing to participate in the demonstration. With modified materials used in a previous contract, including a brochure, cover letter, and response card, the Council made a test mailing to 300 families from tenant lists and waiting lists provided by CHA.

Shortly after the initial mailing, the Leadership Council made a significant modification to the notification process. The Council's staff decided to send subsequent announcements and invitations only to those smaller families residing in or qualifying for housing units consisting of two or fewer bedrooms. Since only 54 percent of CHA-owned family units have two or fewer bedrooms, this modification reduced the number of Gautreaux class families who received a mailing to approximately half of those eligible. This modification was made due to the heavy initial response rate of larger families and the Leadership Council's perception, based on both 1970 Census data and the experience of their staff, that very few three and four bedroom units were available in the suburban area. At the Council's request, CHA provided a complete list of 16,277 tenants who occupied one or two bedroom units. Subsequent notifications and invitations were sent to families on this list.

7 The Low-Rent Leased Public Housing Program (Section 23) allows local public housing agencies to lease private housing for low-income families. Eligible families pay up to 25 percent of their adjusted income towards rents. HUD pays the difference between the rents paid to private owners and the portion paid by the tenant.

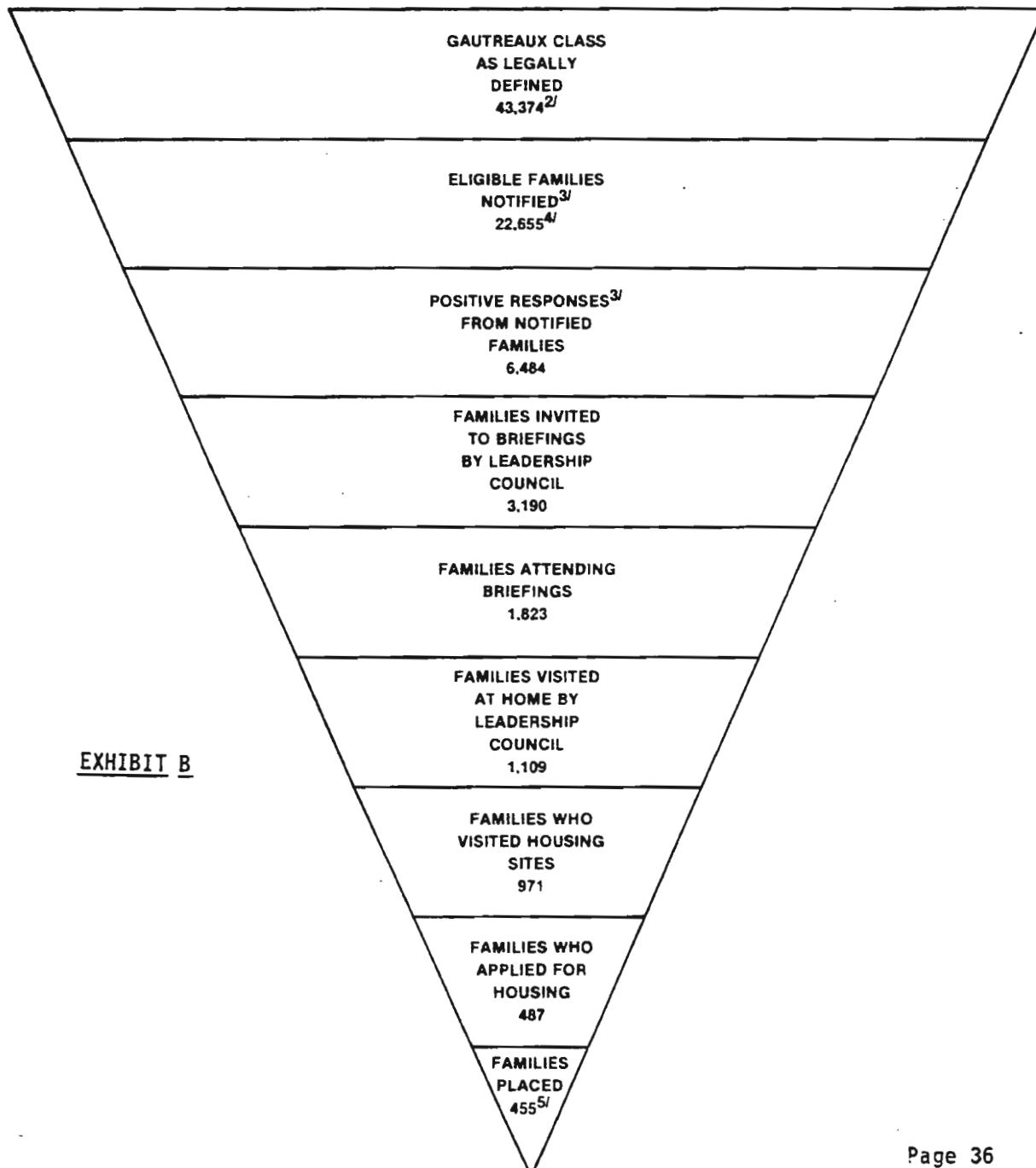
As of March 31, 1979, the Leadership Council had mailed 41,280 notifications of eligibility to participate in the demonstration to about 23,000 families. During the same period, the Leadership Council received 6,484 responses, 4,490 from CHA tenant families and 1,994 from waiting list families (See Exhibit B). Many families were notified twice and some families responded more than once. Information, however, is not available on the number of duplicative mailings and/or responses. In a substantial number of cases (6,482 or 15 percent of the total number of notices sent), the mail was returned by the Post Office as undeliverable.⁸ The number of response cards returned to the Council represented 15 percent of the families presumed to have received the mailings.

The Leadership Council's screening procedures emphasized the provision of assistance primarily to families indicating a suburban preference and having access to private transportation.

The response cards which were returned provided the information used by the Leadership Council to undertake the next phase of the demonstration -- counseling and assisting eligible families. In January 1977, after the initial test mailings, the Leadership Council changed the format of the response card to permit them to set up briefing sessions in a more effective manner. The revised response card asked for family size and composition, the availability of private transportation, and whether the family was invited only if the Leadership Council had units available near public transportation. Since early mailings had produced a sizable number of families desiring placement in the city of Chicago, the Council soon stopped inviting such families to briefing sessions. From August 1976 to the end of March 31, 1979, the Leadership Council invited 3,190 families to briefing sessions; 57 percent of those invited (1,823) actually attended. These families tended to be unrepresentative of the Gautreaux class as a whole, in that they were more likely to be smaller, to possess a car, and to prefer living in the suburbs.

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- ⁸ Of the mailings returned, 82 percent had been sent to families on the waiting list for CHA public housing. This high return rate, which was due to the outdated addresses used by the Leadership Council, reflects the high mobility rate of these families.
- ⁹ A later section of this report describes and compares, in more detail, data on demographic characteristics of eligible families who did not participate and who did participate in the demonstration.

STAGES IN THE IDENTIFICATION, NOTIFICATION AND PLACEMENT OF GAUTREAUX FAMILIES^{1/}



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- ^{1/} All numbers were provided by the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities.
- ^{2/} This number includes 30,518 tenants in family projects operated by the Chicago Housing Authority and 12,586 families on the waiting lists for these projects as of July, 1978.
- ^{3/} Many families were notified twice and some families responded more than once.
- ^{4/} This number includes all families as of July, 1978, who were tenants in or applicants for 0, 1, and 2 bedroom units operated by the Chicago Housing Authority.
- ^{5/} This is the number of families placed in the Section 8 Existing Demonstration; in addition, 104 families were placed in New Construction or Loan Management housing, bringing the total to 559 as of March 31, 1979.

At these briefings, Leadership Council staff provided the families with a history of the Gautreaux case, described the Section 8 program, explained the responsibilities of both tenants and landlords in the program, showed photographs of the kinds of apartments that were likely to be available, and answered questions regarding this information and other concerns of prospective clients.

Families attending the group sessions were requested to complete in-take forms which provided the Leadership Council with information on family size, family income and credit information, and names of references. This information was evaluated to insure that a family was eligible for the program and to determine if an appropriate unit was available or likely to become available. The families were also requested to have an income verification form completed by their employer or Public Aid case-worker and to obtain at least two letters of reference. The purpose of the income verification and the letters of reference was to involve the applicant in the moving process, to require them to think seriously about the idea of moving, and to provide useful information in discussions with potential landlords.

Following the visits of the Leadership Council to the homes of prospective participants, only about one-half of the eligible families who had initially expressed an interest in the demonstration, submitted final applications.

After receipt of the income verification forms and the letters of reference, Leadership Council staff counselors made home visits to the families who continued to be interested in the program. The home visits served to provide more information about the program and to allow the counselors an opportunity to obtain sufficient information about families -- including housekeeping practices -- and to enable counselors to write letters of recommendation on behalf of each family. These were then submitted to apartment managers. Following the home visits, there was a substantial attrition rate among prospective participants: only about 49 percent of the 1,109 home visits resulted in final application. According to the Leadership Council, the large number of dropouts following the home visits can be attributed to a number of problems, including the applicant families' lack of security deposits, family sizes too large for available units, poor housekeeping habits, and lack of available apartments in desired locations.¹⁰

10 Section 7 of this report focuses in more detail on the question of why eligible families did not participate in the demonstration.

After the home visits and income verifications were completed, Leadership Council counselors accompanied applicants on visits to available units. Generally, two or three such visits were made in one trip in order to provide the families with some basis for comparison. Counselors also provided information on community services and often toured the neighborhoods with the applicants. To date, the Leadership Council has made 1,066 visits with 971 families. On these visits, and in the subsequent placement of families, the Leadership Council attempted to reduce the isolation and anxieties of clients by assisting at least two families to move into each neighborhood and by introducing these families to each other.

If the clients wished to apply for a unit they had visited, a meeting was arranged between the owner and the clients. If the two parties reached an agreement on the rental of the unit, the counselor assisted both parties in the completion of the required documents. At this point the PHA executed the actual Housing Assistance Payment contract, inspected the unit, and executed the Certificate of Participation and the contract.

Once a family moved in, the Leadership staff made a minimum of one telephone call or home visit to each family within 90 days of relocation, and the staff of the Council was available for additional assistance on a case-by-case basis. After the 90-day period elapsed, the formal connection between the Leadership Council and the family ceased. Official responsibility for the family then was transferred to the PHA administering that area or, in areas in which no PHA operated, to the Home Investment Fund.

As of January 1979, the Leadership Council had placed 455 families under the Section 8 Existing demonstration. This number includes about 75 families who, as of May 1979, had ceased participation in the program, as well as a few families who were placed and reported twice.

The initial numerical goals established for the demonstration were not met. The first contract called for the placement of up to 400 families in existing housing throughout the Chicago SMSA, but only 168 families were placed.¹¹ The second contract set as a goal the placement

¹¹ In their evaluation of the first year of the Gautreaux demonstration, Leonard Rubinowitz and Katie Kenny reported that "The plaintiffs anticipated that the 400 figure would be high, but wanted to be sure that adequate subsidy funds would be set aside", op. cit., p.5.

of 470 families.¹² During this contract period, the Leadership Council placed 287 families. As of March 1, 1979, a total of 455 families have been placed in the 2-1/2 years the demonstration has been operating.¹³

Implementation Problems

The fact that the Gautreaux demonstration involved many local jurisdictions created several implementation problems, as well as problems for the conduct of this research. The research problems, especially those associated with obtaining accurate and up-to-date lists of demonstration participants, stem from the absence of a single agency with area-wide authority to administer, coordinate and monitor the demonstration.

The Section 8 Existing Housing Program is generally administered by local public housing (PHAs) within particular political jurisdictions. The responsibilities of these agencies include:

- o Certification of eligibility to participate;
- o Inspection of units to insure that they meet HUD standards;
- o Execution and administration of the subsidy contract with the landlord once the family occupies the unit;
- o Determination of whether a landlord can evict a particular tenant; and
- o Annual recertification of eligibility.

12 This number includes the unutilized portion of the 400 units previously allocated under the first-year contract.

13 For the neighborhood analysis in this report, the total number of Gautreaux families is 425. The discrepancy between 455 and 425 is primarily due to the cut-off date of January 30, 1979, in collecting data on Gautreaux families. The numbers also differ, to some extent, because relevant documents for data collection were not received or were incomplete for a few families placed before January 1979. One other note should be kept in mind. The 455 placements excludes 86 families that were placed in Section 8 New Construction units.

However, under the Gautreaux demonstration, the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities assumed the responsibility for verifying eligibility to participate. Once the Leadership Council had matched an available unit with a Gautreaux family, a Certificate of Eligibility was issued by the participating PHA operating within the jurisdiction in which the unit was located.¹⁴

Where there was no PHA willing or able to function administratively in a given area, the Fair Housing Center of the Home Investment Fund (HIF) served in that capacity under contract with HUD. Excluding verification of eligibility, the PHA or, where appropriate, the HIF, continued to perform the functions described above.

Many agencies, therefore, played a role in the implementation of the Gautreaux demonstration (See Table 2-1) and this, in turn, posed certain obvious problems for its administration.¹⁵ In addition, the interjurisdictional and multi-agency nature of the demonstration also created problems for the conduct of this research.

Discussions with staff members of the Leadership Council, the HUD Chicago Area Office, the Home Investment Fund, and several PHAs involved in the Gautreaux demonstration, as well as field operations staff conducting the survey of the Gautreaux families, provided information on the nature of these problems.

First, several agency representatives reported that Gautreaux families were often confused regarding the specific responsibilities of the various agencies and the proper relationship between those agencies and the participating family at any given time. For example, many Gautreaux participants continued to seek assistance and to expect action from the Leadership Council following the 90-day period of formal responsibility rather than from the appropriate PHA. On the other hand, staff in several PHAs expressed annoyance when the Leadership Council attempted to follow through on concerns raised by participating Gautreaux families after the 90-day period of responsibility.

14 Until recently, Section 8 Certificates for the national Section 8 program were not interchangeable among the various jurisdictions of an SMSA. Mechanisms are currently being developed within HUD and individual PHAs which will provide for interjurisdictional transfers. One method allows for the set-aside of a certain percentage of the Annual Contributions Contract (ACC) for eligible families who make interjurisdictional moves.

15 See Rubinowitz and Kenny, op. cit.

TABLE 3-I
Agencies Presently Involved in the Implementation
of the Gautreaux Demonstration

| AGENCY | FUNCTION | JURISDICTION |
|--|--|--|
| HUD | Monitors the contract between HUD and the Leadership Council and funds the demonstration. | Throughout Chicago SMSA |
| Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities | Identifies and notifies eligible Gautreaux families and assists Gautreaux families in finding acceptable housing units; provides counseling services for Gautreaux families for a period of 90 days following placement. | Throughout Chicago SMSA |
| Home Investment Fund | Performs as a Public Housing Authority (PHA) in those areas where no PHA is willing or able to function administratively under the demonstration | DuPage County Will County Waukegan (Lake Co) No. Chicago (Lake Co) Aurora (Kane Co) Cicero (Cook Co) Lansing (Cook Co) Oak Park (Cook Co) |
| Cook County Housing Authority | Performs regular duties of PHA participating in the Section 8 Existing program, excluding original verification of eligibility to participate in the Gautreaux demonstration | Cook County (Excluding Chicago) |
| Elgin Housing Authority | (Same As Above) | Elgin (Cook Co.) |
| McHenry County Housing Authority | (Same as Above) | McHenry County |

Second, there was no reliable communications network through which particular programs and/or policy changes could be quickly transmitted. For example, at an early stage in the demonstration the Leadership Council assumed the additional responsibility for assisting Gautreaux families in making interjurisdictional "second" moves. In so doing, the Leadership Council assisted the families in all the ways that it had done previously, including the completion of the required paperwork, verification of eligibility, and finding an available unit in the "new" jurisdiction. In March 1979, the Chicago HUD area office instructed the Council to refrain from assisting second movers and to concentrate on initial placements. At least one PHA was not immediately informed of this change, and when Gautreaux families arrived, seeking certification, they were not recognized or treated like Gautreaux participants but rather like families seeking assistance through the regular Section 8 Existing program. This could have meant months of waiting for available units. Once this PHA was informed of the changes,¹⁶ the interjurisdictional move went more smoothly.

Third, there was no official central file containing the most current information on Gautreaux participants including their current addresses. Previously, each agency involved in the implementation of the demonstration, at any given time, maintained separate files on program participants. Until recently, there was little effort to cross-check the information in various files. In most cases, when a participating family made a second move either within the same jurisdiction or into another, it was likely that the Leadership Council was not informed. In some cases, even the appropriate PHA was not informed of an address change. It was unclear whether subsequent adjustments to subsidy contracts with apartment managers were made in an efficient manner by the PHA.

The lack of a central file posed particular problems in conducting the survey of Gautreaux families. Gautreaux families to be interviewed were drawn from lists compiled from the files of the Leadership Council. Nearly 33 percent of the addresses on this list were incorrect. Through a tracking procedure, which included checking with building managers, neighbors, local directories, and post offices, almost two-thirds of the incorrect addresses were successfully updated and interviews were completed (See Appendix C).

¹⁶ In recognition of some of these problems, and partly as a direct result of this research effort, systems are currently being developed and instituted among various agencies to provide for greater efficiency in administration and coordination. For example, the Leadership Council has recently requested regular monthly updates from participating PHAs and the HIF on Gautreaux families so that it can, in turn, update its own files.

CHAPTER IV

AVAILABILITY OF RENTAL UNITS IN THE CHICAGO SMSA

At the time that the demonstration began, approximately 2.9 percent of all rental units in the Chicago SMSA met Section 8 standards, rented at or below 120 percent of the FMR, and were vacant. However, many of these units were located in areas either incompatible with or undesirable for the purposes of the demonstration. Furthermore, since the implementation of the demonstration, available evidence suggests that the rental market has undergone a marked tightening.

A potential constraint on the operation of the Gautreaux demonstration was the availability of rental units in the Chicago SMSA which fit the purpose of the demonstration and met Section 8 requirements. In fact, in both reports by the Leadership Council and by Rubinowitz and Kenny on the implementation of the Gautreaux demonstration in the first year, it was concluded that the major obstacle faced in placing Gautreaux families was the problem of finding a sufficient number of acceptable units in areas of the Chicago SMSA that had low concentrations of minority residents. In addition, it was the Leadership Council's evaluation that the availability of larger three- and four-bedroom units was extremely limited. As a result, the demonstration was modified in January 1977 to emphasize placing only families requiring one- or two-bedroom units.

This section of the report briefly outlines the procedures followed by the Leadership Council to identify areas in which to search for units and to estimate unit availability. It also describes the general distribution of vacancies and focuses on variations in the availability of units by location and by the number of bedrooms in the unit. This type of information can be used to understand the market constraints within which the demonstration operated and to determine the supply of rental units that was available for the purposes of the demonstration.

The Leadership Council relied mainly upon apartment directories, newspaper listings, and the expertise of its staff to determine where to concentrate their search for units.¹ Three factors went into their consideration. To be a good prospect the area had to have: relatively high vacancy rates; available apartments within the Fair Market Rent (FMR)

¹ Williams, Kale and Zuba, Henry J., Final Report Contract H-4086: Program to Assist Members of the Gautreaux Plaintiff Class to Find Existing Housing Units...., August 2, 1978; p.8.

limits; and, reasonably available services such as schools, shopping, and public transportation. They concluded that the greatest number of vacancies in the metropolitan area existed in northwest Cook County and in DuPage County. As a result of this conclusion, initial efforts to locate units were concentrated in this area.²

Operating under this assumption, the Leadership Council in its first year, assisted 168 families to move into new units. Of those 168 families, 96 were placed in units which rented at 10 percent above the FMRs; and 50 were placed in units which rented at the "somewhat higher FMR shchedule for units that were recently completed."³

In their summary of the first contract period, the Leadership Council contended that one of the most serious constraints to the operation of the demonstration resulted from too few units being available at or below the FMR. This was especially critical in regard to units with three or more bedrooms and units located in the closer-in suburbs of the city. These closer-in areas were considered most desirable for the Gautreaux families, given that a large number of potential participants in the demonstration did not own automobiles and that these areas were closer to their old neighborhoods, family, friends and church.⁴

Rental vacancy rates were also found to be particularly low in Lake County outside the "older satellite cities" of Waukegan and North Chicago." Rubinowitz and Kenny attribute this to the fact that "many communities in Lake County were small towns which wanted to retain their small town character and therefore discouraged the construction of apartment buildings."⁵ The author explains further that environmental requirements often increased building costs in those areas where sewer systems were inadequate and this served as a disincentive for the construction of apartments.

Previous studies of FMRs in the Chicago SMSA, such as that conducted by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) in October 1977, focused primarily on the relationship between the FMR and the total rental housing stock, including occupied units. While the results of these studies -- which generally found that over one-half of all units rented at or below the FMR -- suggest that there is no shortage of acceptable units, this does not take into account the availability of units. Therefore, data on vacancies are needed to supplement these studies.

² Rubinowitz and Kenny, op. cit., p. 31.

³ Ibid. p. 77.

⁴ Ibid. p. 90-91.

⁵ Ibid. p. 91.

The remainder of this section examines the availability of vacant rental units within the Chicago SMSA. The analysis is based on existing data drawn from the 1975 Annual Housing Survey (AHS) for the Chicago SMSA. The 1975 AHS is the most current available source of information on available units (See Appendix A).

According to the AHS, there were 1,086,600 rental units within the Chicago SMSA in 1975. Of this total, about 73,500 units were vacant. This represented an overall rental vacancy rate of 6.7 percent. However, the number of units available for the demonstration (i.e., those units within the SMSA which met Section 8 housing quality requirements and rented at or below 120 percent of the FMR) was 2.9 percent of the total rental stock.⁶ Therefore, on average, there were approximately 31,500 units available within the Chicago SMSA that would have been acceptable and available for use in the Gautreaux demonstration (See Table 4-1).

In general, both the overall vacancy rate (all vacancies as a percent to all rental units) and the effective availability rate (vacant units meeting Section 8 requirements as a percent of all rental units) are considered by many housing and real estate experts to be both reasonable and an indication of balanced market conditions. The difference in the proportion of the inventory identified by the two figures is a normal reduction resulting from the elimination of substandard vacant units and standard units that rent for more than the maximum adjusted FMR.

The 31,500 vacant units that met Section 8 standards and rented at or below 120 percent of the FMR were, however, not equally distributed throughout all counties and jurisdictions in the SMSA. The vast majority of the vacancies (71%) were located in the city of Chicago and less than one fifth (17%) were outside of Cook County. The concentration of the majority of these vacancies within the city of Chicago effectively removed a large number of them from potential use in the demonstration. Although the Letter of Agreement between HUD and plaintiffs' counsel did permit up to 25 percent of all placements to be in Chicago or in designated Limited Areas (areas of high minority concentration) in the suburbs, such placements were clearly incompatible with the goals of the demonstration. The extent to which the vacant units meeting Section 8 quality and FMR standards are found in areas of high minority concentration is shown in Table 4-3. As expected, no county, other than Cook, has a high proportion of minority residents. In fact, suburban Cook County, excluding Chicago, had only five percent minority residents. Within the city, however, six planning districts (5, 6, and 9-12) had 30 percent or more minority households or roughly the figure used to define Limited Area. Over 38 percent (12,000)

⁶ The upper limit of the rent used to determine the availability of units was set at 120 percent rather than 100 percent to account for the up to 20 percent adjustment to the maximum FMR which is permitted by the program.

of all vacancies in the entire SMSA were located in these six districts. The remaining 19,000 were located in areas of relatively low minority concentration and, therefore, areas which were most compatible with the goal of the demonstration.

The vacancies outside of Cook County were, for the most part, located in the counties farthest from Chicago, e.g., Will, McHenry, and Kane, (which are approximately 45 to 60 miles from Chicago) rather than in the counties closest to the city, e.g., DuPage and Lake. These close-in counties contained less than three percent of the acceptable vacancies, or fewer than 900 units.

Of vacant units which met Section 8 standards, only one in ten had three bedrooms and only about one in six of these units was located in the suburbs.

In addition to variation by location, the availability of vacant units which met Section 8 quality and rent requirements showed significant difference according to the number of bedrooms in the unit. As Table 3-4 shows, only nine percent of all vacancies had three or more bedrooms. Furthermore, these vacancies were overwhelmingly concentrated in Chicago, 82 percent were within the city limits. In short, there appears to have been extremely few vacant units with three or more bedrooms which rented for less than 120 percent of the FMR in the Chicago suburbs.

Another way of looking at available vacancy rates is to compute the vacancy rates among any units meeting Section 8 requirements. Computing vacancy rates by comparing the number of vacancies that meet the Section 8 requirements to the total number of units gives an indication of the overall number and availability of such units in an area. On the other hand, comparing the number of such vacancies only with the total number of units meeting Section 8 criteria provides an indirect indication of the relative demand for such units in that area. The percent of all units that were acceptable under the Section 8 program and were vacant is also shown in Table 4-5.

Areas with the most vacancies were not necessarily the areas with the highest vacancy rates. For example, suburban Cook County has almost 1,000 more vacancies than does the Will and McHenry County area. However, the vacancy rate in the latter two counties is more than three times as large as in the suburban Cook County (17.6% vs. 4.9%). Obviously, the total number of rental units in the different counties will have a significant percent of that number. However, one additional factor is that at the time the Annual Housing Survey was conducted, a number of newly completed rental units had become available in Will and McHenry Counties and were not yet absorbed by the market. Using the vacancy rate for all Section 8 standard units as a guide, the Chicago SMSA can be

divided into three groups of jurisdictions: those counties which have a vacancy rate among Section 8 standard units that is significantly above the SMSA average of 7.3 percent; i.e., Will/McHenry Counties (17.6%) and Kane County (12.4%); those counties with vacancy rates below the SMSA average, i.e., DuPage (3.4%), Lake (4.5%) and suburban Cook (4.9%); and the city of Chicago which has a vacancy rate virtually identical to that of the SMSA as a whole (7.4%).

In summary, shortly before the Gautreaux demonstration was implemented there were about 31,500 vacant rental units available within the Chicago SMSA. However, many of these units (12,000) appear to have been located in areas with a large minority population and, therefore, were not compatible with the purpose of the demonstration. Another large number of vacancies (4,500) was located in the outlying areas of the SMSA and was not likely to be popular with persons in the Gautreaux class. In short, in the Chicago SMSA there were approximately 15,000 vacant rental units that were acceptable for the Section 8 program, were compatible with the goals of the demonstration, and were located in those areas that were considered to be most desirable for participants in the demonstration.

Since 1975, however, the rental market appears to have tightened considerably. The analysis so far has been based on the 1975 Annual Housing Survey and, therefore, provides a description of the rental market in the year preceding the beginning of the demonstration. Unfortunately, there are no data available comparable in scope and detail that cover a period subsequent to that year. It is possible, however, to get a rough idea of the trend in the rental market since 1975 by using Postal Vacancy Surveys conducted by the Federal Home Loan Bank of Chicago (FHLB) and the United States Postal Service (USPS).

While these Postal Vacancy Surveys neither include the city of Chicago nor provide a precise count of rental vacancies in the SMSA, they were indicative of trends that were taking place subsequent to 1975.

The available evidence from these vacancy surveys suggests that although the rental market in the Chicago SMSA was "balanced" in 1975, it has tightened considerably since that time.

As of June 1975, the FHLB/USPS survey reported a multi-family vacancy rate for the SMSA of approximately 6.3 percent. By June 1978, the multifamily vacancy rate had declined to 3.2 percent. During the same period, similar rates of decline occurred in all areas of the SMSA including Cook County outside the city of Chicago (See Table 4-6).

This very general description of the rental supply market of the SMSA is far from exhaustive; many additional factors not considered here have important impacts upon the housing market. Nevertheless, several implications of this analysis are clear. First, while the SMSA-wide vacancy rates tended to reflect a reasonable market situation, a significant share of the vacancies were located in areas that were incompatible with the basic goals of the demonstration. Second, the areas identified were areas with very few units (DuPage County) or with a very low vacancy rate among units meeting Section 8 Standards (Cook County). Third, the suburban areas outside of Cook County with the greatest number of vacancies, and the highest vacancy rates, were not areas in which the initial effort to search for units was concentrated.

To be sure, the Leadership Council was not unaware of the constraints imposed by the market. As indicated earlier in this section, during the operation of the demonstration they became sensitive to just how tight the market was in regard to larger bedroom units and units in the near suburbs. In this regard, the Leadership Council was initially somewhat inaccurate in identifying northwest Cook County and DuPage County as the areas with the greatest number of vacant units. To the extent that they included DuPage County in their assumption, they were inaccurate; to the extent they were concerned with suburban Cook County, they were basically accurate. The error in this was apparently a result of the methods used to assess the availability of units.

Consulting newspapers and apartment directories, as the Leadership Council did, provides an indicator of the overall vacancy rate. However, without information on condition of the units and without direct comparison of the actual rent to the FMRs, this procedure does not result in a good estimate of the number of available vacant units meeting Section 8 standards and renting at or below 120 percent of the FMR for the area. For example, by using the search procedures indicated above, DuPage County would appear to have the second highest overall rate of vacancy (See Table 4-1). However, the actual number of units meeting Section 8 standards was extremely small. While the assumption of unit availability in DuPage County was incorrect, it should be noted that the Leadership Council's decision to focus their search in areas close to public transportation and to the city was clearly compatible with the fact that only a limited number of families in the Gautreaux class owned automobiles. The procedure, therefore, reflected a concern for the interests of the participants in the demonstration.

On the basis of this information, it can be concluded that at the time the demonstration was implemented, a significant number of rental vacancies existed in the Chicago SMSA. However, not all of these units were available to the demonstration. Many of them were in areas with a high minority concentration and, therefore, were not compatible with the

demonstration or they were located a good distance from Chicago and, thus, were not useful for the demonstration. Furthermore, the mere existence of these vacant units does not guarantee their availability to recipients of Section 8 assistance. Many of these vacant units may not have been publicized but rather made available on a more informal basis. Some of the units may have been located in areas that were, for some reason, undesirable to any renter. The units could also have been owned or managed by an individual reluctant to rent to low-income or minority families or to participate in a government program at all. All of these reasons could have combined with one another to further reduce the number of units available for the demonstration.

Table 4-1

Vacancies and Vacancy Rates by County Within Chicago SMSA

| | <i>All Units</i> | | <i>Vacant Units Meeting Section 8 Requirements¹</i> | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|--|--|--|
| | <i>Number Vacant</i> | <i>Percent of Total Rental Inventory</i> | <i>Number Vacant</i> | <i>Percent of Total Rental Inventory</i> |
| SMSA Total | 73,506 | 6.8 | 31,536 | 2.9 |
| Cook County | 61,205 | 6.5 | 26,094 | 2.8 |
| Chicago | 47,575 | 5.9 | 22,341 | 3.0 |
| Suburban Cook | 13,630 | 6.6 | 3,753 | 1.6 |
| DuPage County | 4,910 | 10.3 | 346 | .7 |
| Kane County | 2,944 | 9.1 | 1,753 | 5.4 |
| Lake County | 891 | 2.9 | 521 | 1.7 |
| Will and McHenry Counties | 3,557 | 11.5 | 2,822 | 9.0 |

¹ Units that are standard and rent at or below percent of the FMR.

Table 4-2

**Vacant Units Meeting Section 8 Standards
Within Chicago SMSA by County**

| | <i>Number</i> | <i>Percent of Total</i> |
|---------------------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| SMSA Total | 31,536 | 100.0 |
| Cook County | 26,094 | 83.0 |
| Chicago | 22,341 | 71.0 |
| Suburban Cook | 3,753 | 12.0 |
| DuPage County | 346 | 1.1 |
| Kane County | 1,753 | 5.6 |
| Lake County | 521 | 1.7 |
| Will and McHenry Counties | 2,822 | 9.0 |
| SMSA minus Cook County | 5,442 | 17.0 |
| SMSA minus Chicago | 9,195 | 29.0 |

Table 4-3

**Distribution of Vacancies Meeting Section 8 Requirements¹ and
Racial Composition of Total Household Within Chicago SMSA**

| | <u>Non-White Households</u> | <u>Total Households</u> | <u>Non-White Percent of Total Households</u> | <u>Percent of Vacancies Meeting Section 8 Standards</u> |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|---|
| SMSA Total | 424,925 | 2,282,269 | 19 | 100.0 |
| Cook County | 407,172 | 1,790,073 | 23 | 83.0 |
| Chicago | 371,921 | 1,069,932 | 35 | 71.0 |
| District 1 | 11,328 | 125,063 | 9 | 8.3 |
| 2 | 13,497 | 125,175 | 11 | 7.8 |
| 3 | 1,722 | 98,734 | 2 | 3.9 |
| 4 | 3,797 | 100,828 | 4 | 8.8 |
| 5 | 26,126 | 88,333 | 30 | 10.9 |
| 6 | 50,196 | 57,136 | 88 | 3.8 |
| 7 | 4,664 | 75,461 | 6 | 2.2 |
| 8 | 1,711 | 85,455 | 2 | .5 |
| 9 | 68,963 | 84,436 | 82 | 8.9 |
| 10 | 68,855 | 71,254 | 97 | 6.0 |
| 11 | 74,236 | 85,581 | 87 | 8.6 |
| 12 | 45,600 | 70,629 | 65 | .5 |
| Suburban Cook County | 35,251 | 720,141 | 5 | 12.0 |
| DuPage County | 2,668 | 169,311 | 2 | 1.1 |
| Kane County | 3,515 | 87,382 | 4 | 5.6 |
| Lake County | 6,371 | 115,117 | 6 | 1.7 |
| Will and McHenry Counties | 5,198 | 120,885 | 4 | 9.0 |
| SMSA minus Cook County | 17,753 | 492,696 | 4 | 17.0 |
| SMSA minus Chicago | 53,004 | 1,212,837 | 4 | 29.0 |

¹ Units that are standard and rent at or below 120 percent of the FMR.

Table 4-4

Vacancy Rates by Number of Bedrooms in the Chicago SMSA

| | <i>Percent of Total Vacancies</i> | <i>Percent of Efficiencies</i> | <i>Percent of 1 Bedrooms</i> | <i>Percent of 2 Bedrooms</i> | <i>Percent of 3+ Bedrooms</i> |
|----------------------------|---|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| SMSA Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Cook County | 82.7 | 91.5 | 82.9 | 78.7 | 88.5 |
| Chicago | 70.9 | 82.8 | 77.0 | 59.5 | 82.4 |
| Suburban Cook County | 11.9 | 8.7 | 5.9 | 19.3 | 6.1 |
| DuPage County | 1.1 | 0.0 | 3.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Kane County | 5.6 | 4.2 | 6.5 | 6.4 | 0.0 |
| Lake County | 1.7 | 0.0 | 2.9 | 1.4 | 0.0 |
| Will and McHenry Counties | 9.0 | 4.2 | 4.6 | 13.5 | 11.5 |
| SMSA minus Cook County | 17.3 | 8.5 | 17.1 | 21.3 | 11.5 |
| SMSA minus Chicago | 29.2 | 17.2 | 23.0 | 40.5 | 17.6 |
| Percent of Total Vacancies | 100.00 | 12.4 | 36.0 | 42.0 | 9.0 |
| Total Number of Vacancies | 31,536 | 3,911 | 11,478 | 13,237 | 2,991 |

Table 4-5

Distribution of Vacant Units Meeting Section 8 Requirements¹ By County

| | <u>Number</u> | <u>Percent of Total</u> | <u>Number Vacant</u> | <u>Percent Vacant</u> | <u>Percent of all Vacancies</u> |
|---------------------------|---------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|---|
| SMSA Total | 432,650 | 100.0 | 31,536 | 7.3 | 100.0 |
| Cook County | 380,636 | 88.0 | 26,094 | 6.9 | 82.8 |
| Chicago | 304,087 | 70.3 | 22,341 | 7.4 | 70.9 |
| Suburban Cook County | 76,549 | 17.7 | 3,753 | 4.9 | 11.9 |
| Will and McHenry Counties | 16,005 | 3.7 | 2,822 | 17.6 | 9.0 |
| Kane County | 14,095 | 3.3 | 1,753 | 12.4 | 5.6 |
| Lake County | 11,592 | 2.7 | 521 | 4.5 | 1.7 |
| DuPage County | 10,322 | 2.4 | 346 | 3.4 | 1.1 |

¹ Units that are Standard and rent at or below 120 percent of the Fair Market Rent.

Table 4-6

**Overall Rental Vacancy Rates for Chicago SMSA, 1975-1978
(Percent Vacant)**

| | <i>Annual Housing Survey*</i> | <i>FHLB/USPS**</i> | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| | | <i>1975</i> | <i>1978</i> |
| Cook County | 6.5 | N.A. | N.A. |
| Chicago | 6.7 | N.A. | N.A. |
| Suburban Cook County | 5.9 | 4.7% | 2.6% |
| DuPage County | 10.3 | 10.2 | 4.0 |
| Kane County | 9.1 | 9.5 | .5 |
| Lake County | 2.9 | 5.0 | 3.2 |
| Will and McHenry Counties | 11.5 | .2 | 2.8 |
| SMSA Total | 6.8 | 6.3 | 3.2 |

* Percent of all units vacant.

** Percent of multifamily vacancies, excludes single family.

FHLB = Federal Home Loan Bank

USPS = United States Postal Service

CHAPTER V

CHARACTERISTICS OF GAUTREAUX PARTICIPANTS

The heads of household in the Gautreaux demonstration were predominantly low-income black females, between 25 and 35, separated or divorced, and with children. In regard to these characteristics, they were similar to eligible non-participating families.¹ On the other hand, Gautreaux families were more frequently employed, more often held white-collar jobs, had more schooling and income, and were more likely to have been married at some time in the past. Therefore, in several ways, they were atypical of all eligible families in the Gautreaux class who were notified about the demonstration. Gautreaux families were generally more similar, as a group, to regular Section 8 participants than to the eligible non-participants; the major difference between them and Section 8 families was the Gautreaux families' relatively younger ages and their ownership of cars.²

This section examines and compares the family characteristics of Gautreaux participants, Gautreaux eligible non-participants, and Section 8 recipients. These comparisons shed light on whether Gautreaux participants constitute a representative subset of all eligible families in the Gautreaux class. The analysis also focuses on the extent of similarity and dissimilarity between regular Section 8 families in Chicago and Gautreaux participants.

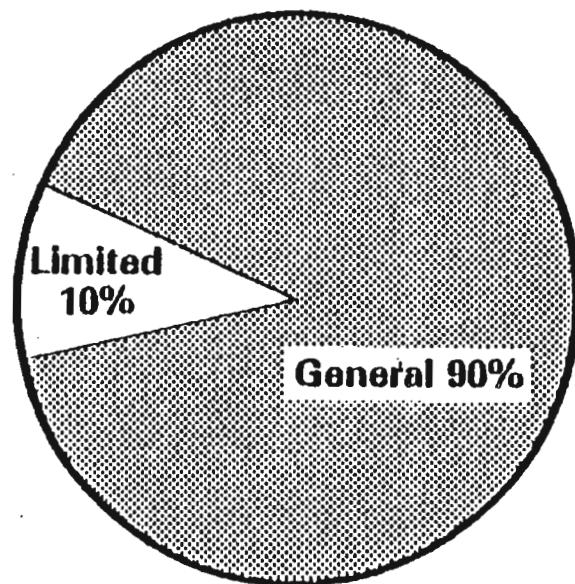
1 These were families either in public housing or on the waiting list for public housing who were eligible and notified about the demonstration but who did not participate. It should be noted that not all of the families in the Gautreaux class were invited by the Leadership Council to participate and that, in particular, invitations were sent to persons having a need for a two-bedroom unit or less (See Section III). It can be hypothesized that the characteristics of these smaller families are different from those of larger families in certain respects and that, therefore, they may not represent the Gautreaux class as a whole.

2 Differences highlighted here and in Sections 7 to 11 are statistically significant at least at the .05 level. More specifically, any percent difference greater than three percent between Gautreaux and Section 8 families, greater than three percent between Gautreaux families and Section 8 movers, and greater than seven percent between Gautreaux participants and eligible non-participants, is statistically significant.

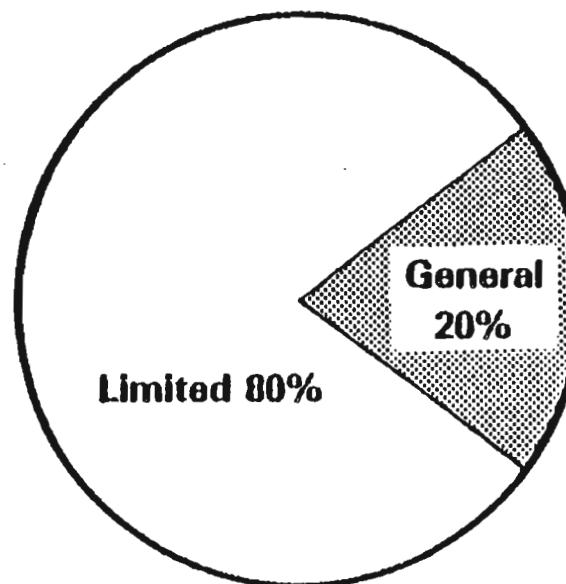
FIGURE 5-1

Percent of Gautreaux and Regular Section 8 Participants in General and Limited Areas after Receiving Section 8 Assistance

Gautreaux Families



Section 8 Families



The vast majority of all participants and eligible non-participants in the Gautreaux demonstration, as well as, participants in the regular Section 8 Existing Housing Program administered by the Chicago Housing Authority, were black females. Among participants in the Gautreaux demonstration, 85 percent were female-headed households and 90 percent were black.

The median age of Gautreaux family heads was 29, two years younger than the median age of eligible non-participating families, and four years younger than the median age of regular Section 8 participants. Not only were Gautreaux demonstration participants somewhat younger, they were more highly concentrated in the 25 to 34 age range; 55 percent of all Gautreaux demonstration participants were 25 to 34, compared with 40 percent of eligible but non-participating Gautreaux class families (Table 5-1). It may be that younger heads of families were more willing to face the uncertainties of a move to the suburbs. While there were no data on the ages of their children, they were probably of grade school age; one might expect that families with younger children would have been more attracted by the benefits of suburban schools than if they had older, teenage children. In fact, one of the more important considerations in many participants' decisions to move was the quality of the suburban schools.³

Large majorities of the Gautreaux participants, Gautreaux eligible non-participants, and Section 8 families were not currently married (90 percent of eligible non-participants, 91 percent of regular Section 8, and 86 percent of Gautreaux families). Moreover, majorities of Gautreaux participants (79%) and eligible non-participants (75%) were not currently married and had children present in the household. Differences exist, however, in the proportion of families in each group who had never married. Only 28 percent of Gautreaux families and 30 percent of regular Section 8 families had never married but 44 percent of eligible non-participating families indicated no previous marriage. Therefore, Gautreaux participants were atypical in this respect from other eligible non-participants. What this indicates is not entirely clear. The fact that Gautreaux families were more likely to have been married in the past may signify greater conventionality in their life-style compared to that of the non-participating families.

Gautreaux demonstration participants, like participants in the regular Section 8 Housing Program, were more likely than Gautreaux eligible but non-participating families to have had more years of schooling and higher median family incomes. Thirty-one percent of Gautreaux participants

3 A more detailed discussion on reasons why families moved is presented later in this report.

and 34 percent of Section 8 families did not have a high school diploma, compared with 49 percent of the eligible non-participants. Among the Gautreaux demonstration participants, 43 percent had some training beyond high school, including five percent who earned junior college or college degrees. This compares to 34 percent among regular Section 8 participants and 20 percent among eligible non-participants.

The family income of Gautreaux participants exceeded the income for the other two groups, but again, the differences was larger when compared to the eligible non-participating families. The median income for Gautreaux families was \$4500, for regular Section 8 families \$4160, and for non-participating families \$3700. Just 15 percent of Gautreaux demonstration participants earned less than \$3,000, half the 31 percent recorded among eligible non-participants. Family incomes of more than \$7500 were reported by 27 percent of Gautreaux families compared with 14 percent among eligible non-participants and 19 percent among regular Section 8 Program participants (See Table 5-1).

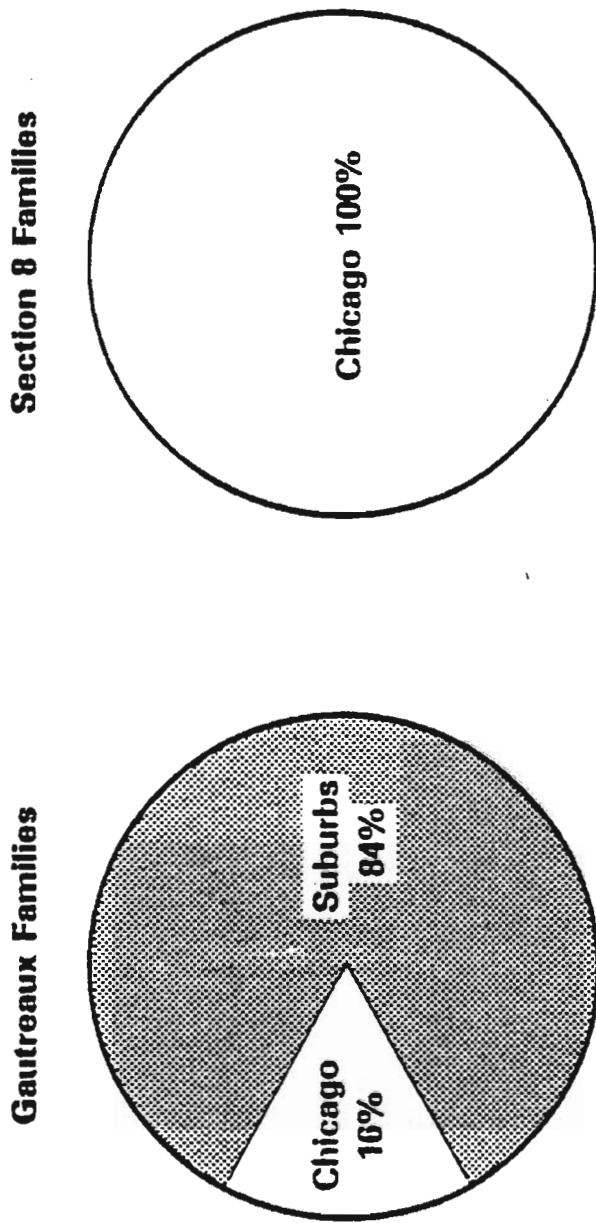
Thirty-two percent of the Gautreaux demonstration families and 28 percent of regular Section 8 participants were employed compared to only 22 percent of eligible non-participants. Among those who were employed, Gautreaux and regular Section 8 participants were likely to hold white-collar sales and clerical positions (63% and 62%) than eligible non-participants (39%) (See Table 5-2).

At the time of the survey, Gautreaux participants who were employed were more likely to have just recently found employment. Fifty percent of all Gautreaux participants who were employed had started work within a year of the date of interview, compared with 31 percent of the eligible non-participants and 36 percent of the regular Section 8 participants (Table 5-2). In addition, more Gautreaux and Section 8 families reported being unemployed for longer than four weeks during the past two years than did eligible but not participating members of the Gautreaux class. These findings may be due to the fact that 96 percent of all Gautreaux participants and 59 percent of regular Section 8 participants had moved during this period. Since the average Gautreaux family moved a much greater distance than did Section 8 families, this may have caused greater disruption in their employment status. The time spent commuting to work was close to 40 minutes among the employed in all three groups. The move to the suburbs, therefore, did not appear to alter this aspect of the daily routine for Gautreaux families who were employed prior to the move or who became employed afterwards.

A significant difference in the economic situation of participants concerned their ownership of automobiles. Among the Gautreaux demonstration families, 59 percent reported that they owned or leased a vehicle, compared with just 13 percent among eligible non-participants and 15 percent among regular Section 8 participants. This reflects the emphasis placed on auto

FIGURE 5-2

Percent of Gautreaux and Regular Section 8 Participants in Chicago and the Suburbs after Receiving Section 8 Assistance



ownership by the Leadership Council in selecting and placing families in the demonstration (See Table 5-3). Not surprisingly, car ownership and employment status appear to be related in all three groups of families but the relationship is strongest among the Gautreaux families. Seventy-eight percent of Gautreaux families who were employed owned cars while only 50 percent of those who were not employed had cars. Since it is not known which families obtained cars before or after employment, it is not possible to know for certain whether having a car facilitated employment or whether being employed allowed families to purchase cars. In the case of Gautreaux families, the former explanation is more likely. According to the Leadership Council, a majority of participating families already had cars when they applied for the demonstration and this would have made it easier to find employment.

Among Gautreaux demonstration participants, 13 percent were currently enrolled in classes on a full-time basis and eight percent were enrolled on a part-time basis. This total of 21 percent for Gautreaux families compares with 16 percent of regular Section 8 and 13 percent of eligible non-participants. More of the Gautreaux demonstration families had only recently begun classes and were somewhat more likely than Section 8 and non-participants to take classes in general business, accounting, typing, industrial arts, and other vocational fields (See Table 5-4).

To assess the relationship between the time at which families began to receive rental assistance and their employment or their class enrollment, the dates on which participants started work or classes were compared to the dates when participants moved to their current residences.⁴ Among Gautreaux families who were employed at the time of the interview, nearly half started work at their current jobs after they began to participate in the demonstration while a somewhat smaller proportion (38%) of Section 8 recipients who were employed started their jobs following their entry into the program. Larger but equal proportions (roughly two-thirds of both participant groups) enrolled in classes after receiving rental assistance (See Table 5-5). In summary, these figures indicate that substantial proportions of both Section 8 and Gautreaux families who were in classes or who were employed at the time of the interview had started these endeavors after their move. However, there appears to be no difference in the frequency with which Gautreaux participants and Section 8 recipients became employed or enrolled in classes.

4 This may be their first or second residence since participating in the Gautreaux demonstration.

Family Differences between Gautreaux Placements in the Suburbs and Placements in Chicago

Among those participating in the Gautreaux demonstration, 84 percent moved to or leased in place in the suburbs and 16 percent moved to or leased in place in the city.⁵ This section compares the two subgroups of Gautreaux participants to determine whether families who ended up living in the suburbs differed from those who ended up in the city.

Gautreaux participants who moved to the suburbs had a younger family head of household, more children and a higher income (after allowances) than Gautreaux families who were placed in Chicago. City placements were more likely to be elderly or disabled, without children, and to rely on benefits as their sole source of income than were suburban families. The vast majority of Gautreaux families placed in either Chicago or the suburbs were headed by black females.

One difference between these two groups of families is the age of the head of the household. The average age of the family head in the suburban household was 30 while the average age of the head of household in Chicago was 41.4, a difference of 11 years. This finding is not surprising given that one of the more important reasons (discussed later in this report) for moving to the suburbs was to enable the children to attend higher quality schools (See Table 5-6).

There was also a rather strong difference between the two subgroups in both the number of children per household and the household family size. While 28 percent of city Gautreaux families had just one person, only three percent of suburban families were one-person households. On the other hand, compared to Gautreaux families in Chicago, almost twice as many suburban households had four or five persons (14% to 29%). Family income also varied substantially with those in the city having a median annual

⁵ For this and the subsequent analysis of this section, the demographic data come from information on Section 8 application forms completed by Gautreaux and Section 8 participants at the time of entry into the demonstration or Section 8 program. This information source is used instead of the responses of these families to survey interviews on these same variables. The advantages of using application forms are that they contain extensive and detailed data and that they exist for a larger number of families in both groups (N=425 for Gautreaux families and N=784 for Section 8 families). These forms were not available for the Gautreaux eligible but non-participating families; since the objective in the first part of this section was to compare Gautreaux participants with non-participants, the survey data were the basis of that analysis.

Gautreaux family heads-of-household living in the Limited Areas
were somewhat more likely to be elderly or disabled than those
living in General Areas.

Twenty-three percent of all Gautreaux families who lived in Limited Areas but only six percent of those in General Areas were elderly, handicapped, or disabled. The average of all Gautreaux families in General tracts was 31, whereas the average age was 39 for those in the Limited Areas. However, Gautreaux placements in Chicago were older (an average age of 42 years), regardless of the type of area in which they lived (See Table 5-6).

In summary, the profile that emerges from the above discussion portrays suburban Gautreaux families as younger, with more income, and with more children than Chicago Gautreaux families. They may have been, therefore, more capable of facing the uncertainties and risks of an unfamiliar neighborhood in the suburbs, as well as more attracted to the benefits, such as better schools, that the suburbs offered. Gautreaux families living in the Limited Areas (most of these families were in Chicago) were more likely to be black and disabled or handicapped than those families who moved out of the city.

Table 5-1

**Selected Family Characteristics of Gautreaux Participants, Gautreaux
Eligible Non-Participants and Regular Section 8 Recipients
(Percentage Distributions)**

| | <i>Gautreaux Class</i> | | |
|--|------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| | <i>Participants</i> | <i>Eligible Non-Participants</i> | <i>Regular Section 8 Participants</i> |
| <i>Sex of Head</i> | | | |
| Male | 15 | 11 | 10 |
| Female | 85 | 89 | 90 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (329) | (360) | (409) |
| <i>Race of Respondent</i> | | | |
| White | 7 | 3 | 8 |
| Black | 90 | 92 | 86 |
| Other | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| NA | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (330) | (364) | (415) |
| <i>Age of Respondent</i> | | | |
| 19-24 | 17 | 21 | 6 |
| 25-34 | 55 | 40 | 43 |
| 35-44 | 16 | 15 | 26 |
| 45-54 | 7 | 14 | 14 |
| 55-62 | 5 | 10 | 11 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (327) | (357) | (403) |
| Median age | 29 | 31 | 33 |
| <i>Marital Status</i> | | | |
| Married | 14 | 10 | 9 |
| Separated | 25 | 20 | 25 |
| Divorced | 27 | 18 | 27 |
| Widowed | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| Never married | 28 | 44 | 30 |
| NA | • | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (330) | (364) | (415) |
| <i>Number of Children in Housing Unit</i> | | | |
| None | 9 | 18 | 18 |
| One | 23 | 26 | 23 |
| Two | 39 | 27 | 25 |
| Three | 19 | 20 | 19 |
| Four or more | 10 | 9 | 15 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (330) | (360) | (415) |
| Mean number of children | 2.0 | 1.8 | 2.0 |

Table 5-1—Continued

**Selected Family Characteristics of Gautreaux Participants, Gautreaux Eligible Non-Participants and Regular Section 8 Recipients
(Percentage Distributions)**

| | <i>Gautreaux Class</i> | | <i>Regular Section 8 Participants</i> |
|---|------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| | <i>Participants</i> | <i>Eligible Non-Participants</i> | |
| <u>Family Life Cycle</u> | | | |
| Never married, no children at home | 2 | 4 | 4 |
| Never married, 1 child | 10 | 14 | 10 |
| Never married, 2 or more children | 17 | 26 | 16 |
| Separated, divorced, widowed, no children at home | 6 | 11 | 12 |
| Separated, divorced, widowed, 1 child | 6 | 10 | 13 |
| Separated, divorced, widowed, 2 or more children | 40 | 25 | 36 |
| Married, no children at home | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| Married, 1 child | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Married, 2 or more children | 1 | 6 | 7 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (328) | (360) | (407) |
| <u>Total Family Income (1978)</u> | | | |
| Less than \$3000 | 15 | 31 | 23 |
| \$3000-4499 | 35 | 41 | 35 |
| \$4500-5999 | 13 | 7 | 15 |
| \$6000-7499 | 10 | 7 | 8 |
| \$7500-8999 | 9 | 3 | 5 |
| \$9000 or more | 18 | 11 | 14 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (270) | (281) | (338) |
| Median family income | 4500 | 3700 | 4160 |
| Mean family income | 5850 | 4580 | 5030 |
| <u>Education of Respondent</u> | | | |
| 8th grad or less | 5 | 13 | 9 |
| High school—no degree | 26 | 36 | 25 |
| High school graduate | 26 | 30 | 31 |
| Some training beyond high school | 38 | 18 | 27 |
| Junior college—college degree | 5 | 2 | 7 |
| NA,DK | * | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (330) | (364) | (415) |
| <u>Length of Residence</u> | | | |
| 6 months or less | 29 | 5 | 5 |
| 7-12 months | 32 | 10 | 29 |
| 1-2 years (13-24 months) | 32 | 11 | 23 |
| 2-5 years (25-60 months) | 6 | 33 | 23 |
| 5-10 years (61-120 months) | 1 | 24 | 16 |
| 10 years or more | 1 | 17 | 4 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (326) | (356) | (409) |
| Mean length of residence (years) | 1.2 | 6.2 | 3.3 |

Table 5-2

**Selected Family Characteristics of Gautreaux Participants, Gautreaux
Eligible Non-Participants and Regular Section Recipients by Employment Status
(Percentage Distributions)**

| | <i>Gautreaux Class</i> | | <i>Regular Section 8 Participants</i> |
|--|------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| | <i>Participants</i> | <i>Eligible Non-Participants</i> | |
| <i>Working Status Respondent</i> | | | |
| Working now, temporarily laid off | 32 | 22 | 28 |
| Not working | 67 | 77 | 70 |
| NA | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (330) | (364) | (415) |
| <i>Occupation of Respondent</i> | | | |
| Professional, technical, managerial | 11 | 4 | 9 |
| Clerical, salesperson | 52 | 35 | 53 |
| Craftsman, operative, kindred workers | 24 | 25 | 15 |
| Unskilled workers | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| Service workers | 11 | 29 | 17 |
| NA | * | 5 | 2 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (107) | (83) | (112) |
| <i>Hours Worked per Week</i> | | | |
| Less than 20 hours | 7 | 9 | 8 |
| 20-29 | 4 | 12 | 8 |
| 30-39 | 23 | 12 | 29 |
| 40 hours | 62 | 56 | 52 |
| More than 40 hours | 4 | 11 | 3 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (106) | (80) | (110) |
| <i>Travel Time to work</i> | | | |
| 0-15 | 19 | 15 | 18 |
| 16-29 | 25 | 17 | 17 |
| 30-44 | 19 | 25 | 26 |
| 45-59 | 16 | 18 | 14 |
| More than 60 minutes | 21 | 25 | 25 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (102) | (79) | (110) |
| Mean time to work (minutes) | 37 | 38 | 39 |

Table 5-2—Continued

**Selected Family Characteristics of Gautreaux Participants, Gautreaux
Eligible Non-Participants and Regular Section 8 Recipients by Employment Status***
(Percentage Distributions)

| | <i>Gautreaux Class</i> | | |
|---|------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| | <i>Participants</i> | <i>Eligible Non-Participants</i> | <i>Regular Section 8 Participants</i> |
| <i>Respondent Started Work</i> | | | |
| 1-3 months ago | 18 | 13 | 5 |
| 4-6 | 8 | 10 | 12 |
| 7-12 | 24 | 8 | 19 |
| 13-18 | 7 | 17 | 10 |
| 19-24 | 7 | 3 | 12 |
| 25-36 | 12 | 13 | 9 |
| 37-60 | 6 | 14 | 9 |
| More than 5 years ago | 18 | 22 | 24 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (104) | (80) | (110) |
| <i>Unemployed for Longer than 4 Weeks *</i> | | | |
| Yes | 49 | 35 | 49 |
| No | 51 | 63 | 50 |
| NA | — | 2 | 1 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (107) | (83) | (112) |

*The question was: "Have you been unemployed or laid off or a period longer than four weeks in the past two years?"

Table 5-3

Employment and Vehicle Ownership for Gautreaux Participants, Gautreaux Eligible Non-Participants and Regular Section 8 Recipients *
 (Percentage Distributions)

| | <i>Gautreaux Class</i> | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| | <i>Participants</i> | <i>Eligible Non-Participants</i> | <i>Regular Section 8 Participants</i> |
| <i>a) All Families</i> | | | |
| Owner | 59 | 13 | 15 |
| Non-owner | 40 | 85 | 84 |
| NA | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (330) | (364) | (415) |
| <i>b) Currently Employed Only</i> | | | |
| Owner | 78 | 36 | 34 |
| Non-owner | 22 | 64 | 65 |
| NA | — | — | 1 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| <i>c) Not Working Only</i> | | | |
| Owner | 50 | 7 | 8 |
| Non-owner | 50 | 92 | 92 |
| NA | — | 1 | — |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |

* The question was: "Do you (or anyone in your family living there) own or lease a car, or any kind of truck, van, or jeep-type vehicle.

Table 5-4

**Selected Family Characteristics of Gautreaux Participants, Gautreaux
Eligible Non-Participants and Regular Section 8 Recipients by Student Status
(Percentage Distributions)**

| | <i>Gautreaux Class</i> | | <i>Regular Section 8 Recipients</i> |
|--|------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| | <i>Participants</i> | <i>Eligible Non-Participants</i> | |
| <i>Student Status</i> | | | |
| Enrolled full time | 13 | 8 | 9 |
| Enrolled part time | 8 | 57 | |
| Not enrolled | <u>79</u> | <u>87</u> | <u>84</u> |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| <i>Classes began</i> | | | |
| Less than 3 months ago | 13 | 8 | 11 |
| 4-6 months | 28 | 12 | 23 |
| 7-12 months | 33 | 36 | 18 |
| 13-18 months | 8 | 4 | 9 |
| 19-24 months | 3 | 8 | 17 |
| 25+ | <u>15</u> | <u>32</u> | <u>22</u> |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| <i>Type of Classes</i> | | | |
| General business, accounting, typing, merchandizing | 30 | 23 | 20 |
| Social sciences, English | 22 | 29 | 29 |
| Physical/Natural sciences, math | 19 | 19 | 16 |
| Industrial arts, vocational | 14 | 6 | 6 |
| Other | <u>15</u> | <u>23</u> | <u>20</u> |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Number of metions (N) | 104 | 70 | 97 |
| | (66) | (45) | (70) |

Table 5-5

**Commencement of Work and Class Enrollment
By Program Participation
(Percentage Distributions)**

| <u>Started</u> | <i>Gautreaux Participants</i> | | <i>Regular Section 8 Movers</i> | |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| | <u>Work</u> | <u>Classes</u> | <u>Work</u> | <u>Classes</u> |
| After move | 47 | 66 | 38 | 63 |
| Before move | 53 | 34 | 62 | 37 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (102) | (64) | (66) | (51) |

Table 5-6

**Selected Characteristics of Gautreaux
Families in the Suburbs and Chicago**
(Percentage Distributions)**

| | <u>Suburbs</u> | <u>Chicago</u> |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| White | 7 | 6 |
| Black | 91 | 93 |
| Hispanic | 1 | * |
| Other | * | 1 |
| Total | <u>99</u> | <u>100</u> |
| (N) | (353) | (68) |
| <i>Family Size</i> | | |
| 1 | 3 | 28 |
| 2-3 | 65 | 55 |
| 4-5 | 29 | 14 |
| 6+ | 3 | 3 |
| Total | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> |
| (N) | (355) | (68) |
| Mean | 3.1 | 2.4 |
| <i>Number of Minors</i> | | |
| 0 | 7 | 36 |
| 1-2 | 67 | 48 |
| 3-4 | 24 | 15 |
| 5+ | 3 | 1 |
| Total | <u>101</u> | <u>100</u> |
| (N) | (355) | (68) |
| Mean | 2.0 | 1.3 |
| <i>Husband & Wife Present</i> | | |
| Yes | 13 | 13 |
| No | 87 | 87 |
| Total | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> |
| (N) | (355) | (68) |
| <i>Sex of Head</i> | | |
| Female | 85 | 83 |
| Male | 15 | 17 |
| Total | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> |
| (N) | (365) | (68) |
| <i>Age of Head</i> | | |
| 15-19 | 3 | * |
| 20-24 | 29 | 21 |
| 25-29 | 32 | 14 |
| 30-34 | 17 | 13 |
| 35-44 | 9 | 9 |
| 45-54 | 5 | 12 |
| 55-61 | 3 | 14 |
| 62 and Over | 2 | 15 |
| Total | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> |
| (N) | (350) | (65) |
| Mean | 30.0 | 41.6 |

* Less than one-half of one percent.

** Figures do not add to 100 due to rounding.

Table 5-7

**Selected Family and Income Characteristics of Gautreaux Participants
Placed in the Suburbs Versus those Placed in Chicago**
(Percentage Distributions)**

| <i>Family Status</i> | <u>Suburbs</u> | <u>Chicago</u> |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Head/Spouse Over 62 | 2 | 10 |
| Head/Spouse Handicapped | 2 | 15 |
| Head/Spouse Disabled | 2 | 6 |
| None of Above | 94 | 69 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (352) | (67) |
| <i>Source of Income</i> | | |
| Wages Only | 18 | 13 |
| Benefits Only | 9 | 19 |
| Welfare Only | 61 | 51 |
| Any Combination of Above Sources | 13 | 17 |
| Total | 101 | 100 |
| (N) | (354) | (68) |
| <i>Income After Allowances</i> | | |
| 1-1499 | | 3 |
| 1500-1999 | 2 | * |
| 2000-2999 | 57 | 61 |
| 3000-3999 | 15 | 9 |
| 4000-4999 | 5 | 9 |
| 5000-5999 | 6 | 5 |
| 6000-6999 | 15 | 13 |
| Total | | |
| (N) | (352) | (66) |
| Mean | \$3777 | \$3407 |
| Median | \$2904 | \$2532 |
| <i>Income Eligibility</i> | | |
| Low | 7 | 6 |
| Very Low | 93 | 96 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (354) | (68) |

* Less than one-half of one percent.

** Figures do not add to 100 due to rounding.

Table 5-8

**Selected Family Characteristics of Gautreaux Participants
and Regular Section 8 Recipients by Type of Area**
(Percentage Distribution)**

| | <i>Gautreaux</i> | | <i>Regular Section 8</i> | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|----------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| | <i>General</i> | <i>Limited</i> | <i>General</i> | <i>Limited</i> |
| Race | | | | |
| White | 8/11 | 4/* | 31 | 1 |
| Black | 91/89 | 93/97 | 53 | 98 |
| Hispanic | */* | 8/* | 15 | 1 |
| Other | 1/* | 2/3 | 2 | * |
| Total | 100/100 | 99/100 | 101 | |
| (N) | (379)/(36) | (157) | (610) | 100 |
| Family Size | | | | |
| 1 | 5/28 | 22/28 | 23 | 10 |
| 2-3 | 65/64 | 50/47 | 47 | 52 |
| 4-5 | 27/8 | 22/19 | 23 | 31 |
| 6+ | 3/* | 7/6 | 7 | 8 |
| Total | 100/100 | 101/100 | 100 | 101 |
| (N) | (380)/(36) | (42)/(10) | (38) | (611) |
| Mean | 3.0/2.2 | 2.9/2.7 | 2.0 | 3.3 |
| Number of Minors | | | | |
| 0 | 10/42 | 24/31 | 29 | 13 |
| 1-2 | 65/53 | 48/44 | 45 | 54 |
| 3-4 | 22/6 | 24/22 | 22 | 27 |
| 5+ | 3/* | 4/3 | 4 | 6 |
| Total | 3/* | 4/3 | 4 | 6 |
| Total | 100/101 | 100/100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (380)/(36) | (46)/(10) | (153) | (612) |
| Mean | 1.9/1.0 | 1.7/1.5 | 1.7 | 2.1 |
| Husband & Wife Present | | | | |
| Yes | 14/17 | 9/9 | 10 | 6 |
| No | 86/83 | 91/91 | 90 | 94 |
| Total | 100/100 | 100/100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (380)/(36) | (47)/(10) | (157) | (611) |
| Sex Head | | | | |
| Female | 84/81 | 87/84 | 13 | 7 |
| Male | 16/19 | 13/16 | 87 | 93 |
| Total | 100/100 | 100/100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (380)/(36) | (42)/(10) | (158) | (611) |
| Age of Head | | | | |
| 15-19 | 5/* | 2/3 | 1 | * |
| 20-24 | 25/24 | 18/16 | 7 | 14 |
| 25-29 | 30/27 | 20/10 | 19 | 27 |
| 30-34 | 19/9 | 14/16 | 17 | 15 |
| 35-44 | 9/ | 14/13 | 15 | 21 |
| 45-54 | 6/12 | 9/13 | 19 | 12 |
| 55-61 | 3/9 | 14/19 | 14 | 9 |
| 62 and Over | 3/19 | 9/10 | 8 | 1 |
| Total | 100/100 | 100/100 | 100 | 99 |
| (N) | (379)/(34) | (41/10) | (159) | (605) |
| Mean | 31.0/41.6 | 29.1/41.5 | 41.0 | 35.4 |

NOTE: The first number in each column represents the figure for all Gautreaux placements; the second represents only those placements in Chicago.

* Less than one-half of one percent.

** Columns may not add to one hundred due to rounding.

Table 5-9

**Selected Family and Income Characteristics of Gautreaux Participants
and Regular Section 8 Recipients by Type of Area**
(Percentage Distributions)**

| | Gautreaux | | Regular Section 8 | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------|--------------|
| | General Area | Limited Area | General Area | Limited Area |
| Family Status | | | | |
| Head/Spouse over 62 | 3/17 | 4/3 | 7 | 1 |
| Head/Spouse Handicapped | 3/9 | 15/22 | 20 | 10 |
| Head/Spouse Disabled | 3/6 | 4/6 | * | 1 |
| None of Above | <u>91/69</u> | <u>76/69</u> | <u>73</u> | <u>88</u> |
| Total | 100/100 | 99/100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (376)/(35) | (42)/(10) | (157) | (608) |
| Source of Income | | | | |
| Wages Only | 18/17 | 7/9 | 12 | 10 |
| Benefits Only | 9/17 | 17/22 | 16 | 8 |
| Welfare Only | 59/44 | 61/56 | 47 | 61 |
| Any Combination of Above Sources | <u>13/22</u> | <u>15/13</u> | <u>26</u> | <u>22</u> |
| Total | 99/100 | 100/100 | 101 | 101 |
| (N) | (379)/(36) | (42)/(10) | (156) | (612) |
| Income After Allowances | | | | |
| 1—1499 | 1/3 | 2/3 | 2 | * |
| 1500—1999 | 1/* | 2/* | * | * |
| 2000—2999 | 57/56 | 62/66 | 47 | 50 |
| 3000—3999 | 14/9 | 11/9 | 24 | 22 |
| 4000—4999 | 5/6 | 9/13 | 6 | 6 |
| 5000—5999 | 6/8 | 2/* | 6 | 6 |
| 6000—25000 | 15/18 | 11/9 | 15 | 16 |
| Total | <u>99/100</u> | <u>99/100</u> | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> |
| (N) | (376)/(34) | (42)/(10) | (158) | (609) |
| Mean | \$3751/\$3724 | \$3445/\$3086 | 3799 | \$3883 |
| Median | \$2904/\$2532 | \$2532/\$2532 | \$3088 | \$2988 |
| Income Eligibility | | | | |
| Low | 7/8 | 4/3 | 7 | 6 |
| Very Low | 93/92 | 96/97 | 93 | 94 |
| Total | 100/100 | 100/100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (379)/(36) | (42)/(10) | (157) | (609) |

Note: The first number in each column represents the figure for all Gautreaux placements, the second represents only those in Chicago.

* Less than one-half of one percent.

** Columns may not total to one hundred due to rounding.

CHAPTER VI

AREAS TO WHICH GAUTREAUX FAMILIES MOVED

At the time that the demonstration began, approximately 2.9 percent of all rental units in the Chicago SMSA met Section 8 standards, rented at or below 120 percent of the FMR, and were vacant. However, many of these units were located in areas either incompatible with or undesirable for the purposes of the demonstration. Furthermore, since the implementation of the demonstration, available evidence suggests that the rental market has undergone a marked tightening.

A potential constraint on the operation of the Gautreaux demonstration was the availability of rental units in the Chicago SMSA which fit the purpose of the demonstration and met Section 8 requirements. In fact, in both reports by the Leadership Council and by Rubinowitz and Kenny on the implementation of the Gautreaux demonstration in the first year, it was concluded that the major obstacle faced in placing Gautreaux families was the problem of finding a sufficient number of acceptable units in areas of the Chicago SMSA that had low concentrations of minority residents. In addition, it was the Leadership Council's evaluation that the availability of larger three- and four-bedroom units was extremely limited. As a result, the demonstration was modified in January 1977 to emphasize placing only families requiring one- or two-bedroom units.

This section of the report briefly outlines the procedures followed by the Leadership Council to identify areas in which to search for units and to estimate unit availability and describes the general distribution of vacancies and the vacancy rate focuses on variations in the availability of units by location and by the number of bedrooms in the unit. This type of information can be used to understand the market constraints within which the demonstration operated and to determine the supply of rental units that was available for the purposes of the demonstration.

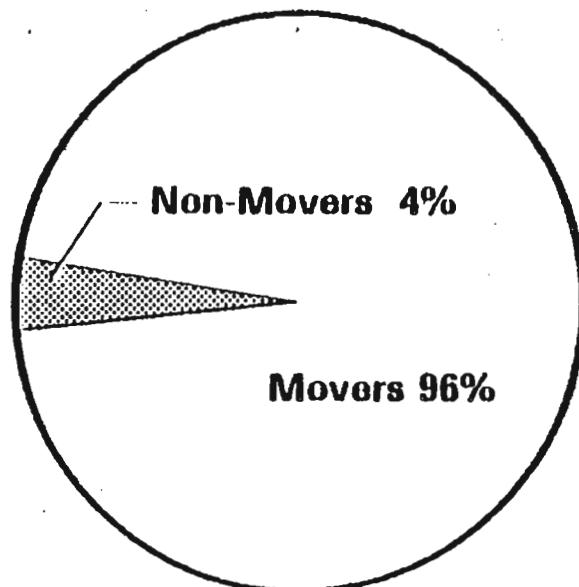
The Leadership Council relied mainly upon apartment directories, newspaper listings, and the expertise of its staff to determine where to concentrate their search for units.^{1/} Three factors went into their consideration. To be a good prospect the area had to have: relatively high vacancy rates; available apartments within the Fair Market Rent (FMR)

^{1/} Williams, Kale and Zuba, Henry J., Final Report Contract H-4086: Program to Assist Members of the Gautreaux Plaintiff Class to Find Existing Housing Units ..., August 2, 1978; p. 8.

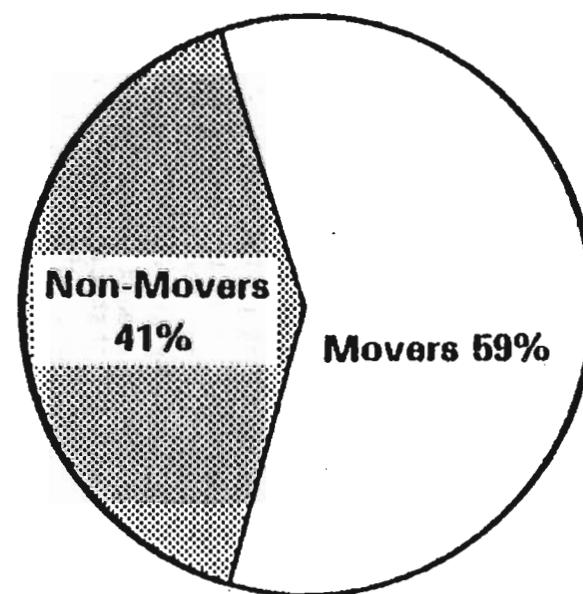
FIGURE 6-1

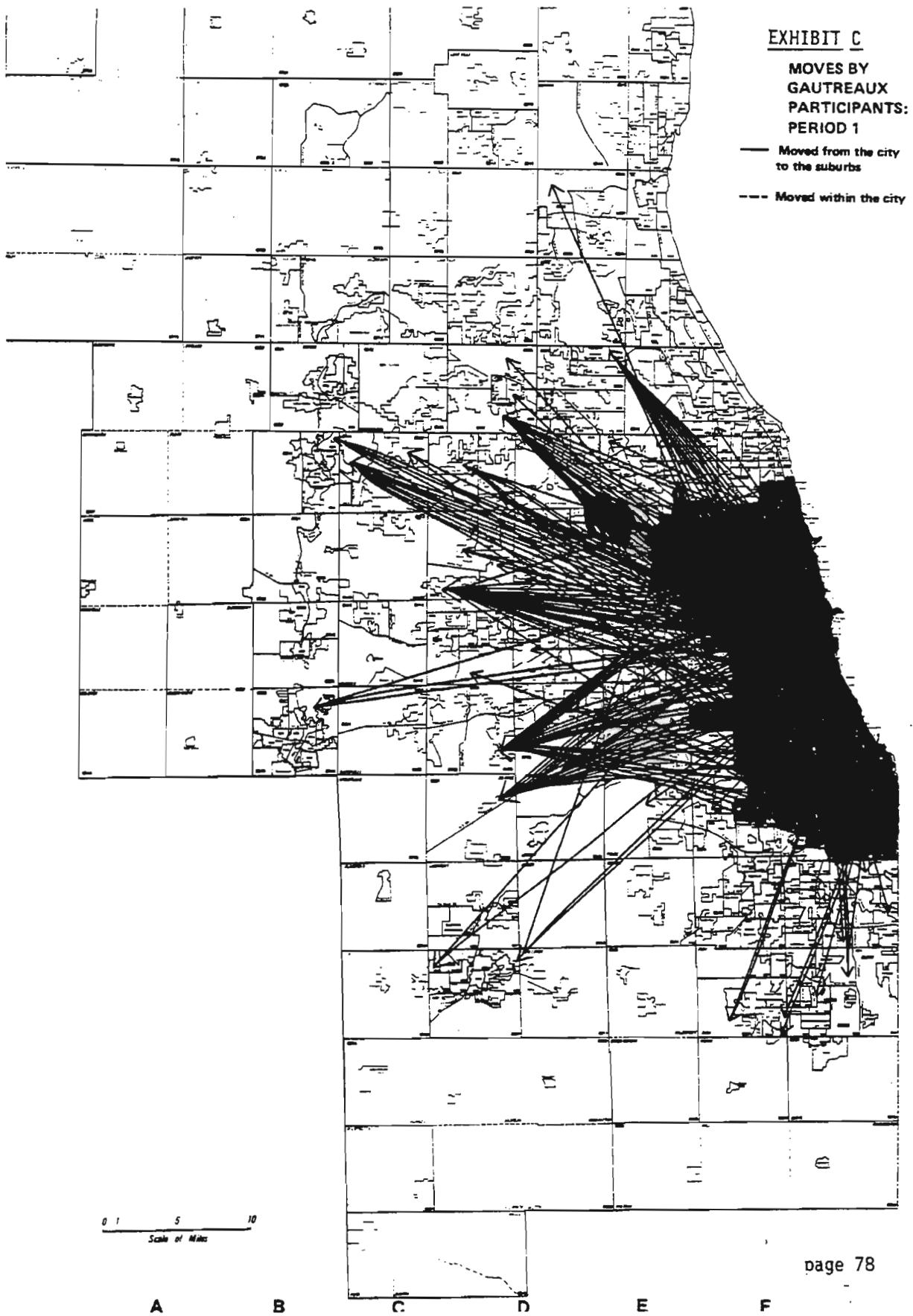
**Percent of Gautreaux and Regular Section 8
Participants Who Moved and Who Did not Move
upon Receiving Section 8 Assistance**

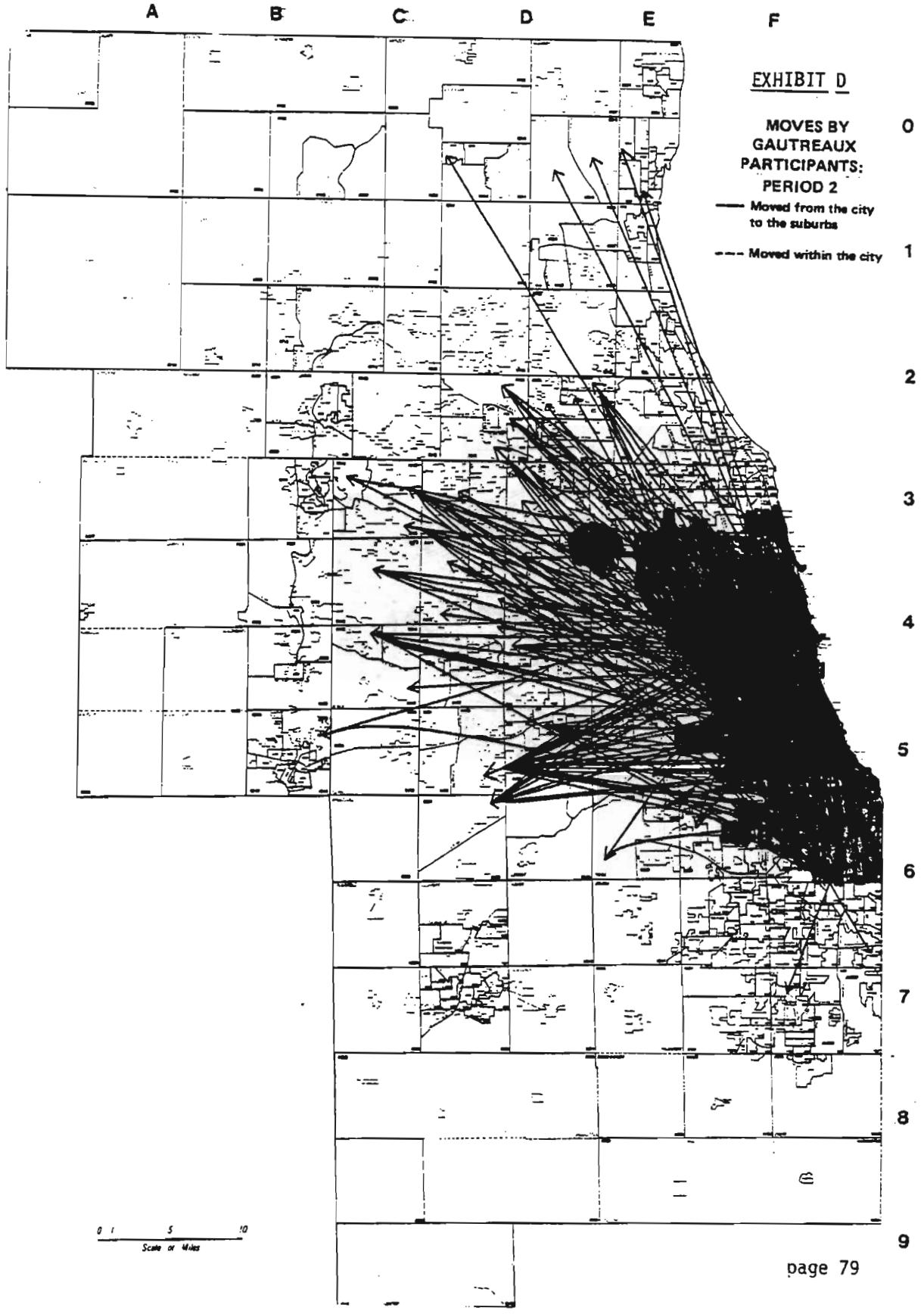
Gautreaux Families



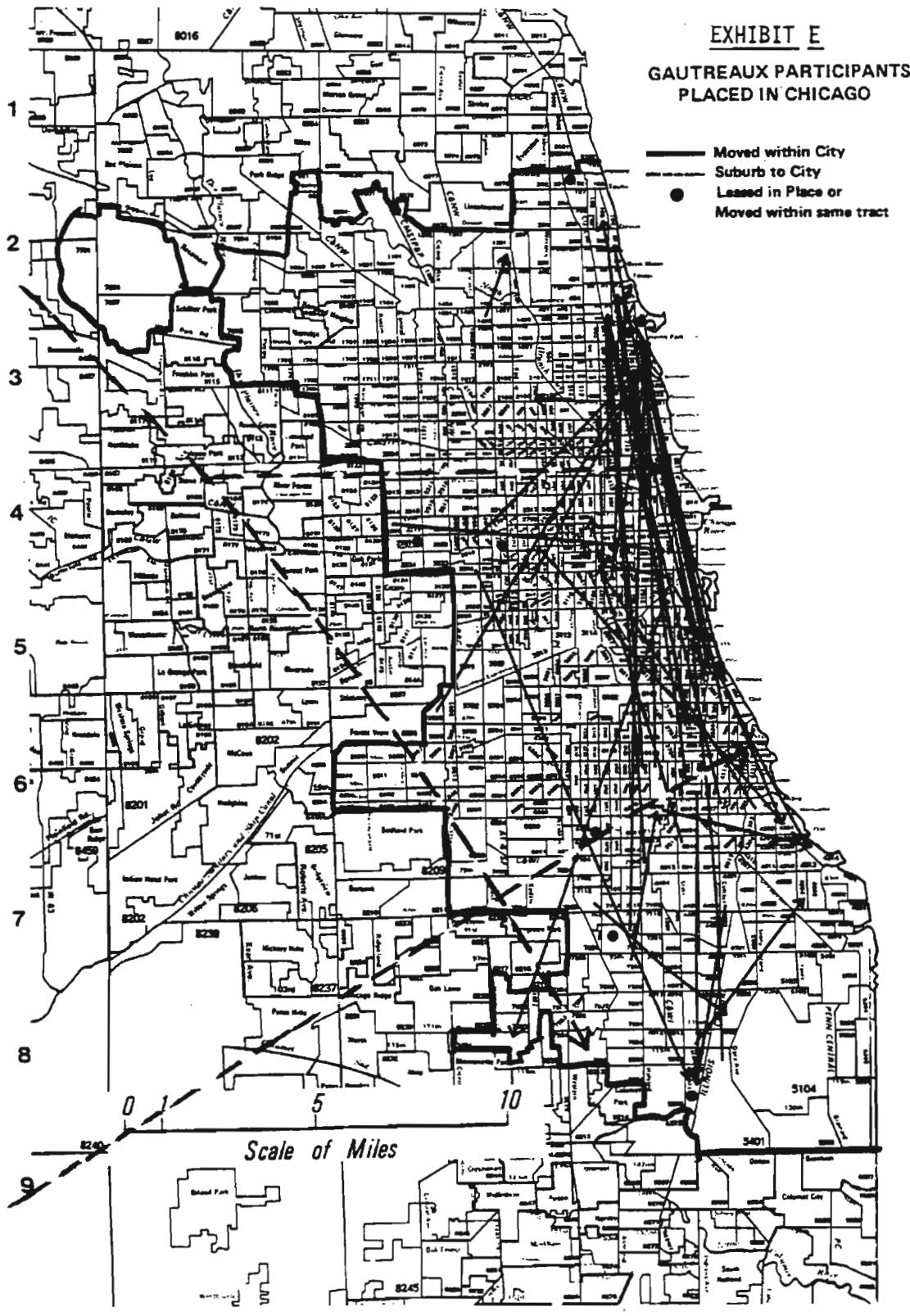
Section 8 Families

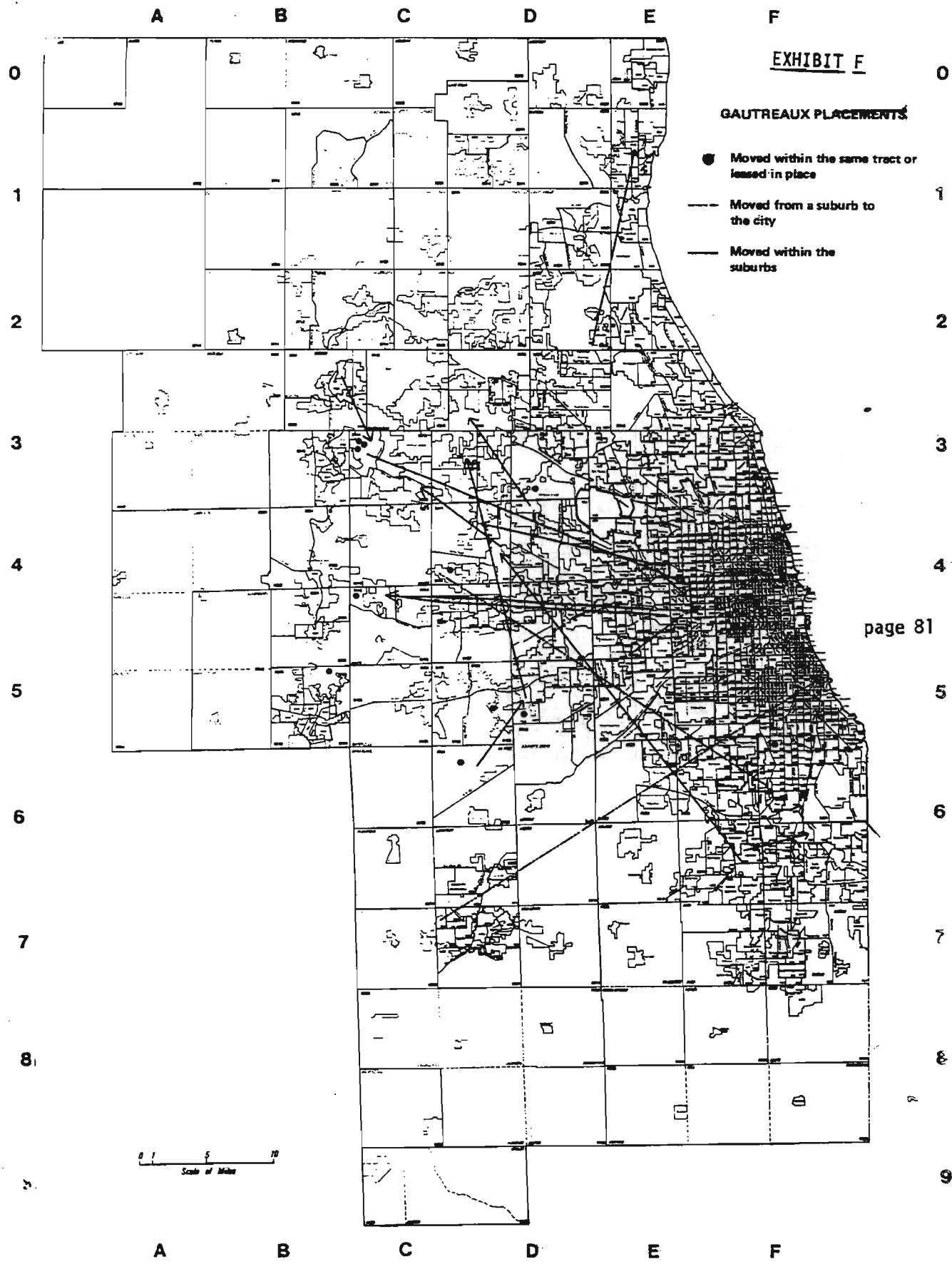






A B C D E F





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As Exhibits C and D show, the majority of Gautreaux families moved to suburban communities on the periphery of the Chicago SMSA rather than to the inner suburban ring. According to the Leadership Council, this was not due to the preferences or to widespread reluctance of apartment managers to lease to Gautreaux families but, rather, to the fact that the inner suburbs had very low vacancy rates. Furthermore, vacancies were located in the smaller apartment complexes which did not have on-site residential managers and were largely rented on the basis of "word-of-mouth." Thus, they were seldom advertised.

The first half of Gautreaux moves was concentrated in eight geographically large suburban census tracts which form an arc approximately 20 miles from the city of Chicago (See Exhibit C). In comparison, the second half of moves under the demonstration was more dispersed throughout the suburbs in general (See Exhibit D). This pattern may reflect the accrual of information on the part of the Leadership Council about the availability of housing in different suburban areas as previously discussed in Section III. Of the 425 placements under the demonstration, 68 were in the city of Chicago -- 32 were in Limited Areas and 36 were in General Areas (See Exhibit F).²

Ten or more Gautreaux families were placed in at least eight census tracts within the SMSA. Table 6-1 provides a project-by-project breakdown of where families moved within these census tracts and it shows that in no instance does a single housing project account for all placements. While there are three tracts (609,8041, 8044) in which the large majority of placements went to a single project, the overall pattern is one of dispersion to two or more apartment projects within each tract. Thus, it would be inaccurate to conclude that the Gautreaux demonstration reconcentrated families in the suburbs. (For a list of communities to which Gautreaux participants moved, See Appendix E.)

Of the 425 families placed under the demonstration, 41 percent moved into FHA-insured housing projects, while 53 percent were placed in conventionally-financed units. About six percent of the families were placed in units financed by the Illinois Housing Development Authority (IHDA).

¹ See Section IV which discusses the rental housing supply in the Chicago SMSA.

² Limited Areas have 30 percent or more minority residents; General Areas have less than 30 percent.

Table 6-1

**Concentration of Gautreaux Families by Apartment Complexes for Census
Tracts Receiving Ten or More Gautreaux Families**

| <i>Census Tract Number (City)</i> | <i>Total Families</i> | <i>Project</i> | <i>Gautreaux Families in This Project</i> | <i>Total Number of Units</i> | <i>Project Type</i> |
|--|---------------------------|----------------------------|---|--|--|
| 609 (Chicago) | 12 | A B | 1 11 | — 185 | — Non-FHA |
| 8024 (Wheeling) | 22 | A B C | 10 6 6 | 252 264 176 | FHA FHA Non-FHA |
| 8041 (Rolling Meadows) (Palatine) (Palatine) (Schaumburg) | 21 | A B C D | 16 3 1 1 | 762 448 212 300 | Non-FHA FHA FHA FHA |
| 8043 (Hanover Park) (Hoffman Estates) (single family units) | 10 | A B — | 5 1 4 | 192 416 — | FHA Non-FHA — |
| 8044 (Elgin) | 20 | A B C | 13 5 2 | 250 181 231 | FHA FHA FHA |
| 8412 (Carol Stream) (") (") (") (") (Itasca) | 25 | A A B D E F | 8 2 2 10 2 1 | 362 210 144 284 240 437 | FHA FHA Non-FHA FHA Non-FHA Non-FHA |

Table 6-1 (Continued)

**Concentration of Gautreaux Families by Apartment Complexes for Census
Tracts Receiving Ten or More Gautreaux Families**

| <i>Census Tract Number (City)</i> | <i>Total Families</i> | <i>Project</i> | <i>Gautreaux Families in This Project</i> | <i>Total Number of Units</i> | <i>Project Type</i> |
|---|---------------------------|----------------|---|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 8463 (Woodridge) | 39 | A | 4 | 381 | FHA |
| (Downes Groves) | | B | 3 | 700 | Non-FHA |
| (Woodridge) | | C | 3 | 121 | Non |
| (") | | D | 6 | 300 | Non-FHA |
| (") | | E | 8 | 541 | Non-FHA |
| (") | | F | 1 | 84 | Non-FHA |
| (") | | G | 3 | 176 | IHDA |
| (") | | H | 9 | 376 | FHA |
| (single family units) | — | | 2 | — | — |
| 8801 (Bolingbrook) | 26 | A | 1 | 285 | IHDA |
| | | B | 12 | 475 | IHDA |
| | | C | 7 | — | Non-FHA |
| | | D | 1 | 98 | FHA |
| (single family units) | — | | 5 | — | — |

Compared to Gautreaux participants, Section 8 families more often moved shorter distances (2 blocks to 10 miles), moved to areas with a greater concentration of minority residents, and moved to areas with lower median incomes and median housing values.

Of 784 non-elderly recipients of assistance under Chicago's Section 8 Existing Housing Program,³ 41 percent leased in place and 59 percent moved, primarily within the same census tract (70%). Of those who moved, 56 percent were from private housing, 30 percent moved from public housing; and 13 percent were in private housing but were on the waiting list for public housing.

Of those Section 8 recipients who either leased-in-place or moved within the same tract, there appears to be some concentration of families in the southeastern, western, and northeastern sections of Chicago (See Appendix F, Exhibits L and M). The majority of these placements is in the Limited Areas.

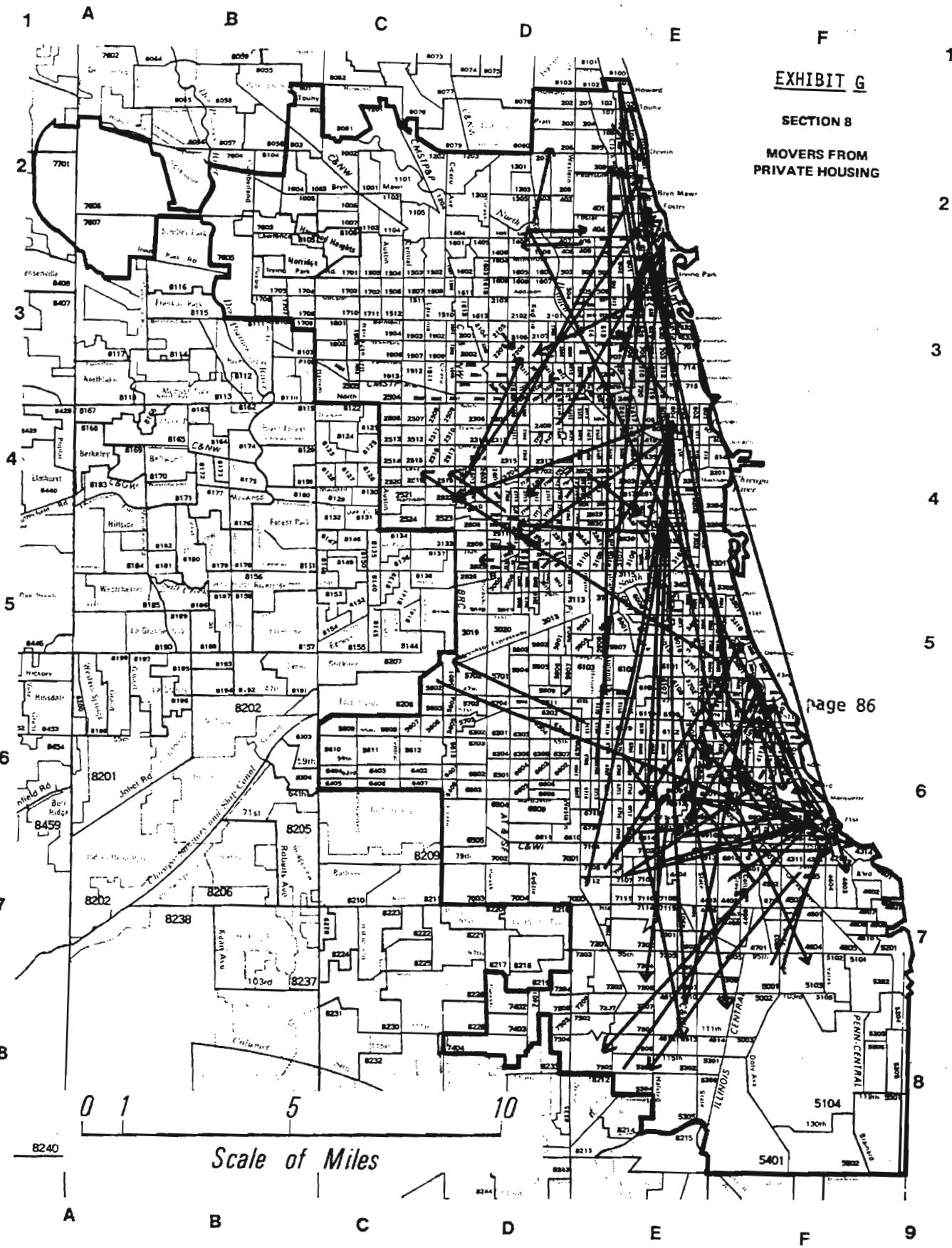
Exhibit G plots the movement of a random sample of 103 Section 8 families who moved from private housing.⁴ Although there appears to be a concentration of these movers in the southern portion of the city, there was also some movement from south Chicago to northeast Chicago and to and from the central western portion of the city. Again, the majority of moves was to the Limited Areas.

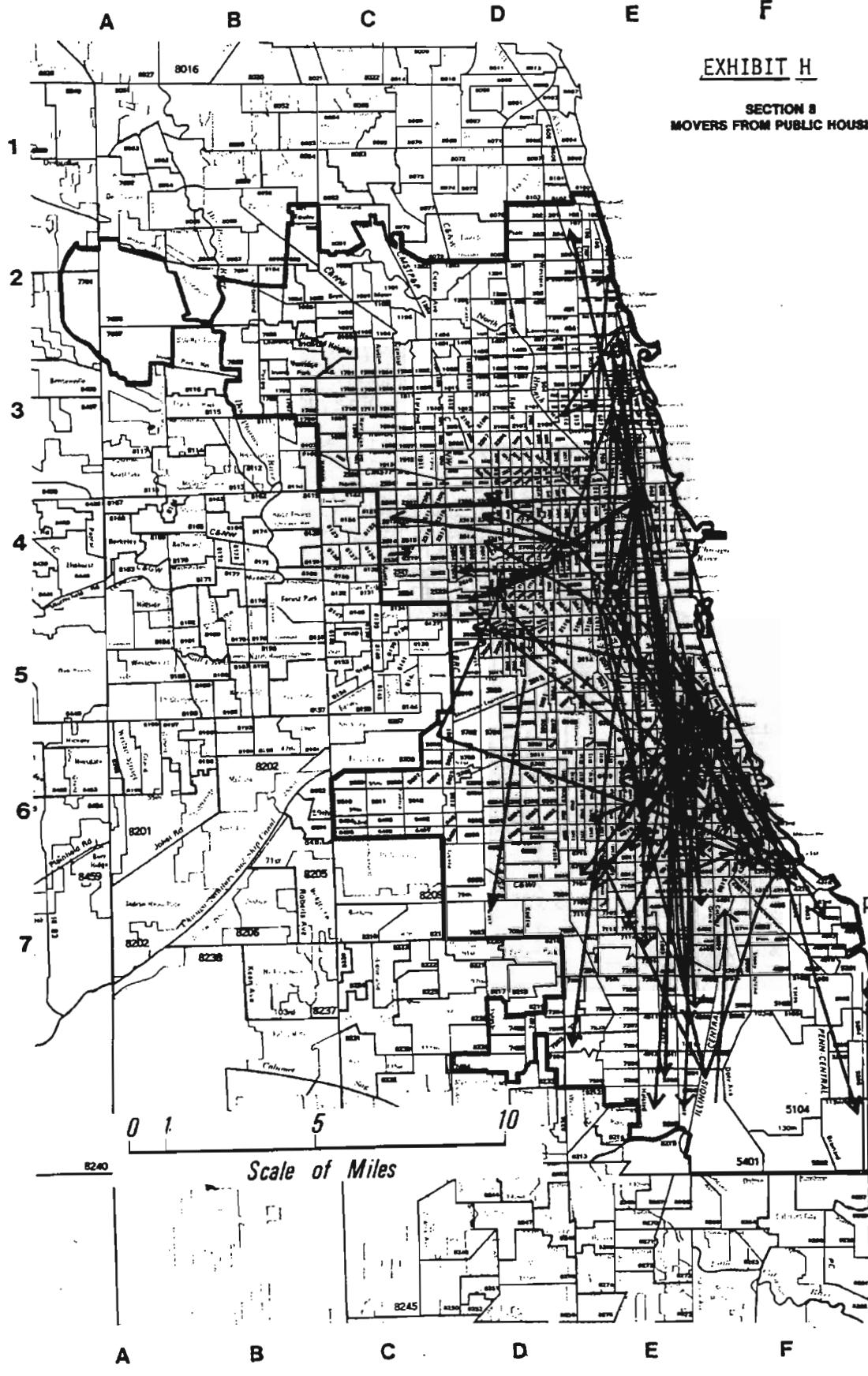
As is the case with movers from private housing, Section 8 movers from public housing were mostly concentrated in the southern portion of the city. Again, as represented on Exhibit H, these movers were from, and generally to, the Limited Areas of the city. Similarly, 52 families who were on the public housing waiting list when they became Section 8 recipients moved primarily to the Limited Areas of the southside of Chicago (See Exhibit I).

In summary, considerable geographical dispersion occurred under the Gautreaux demonstration, especially during the second contact period. The long distances of the majority of moves by Gautreaux families are also clearly evident. These findings are consistent with the findings that higher vacancy rates existed in the outer suburbs. In contrast, the Section 8 families were constrained to move within Chicago and, hence, moved shorter distances, usually to the upper northwest portion or south-side of Chicago and, in many cases, did not move at all. Most often, whether they moved or leased-in-place, Section 8 families were found to be living in Limited Areas. The neighborhood analysis (based on census tracts) which follows, adds a socio-economic-demographic background to this geographic context.

³ These families initially received Section 8 assistance in 1976 and 1977.

⁴ A subsample was plotted since mapping the total in this category (274) would have created an uninterpretable display.





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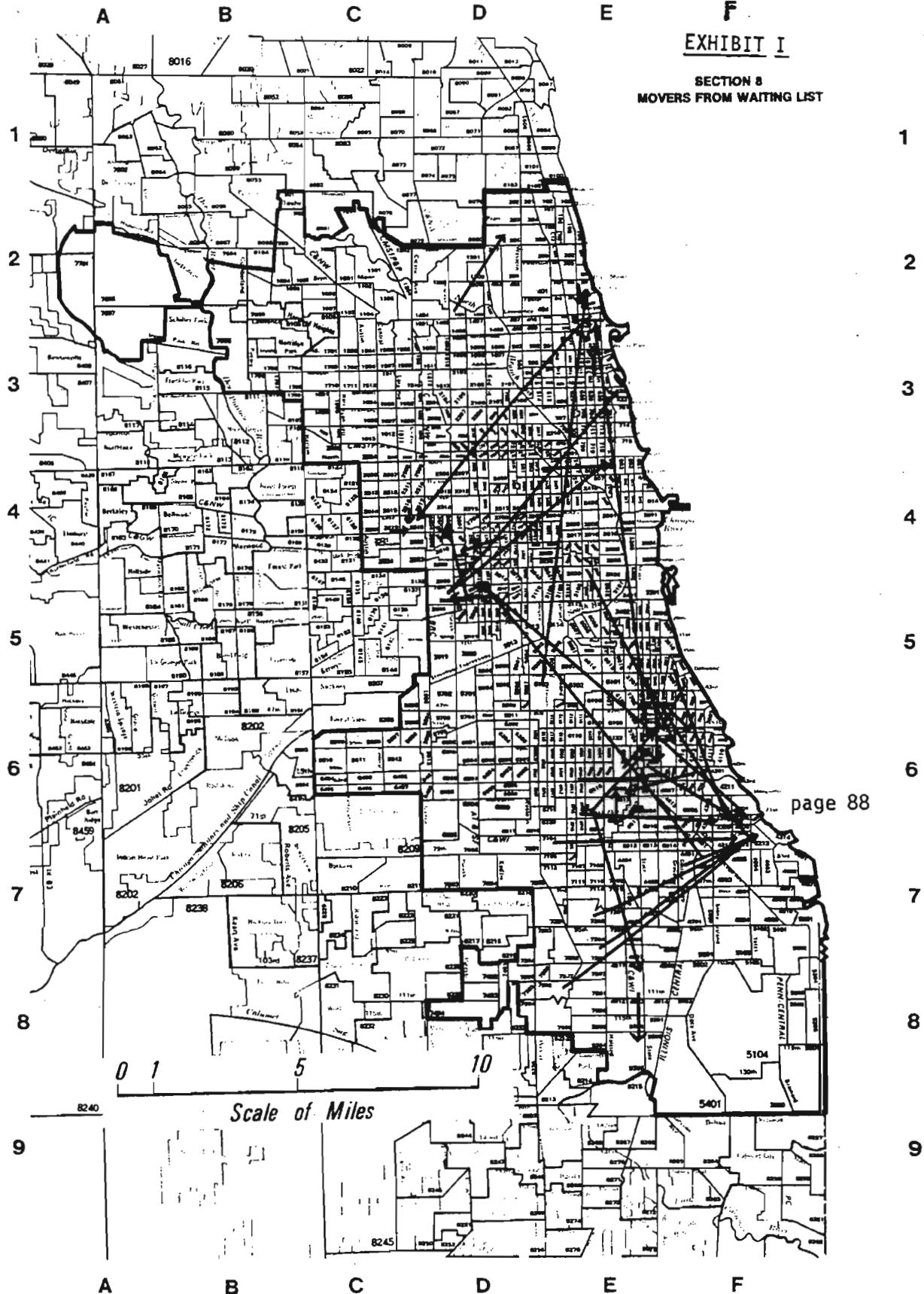
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CHAPTER VII

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEIGHBORHOODS WHERE GAUTREAUX FAMILIES LIVED

Prior to applying for rental assistance, both Gautreaux and regular Section 8 participants generally resided in areas characterized by large numbers of minority households and high concentrations of lower socio-economic status persons. After entry into the demonstration, Gautreaux families tended to move into areas with many fewer minority households and persons with higher socio-economic status characteristics while regular Section 8 families generally moved to tracts which were not substantially different from their original residences.

A primary goal of the Gautreaux demonstration was to encourage Gautreaux class families to move to suburban areas of Chicago or into areas with low concentration of minority persons in the city itself. In 90 percent of the cases, the goal was achieved, these participants moved into neighborhoods designated as General Public Housing Areas. The remaining 10 percent of Gautreaux placements were made in Limited Areas of Chicago or its suburbs -- those neighborhoods with more than 30 percent minority households (See Table 7-1). However, as Table 7-2 indicates, placements were in Limited Areas (primarily locations in the inner ring of suburbs) while almost one-half of all Chicago placement (47%) were in such areas.

As this might suggest, most of the moves undertaken by Gautreaux demonstration participants involved substantial changes in neighborhood conditions. This section describes these changes and compares them with the changes resulting from the regular Section 8 Program administered by the Chicago Housing Authority.¹

¹In this study, "neighborhood" and "area" are used interchangeably. Neighborhood and area characteristics in this section are based on 1970 census tract data. These data are used for several reasons. First, while it is clear that neighborhoods and census tracts are not necessarily coterminous, it is unlikely that pockets of any substantial size within most census tracts differ drastically from the overall tract. Therefore, census tract data can be used, as they are in this study, to make comparisons of change and to suggest trends. Second, in the Court decisions which have created the benchmarks for the operation of the HUD programs in the Chicago area, the census tract was the basic geographical unit specified. Third, census tract data were the only readily available and useable information for all the communities involved in the demonstration.

As is indicated in Table 7-3, the neighborhoods from which Gautreaux families and regular Section 8 families moved did not substantially differ. Both groups generally resided in areas containing large numbers (over 60%) of minority households, large numbers of low-income persons (earning less than \$9,000 in average income), high levels of unemployment (over 7%), and persons with low levels of education (averaging about eleven years). However, the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of neighborhoods to which the two groups moved are markedly different, especially with respect to race. Compared to an average of 60 percent minority households in the areas in which Gautreaux participants originally lived, minorities account for only an average of five percent of all households within their new neighborhoods. This contrasts with the experience of regular Section 8 families who moved from areas with 66 percent minorities to areas with 61 percent minorities. These differences suggest the extent to which the demonstration resulted in families moving from areas of high minority concentration to areas of low concentration.

A comparison of income, education, and unemployment figures for the areas for which families moved reveals similar differences. Gautreaux families moved into neighborhoods characterized by a median income which was almost \$5,000 higher (\$13,355 vs. \$8,611) than those neighborhoods into which regular Section 8 families moved. The residents of these areas also had higher median years of education (12.6 vs. 10.9) and were more often high school graduates (65% vs. 42%) than the residents of the new neighborhoods to which regular Section 8 families moved. Unemployment in the areas to which Gautreaux families moved was a little over one-half that found in the areas to which Section 8 families moved (3.5% vs. 6.3%).²

The same pattern exists with respect to measures of neighborhood housing quality. Only slight differences in the value of owner occupied housing and average contract rent existed between the original neighborhoods of Gautreaux families and Section 8 families. However, the neighborhoods to which they moved differed significantly for these same characteristics. Gautreaux families were placed in areas with owner-occupied homes valued 33 percent higher and with average contract rents which were 50 percent higher than the areas in which Section 8 families resided (See Table 7-3).

In sum, both Gautreaux families and regular Section 8 families came from similar kinds of neighborhoods but the two groups moved to markedly different locations:

² These figures are based on 1970 census data so they are not completely reliable in describing these neighborhoods during the demonstration years, 1976 through 1979. However, it is rather safe to assume that, even if absolute figures changed from 1970 to 1976, the difference between neighborhoods reported here remained roughly the same.

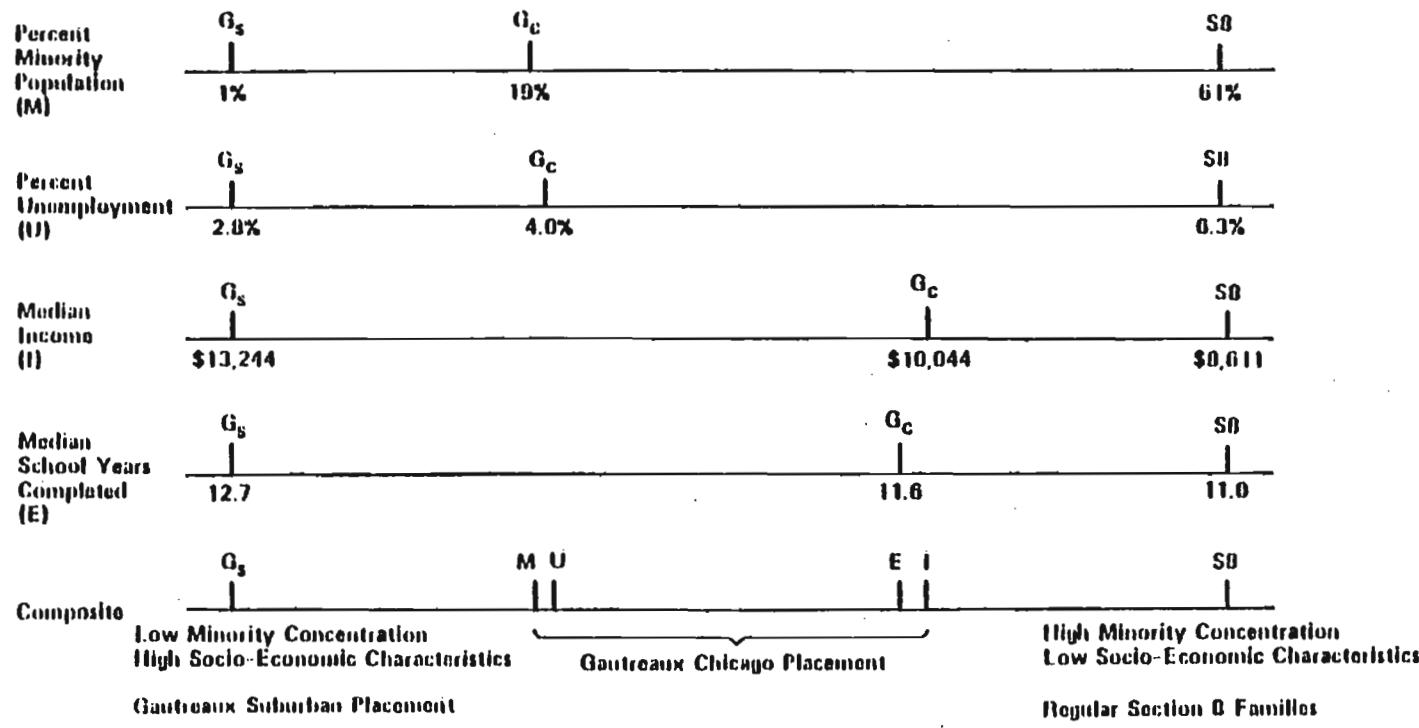
If census tracts to which families moved are arrayed along a continuum whose upper limit consists of high levels of education, income and employment and low levels of racial concentration, Gautreaux suburban placements would be found closer to this upper limit, regular Section 8 participants would be located closer to the lower limit, and Gautreaux Chicago placements would fall between the two.

Most of the observed differences between the characteristics of Gautreaux and Section 8 neighborhoods reflect differences between urban and suburban locations in general. Since over 80 percent of all Gautreaux placements were made in the suburbs and since regular Section 8 tenants, by definition, resided entirely within the city of Chicago, such differences are expected. However, when one controls for location (separating the suburban and within Chicago placements and comparing both groups to regular Section 8 tenants), the sharp dichotomy between Gautreaux placement and Section 8 recipients disappears. Instead of a clear-cut distinction between the Gautreaux demonstration and the Section 8 program, there is a continuum with Gautreaux suburban placements at one end point (consisting of families living in areas with higher average educational and income characteristics, lower levels of unemployment, and a smaller minority population) and regular Section 8 placements at the other extreme. Gautreaux Chicago placements fall between the two; closer to suburban Gautreaux placements in some cases (low minority concentration and low unemployment) and closer to regular Section 8 neighborhoods in others (median school years completed, median income, and housing quality indicators) (See Table 7-4).

Figure 7-1 presents selected neighborhood racial, social, and economic characteristics for the Gautreaux suburban, Gautreaux Chicago, and regular Section 8 families. The five continua in Figure 1 represent percent minority population, percent unemployment, median income, median school years completed, and a composite of these characteristics for the census tracts in which Gautreaux placements and regular Section 8 families reside. The left end of the continua represent the upper limit, that is, the Gautreaux suburban placements on each dimension. The right end represents the lower limit, that is, the Chicago Section 8 neighborhoods on each dimension. Gautreaux Chicago placements are indicated by the point between the two limits. The absolute value of each group along each dimension is indicated below each point. The position of the Gautreaux Chicago placement on this scale is relative to the absolute values for the three groups. For example, the average percent minority population in Gautreaux Chicago census tracts is 19, or 18 percentage points greater than the same figure for Gautreaux suburban placements. The 18 percent absolute difference represents 30 percent of the absolute difference between Gautreaux suburban neighborhoods and regular Section 8 neighborhoods in this dimension. Therefore, the point for Gautreaux is placed 30 percent of the way toward the lower limit of the continuum. In other words, the points are relative to one another.

FIGURE 7-1

Relative Neighborhood Racial and Socio-Economic Characteristics of Gautreaux and Regular Section 8 Families



Using this relative measurement, multiple dimensions can be presented on a single continuum as is done in the fifth continuum in this figure. This continuum is a composite of the four above it. The upper limit of each dimension is on the left end and the lower limit is on the right end. The position of the Gautreaux Chicago placements is exactly the same as it was on each of the single dimension continua. The three neighborhoods examined, therefore, can be arrayed on a single distinct continuum.

Not all families placed through the demonstration were placed in General Area tracts; roughly 12 percent were placed within the Limited Area. Neither did all regular Section 8 families move to the Limited Area of Chicago; 21 percent live in census tracts designated as part of the General Area. Furthermore, that two families are both placed in Limited Areas does not mean that they were placed in identical or even similar types of neighborhoods. There are substantial differences among neighborhoods designated as Limited, differences which result from the way in which Limited Areas are defined. Limited Areas consist of all census tracts with at least a 30 percent minority population or within one mile of such tracts. Therefore, a tract with a five percent minority population located next to a tract with a 35 percent minority population would be designated Limited, as would a tract with a 95 percent minority population. Similar differences exist between tracts designated General as well, since that category includes all tracts with 0 to 29 minority population.

Table 7-5, which separates all placements into Limited and General Areas, shows that even when viewing only Limited Areas, placements through the Gautreaux demonstration tended to be in tracts with higher socio-economic characteristics than placements through the Section 8 program. The most dramatic difference occurs in the concentration of racial minorities. Families placed in suburban Limited Areas through the Gautreaux demonstration had, on average, only a seven percent minority population in their neighborhood while Gautreaux Chicago residents lived in Limited Areas with 37 percent minorities. Regular Section 8 families in Chicago, on the other hand, resided in Limited neighborhoods with minorities accounting for 76 percent of the total population.

In conclusion, this section underlines the substantial racial, economic, and education differences in neighborhoods where Gautreaux families were presently living compared to (1) their previous neighborhoods and (2) the neighborhoods where regular Section 8 families currently resided. For those Gautreaux families placed in Chicago or in Limited Areas, the differences are less dramatic, but generally in the same direction. From the perspective of the goal of dispersion, therefore, the demonstration was very successful in moving most of the 455 families into new residential environments and it was much more successful, in this regard, than was the regular Section 8 program in Chicago.

This does not mean that the suburban areas where these families moved changed to reflect a substantially greater racial or income mix for the areas as a whole. The number of Gautreaux families moving into any given community was simply too small to produce this sort of change. From the point of view of the participating families, however, their residential environments were dramatically upgraded and altered.

Table 7-1

**Residence of Gautreaux Participants by Type of Area
(Percentage Distributions)**

| | <u>In Suburbs</u> | <u>In Chicago</u> | <u>All Placements</u> |
|--------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| General Area | 81 | 9 | 90 |
| Limited Area | <u>3</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>10</u> |
| Total | 84 | 16 | 100 |
| (N) | (354) | (68) | (422) |

Table 7-2

**Residence of Gautreaux Participants and Regular Section 8
Recipients by General and Limited Areas
(Percentage Distributions)**

| | Gautreaux Placements | | | Regular Section 8 Recipients |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|---|
| | <u>In Suburbs</u> | <u>In Chicago</u> | <u>All Placements</u> | <u>All Chicago</u> |
| General Area (N) | 97 (344) | 53 (36) | 90 (380) | 21 (157) |
| Limited Area (N) | 3 (10) | 47 (32) | 10 (42) | 79 (610) |
| Total (N) | 100 (354) | 100 (68) | 100 (422) | 100 (767) |

Table 7-3

**Selected Neighborhood Characteristics of Placed
Gautreaux Participants and Regular Section 8 Recipients
(Percentage Distributions)**

| | <i>Gautreaux Families</i> | | <i>Regular Section 8</i> | |
|--|---------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| | <i>Previous</i> | <i>Present</i> | <i>Previous</i> | <i>Present</i> |
| Average Percent of Population Black (N) | 60% (412) | 5% (372) | 66% (757) | 61% (767) |
| Average Percent of Population under 18 (N) | 42% (417) | 39% (372) | 38% (759) | 35% (773) |
| Average Percent of Population over 62 (N) | 10% (410) | 8% (364) | 11% (759) | 12% (773) |
| Average Percent of High School Graduates (N) | 38% (417) | 65% (417) | 39% (755) | 47% (764) |
| Median Years of Education (N) | 10.6 (417) | 12.6 (417) | 11.4 (755) | 10.9 (764) |
| Average Percent of Unemployment (N) | 7.4% (425) | 3.3% (429) | 7.1% (759) | 6.3% (773) |
| Mean Income (N) | \$8,642 (421) | \$14,734 (431) | \$8,925 (749) | \$9,634 (787) |
| Median Income (N) | \$7,813 (417) | \$13,355 (425) | \$8,047 (759) | \$8,611 (788) |
| Average Value of Owner-Occupied Units (N) | \$19,778 (328) | \$28,300 (363) | \$20,751 (688) | \$21,285 (742) |
| Average Contract Rent (N) | \$103 (410) | \$167 (364) | \$108 (759) | \$115 (773) |

Table 7-4

**Neighborhood Characteristics of Gautreaux Suburban Placements
Gautreaux Chicago Placements, and Regular Section 8 Recipients**

| | <i>Gautreaux Participants</i> | | <i>Regular Section 8</i> |
|---|-------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------|
| | <i>Suburbs</i> | <i>Chicago</i> | <i>All Chicago</i> |
| Average Percent of Population Black (N) | 1 (296) | 19 (67) | 61 (767) |
| Average Population of Population Under 18 (N) | 42 (296) | 25 (67) | 35 (773) |
| Average Percent of Population Over 62 (N) | 6 (296) | 19 (67) | 12 (773) |
| Average Percent of High School Graduates (N) | 68 (349) | 51 (67) | 47 (764) |
| Median Years of Education (N) | 12.8 (349) | 11.6 (67) | 10.9 (764) |
| Average Percent of Unemployment (N) | 2.8 (351) | 4.0 (67) | 6.3 (773) |
| Mean Income (N) | \$14,147 (353) | \$11,948 (67) | \$9,634 (758) |
| Median Income (N) | \$13,281 (353) | \$10,044 (67) | \$8,611 (773) |
| Average Value of Owner-Occupied Units (N) | \$29,757 (295) | \$20,977 (61) | \$21,279 (743) |
| Average Contract Rent (N) | \$175 (296) | \$129 (67) | \$115 (773) |

Table 7-5

Neighborhood Characteristics of Gautreaux Placements and Regular Section 8 Recipients

| | <i>Gautreaux Placements</i> | | | | <i>Section 8 Recipient</i> | |
|--|-----------------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
| | <i>Suburbs</i> | | <i>Chicago</i> | | <i>Chicago</i> | |
| | <i>General</i> | <i>Limited</i> | <i>General</i> | <i>Limited</i> | <i>General</i> | <i>Limited</i> |
| Average Percent of Population Black | 7 (288) | 7 (8) | 2 (36) | 37 (31) | 4 (159) | 76 (605) |
| Percent of Population Under 18 | 42 (288) | 34 (8) | 19 (36) | 32 (31) | 24 (159) | 37 (614) |
| Percent of Population Over 62 | 6 (288) | 11 (8) | 23 (36) | 14 (31) | 18 (159) | 11 (614) |
| Average Percent of High School Graduates | 69 (339) | 47 (10) | 57 (36) | 43 (31) | 47 (150) | 41 (614) |
| Median School Years Completed | 12.9 (339) | 11.4 (10) | 12.2 (36) | 10.9 (31) | 11.1 (150) | 10.9 (614) |
| Average Percent of Unemployment | 3.0 (342) | 4.5 (9) | 2.1 (36) | 2.6 (31) | 4.2 (159) | 6.9 (614) |
| Average Income | \$14,240 (344) | \$10,607 (9) | \$13,754 (36) | \$ 9,909 (31) | \$11,063 (199) | \$ 9,254 (609) |
| Median Income | \$13,364 (344) | \$10,102 (9) | \$10,748 (36) | \$ 9,226 (31) | \$ 9,599 (159) | \$ 8,355 (614) |
| Average Value of Owner-Occupied Unit | \$29,241 (287) | \$19,237 (8) | \$22,709 (34) | \$28,188 (27) | \$19,413 (158) | (585) |
| Average Contract Rent | \$ 173 (288) | \$ 114 (8) | \$ 144 (36) | \$ 112 (31) | \$ 121 (159) | \$ 113 (614) |

Table 7-6

Selected Neighborhood Characteristics of Recipients, Movers and Non-Movers
Gautreaux Placements and Regular Section 8, Movers and Non-Movers

| | <i>Movers</i> | | | | | |
|--|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| | <i>Gautreaux</i> | | <i>Section 8</i> | | <i>Non-Movers</i> | |
| | <i>Previous</i> (N) | <i>Present</i> (N) | <i>Previous</i> (N) | <i>Present</i> (N) | <i>Gautreaux</i> (N) | <i>Section 8</i> (N) |
| Average Percent of Population Black | 62 (397) | 4 (356) | 68 (440) | 59 (447) | 24 (15) | 63 (315) |
| Average Percent of Population Under 18 | 42 (395) | 39 (348) | 40 (440) | 34 (452) | 36 (15) | 36 (317) |
| Average Percent of Population Over 62 | 10 (395) | 8 (348) | 10 (440) | 12 (452) | 11 (15) | 11 (317) |
| Average Percent of High School Graduates | 37 (339) | 66 (398) | 38 (440) | 43 (447) | 53 (18) | 41 (313) |
| Median Years of Education | 10.6 (407) | 12.7 (406) | 11.8 (440) | 11.0 (447) | 11.6 (17) | 10.9 (313) |
| Average Percent of Unemployment | 7.5 (407) | 3.2 (407) | 7.7 (440) | 6.1 (452) | 3.6 (17) | 6.6 (317) |
| Average Income | \$ 8,495 (396) | \$13,890 (400) | \$ 8,650 (437) | \$ 9,874 (444) | \$11,944 (18) | \$ 9,323 (311) |
| Median Income | \$ 7,783 (407) | \$13,414 (408) | \$ 7,814 (440) | \$10,605 (461) | \$11,010 (17) | \$ 8,382 (317) |
| Average Value of Owner-Occupied Unit | \$19,466 (314) | \$28,333 (342) | \$20,329 (390) | \$21,339 (442) | \$26,785 (14) | \$21,301 (297) |
| Average Contract Rent | \$ 109 (402) | \$ 167 (356) | \$ 106 (440) | \$ 117 (452) | \$ 140 (15) | \$ 112 (317) |

CHAPTER VIII

REASONS FAMILIES DID OR DID NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE GAUTREAUX DEMONSTRATION

The Gautreaux class consisted of about 43,000 families,¹ all of whom were eligible to participate in the Gautreaux demonstration. However, HUD guaranteed 400 Section 8 certificates to be made available for demonstration placements during the first contract with the Leadership Council (8/76 to 11/77) and no fewer than 470 certificates during the second contract (12/77 to the present). As of March 1979, the number of actual participants was 455. Numerous reasons for non-participation can be cited, including the procedures and criteria used by the Leadership Council in organizing the demonstration and the locational preferences of eligible families.

According to the Leadership Council records, placements under the Gautreaux Section 8 Existing demonstration numbered 455. This number, however, slightly overestimates the actual number of different families placed because several families were double-counted by the Leadership Council when they moved more than once under the demonstration and were, each time, considered "placed" by the Leadership Council.

While the purpose of this study was not to evaluate the demonstration in terms of number of families, the following discussion provides insight into why many families did not participate. The information reported here is based on a compilation of data from reports and documents prepared by the Leadership Council, an evaluation report on the demonstration,² and responses to questions of Gautreaux families and eligible non-participants. The explanation which emerges from these different sources of information is complex and relates to each specific stage of the process in which Gautreaux families were identified, notified, selected to attend briefings, taken to housing sites, and eventually placed. The reasons for non-participation generally fall into four categories: (1) decisions and actions taken by the Leadership Council; (2) lack of available units near public transportation for families without cars; (3) attitudes and locational preferences of eligible families; and (4) rejection by landlords.

1/ See CHA Statistical Report, 1977.

2/ Rubinowitz and Kenny, op. cit.

One result of the notification procedures used by the Leadership Council was that many families never received a letter informing them of the program and of their eligibility to participate. This was the case particularly for larger families who occupied approximately one-half of all of the Chicago Housing Authority's (CHA's) units. Families very recently added to the CHA waiting list were not informed either, since the Leadership Council chose to notify disproportionately families who had been on the waiting list for the longest period of time. Therefore, families who were not notified and who did not hear of the program from other sources were effectively prevented from participating. Since there was little publicity surrounding the program, it was not likely that eligible families did not hear of the program through a friend or who did not receive a letter would have known about it. Additionally, some families who called the Leadership Council, but were not on their mailing list, were not treated equally with those on the list who responded in the early stages of the demonstration. This practice was eventually changed, however, so that all families who called the Leadership Council, and were determined to be eligible, were invited to briefings.

Non-participation on the part of families who were sent a notification letter from the Leadership Council is a different issue. While many of these families may not have received the letter or, if they received it, did not read it, a high proportion of those not responding apparently had no desire to move to the suburbs for personal reasons. Interviews with eligible non-participants revealed that only a few of these families preferred the suburbs as a residential location.

Perhaps more interesting are those who did not participate in spite of their initial interest in the program. After the letters of notification were sent out, 6,484 respondents indicated their interest to the Leadership Council. At this point, the Leadership Council selected and invited 2,190 families to briefings. The decision to invite a family was dependent on their preference for a suburban location and on their possession of a car. Hence, some of those families not meeting these criteria were excluded from further consideration. Of those invited to briefings, 1,823 decided to attend and, of those attending, 1,109 families actually visited housing sites. Eventually, 487 families made applications, 455 of which were accepted and 32 of which were rejected for one reason or another. As is clear from the above summary of these different steps, there was a drop-off of families at each juncture due either to reasons known only to the family, or to decisions made by the Leadership Council, or to rejection on the part of a landlord when a particular family visited a housing site.⁴

3 Section XII discusses in greater detail the locational preferences of Gautreaux families.

4 See Exhibit B for a diagram of the identification, notification, selection, and placement processes of the demonstration.

If a family expressed an initial interest by responding positively to the letter from the Leadership Council, or if the family was not notified but contacted the Leadership Council to indicate interest, four types of reasons may account for their not participating. The first explanation relates to actions taken by the Leadership Council in not allowing some families to participate. According to the Leadership Council, the most common problem was bad credit. The Leadership Council immediately told families with poor credit ratings that they would be unacceptable to landlords. If people refused to give credit information, they also were not processed beyond that point. Persons with poor housekeeping habits or prison records were also excluded.

A second important consideration in explaining why families did not participate after expressing an interest was a change in their residential preference. For example, the family may not have wanted to be far from friends, relatives, work opportunities, or their own church. Many simply decided they did not want to leave the city. In fact, even among those placed, one-third indicated later a preference to live in Chicago.

A third factor indicating why some families did not participate was the alleged lack of rental vacancies close to public transportation. Although the Leadership Council attempted to select for placement only those families with cars, many who attended the briefings did not have a car. If the Leadership Council could not find rental units in the inner suburbs where there was access to public transportation, such persons were not assisted.

Fourth, a very few families were rejected by the landlords because of the presence of teenage children. Rejection by landlords did not occur often, however, since the Leadership Council made a concerted effort to identify landlords or apartment managers who were willing to accept Gautreaux families.

In conclusion, many factors explain why some eligible persons did not participate in the Gautreaux demonstration. Two factors, however, emerge as most important. First, the Leadership Council decided to choose a subset of families it believed would be easier to place and would be more likely to remain in the program. Second, many families were not initially interested, if interested, lost interest when they attended briefing sessions or visited housing sites in the suburbs.

There are several reasons why Gautreaux families chose to participate in the demonstration, no one of which, however, was predominant. Reasons included the financial advantages of receiving rental assistance and such neighborhood and locational advantages as better schools and improved safety. Families who originated in public housing and moved out after receiving regular Section 8 assistance also cited neighborhood and locational advantages. On the other hand, Section 8 families who had not previously been receiving other types of housing assistance, emphasized financial and housing unit considerations, rather than neighborhood reasons, for participating in Chicago's regular Section 8 program.

Gautreaux families who moved from one location to another were asked to describe, in their own words, the main reasons for choosing to participate in the demonstration. Twenty-three percent mentioned financial reasons, such as reduced rental costs because of the subsidy. This compares with 56 percent of regular Section 8 movers who pointed to financial factors (See Table 8-1). Another 22 percent of Gautreaux participants brought up neighborhood characteristics while only four percent of regular Section 8 movers said these factors were important. This concern with neighborhood characteristics on the part of Gautreaux participants was expressed mostly in terms of better quality schools followed by equal mentions of neighborhood safety and improved living conditions. Along with the more specific neighborhood concerns, 12 percent of Gautreaux participants spoke of a "desire to move from Chicago." When this 12 percent is combined with the above 22 percent who stressed the importance of neighborhood characteristics in the decision to move, one-third of the Gautreaux families underlined the importance of moving to a new area as their reason for participation. Participants in the regular Section 8 program who had moved from public housing were more similar to Gautreaux families in their reasons for participation than were those who moved from private housing. For them, financial considerations were less important than a desire to change their place of residence from their current project or building. The relative unimportance of cost considerations is not surprising since these families were already benefitting from a reduced housing cost.

Last, the decision to participate in either the demonstration or the Section 8 program does not appear to have been motivated by specific characteristics of the family's previous dwelling such as amount of space. Only six percent of Gautreaux and eight percent of Section 8 participants mention the importance of this factor in their decision to move.

In addition to the questions of why families decided to participate, another more specific question was asked which probed their reasons for choosing their current residences as opposed to others they may have looked at. In response to this open-ended question, Gautreaux participants were just as likely to give reasons associated with the quality and cost of the unit (38% as they were to mention neighborhood and locational characteristics (36%) (See Table 8-2). Regular Section 8 movers,

on the other hand, were almost twice as likely to emphasize costs and characteristics of the physical dwelling unit (43%) as location and neighborhood characteristics (23%). In addition, 11 percent of regular Section 8 movers, compared to only three percent of Gautreaux families, reported that their current choices of residence were due to the landlord's willingness to accept regular Section 8 tenants. This is not surprising given the efforts of the Leadership Council to select out sites where landlords or apartment managers were willing to rent to families receiving housing assistance.

When given a list of ten different factors, over 85 percent of Gautreaux families indicated that three were most important in their decision to move to their present location: the quality of the house, good schools, and less crime. Locational characteristics that apparently were not uppermost in their choice of a particular site were the availability of public transportation, its proximity to work, different races or family incomes in the neighborhood, and closeness to friends or relatives (See Table 8-3).

Respondents were then asked to choose the one factor that had the most important influence on their decisions to move. Twice as many Gautreaux participants (34%) judged good schools to be the most important factor as did regular Section 8 movers (17%). The quality of the housing unit was reported to have been the most important factor by 26 percent of the Gautreaux participants, somewhat below the 35 percent reported by regular Section 8 movers. Having a neighborhood with less crime was ranked first in importance by the same proportions of Gautreaux participants and regular Section 8 movers -- 22 and 23 percent, respectively (See Tables 8-3 and 8-4).

Examining both the first and second most important factors in their decisions to move, Gautreaux participants were distinguished by the lesser importance they attributed to public transit in deciding to move -- just six percent rated nearby public transit as the most or second most important characteristic while 19 percent of regular Section 8 movers considered it to be most or second most important. In addition, Gautreaux participants more frequently mentioned good schools as either first or second in importance (32%) than regular Section 8 movers (20%). Living in racially balanced neighborhoods was not a crucial consideration in their decision to move; only two percent of the families in the demonstration said it was the first or second most important factor (See Table 8-5).

Despite the prospects of moving into a very different environment, Gautreaux families were only slightly more likely than regular Section 8 families to report doubts about the moves. Their doubts, however, focused on different things. Gautreaux families reported feeling, prior to the move, fears of discrimination, of inadequate public transportation, of living in an unfamiliar place, and of being far from friends and family. Before their move, Section 8 families were concerned primarily about crime.

While the benefits of better schools and safer neighborhoods attracted Gautreaux families to their current residences, the moves made by many of them were long (averaging over 21 miles) and to unfamiliar places throughout the metropolitan area. One might expect, therefore, many persons to have had doubts about moves. Indeed, 43 percent did. However, 35 percent of those who moved under Section 8 also had fears about their move within the city (See Table 8-6). There may be several reasons why the proportion of Gautreaux families who had doubts was not much greater than the proportion of Section 8 families with doubts. First, Gautreaux families received more help and counseling before and after the move than did regular Section 8 families. Second, the Leadership Council tried to place more than one family in a housing site to reduce the isolation of the family. Third, given the selection procedures of the Leadership Council, the families who eventually moved were those who had an interest in living in the suburbs, so they could be expected to be positively predisposed toward the experience.

When the types of doubts expressed by Gautreaux families are compared with those of the Section 8 participants, interesting differences emerge. Gautreaux families who had doubts were more often concerned with living in an unfamiliar place, with being accepted in the neighborhood and with being far from friends (32%) than were Section 8 movers (18%). In particular, 17 percent of the Gautreaux families but none of the regular Section 8 movers feared discrimination. Additionally, while public transportation was not a very important factor in choosing their present locations, Gautreaux participants expressed doubts about it more often (13%) than did regular Section 8 movers (3%). In addition, Gautreaux families more frequently had doubts prior to the move about the new neighborhood location -- 20 percent versus just nine percent among the regular Section 8 movers. These locational concerns included inconvenience in getting to work or shops as well as being far from friends and relatives. Regular Section 8 movers, in contrast, were more often worried about neighborhood crime (22%); only five percent of Gautreaux participants expressed this concern (See Table 8-6).

Of the 425 families placed through the Gautreaux demonstration, between 75 and 80 are known to have "dropped out", i.e., they are no longer receiving housing assistance through the demonstration or through the regular Section 8 Housing Assistance Payments Program in the Chicago area.

These families should not be confused with the 70 "multiple mover" families who moved at least one time after being initially placed by the Leadership Council and who continue to receive assistance. In both cases, the figures cited above were much higher than estimates given by the Leadership Council in earlier reports. Due to the problems involved in locating "dropouts" and "multiple movers", the analysis that follows is based primarily on information furnished by the families at the time they were first placed by the Leadership Council, demographic data collected by HUD staff, and recent reports from the Leadership Council.

Families who are known to have dropped out tended to have lower incomes, and a younger head of household than families still active in the demonstration.

Families that are known to have dropped out of the demonstration differed from the rest of the families in the demonstration in terms of certain demographic characteristics. First, as a group, dropout families had a lower average income than non-dropout families placed in the demonstration (3,124 vs. 3,804). In fact, all dropouts qualified as "very low-income" families (more than 50% below the median income for families of the same size in Chicago) while none of the non-dropout families so qualified. Dropout families were also more likely to have reported only public assistance as a source of income and only one-half as likely to have reported only wages as a source (See Table 8-8).

Second, the average age of the head of the dropout families at the time of entry into the program was five years less than the age of the head of the still active families. In fact, less than five percent of the dropout families were headed by an individual over 45 years old while almost 20 percent of the active Gautreaux families had a head of household of at least that age (See Table 8-7).

Two other factors related to dropouts are important. First, almost all of the families who left the demonstration were city-to-suburb movers. Second, while one in five families placed in the first year (1977) of the demonstration have dropped out, only one in ten families placed in second year (1978) have stopped receiving rental assistance.

Not surprisingly, both the type of move and the length of time since the initial placement also appear to have affected the likelihood of a family being a dropout. As Table 8-12 shows, almost one-fifth of the families placed during the first year of the demonstration (1977) have dropped out while only one-tenth of families placed during the second year (1978) have done so.⁵ Ninety-six percent of Gautreaux dropouts were families that moved from Chicago to the suburbs whereas many fewer of the still active group (75%) made such moves. No dropout family made a within-Chicago move while 16 percent of the active families moved from one part of Chicago to another (See Table 8-13). Exhibit J shows where 56 families were placed who eventually dropped out of the demonstration; over 70 percent of them were in Cook and DuPage Counties.

It seems plausible that the longer a family resided in the suburbs, the more problematic any inconveniences and difficulties became. As a result, the family's desire to return to the city may have increased. This hypothesis corresponds with findings from the attitudinal survey which indicated that the Gautreaux participants' satisfaction, in general, declined after roughly one year of residence (See Figure 9-1).

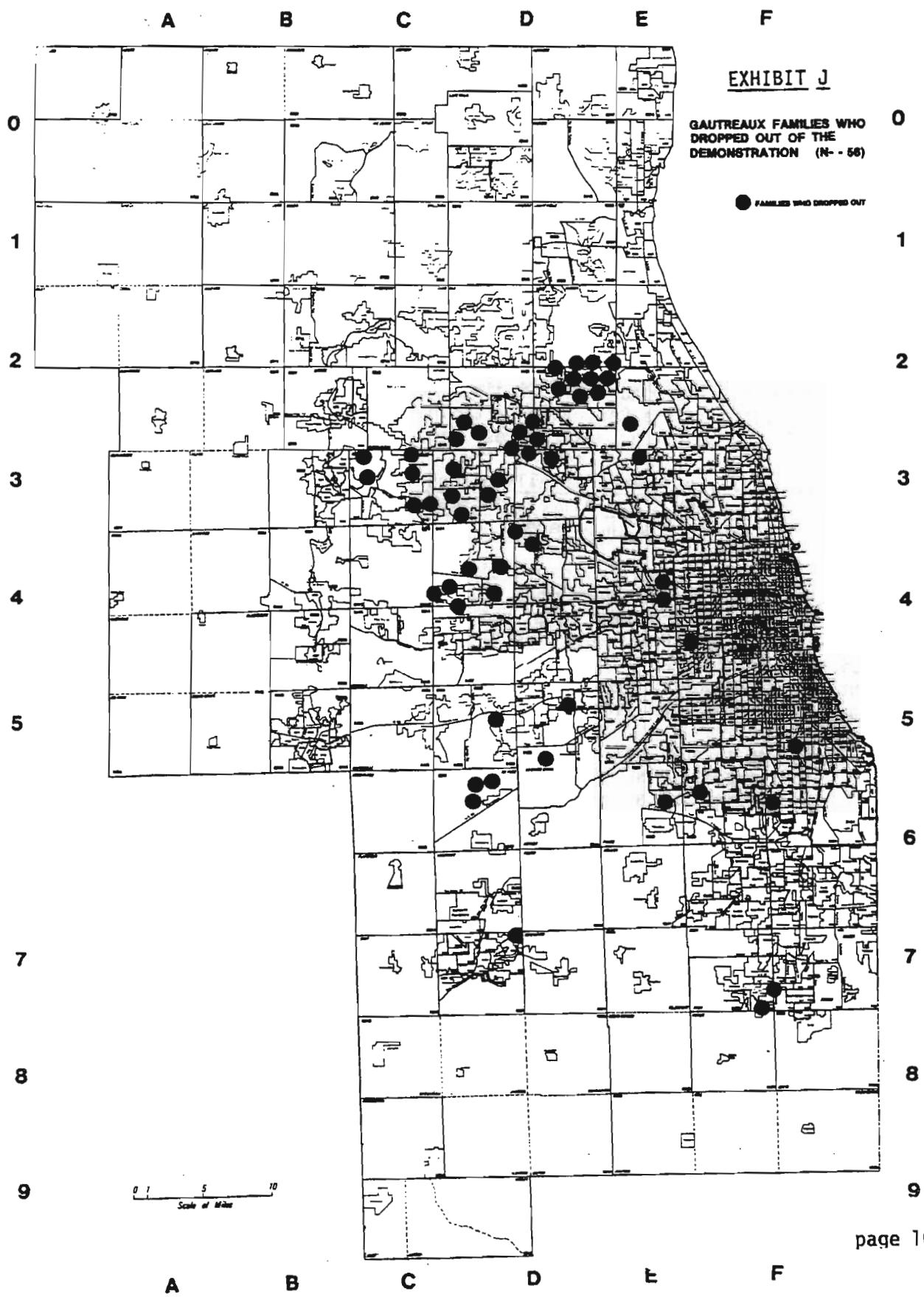
Dropout families were initially placed in census tracts characterized by lower average incomes and slightly fewer minority households than were non-dropout families.

Dropout families were also placed in neighborhoods which were somewhat different from the areas where other Gautreaux families were placed. The census tracts where dropouts moved had an average income which was \$700 less than that of tracts in which active families were initially placed. In addition to the income differences, dropout families moved to tracts with slightly fewer minority residents than did other Gautreaux families (an average of 1% versus an average of 5% respectively) (See Table 8-11).

There are several possible explanations for why families dropped out. Unfortunately, most of these families could not be contacted for personal interviews because addresses provided by the Leadership Council were no longer valid and these families could not be found.⁶ A very recent report received from the Leadership Council provides the most up-to-date information on these families. According to this report, 42 families did not have their certificate renewed. This meant that

⁵ Although the contract between HUD and the Leadership Council which authorized the demonstration was signed in August 1976, several months of start-up time were necessary; the first family moved during the month of November 1976.

⁶ See complete description of the tracking procedure used to locate families for personal interviews in Appendix C.



either the family neglected to renew or the public housing agency did not renew the certificate due to a violation of Section 8 regulations. Three families were evicted. Nineteen families were known to have "skipped", i.e., the family left without notifying the landlord or PHA. And, finally, eleven families never moved in, i.e., the family changed its mind about moving after the application for lease was made.

About one in six Gautreaux families in the suburbs moved subsequent to their initial placement by the Leadership Council.

Many of these families, however, stayed in the same census tract and almost all of them moved to another suburban area rather than back to the city.

In the course of conducting interviews for this project, it was discovered that many families (17% of the 425 included in the analysis) had moved subsequent to their initial placement by the Leadership Council. The number of such "multiple movers", like the number of dropout families, was much larger than what was initially believed to be the case. In preliminary discussions with HUD staff, the Leadership Council indicated that only a few families had dropped out or moved a second time. It was only through the tracking procedures used in the conduct of the survey and discussed more fully elsewhere in this report that the extent of the problem was realized and new addresses obtained.

Only a very sketchy analysis of the second movers can be attempted at this time. Due to the late discovery of the number of these families, there was not sufficient time to collect additional demographic data on the census tracts in which the families resided at the time of the interviews.

It is known that 70 families, 17 percent of those placed through the demonstration, moved after initial placement by the Leadership Council. All 70 of these families were placed in the suburbs; none of the 68 families placed in the city of Chicago moved a second time. Over one-third (36%) of the multiple movers moved rather short distances and stayed within the same census tract where they were initially placed. In several cases, these families remained in the same apartment complex and simply moved to another building or another floor. The majority of the multiple movers, however, relocated in different census tracts, primarily in the suburban areas of Chicago. With few exceptions, these second moves involved families placed in DuPage and northern Cook Counties. These families also tended to move within the same area in which they were originally placed, i.e., DuPage and northern Cook County, and not into a different part of the Chicago SMSA.

Table 8-1

**Reasons Given by Gautreaux and Regular Section 8 Families
for Participating in Respective Housing Program^a**
(Proportion of Total Mentions)

| | <i>Gautreaux Participants</i> | Regular Section 8—Movers from: | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| | | <i>Public Housing</i> | <i>Waiting List</i> | <i>General Public</i> | <i>All Movers</i> |
| <u>Reasons</u> | | | | | |
| <u>Financial</u> | <u>23</u> | <u>35</u> | <u>61</u> | <u>70</u> | <u>56</u> |
| <u>Neighborhood</u> | <u>22</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>—</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>4</u> |
| Better quality schools | 12 | — | — | — | — |
| Safer neighborhood | 5 | 3 | — | — | 1 |
| Improved neighborhood condition | 5 | 4 | — | 3 | 3 |
| <u>Location</u> | <u>21</u> | <u>27</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>13</u> |
| Wanted to move from Chicago | 12 | — | — | — | — |
| Wanted to move from project or building | 7 | 26 | 6 | 3 | 12 |
| Had to move | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| <u>Dwelling</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>8</u> |
| Better physical structure | 3 | 5 | 6 | 3 | 5 |
| More space | 3 | 4 | — | 3 | 3 |
| <u>General</u> | <u>28</u> | <u>22</u> | <u>25</u> | <u>16</u> | <u>19</u> |
| Improved living conditions | 24 | 19 | 21 | 13 | 16 |
| Other | 4 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 3 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Number of mentions | (441) | (147) | (49) | (110) | (306) |
| (N) | (294) | (103) | (38) | (93) | (234) |

^a For respondents who said they were receiving housing or rent assistance, the question was: "What were the main reasons you chose to participate in that housing program?"

Table 8-2

**Reasons Given by Gautreaux and Regular Section 8 Families
for Moving to Present Place of Residence^a**
(Proportion of Total Mentions)

| <u>Reasons</u> | <i>Regular Section 8—Movers from:</i> | | | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>Gautreaux Participants</u> | <u>Public Housing</u> | <u>Waiting List</u> | <u>General Public</u> | <u>All Movers</u> |
| <u>Dwelling</u> | <u>38</u> | <u>37</u> | <u>48</u> | <u>45</u> | <u>43</u> |
| Space, enough room | 15 | 13 | 17 | 16 | 15 |
| Good quality | 9 | 14 | 17 | 17 | 16 |
| Cost | 1 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 4 |
| Other | 13 | 7 | 11 | 7 | 8 |
| <u>Neighborhood Location</u> | <u>36</u> | <u>22</u> | <u>19</u> | <u>25</u> | <u>23</u> |
| Convenient to job, school, shopping, etc. | 16 | 6 | 5 | 9 | 7 |
| Good nearby transportation | 6 | 6 | 3 | 7 | 6 |
| Safer neighborhood | 4 | — | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| Other | 10 | 10 | 8 | 8 | 9 |
| <u>Only place accepting Section 8</u> | | | | | |
| <u>people</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>13</u> | <u>14</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>11</u> |
| <u>Other</u> | <u>23</u> | <u>28</u> | <u>19</u> | <u>21</u> | <u>23</u> |
| Total | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> |
| Number of mentions (N) | (260) | (116) | (36) | (106) | (258) |
| | (182) | (87) | (27) | (74) | (188) |

* The question was: "Compared to the other places you looked at, what was it that made you decide to move here?"

Table 8-3

Importance of Various Neighborhood Characteristics in Decision of Gautreaux Participants to Move to Present Location^a
 (Percentage Distribution)

| <u>Neighborhood Characteristics</u> | <i>In Decision to Move it was:</i> | | | | | <u>Mean Score</u> |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------------|
| | <u>Not Important(1)</u> | <u>Somewhat Important(2)</u> | <u>Very Important(3)</u> | <u>DK NA</u> | <u>Total</u> | |
| Quality of house | 2 | 8 | 89 | 1 | 100 | 2.88 |
| Good schools | 7 | 6 | 86 | 1 | 100 | 2.80 |
| Less crime | 6 | 8 | 85 | 1 | 100 | 2.80 |
| Convenient shopping | 12 | 22 | 66 | * | 100 | 2.54 |
| Nearby parks and recreation | 26 | 32 | 41 | 1 | 100 | 2.15 |
| Nearby public transit | 42 | 20 | 37 | 1 | 100 | 1.95 |
| Close to work | 49 | 18 | 32 | 1 | 100 | 1.83 |
| Different races in neighborhood | 55 | 21 | 23 | 1 | 100 | 1.68 |
| Friends and relatives nearby | 67 | 17 | 16 | * | 100 | 1.49 |
| Different incomes in neighborhood | 70 | 14 | 13 | 3 | 100 | 1.41 |

(N = 330)

* Less than one half of one percent.

^a The question was: "There are many things which attract people to a neighborhood. Please tell me how important each of the following things was in your decision to move to your present neighborhood."

Table 8-4

**Selected Neighborhood Characteristics Cited as Most Important Reasons by
Gautreaux and Regular Section 8 Families for Decision to move to Present Location^a**
(Percentage Distribution)

| <u>Neighborhood Characteristic</u> | <i>Regular Section 8—Movers from:</i> | | | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| | <i>Gautreaux Participants</i> | <i>Public Housing</i> | <i>Waiting List</i> | <i>General Public</i> | <i>All Movers</i> |
| Nearby public transit | 5 | 12 | 7 | 17 | 14 |
| Nearby parks and recreation | 1 | — | — | 2 | 1 |
| Convenient shopping | 2 | 3 | 9 | 3 | 4 |
| Friends and relatives nearby | 2 | 2 | 7 | 8 | 6 |
| Different incomes in neighborhood | 1 | — | — | — | — |
| Less crime | 23 | 29 | 16 | 19 | 22 |
| Good schools | 34 | 26 | 21 | 12 | 17 |
| Close to work | 4 | 1 | — | — | * |
| Different races in neighborhood | 2 | — | 5 | 1 | 1 |
| Quality of house | 26 | 27 | 35 | 38 | 35 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (313) | (102) | (43) | (101) | (246) |

* Less than one half of one percent.

^a For people who mentioned two or more neighborhood characteristics as being very important in their decision to move, the following question was asked: "Of the things you've found very important which one do you think was the most important reason in your decision to move?"

Table 8-5

**First or Second Most Important Neighborhood Characteristics as Reason Given by
Gautreaux and Regular Section 8 Families for Decision to move to Present Location^a
(Proportion of Total Mentions)**

| Neighborhood Characteristic | Gautreaux Participants | Regular Section 8—Movers from: | | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| | | Public Housing | Waiting List | General Public | All Movers |
| Nearby public transit | 6 | 14 | 11 | 23 | 19 |
| Nearby parks and recreation | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Convenient shopping | 5 | 8 | 7 | 8 | 8 |
| Friends and relatives nearby | 2 | 2 | 6 | 8 | 6 |
| Different incomes in neighborhood | * | 1 | — | — | * |
| Less crime | 24 | 20 | 19 | 15 | 16 |
| Good schools | 32 | 26 | 27 | 16 | 20 |
| Close to work | 4 | 2 | 1 | * | 1 |
| Different races in neighborhood | 2 | 1 | 2 | * | 1 |
| Quality of house | <u>22</u> | <u>24</u> | <u>26</u> | <u>26</u> | <u>26</u> |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Number of mentions | (617) | (202) | (85) | (197) | (484) |
| (N) | (313) | (107) | (43) | (101) | (246) |

* Less than one percent.

^a For people who mentioned two or more neighborhood characteristics as being very important in their decision to move, the following question was asked: "Of the things you've found very important which one do you think was the most important reason in your decision to move?" Which one was the second most important reason?

Table 8-6

**Doubts Expressed by Gautreaux and Regular Section 8 Families about
Moving to Present Neighborhood^a**
(Proportion of Total Mentions)

| | Gautreaux Participants | Public Housing | Waiting List | General Public | Regular Section 8—Movers from: All Movers |
|--|------------------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|--|
| Proportion Expressing Doubts | 43% | 32% | 36% | 37% | 35% |
| (N) | (328) | (111) | (47) | (106) | (264) |
| <u>Doubts Expressed About:</u> | | | | | |
| <u>Social Environment</u> | <u>32</u> | <u>18</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>19</u> | <u>18</u> |
| Fear of discrimination | 17 | — | — | — | — |
| Concern about neighbors, kinds of people around me | 8 | 13 | 5 | 15 | 14 |
| Concern about adjustment of children | 7 | 5 | — | 4 | 4 |
| <u>Neighborhood</u> | <u>20</u> | <u>38</u> | <u>60</u> | <u>33</u> | <u>38</u> |
| Inadequate public transportation | 13 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 3 |
| Crime | 5 | 11 | 35 | 24 | 22 |
| Other | 2 | 24 | 20 | 7 | 13 |
| <u>Location</u> | <u>20</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>25</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>9</u> |
| Inconvenient to job, school | 3 | — | 5 | 2 | 2 |
| Far from Chicago | 7 | 3 | — | 2 | 2 |
| Far from friends, family | 10 | — | 20 | 4 | 5 |
| <u>Unfamiliarity</u> | <u>17</u> | <u>19</u> | <u>—</u> | <u>22</u> | <u>18</u> |
| <u>Dwelling</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>17</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>11</u> | <u>12</u> |
| Poor quality | 4 | 3 | — | 2 | 10 |
| Cost | — | — | — | — | — |
| Costs | 2 | 14 | 10 | 9 | 2 |
| <u>Other</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>—</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>5</u> |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Number of mentions | (183) | (37) | (20) | (46) | (104) |
| (N) | (138) | (31) | (15) | (36) | (82) |

* Respondents who said that they had doubts about moving to their present neighborhood were asked: "What were they?"

Table 8-7

Selected Family Characteristics of Gautreaux Participants Who Dropped Out of the Program Versus Those Still Receiving Assistance**

(Percentage Distributions)

| <u>Race</u> | <u>Dropped Out</u> | <u>Active</u> |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------|---------------|
| White | 11 | 7 |
| Black | 87 | 92 |
| Hispanic | 2 | 1 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (56) | (369) |
| <u>Family Size</u> | | |
| 1 | 2 | 8 |
| 2-3 | 68 | 63 |
| 4-5 | 30 | 26 |
| 6+ | * | 3 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (56) | (369) |
| Mean | 3.2 | 3.2 |
| <u>Number of Minors</u> | | |
| 0 | 4 | 12 |
| 1-2 | 73 | 62 |
| 3-4 | 21 | 23 |
| 5+ | 2 | 3 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (56) | (369) |
| Mean | 2.1 | 1.8 |
| <u>Husband & Wife Present</u> | | |
| Yes | 15 | 13 |
| No | 85 | 87 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (56) | (369) |
| <u>Sex of Head</u> | | |
| Female | 85 | 85 |
| Male | 15 | 15 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (56) | (369) |
| <u>Age of Head</u> | | |
| 15-19 | * | 3 |
| 20-24 | 45 | 25 |
| 25-29 | 25 | 29 |
| 30-34 | 19 | 17 |
| 35-44 | 7 | 10 |
| 45-54 | 2 | 7 |
| 55-61 | * | 5 |
| 62 and Over | 2 | 4 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (56) | (369) |
| Mean | 27.6 | 32.5 |

**As of May 1979

*Less than one-half of one percent

Table 8-8

**Selected Family Income Characteristics of Gautreaux Participants Who Dropped Out of the Program Versus Those Still Receiving Assistance
(Percentage Distributions)**

| <u>Source of Income</u> | <u>Dropped Out</u> | <u>Active</u> |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|---------------|
| Wages Only | 9 | 18 |
| Benefits Only | 6 | 11 |
| Welfare Only | 76 | 57 |
| Any Combination of Above Sources | 9 | 14 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (56) | (365) |
| <u>Income After Allowances</u> | | |
| 1-1499 | * | 1 |
| 1500-1999 | 2 | 1 |
| 2000-2999 | 72 | 56 |
| 3000-3999 | 13 | 14 |
| 4000-4999 | 4 | 6 |
| 5000-5999 | 2 | 6 |
| 6000-25000 | 8 | 16 |
| Total | 101 | 100 |
| (N) | (56) | (365) |
| Mean | \$3,129 | \$3,804 |
| Median | \$2,533 | \$2,903 |
| <u>Income Eligibility</u> | | |
| Low | * | 8 |
| Very Low | 100 | 92 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (56) | (365) |

* Less than one half of one percent

** As of May 1979

Table 8-9

Selected Housing Characteristics of Gautreaux Participants Who Dropped Out of the Program Versus Those Still Receiving Assistance
(Percentage Distributions)**

| <u>Type of Move</u> | <u>Dropped Out</u> | <u>Active</u> | | |
|--|--------------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Chicago to Chicago | * | 16 | | |
| Chicago to Suburb | 94 | 75 | | |
| Suburb to Chicago | 2 | 1 | | |
| Suburb to Suburb | * | 4 | | |
| Non-Mover | 4 | 4 | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | | |
| (N) | (54) | (370) | | |
| <u>Type of Present Dwelling</u> | | | | |
| Detached | * | 2 | | |
| Row House | 13 | 11 | | |
| Duplex | * | 4 | | |
| Garden Apartment | 66 | 58 | | |
| High-Rise | 21 | 25 | | |
| Apartment (Unspecified type) | * | * | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | | |
| (N) | (49) | (333) | | |
| <u>FHA/NON-FHA/IHDA STATUS OF PRESENT DWELLING</u> | | | | |
| FHA | 31 | 42 | | |
| NON-FHA | 59 | 52 | | |
| IHDA | 10 | 6 | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | | |
| (N) | (302) | (56) | | |
| <u>Number of Bedrooms</u> | <u>Previous</u> | <u>Present</u> | <u>Previous</u> | <u>Present</u> |
| <u>Dwelling</u> | | | | |
| 0 | * | * | 1 | * |
| 1 | 10 | 2 | 18 | 11 |
| 2 | 74 | 68 | 59 | 56 |
| 3 | 14 | 28 | 18 | 29 |
| 4 + | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (53) | (52) | (359) | (336) |

**As of May 1979

*Less than one-half of one percent

Table 8-10

**Selected Housing Cost Characteristics for Gautreaux Participants
Who Dropped Out Versus Those Still Receiving Assistance****

| | <i>Dropped Out</i> | <i>Active</i> |
|--|--------------------|----------------|
| <i>After Program Participation</i> | | |
| Average Gross Rent (includes utilities) (N) | \$304 (54) | \$302 (346) |
| Average Contract Rent (excludes utilities) (N) | \$285 (55) | \$287 (347) |
| Average Family Contribution to Housing Cost (N) | \$ 60 (56) | \$ 74 (346) |
| <i>Prior to Program Participation</i> | | |
| Average Family Contribution to Housing Cost (N) | \$ 87 (56) | \$108 (356) |

**As of May 1979

Table 8-11

Selected Census Tract Characteristics of Gautreaux Participants Who Dropped Out of the Program Versus Those Still Receiving Assistance
(Percentage Distribution)**

| | <u>Dropped Out</u> | <u>Active</u> |
|---|--------------------|-------------------|
| Average Percent of Population Black (N) | 1 (48) | 5 (316) |
| Average Percent of Population under 18 (N) | 42 (48) | 38 (316) |
| Average Percent of Population over 62 (N) | 7 (48) | 8 (316) |
| Percent High School Graduates (N) | 67 (54) | 65 (363) |
| Median Years of Education (N) | 12.5 (54) | 12.7 (363) |
| Average Percent of Unemployment (N) | 3.6 (54) | 3.1 (365) |
| Mean Income (N) | \$13,125 (54) | \$13,904 (365) |
| Median Income (N) | \$12,267 (54) | \$12,843 (367) |
| Average Value of Owner-Occupied Units (N) | \$30,619 (48) | \$27,921 (309) |
| Average Contract Rent (N) | \$ 175 (48) | \$ 165 (316) |

Table 8-12

**Dropouts by Year of Placement
(Percentage Distributions)**

| | <u>Placed in First</u> | <u>Placed in Second</u> |
|--------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| | <u>Year of</u> | <u>Year of</u> |
| | <u>Demonstration</u> | <u>Demonstration</u> |
| Dropouts | 19 | 9 |
| Still Active | 81 | 91 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (154) | (270) |

CHAPTER IX

EVALUATION BY GAUTREAUX FAMILIES OF ASSISTANCE RECEIVED FROM THE LEADERSHIP COUNCIL

Both regular Section 8 families and Gautreaux participants were, for the most part, satisfied with the assistance given them by the Chicago Housing Authority or the Leadership Council. However, a substantial percentage of both Gautreaux and Section 8 families would have preferred other types of assistance, in addition to help in the move, and Section 8 movers would have liked more specific help in finding an apartment.

This section, which is based on interviews with Gautreaux demonstration and Section 8 program participants, provides information on how families learned of the Gautreaux demonstration or the Section 8 program, how much help they were given in finding a dwelling, how many sites they visited before choosing their current residence, and how satisfied they were with the assistance received.

When asked how they obtained initial information about the program, roughly one-half of Gautreaux and Section 8 families mentioned the local housing office or a mailing they received (See Table 9-1). However, 43 percent of all Gautreaux families indicated their source to be either a friend or relative. This figure compares with only 24 percent of the Section 8 movers who pointed to friends or relatives as a source of information. One reason for the higher amount of interpersonal communication among Gautreaux families is the unique character of the Gautreaux demonstration which probably stimulated considerable discussion among eligible families. Also, the Leadership Council briefed families in small groups of 10 or 20 at different times; those families briefed earlier in the demonstration most likely acted as an information-communication network passing on information to other eligible families. On the other hand, more of those in the Section 8 Existing program had heard about the program from television or newspapers compared to only five percent of the Gautreaux families. This difference reflects the longer-term publicity efforts of the Chicago Housing Authority on behalf of the Section 8 program. The Leadership Council, on the other hand, attempted to minimize the public exposure of the demonstration. When inquiries came to the Leadership Council following initial media coverage of the demonstration, the Council responded only in general terms. It was concerned with keeping a low profile in order to maximize the chances of success for the project and to avoid identifying any of the participating families. 1/

1/ Rubinowitz and Kenney, op. cit., p. 18.

A second question asked of participants in both programs focused on the extent of assistance they received in finding a house or an apartment, when making the original move, most Gautreaux families visited sites found by the Leadership Council while most of the participants in the regular Section 8 program found their own housing without extensive assistance. However, according to the Chicago Housing Authority, the city's Department of Planning created a Task Force in March 1978, to assist Section 8 families in finding units to rent.² It contacted persons briefed by the Chicago Housing Authority and asked them if they needed assistance in finding housing and, if so, provided some assistance.

When asked about the type of assistance received in finding housing, 51 percent of all Gautreaux families, compared to only 20 percent of Section 8 movers, said that housing was found for them. The 51 percent figure seems low in light of data and reports received from the Leadership Council which suggest that a much higher proportion of the Gautreaux families was aided in finding housing. Part of the discrepancy may be explained by the fact that many of the Gautreaux families moved once again after their original move, the second move often without help from the Leadership Council. This subset of families may have been using the second move as their point of reference when answering this question. Another surprising figure for the Gautreaux families is the 10 percent indicating that they received no help from the Leadership Council. Once again, they may have been referring to their second move. Furthermore, the Leadership Council has recently begun to follow a "finders-keepers" policy: families requiring larger units or preferring to move within Chicago may now locate and move into a unit without the assistance of the Leadership Council. The remaining 39 percent of the Gautreaux families indicated that they were given other assistance. Two percent specifically mentioned being provided lists of places to call while the other 37 percent referred simply to "other" assistance being provided. Those who said "other" assistance were referring to visits made by the Leadership Council to the participants' homes prior to their move; to group and/or individual counseling sessions held at the Leadership Council; to being introduced to the new community by representatives from the Leadership Council; and to help in constructing a family budget.

The number of sites visited by Gautreaux families was fewer than the number visited by regular Section 8 families, most of whom conducted the search on their own. For instance, 46 percent of the Gautreaux participants visited two to three sites before making their selection. Only seven percent visited four to five sites and only five percent saw six or more. However, 41 percent of those in the regular Section 8 program visited six or more units. While given less help, the regular Section 8

² This was apparently done because many Section 8 Certificate holders were unable to locate an appropriate rental unit on their own, given the local requirement, resulting from the Gautreaux litigation that 60 percent of all Section 8 tenants in Chicago's General Housing Area.

families may have had more time to search for units and to have been under less pressure to make decisions (See Table 9-3).

When asked whether the assistance given by the housing office or the Leadership Council was helpful, a consensus exists across Gautreaux and regular Section 8 movers that the assistance was either very helpful or somewhat helpful (See Table 9-2). Ninety-three percent of the Gautreaux families and 80 percent of the regular Section 8 movers were satisfied. The proportion of satisfied Section 8 movers is somewhat smaller but it still constitutes a very strong majority. In fact, it is somewhat surprising that the satisfaction level of the Section 8 movers is as high as it is, given that Gautreaux participants, for the most part, received much more extensive and personalized assistance. On the other hand, the moves made by most of the Gautreaux families was over a much greater distance and, in many ways, represented a greater social dislocation. Had they been given the same amount of help as in the regular Section 8 program, their level of satisfaction or even their willingness to move may have been much less than it was.

Responses to other questions on types of preferred help revealed a pattern in which Section 8 movers indicated more often than did Gautreaux families a need for additional assistance. Sixty-one percent of Gautreaux families, but only 28 percent of regular Section 8 families, said they did not need additional help. More specifically, 17 percent of the regular Section 8 families versus one percent of Gautreaux families said they would have liked lists of places made available when they were looking for a unit. Thirty-four percent of Gautreaux families and 41 percent of regular Section 8 participants indicated a desire for other types of help. Although it is not clear what type of additional help was needed, this response may reflect a desire for follow-up assistance in obtaining needed social services or employment once the family had moved to a new location.

FIGURE 9-1
NEIGHBORHOOD SATISFACTION BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

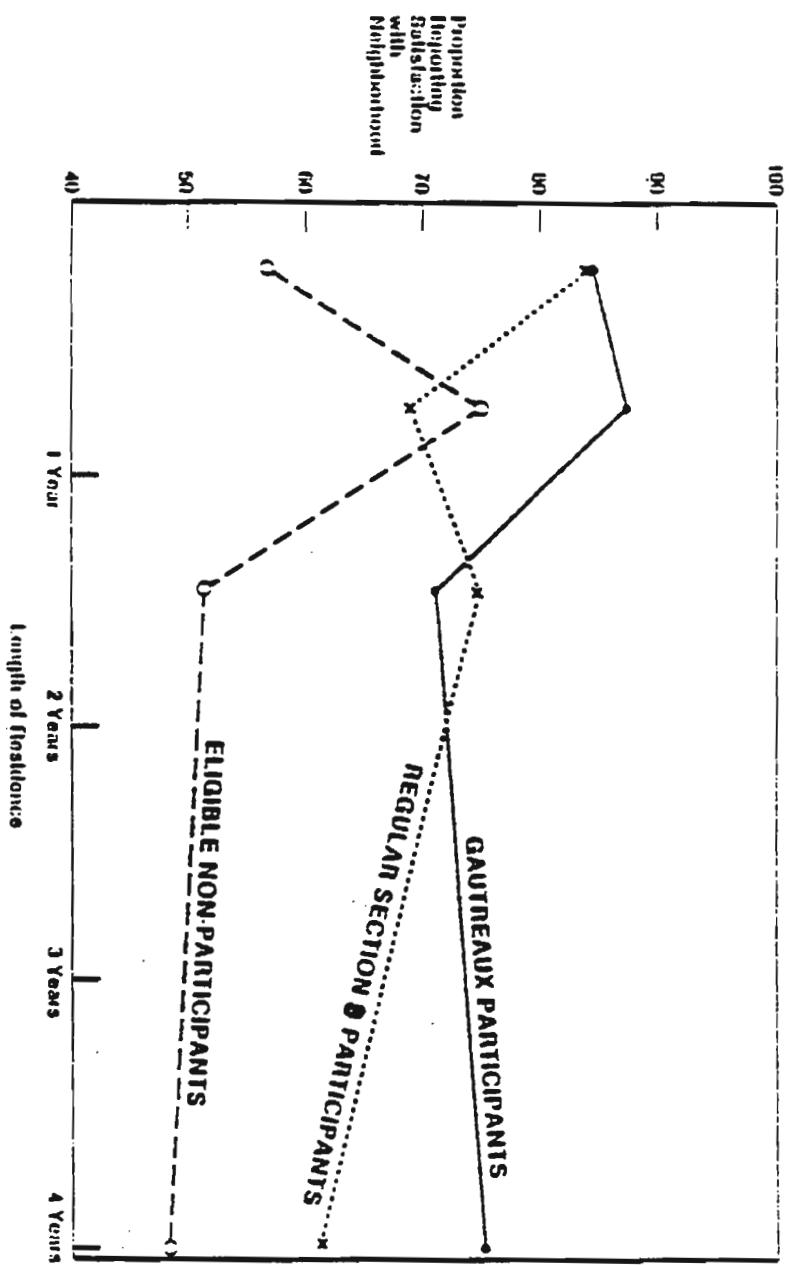


Table 9-1

**Sources Used by Gautreaux Participants and Regular Section 8 Participants in
Obtaining Housing Assistance Information^a**
(Percentage Distribution)

| <u>Information Obtained from:</u> | <u>Regular Section 8—Movers from:</u> | | | | <u>All Movers</u> |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| | <u>Gautreaux Participants</u> | <u>Public Housing</u> | <u>Waiting List</u> | <u>General Public</u> | |
| Friends, relatives | 43 | 19 | 24 | 30 | 26 |
| Housing office mail or visit | 48 | 62 | 37 | 26 | 39 |
| TV, newspaper, radio | 5 | 17 | 32 | 34 | 31 |
| Other sources | 3 | 1 | 5 | 4 | 3 |
| DK, NA | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (309) | (107) | (41) | (97) | (245) |

^a The question was: "How did you first hear or learn about that housing or rent assistance program—from friends, from information you received in the mail, or what?"

Table 9-2

**Evaluation of Housing Assistance to Gautreaux Participants and Regular Section 8 Participants^a
(Percentage Distributions)**

| | <i>Regular Section 8—Movers from:</i> | | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| | <i>Gautreaux Participants</i> | <i>Public Housing</i> | <i>Waiting List</i> | <i>General Public</i> |
| | | | | <i>All Movers</i> |
| <u>Assistance Received</u> | | | | |
| Housing found for them | 51 | 24 | 17 | 17 |
| Lists of place to call were provided | 2 | 26 | 20 | 22 |
| Other assistance | 37 | 1 | 5 | 6 |
| Nothing, found own place | 10 | 49 | 58 | 55 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Number of mentions | (302) | (103) | (41) | (98) |
| <u>Additional Assistance Wanted</u> | | | | |
| List of places available | 1 | 13 | 20 | 19 |
| More individual attention | 5 | 10 | 10 | 5 |
| Better information from landlords | 1 | 6 | 3 | 7 |
| Other types of help | 32 | 44 | 37 | 41 |
| No additional help wanted | 61 | 27 | 30 | 28 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Number of mentions | (276) | (100) | (30) | (94) |
| <u>Assistance was:</u> | | | | |
| Very helpful | 80 | 46 | 59 | 53 |
| Somewhat helpful | 13 | 36 | 27 | 25 |
| Not very helpful | 3 | 9 | 5 | 10 |
| Not at all helpful | 3 | 8 | 10 | 11 |
| DK, NA | 1 | 1 | * | 1 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (309) | (107) | (41) | (97) |

* Less than one half of one percent.

^a The questions were: "What type of help did you receive in finding housing?", "What additional assistance in finding housing would you have liked?", and "Overall, how helpful was the housing office in assisting you?"

Table 9-3

**Dwelling Units Examined by Gautreaux Participants and Regular Section 8 Recipients
Before Moving to Present Location ***
(Percentage Distribution)

| <u>Number of Units Examined</u> | <u>Gautreaux Participants</u> | <u>Regular Section 8—Movers from:</u> | | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| | | <u>Public Housing</u> | <u>Waiting List</u> | <u>General Public</u> | <u>All Movers</u> |
| 1 | 42 | 23 | 35 | 28 | 27 |
| 2-3 | 46 | 18 | 23 | 18 | 19 |
| 4-5 | 7 | 16 | 2 | 14 | 13 |
| 6 and over | 5 | 53 | 40 | 40 | 41 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (307) | (104) | (40) | (93) | (237) |

* The question was: "When you first became eligible for this program, how many houses or apartments did you look at before you selected one?"

CHAPTER X

GAUTREAUX FAMILIES' SATISFACTION WITH NEW NEIGHBORHOODS

Four out of five Gautreaux families reported they were very or somewhat satisfied with their new neighborhood. In comparison, one-half of the eligible non-participating families and two-thirds of the regular Section 8 families reported similar levels of satisfaction

A major goal of the demonstration was to provide a more satisfactory neighborhood environment for Gautreaux families. This goal was furthered by encouraging the move of participants to the suburban areas of Chicago. Previous research has shown that neighborhood satisfaction is, in general, influenced by various social and environmental conditions and the way these conditions are viewed by residents. In an attempt to examine some of these relationships, the participants' evaluation of various neighborhood related conditions and services. This section presents the findings of that survey and is organized around key questions.

As Section VI showed, Gautreaux participants moved to much different types of neighborhoods than did the other groups included in this analysis. The neighborhoods to which Gautreaux families moved were suburban, with a lower concentration of minorities and higher incomes, educational levels, and employment figures. Given this, it is not surprising that Gautreaux participants expressed much higher levels of satisfaction with their neighborhoods than did either the eligible non-participants said they were very or somewhat satisfied with their neighborhood compared to two-thirds of the regular Section 8 participants. Only about one-half of the eligible non-participants indicated similar levels of satisfaction (See Table 10-1).

Gautreaux participants were also much more likely than the regular Section 8 participants to say that the overall quality of their present neighborhood was better than the quality of their neighborhood -- 81 percent of the Gautreaux participants reported the move resulted in an improved neighborhood condition, and only six percent said that their new neighborhood was worse than the old one. For all Section 8 families, more than one-half indicated their new neighborhood to be better than their old one and 14 percent, or twice the proportion of Gautreaux families, reported the new neighborhoods to be worse (See Table 10-2).

However, if one examines Section 8 movers by which group they came from -- i.e., movers from public housing, movers from the public housing

waiting list, or movers from the general public -- significant differences appeared. Movers from public housing were more likely to report that their new neighborhoods were better (66%) than were either movers from the waiting list (35%) or from the general public (46%). (See Table 10-2).

For suburban Gautreaux participants living in communities of Cook and DuPage Counties, satisfaction scores were highest (83% to 92%), while families in Will and McHenry Counties were less likely to be satisfied (77%). For Chicago Gautreaux residents, those in the Limited Area expressed somewhat lower levels of satisfaction with their neighborhoods than did General Area residents (77% versus 85%). Interestingly, all Chicago Gautreaux participants are not any less satisfied with their neighborhoods than are Gautreaux placements in the suburbs (See Table 10-3).

The possibility exists that high levels of neighborhood satisfaction among Gautreaux participants are associated with the recent nature of their move. Problems may not have been identified and people may have been reluctant to admit mistakes in making the move. In order to examine this, relationships between the length of residence and the satisfaction with neighborhoods were examined for Gautreaux and regular Section 8 movers. For both groups, recent movers expressed higher levels of satisfaction than people who lived in their neighborhoods for periods of one year or longer. In fact, the level of neighborhood satisfaction was comparable for the Gautreaux participants and the regular Section 8 participants who had lived in their neighborhood for less than six months. Eighty-four percent said they were satisfied compared to an average of 72 percent for people who had lived in their residence for more than six months (See Figure 10-1).

The marked drop in satisfaction between Gautreaux participants who have lived in a neighborhood for more than one year compared to those who have lived in their neighborhood for less than a year may reflect the end of a "honeymoon" period. The initial excitement and novelty of the move begins to wear off and a more balanced assessment of the move takes hold. Nonetheless, even with this drop, the majority of Gautreaux families was satisfied with the neighborhood and was more likely to be satisfied than the other groups.

Gautreaux families were slightly more likely than regular Section 8 movers to report that the move they undertook worked out better than expected. Gautreaux families were more likely to cite neighborhood factors for this evaluation, while Section 8 movers mentioned housing characteristics and neighborhood factors with comparable frequency.

Despite some expressions of doubt about moving to their new neighborhoods, most Gautreaux participants said that the move turned out better than anticipated. A comparable proportion said it was better in some ways and worse in others, while two in ten Gautreaux families said the move had turned out to be worse than expected (See Table 10-4).

The evaluations by Gautreaux participants, however, showed variation by place of residence. The evaluation of families placed in the suburbs of Chicago varied by the county in which they were placed. Families placed in western and southern Cook County were most likely to report that the move was better than expected (55%). Of families in Will and Kane Counties, on the other hand, only one-fourth reported this to be the case. Respondents in northern Cook County and DuPage County were equally likely to report the move to be better than expected (42% vs. 44%). With one exception, no more than 16 percent of placements in any one area reported the move to be worse than expected. In northern Cook County, however, just under one-fourth of all respondents evaluated their move in this way. In Chicago, families in the General Area were more likely to report the move was better than expected than were families in the Limited Areas. In fact, of those families placed in the Limited Areas, almost one-third (29%) felt the move was worse than anticipated compared to only one-tenth (11%) in the General Area (See Table 10-5).

Gautreaux participants were much more likely to talk about neighborhood attributes rather than housing characteristics when asked why they felt the move was better than expected. They felt their new neighborhoods were safer, had better quality schools, and had neighbors who were friendlier than expected. That Gautreaux participants were more likely to mention neighborhood characteristics than dwelling characteristics as the reason why the move was better than expected, reflects the substantial change in neighborhoods brought about by the move. For regular Section 8 movers, on the other hand, neighborhood changes were less pronounced (See Section VI) which may help explain why they mentioned dwelling and neighborhood attributes with comparable frequency when they discussed why the move turned out better than they had expected (See Table 10-6).

Among the Gautreaux residents who said the move to the new neighborhood had not worked out as well as expected, factors reflecting the inconvenient location of the neighborhood, including the lack of adequate public transportation, were most often mentioned as the reasons why they were disappointed. Gautreaux families were only slightly less likely to mention factors related to the dwelling, especially its poor quality. Over one-fifth of all Gautreaux families also mentioned that building management turned out to be worse than expected (Table 10-7).

Compared to Section 8 families, Gautreaux residents were slightly more likely than regular Section 8 movers to say that neighborhood location was a problem (34% vs. 28%). On the other hand, they were much less likely to be concerned about the poor quality of housing and problems of safety and drug abuse than were regular Section 8 movers.

The neighborhood aspects identified as best liked and least liked by the Gautreaux and regular Section 8 movers reflected a suburban-urban trade-off. The Gautreaux placements referenced conditions such as low density, privacy, cleanliness and good schools as items they like and inadequate public transportation as what they disliked about their new neighborhoods. Regular Section 8 placements, on the other hand, stressed public transportation and locational factors as aspects they disliked about their neighborhoods.

When asked what they liked best about their present neighborhood, Gautreaux participants were most likely to mention factors related to low density, the peace and quiet of the area, the privacy they had, and the amount of open space around them. Eligible non-participants and regular Section 8 participants, on the other hand, were most likely to stress good public transportation and the convenience of the neighborhood for work and shopping. Other neighborhood characteristics frequently mentioned by Gautreaux participants dealt with cleanliness, quietness, and safety. In fact, these characteristics, together with density-related factors, account for 40 percent of the responses of participating Gautreaux families. In contrast, these same neighborhood characteristics represented only 17 percent and 19 percent of the responses of the eligible nonparticipants and participants in the regular Section 8 program (See Table 10-8).

When questioned about what they liked least about living in their present neighborhood, Gautreaux participants stressed inadequate public transportation (29%). Problems with public transportation were mentioned far less often by eligible non-participants (5%), and regular Section 8 participants (5%). In addition, Gautreaux participants more often mentioned locational disadvantages (17%) than did eligible non-participants (8%) and regular Section 8 participants (7%) (See Table 10-9).

Eligible non-participants and regular Section 8 participants were more likely to mention density-related characteristics and environmental and social problems of the neighborhood among those things they liked least. Just four percent of the Gautreaux participants referred to problems of noise and crowded neighborhoods, while problems such as crime, dirty streets, and old and abandoned buildings accounted for ten percent. In contrast, the figures were 11 percent and 38 percent for the eligible non-participants and seven percent and 40 percent for regular Section 8 people.

Neighborhood Problems

Gautreaux participants, far less often than Section 8 families reported the presence of neighborhood problems such as drug addiction, run-down houses, and trash and litter. Gautreaux families were also far more likely than Section 8 families to rate their neighborhood as reasonably or very safe.

Gautreaux residents were less likely to indicate that neighborhood problems existed than were regular Section 8 residents and eligible non-participants. As seen in Table 10-10, about two-thirds of the Gautreaux residents said juvenile delinquency, run-down housing, trash and litter, drug addiction, street traffic and crime were not problems in their neighborhoods. In contrast, only one-third of the eligible non-participants and regular Section 8 residents said these neighborhood conditions were not problems.

For some Gautreaux residents, a few neighborhood conditions were sometimes viewed as big problems. "Lack of interesting things to do" was mentioned most frequently (22%), while "trash and litter," "vandalism," and "heavy traffic" were mentioned somewhat less often (13%). Less than 10 percent reported that "run-down houses," "juvenile delinquency," "crime and drugs" were big problems in their neighborhoods (See Table 10-10). There is no clear difference between Gautreaux participants in Chicago General Areas and their counterparts in Chicago Limited Areas in their likelihood to cite such neighborhood conditions as major problems (See Table 10-11).

In general, Gautreaux participants evaluated neighborhood conditions somewhat differently than do other people living in the suburbs of the Chicago SMSA. Gautreaux residents were more likely to be bothered by "trash and litter" (13% vs. 7%) and "a lack of interesting things to do" more likely to report a greater incidence of drug addiction (21% vs. 9%) and crime (10% vs. 6%).¹ Gautreaux families may have been less likely to

¹ Comparable data are drawn from the 1978 HUD Survey on the Quality of Community Life, conducted by Louis Harris and Associates for HUD's Office of Policy Development and Research. The data represent a subsample of 84 persons in medium-sized cities and suburbs in the Chicago SMSA. Since a respondents' evaluation of problems and neighborhood conditions are likely to be affected by their previous living environments, comparisons between the Gautreaux data and the 1978 Survey should be made with caution. The Gautreaux study interviewed recent movers, primarily blacks, from Chicago's inner city while the 1978 suburban subsample is comprised primarily of white suburban respondents. The two samples are comparable only in their current place of residence.

cite drug addiction and crime as problems because their previous neighborhoods were perceived as worse in these respects.

The extent to which the move enable Gautreaux participants to escape adverse neighborhood conditions is shown in Table 10-12. Roughly, two-thirds of the Gautreaux participants reported almost every problem to be less serious now than it was in their old neighborhood. Furthermore, for every condition examined, Gautreaux residents were more likely than regular Section 8 participants to report that problems were present in the old neighborhoods but absent from their new one.

With the exception of "lack of interesting things to do", roughly two-thirds of the Gautreaux participants living in the suburban counties said they now had fewer problems than they had in their former neighborhoods. For most conditions, a small number (less than one in ten) of suburban Gautreaux residents said they experienced more problems than they had in their prior place of residence. Big problems for Gautreaux participants in the suburbs were lacking things to do and heavy street traffic. Among Gautreaux participants in Chicago, more from the General rather than the Limited Area said the location of their new residence was an improvement over the old with respect to vandalism, trash and litter, and crime (Table 10-13).

Another neighborhood characteristic examined as part of the survey was public safety. Seventy-six percent of the Gautreaux participants said their neighborhoods were "very safe" or "reasonably safe" compared to only 35 percent of the eligible non-participants and 43 participants regular Section 8 participants (See Table 10-14). Among the movers, Gautreaux participants were twice as likely as regular Section 8 participants to say their new neighborhood was safer than their old neighborhood (59% vs. 30%) (See Table 10-15). Clearly then participation in the demonstration and the move to the suburbs resulted in a greater feeling of personal safety than the regular Section 8 movers felt as a result of their move.

Evaluation of Public Services

With the exception of public transportation, Gautreaux families gave high ratings to public services in their new neighborhoods and indicated that these services were better than in their previous neighborhoods.

Compared to the eligible non-participants and regular Section 8 participants, Gautreaux residents were likely to evaluate local public schools, police protection, and recreational facilities positively.

At the same time, they were less likely to give high ratings to public transportation than were the two other groups. For public schools and police protection, Gautreaux evaluations were comparable to those made by residents in the outlying areas of the Chicago SMSA. Their evaluation of recreational facilities, on the other hand, were lower than those made by their suburban counterparts (71% vs. 81%) and substantially lower for public transportation for the eligible non-participants. Ratings given public transportation by regular Section 8 participants were more favorable than those given by suburban residents of the Chicago SMSA. Whereas, 39 percent of the Gautreaux residents rated local transportation "very good" or "fairly good," such ratings were given by 74 percent of the eligible non-participants and 84 percent of the regular Section 8 residents (See Table 10-16).

Changes in perceptions of the quality of public services as a result of the move were similar to evaluations of those services. Gautreaux participants were more likely than regular Section 8 movers to report improvements in local public schools, police protection, and recreation facilities. At the same time, they were more likely to report that the public transportation available to them was worse as a result of the move² (See Table 10-17).

The evaluation of public services by Gautreaux families shows considerable variation by location; most, though not all, of the variations are predictable. Families placed in suburban areas are more likely than families placed in the city to rate public schools and recreational facilities as good or very good. They are also less likely to evaluate favorably public transportation. The evaluation of police protection, perhaps contrary to many expectations, is rated similarly by city and suburban placements alike.

There are also variations within the suburban and city placement groups as well. The evaluation of schools, police, and recreation is much more likely to be positive among Gautreaux families living in Cook or DuPage Counties than for those families living in Will or Kane Counties. Only public transportation is evaluated comparably by families living in Will and Kane Counties and those living in Cook and DuPage County.

2 Low evaluation of public transportation and reports that transportation was better in the old neighborhoods should be interpreted with caution. The interviews were conducted in March and April of 1979, immediately following the severe snow storms which crippled Chicago. Respondent attitudes in these areas may reflect the effect of the snow as much as the general quality of public transportation available.

Interestingly, families placed in the Limited Areas of Chicago do not show markedly lower evaluations of public services than do families placed in the General Area of the city. Only regarding public transportation is a sizable difference in the percent reporting public services found (See Table 10-18).

Gautreaux residents in the suburban counties were more likely to say public schools and recreational facilities had improved compared to Chicago residents. On the other hand, when asked whether public transportation had improved as a result of the move, about one-third of the Gautreaux participants in Chicago said it had compared to less than one in five of their counterparts living in counties around Chicago. For Gautreaux residents in the suburbs, the situation with regard to public transportation was perceived to have deteriorated as a result of their move. About seven in ten of all suburban placements said public transportation was worse compared to two in ten Gautreaux participants living in the Chicago city limits. Less than one in ten of the Gautreaux suburbanites said public schools and police protection had deteriorated as a result of the move (See Table 10-19).

While Gautreaux families reported greater difficulty getting to welfare agencies, employment agencies, etc. after the move, they also tended to indicate that services provided were much improved over services in their old neighborhood.

Compared to the eligible non-participants and regular Section 8 participants, a higher proportion of Gautreaux participants had visited a state employment office while a smaller proportion had visited a welfare office, a health clinic, or a nursery or day care center since moving to the new neighborhood. Among those who did make visits to each social service facility, Gautreaux residents were most likely to report difficulties in getting there. Thirty-three percent reported difficulties in visiting a state employment office, 42 percent said it was difficult to get to a social service or welfare office, and 20 percent reported that both the health clinic and the day care center were difficult to reach (See Table 10-20).

Gautreaux participants mentioned greater difficulties in getting to all services since moving to the their neighborhood than did regular Section 8 movers (See Table 10-21). However, while accessibility is a greater problem for most Gautreaux participants as a result of the move, service quality appears to be better. On the average, four in ten reported services were better compared to one in four of the regular Section 8 movers (See Table 10-22).

Perception of Neighborhood Characteristics

Most Gautreaux families, unlike Section 8 families and eligible non-participating families, reported that they lived in a neighborhood with people mostly of a different race and higher income than themselves.

Unlike eligible non-participants and regular Section 8 participants, the majority of the Gautreaux residents was living in predominantly white neighborhoods. Whereas, nine in ten from each group were black, three-fourths of the Gautreaux participants lived in the neighborhoods where they were a racial minority, compared to roughly one in ten from the other two groups who reported being in the minority. Similarly, Gautreaux participants were more likely to be at the low end of the economic spectrum among families in their neighborhoods. One-half said their neighbors earned higher incomes, while 24 percent of the eligible non-participants and 41 percent of the regular Section 8 participants gave this response (See Table 10-23).

Contacts With Old Neighborhood

A majority of Gautreaux participants had visited their old neighborhoods at least once in the month previous to the interviews. Even though they had moved much greater distances than had regular Section 8 families in Chicago, they were just as likely to return to visit their old neighborhoods as were regular Section 8 families who had moved much shorter distances. Both groups, however, were less likely to make these return trips the longer they lived in their new neighborhood.

A less direct measure of satisfaction with new neighborhood is the frequency of trips back to the old neighborhood and the reasons for such return trips. During the month prior to being interviewed for this study, 43 percent of all Gautreaux participants stated that they had not visited their old neighborhood, only slightly below the 49 percent recorded among regular Section 8 movers. At the other extreme, 15 percent of Gautreaux participants and 19 percent of regular Section 8 movers had visited their old neighborhoods five times or more in the previous month (See Table 10-24). Gautreaux families were more likely to return to their old neighborhood to visit their families and friends than were Section 8 recipients (See Table 10-25).

Gautreaux participants made as many trips to their old neighborhoods as did Section 8 families who had moved -- even though the travel time required for Gautreaux families was much greater. It took them twice as long to make the trip (39 minutes) as it took Section 8 families. Almost one-half of all regular Section 8 movers (48%) lived within 15 minutes of their old neighborhoods, compared with just 10 percent of the Gautreaux participants. Only 13 percent of regular Section 8 movers lived more than one-half hour from their old neighborhood (See Table 10-26).

Among Gautreaux participants who had lived in their current neighborhood for one year or longer, 50 percent reported not visiting their old residential areas during the prior month, compared to 39 percent among more recent participants. The same pattern was found for Chicago's Section 8 families. Of those families who had resided in their current residence longer than one year, 56 percent reported not returning, compared to 43 percent of those who had more recently moved (See Table 10-27).

Improvement in Quality of Life

A substantial majority of Gautreaux participants reported an improvement in the quality of their lives since their participation in the demonstration. Section 8 movers in Chicago were almost as likely to report a similar improvement in the quality of their lives.

Two-thirds of the Gautreaux participants said the quality of their lives improved as a result of the move to the new neighborhood. Only one in ten felt the quality of their lives had been adversely affected since the move. Similar sentiments were expressed by movers participating in the regular Section 8 program. For both groups, the same proportion (9%) said the move resulted in a generally lowered quality of living while more than six in ten said their quality of life had improved (See Table 10-28).

That a majority of both the Section 8 families and Gautreaux participants reported the overall quality of their life had improved, speaks well of both the demonstration and the regular Section 8 program. That the percent in each group reporting such a change is comparable, despite the larger proportion of Gautreaux families who were satisfied with their neighborhood conditions, suggests that the Gautreaux families may have had higher expectations prior to the move. Therefore, the improvement in the quality of their lives, as perceived by Gautreaux families, was not much greater than that perceived by Section 8 families. Another explanation for this finding may be that neighborhood and housing satisfaction are not the only components of "quality of life" assessments.

In conclusion, a substantial majority of Gautreaux families was satisfied with their new neighborhood and their public services. Only a slightly smaller majority reported an overall improvement in their quality of life. Their evaluation of life in the new suburban environment reflects a suburban-urban trade-off. On the positive side, Gautreaux families mentioned better schools, safer neighborhoods, fewer run-down houses, less trash, less traffic and better recreational facilities. On the negative side, they mentioned inadequate public transportation and locational inconvenience. While many regular Section 8 families in Chicago were also satisfied with their neighborhoods, they were less so than Gautreaux participants. Their evaluation of their residential environments reflected the same trade-off but in reverse. On the positive side were public transportation and locational convenience while on the negative side were neighborhood crime, drugs, and noisy traffic.

Table 10-1

**Overall Neighborhood Satisfaction of Gautreaux Participants, Gautreaux Eligible Non-participants and Regular Section 8 Recipients
(Percentage Distributions)**

| | <i>Gautreaux Class</i> | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| | <i>Participants</i> | <i>Eligible Non-Participants</i> | <i>Regular Section 8 Recipients</i> |
| <i>Neighborhood Satisfaction</i> | | | |
| Very satisfied | 44 | 15 | 20 |
| Somewhat satisfied | 37 | 37 | 47 |
| Somewhat dissatisfied | 11 | 25 | 21 |
| Very dissatisfied | — | * | 1 |
| NA | — | * | 1 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (330) | (364) | (415) |

* Less than one half of one percent

Table 10-2

**Overall Neighborhood Evaluation Compared to Old Neighborhood
for Gautreaux Participants and Regular Section 8 Recipients
(Percentage Distributions)**

| <i>Compared to Old Neighborhood, Present Neighborhood Is:</i> | <i>Regular Section 8—Movers from:</i> | | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| | <i>Gautreaux Participants</i> | <i>Public Housing</i> | <i>Waiting List</i> | <i>General Public</i> | <i>All Movers</i> |
| Better | 81 | 66 | 55 | 46 | 53 |
| Same | 13 | 27 | 26 | 35 | 31 |
| Worse | 6 | 7 | 15 | 17 | 14 |
| NA | * | — | 4 | 2 | 2 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (329) | (111) | (47) | (106) | (264) |
| Improvement Index ^a | 13.5 | 9.4 | 3.7 | 3.1 | 3.8 |

* Less than one half of one percent.

^a Improvement Index is the ratio of respondents who said the present neighborhood is better than their old neighborhood to those who reported the new neighborhood to be worse than the old.

Table 10-3

**Overall Neighborhood Satisfaction of Gautreaux Placement by Place of Residence
(Percentage Distribution)**

| <i>Neighborhood Satisfaction</i> | <i>Chicago</i> | | | <i>County</i> | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------|------------------|
| | <i>General Area</i> | <i>Limited Area</i> | <i>West/South Cook</i> | <i>North Cook</i> | <i>DuPage</i> | <i>Will/Kane</i> |
| Very satisfied | 40 | 45 | 50 | 39 | 58 | 33 |
| Somewhat satisfied | 45 | 32 | 42 | 44 | 27 | 44 |
| Somewhat dissatisfied | 5 | 10 | 4 | 10 | 9 | 17 |
| Very dissatisfied | 10 | 13 | 4 | 7 | 6 | 6 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (20) | (38) | (28) | (70) | (92) | (48) |

Table 10-4

**Evaluation of Move Compared to Expectations for
Gautreaux Participants and Regular Section 8 Recipients^a
(Percentage Distributions)**

| | <i>Regular Section 8—Movers from:</i> | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| | <i>Gautreaux Participants</i> | <i>Public Housing</i> | <i>Waiting List</i> | <i>General Public</i> |
| <i>Move Has Been:</i> | | | | <i>All Movers</i> |
| Better than expected | 39 | 34 | 39 | 29 |
| Same; pro-con | 40 | 45 | 38 | 48 |
| Worse than expected | 20 | 20 | 21 | 20 |
| DK, NA | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (330) | (111) | (48) | (108) |
| Improvement Index ^b | 2.0 | 1.7 | 1.9 | 1.4 |
| | | | | 1.6 |

^a The question was: "Has living (here/there) been better or worse than you expected or about the same as you expected when you first moved?"

^b Improvement Index is the ratio of people who say the move has been better than expected to those who say it has been worse than expected.

Table 10-5

**Evaluation of Move by Gautreaux Participants Compared to Expectations,
by Place of Residence
(Percentage Distribution)**

| | <i>Chicago</i> | | <i>Suburban County</i> | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| | <i>General Area</i> | <i>Limited Area</i> | <i>West/South Cook</i> | <i>North Cook</i> | <i>DuPage</i> |
| <i>Move Has Been:</i> | | | | | |
| Better than expected | 39 | 34 | 55 | 42 | 44 |
| Same; pro-con | 50 | 37 | 30 | 35 | 40 |
| Worse than expected | 11 | 29 | 15 | 23 | 16 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (18) | (38) | (27) | (69) | (91) |
| Improvement Index | 3.5 | 1.2 | 3.7 | 1.8 | 2.8 |
| | | | | | 1.7 |

Table 10-6

**Reasons Why Move has been Better than Expected for
Gautreaux and Regular Section 8 Recipients^a**
(Proportion of Total Mentions)

| <u>Reasons</u> | <i>Regular Section 8—Movers from:</i> | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| | <i>Gautreaux Participants</i> | <i>Public Housing</i> | <i>Waiting List</i> | <i>General Public</i> | <i>All Movers</i> |
| <u>Neighborhood</u> | 45 | 40 | 31 | 42 | 40 |
| Little crime, safe | 17 | 15 | 13 | 21 | 17 |
| Good schools | 15 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 4 |
| Convenient to schools, shops, etc. | 6 | 9 | — | 11 | 9 |
| Lots of open space, parks | 1 | 4 | 6 | — | 3 |
| Good public services, transportation | 2 | 2 | 6 | 2 | 3 |
| Other | 4 | 6 | — | 4 | 4 |
| <u>Dwelling</u> | 26 | 36 | 50 | 37 | 37 |
| Good quality | 8 | 9 | 13 | 15 | 12 |
| Spacious | 2 | 10 | — | 4 | 6 |
| Quieter, privacy | 6 | 11 | 12 | 7 | 9 |
| Other | 10 | 6 | 25 | 11 | 10 |
| <u>Social</u> | 29 | 24 | 19 | 21 | 21 |
| Friendly people | 17 | 15 | 6 | 13 | 13 |
| Children happier, doing well | 11 | 9 | 13 | 4 | 8 |
| Close to friends, relatives | 1 | — | — | 4 | 2 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Number of mentions | (188) | (53) | (16) | (47) | (116) |
| (N) | (128) | (35) | (13) | (31) | (79) |

^a For respondents who said move was better than expected or pro-con, the question was: "In what ways has it been better?"

Table 10-7

**Reasons Why Move has been Worse than Expected for
Gautreaux and Regular Section 8 Recipients^a**
(Proportion of Total Mentions)

| | <i>Regular Section 8—Movers from:</i> | | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| | <i>Gautreaux Participants</i> | <i>Public Housing</i> | <i>Waiting List</i> | <i>General Public</i> | <i>All Movers</i> |
| <u>Reasons</u> | | | | | |
| <u>Neighborhood Location</u> | <u>34</u> | <u>17</u> | <u>43</u> | <u>33</u> | <u>28</u> |
| Poor transportation | 14 | — | — | 5 | 2 |
| Unsafe, drug problems | 5 | 11 | 29 | 15 | 15 |
| Poor schools | 5 | 3 | 7 | 5 | 4 |
| Inconvenient to schools, shopping, friends, etc. | 9 | — | — | 3 | 1 |
| Other | 1 | 3 | 7 | 5 | 5 |
| <u>Dwelling</u> | <u>30</u> | <u>67</u> | <u>36</u> | <u>44</u> | <u>52</u> |
| Poor quality | 14 | 43 | 22 | 26 | 32 |
| Dirty, vermin | 7 | 19 | 14 | 8 | 13 |
| Other | 9 | 5 | — | 10 | 7 |
| <u>Building Management</u> | <u>23</u> | <u>13</u> | <u>14</u> | <u>13</u> | <u>13</u> |
| <u>Social: unfriendly people</u> | <u>13</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>7</u> |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Number of mentions | (93) | (37) | (14) | (39) | (90) |
| (N) | (56) | (23) | (9) | (22) | (54) |

* For respondents who said move was worse than expected or pro-con, the question was: "In what ways has it been worse?"

Table 10-8

Neighborhood Attributes Liked Best by Gautreaux Participants, Gautreaux Eligible Non-participants and Regular Section 8 Recipients^a
 (Percentage Distributions)

| | Gautreaux Class | | |
|---|------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| | Participants | Eligible Non-Participants | Regular Section 8 Recipients |
| Attributes | <u>28</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>11</u> |
| Quiet, lots of privacy | <u>22</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>10</u> |
| Lots of open space, not crowded | <u>6</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>1</u> |
| Social | <u>17</u> | <u>12</u> | <u>11</u> |
| Friendly, likeable neighbors | <u>11</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>8</u> |
| Good place for children | <u>3</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>2</u> |
| Social/racial/economic mix | <u>3</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>1</u> |
| Neighborhood Conditions | <u>12</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>8</u> |
| Attractive, clean | <u>6</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>4</u> |
| Little crime, safe | <u>6</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>4</u> |
| Public Services | <u>20</u> | <u>28</u> | <u>28</u> |
| Good schools, educational opportunities | <u>9</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>2</u> |
| Good public transportation | <u>6</u> | <u>21</u> | <u>23</u> |
| Good parks, recreation facilities | <u>4</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>3</u> |
| Adequate garbage collection, street maintenance | <u>1</u> | <u>3</u> | * |
| Locational | <u>16</u> | <u>30</u> | <u>31</u> |
| Convenient to downtown shopping | <u>5</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>12</u> |
| Close to work | <u>11</u> | <u>18</u> | <u>16</u> |
| Close to friends, family | * | <u>2</u> | <u>3</u> |
| Other | <u>7</u> | <u>13</u> | <u>11</u> |
| Total | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> |
| Number of mentions (N) | (526) (303) | (361) (240) | (597) (348) |

^a The question was: "What are the things you like best about living in your present neighborhood?" For each respondent, up to two mentions were recorded.

Table 10-9

Neighborhood Attributes Disliked by Gautreaux Participants, Gautreaux Eligible Non-Participants and Regular Section 8 Recipients^a
 (Proportion of Total Mentions)

| Attributes | Gautreaux Class | | |
|--|-----------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| | Participants | Eligible Non-Participants | Regular Section 8 Recipients |
| <u>Density-Related</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>11</u> | <u>7</u> |
| Too noisy | 3 | 5 | 5 |
| Too crowded | 1 | 6 | 2 |
| <u>Social</u> | <u>15</u> | <u>14</u> | <u>17</u> |
| People not friendly | 8 | 8 | 5 |
| Social/racial/economic mix | 4 | 4 | 7 |
| Lack of things to do | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Bad place for children | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| <u>Neighborhood Conditions</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>38</u> | <u>40</u> |
| Crime, drugs | 5 | 24 | 16 |
| Unattractive, dirty | 4 | 10 | 16 |
| Old, abandoned buildings | 1 | 4 | 8 |
| <u>Public Services</u> | <u>20</u> | <u>28</u> | <u>28</u> |
| No/poor public transportation | 29 | 5 | 5 |
| Poor garbage collection/ street maintenance | 6 | 7 | 7 |
| Poor schools | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| <u>Locational</u> | <u>17</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>7</u> |
| Far from downtown/shopping | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| Far from work | 13 | 7 | 6 |
| Far from friends/family | 1 | — | * |
| <u>Other</u> | <u>17</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>3</u> |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Number of mentions (N) | (327) | (388) | (419) |
| | (231) | (239) | (292) |

^a The question was: "What are the things you don't like about living in your present neighborhood?" For each respondent, up to two mentions were recorded.

Table 10-10

Neighborhood Problems for Gautreaux Participants, Gautreaux Eligible Non-Participants and Regular Section 8 Recipients^a
 (Percent reporting "not a problem" and "a big problem")

| | <i>Gautreaux Class</i> | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| | <i>Participants</i> | <i>Eligible Non-Participants</i> | <i>Regular Section 8 Recipients</i> |
| <i>Not a Problem</i> | | | |
| Vandalism | 53 | 26 | 26 |
| Rundown houses | 79 | 42 | 35 |
| Juvenile delinquency | 68 | 27 | 33 |
| Trash and litter | 65 | 22 | 31 |
| Drug addiction | 73 | 22 | 32 |
| Street traffic | 66 | 61 | 48 |
| Neighborhood crime | 75 | 21 | 33 |
| Lack of things to do | 57 | 39 | 44 |
| <i>Big Problem</i> | | | |
| Vandalism | 12 | 41 | 32 |
| Rundown houses | 6 | 26 | 30 |
| Juvenile delinquency | 7 | 37 | 22 |
| Trash and litter | 13 | 49 | 38 |
| Drug addiction | 9 | 43 | 29 |
| Street traffic | 12 | 20 | 21 |
| Neighborhood crime | 6 | 37 | 23 |
| Lack of things to do | 22 | 40 | 31 |
| (N) | (330) | (364) | (415) |

^a Respondents were read a list of problems that sometimes exist in neighborhoods and were asked whether they thought each was a big problem in their neighborhood, somewhat of a problem or not a problem at all.

Table 10-11

**Neighborhood Problems for Gautreaux Participants,
by Place of Residence**
(Percent reporting "not a problem" and "a big problem")

| | Chicago | | County | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------------|--------|---------------|
| | All Gautreaux | | | | | | |
| | Partici- pants | General Area | Limited Area | West/South Cook | North Cook | DuPage | Will/ Kane |
| <u>Not a Problem</u> | | | | | | | |
| Vandalism | 53 | 47 | 43 | 61 | 54 | 58 | 56 |
| Rundown houses | 79 | 60 | 62 | 86 | 77 | 88 | 81 |
| Juvenile delinquency | 68 | 53 | 58 | 70 | 63 | 85 | 67 |
| Trash and litter | 65 | 65 | 57 | 75 | 59 | 73 | 60 |
| Drug addiction | 73 | 63 | 64 | 84 | 80 | 81 | 85 |
| Street traffic | 66 | 47 | 68 | 64 | 54 | 75 | 75 |
| Neighborhood crime | 75 | 63 | 67 | 79 | 73 | 87 | 77 |
| Lack of things to do | 57 | 63 | 54 | 71 | 59 | 67 | 27 |
| <u>Big Problem</u> | | | | | | | |
| Vandalism | 12 | 24 | 19 | 7 | 19 | 18 | 8 |
| Rundown houses | 6 | 25 | 14 | — | 15 | 20 | 6 |
| Juvenile delinquency | 7 | 24 | 11 | 7 | 7 | 3 | 8 |
| Trash and litter | 13 | 30 | 14 | 14 | 19 | 9 | 8 |
| Drug addiction | 9 | 19 | 22 | 4 | 9 | 6 | 6 |
| Street traffic | 12 | 26 | 8 | 14 | 19 | 9 | 10 |
| Neighborhood crime | 6 | 16 | 14 | — | 6 | 2 | 6 |
| Lack of things to do | 22 | 16 | 19 | 11 | 16 | 20 | 35 |
| (N) | (296) | (18) | (38) | (28) | (70) | (92) | (48) |

Table 10-12

**Problems in Present Neighborhoods of Gautreaux Participants
and Comparisons to Old Neighborhood
(Percentage Distribution)**

| Problem | Extent of Problem | | | | Change in Problem ^a | | | | |
|----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------|-------|--------------------------------|----------|-----------|--------|----------|
| | Big Problem | Somewhat a Problem | Not a Problem | DK NA | Total | More Now | Less Same | DK Now | NA Total |
| Vandalism | 12 | 33 | 53 | 12 | 100 | 7 | 18 | 74 | 1 100 |
| Rundown houses | 6 | 14 | 79 | 1 | 100 | 5 | 19 | 75 | 1 100 |
| Juvenile delinquency | 7 | 22 | 68 | 3 | 100 | 5 | 19 | 73 | 3 100 |
| Trash and litter | 13 | 22 | 65 | • | 100 | 9 | 16 | 74 | 1 100 |
| Drug addiction | 9 | 11 | 73 | 7 | 100 | 5 | 21 | 66 | 8 100 |
| Street traffic | 12 | 21 | 66 | 1 | 100 | 13 | 23 | 61 | 3 100 |
| Neighborhood crime | 6 | 17 | 75 | 2 | 100 | 5 | 17 | 74 | 4 100 |
| Lack of things to do | 22 | 21 | 57 | • | 100 | 29 | 28 | 42 | 1 100 |

(N = 330)

^a The question was: "Compared to where you lived before, is (CONDITION) more of a problem now, less of a problem now, or about the same?"

* Less than one half of one percent

Table 10-13

**Comparison of Problems in to Old Neighborhoods of Gautreaux Participants,
by Present Place of Residence
(Percent reporting Change)**

| | Chicago | | County | | | Will/ Kane |
|--|--------------|--------------|-----------------|------------|--------|---------------|
| | General Area | Limited Area | West/South Cook | North Cook | DuPage | |
| <i>Compared to Old Neighborhood, Present Neighborhood Has Fewer Problems With:</i> | | | | | | |
| Vandalism | 70 | 46 | 89 | 78 | 79 | 81 |
| Rundown housing | 53 | 57 | 81 | 78 | 78 | 85 |
| Juvenile delinquency | 56 | 47 | 81 | 84 | 81 | 79 |
| Trash and litter | 60 | 55 | 75 | 78 | 76 | 83 |
| Drug addiction | 47 | 54 | 64 | 78 | 78 | 77 |
| Street traffic | 39 | 51 | 71 | 62 | 64 | 71 |
| Neighborhood crime | 47 | 44 | 75 | 87 | 86 | 83 |
| Lack of things to do | 53 | 41 | 43 | 42 | 52 | 27 |
| <i>Compared to Old Neighborhood, Present Neighborhood Has More Problems With:</i> | | | | | | |
| Vandalism | 5 | 19 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 6 |
| Rundown houses | 16 | 11 | 4 | 1 | 7 | 2 |
| Juvenile delinquency | 17 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 6 | 6 |
| Trash and litter | 10 | 18 | 7 | 9 | 12 | 6 |
| Drug addiction | 11 | 11 | 4 | 2 | 7 | 7 |
| Street traffic | 22 | 16 | 14 | 16 | 14 | 7 |
| Neighborhood crime | — | 18 | 4 | 3 | 6 | 6 |
| Lack of things to do | 16 | 22 | 21 | 29 | 28 | 46 |
| (N) | (18) | (38) | (28) | (70) | (92) | (48) |

Table 10-14

**Ratings of Neighborhood Safety by Gautreaux Participants,
Gautreaux Eligible Non-participants and Regular Section 8 Participants
(Percentage Distributions)**

| <u>Neighborhood Safety</u> | <u>Gautreaux Class</u> | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| | <u>Participants</u> | <u>Eligible Non-Participants</u> | <u>Regular Section 8 Recipients</u> |
| Very safe | 18 | 7 | 6 |
| Reasonably safe | 58 | 28 | 37 |
| Somewhat unsafe | 15 | 27 | 31 |
| Very unsafe | 9 | 36 | 26 |
| NA | * | 2 | * |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Number of respondents | 330 | 364 | 415 |

* One half of one percent.

Table 10-15

**Evaluation of Public Safety by Gautreaux Participants,
Gautreaux Eligible Non-participants and Regular Section 8 Participants
(Percentage Distributions)**

| | <u>Regular Section 8—Movers from:</u> | | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| | <u>Gautreaux Participants</u> | <u>Public Housing</u> | <u>Waiting List</u> | <u>General Public</u> | <u>All Movers</u> |
| <u>Compared to Old Neighborhood, Present Neighborhood Is:</u> | | | | | |
| Safer | 59 | 44 | 36 | 22 | 30 |
| Just as safe | 29 | 45 | 34 | 54 | 49 |
| Not as safe | 11 | 11 | 26 | 22 | 19 |
| NA | 1 | — | 4 | 2 | 2 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Number of respondents | 329 | 111 | 47 | 106 | 264 |

Table 10-16

**Evaluation of Local Public Services by Gautreaux Participants, Gautreaux
Eligible Non-Participants and Regular Section 8 Recipients
(Percentage Distributions)**

| | <i>Gautreaux Class</i> | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| | <i>Participants</i> | <i>Eligible Non-Participants</i> | <i>Regular Section 8 Recipients</i> |
| <u>Public Services</u> | | | |
| Very good | 15 | 35 | 46 |
| Fairly good | 24 | 39 | 38 |
| Neither good nor bad | 12 | 8 | 5 |
| Not very good | 10 | 9 | 5 |
| Not good at all | 31 | 7 | 5 |
| NA | 8 | 2 | 1 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| <u>Public School</u> | | | |
| Very good | 60 | 17 | 21 |
| Fairly good | 22 | 44 | 37 |
| Neither good nor bad | 6 | 8 | 8 |
| Not very good | 1 | 12 | 15 |
| Not good at all | 3 | 9 | 4 |
| NA | 8 | 10 | 15 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| <u>Police Protection</u> | | | |
| Very good | 43 | 13 | 24 |
| Fairly good | 31 | 37 | 39 |
| Neither good nor bad | 9 | 13 | 13 |
| Not very good | 2 | 15 | 11 |
| Not good at all | 3 | 20 | 8 |
| NA | 12 | 2 | 5 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| <u>Recreation Facilities</u> | | | |
| Very good | 33 | 13 | 17 |
| Fairly good | 32 | 30 | 27 |
| Neither good nor bad | 9 | 7 | 8 |
| Not very good | 8 | 13 | 16 |
| Not good at all | 9 | 27 | 24 |
| NA | 9 | 10 | 8 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (330) | (364) | (415) |

Table 10-17

Public Service Evaluations by Gautreaux Participants and Regular Section 8 Movers Compared to Old Neighborhood^a
(Percentage Distributions)

| Public Services | Regular Section 8—Movers from: | | | | |
|--|--------------------------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|------------|
| | Gautreaux Participants | Public Housing | Waiting List | General Public | All Movers |
| <u>Public Transportation Is:</u> | | | | | |
| Better | 18 | 21 | 30 | 30 | 27 |
| Same | 19 | 67 | 60 | 59 | 62 |
| Worse | 61 | 12 | 6 | 10 | 10 |
| NA | 2 | — | 4 | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Improvement Index ^a | -3.4 | 1.8 | 5.0 | 3.0 | 2.7 |
| <u>Public Schools Are:</u> | | | | | |
| Better | 67 | 41 | 32 | 25 | 31 |
| Same | 21 | 34 | 42 | 50 | 44 |
| Worse | 5 | 11 | 15 | 10 | 11 |
| NA | 7 | 14 | 11 | 15 | 14 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Improvement Index ^b | 13.4 | 3.7 | 2.1 | 2.5 | 2.8 |
| <u>Police Protection Is:</u> | | | | | |
| Better | 50 | 44 | 19 | 30 | 33 |
| Same | 41 | 44 | 66 | 57 | 54 |
| Worse | 6 | 9 | 11 | 8 | 9 |
| NA | 3 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 4 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Improvement Index ^b | 8.3 | 4.9 | 1.7 | 3.8 | 3.7 |
| <u>Recreation Facilities Are:</u> | | | | | |
| Better | 48 | 32 | 28 | 32 | 32 |
| Same | 29 | 42 | 51 | 44 | 45 |
| Worse | 18 | 23 | 15 | 17 | 18 |
| NA | 5 | 3 | 6 | 7 | 5 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Improvement Index ^b | 9.6 | 1.4 | 1.9 | 1.9 | 1.8 |
| (N) | (329) | (111) | (47) | (106) | (264) |

^a Following evaluative questions for each public service/facility, respondents who had moved were asked: "Compared to where you lived before, is (SERVICE/FACILITY) in your present neighborhood better, worse or about the same?"

^b Improvement Index is the ratio of people who say service/facility is better now to those who say it is worse. The higher the score, the stronger the perceptions of positive change in the service/facility since changing neighborhoods.

Table 10-18

**Evaluation of Local Public Services by
Gautreaux Participants, by Place of Residence
(Percentage Distribution)**

| | Chicago | | | County | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|-----------------|------------|--------|-----------|
| | General Area | Limited Area | West/South Cook | North Cook | DuPage | Will/Kane |
| <u>Public Services</u> | | | | | | |
| Very good | 48 | 24 | 24 | 11 | 11 | 16 |
| Fairly good | 42 | 40 | 32 | 19 | 20 | 30 |
| Neither good nor bad | 5 | 19 | 8 | 13 | 15 | 14 |
| Not very good | — | 3 | 8 | 16 | 13 | 11 |
| Not good at all | 5 | 14 | 28 | 41 | 41 | 29 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (19) | (37) | (25) | (63) | (83) | (44) |
| <u>Public School</u> | | | | | | |
| Very good | 23 | 40 | 81 | 84 | 75 | 49 |
| Fairly good | 41 | 39 | 15 | 11 | 19 | 33 |
| Neither good nor bad | 12 | 9 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 13 |
| Not very good | 12 | 6 | — | — | — | 2 |
| Not good at all | 12 | 6 | — | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (17) | (33) | (26) | (64) | (85) | (45) |
| <u>Police Protection</u> | | | | | | |
| Very good | 39 | 38 | 48 | 42 | 65 | 46 |
| Fairly good | 39 | 47 | 48 | 39 | 29 | 24 |
| Neither good nor bad | 11 | 6 | — | 12 | 4 | 22 |
| Not very good | 5 | 3 | 4 | 2 | — | 3 |
| Not good at all | 6 | 6 | — | 5 | 2 | 5 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (18) | (34) | (27) | (64) | (82) | (37) |
| <u>Recreation Facilities</u> | | | | | | |
| Very good | 29 | 17 | 42 | 41 | 50 | 23 |
| Fairly good | 35 | 36 | 42 | 43 | 26 | 32 |
| Neither good nor bad | 18 | 11 | 12 | 6 | 9 | 12 |
| Not very good | 6 | 14 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 14 |
| Not good at all | 12 | 22 | — | 4 | 9 | 19 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (17) | (36) | (24) | (68) | (80) | (43) |

Table 10-19

**Comparison of Public Services to Old Neighborhood,
by Present Place of Residence
(Percentage Distribution)**

| | Chicago | | County | | | |
|--|--------------|--------------|-----------------|------------|--------|-----------|
| | General Area | Limited Area | West/South Cook | North Cook | DuPage | Will/Kane |
| <u>Compared to Old Neighborhood, Present Neighborhood Has Better:</u> | | | | | | |
| Public transportation | 35 | 29 | 21 | 12 | 13 | 17 |
| Public schools | 41 | 37 | 89 | 83 | 80 | 71 |
| Police protection | 50 | 51 | 57 | 53 | 54 | 53 |
| Recreational facilities | 47 | 47 | 59 | 60 | 54 | 40 |
| <u>Compared to Old Neighborhood, Present Neighborhood Has Poorer:</u> | | | | | | |
| Public transportation | 10 | 26 | 54 | 75 | 78 | 71 |
| Public schools | 29 | 9 | — | 5 | 4 | 4 |
| Police protection | — | 5 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 11 |
| Recreational facilities | 12 | 17 | 7 | 15 | 19 | 34 |
| <u>Compared to Old Neighborhood, Present Neighborhood Is:</u> | | | | | | |
| Safer | 50 | 40 | 54 | 73 | 60 | 67 |
| Just as safe | 45 | 40 | 25 | 20 | 34 | 21 |
| Not as safe | 5 | 20 | 21 | 7 | 6 | 12 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (20) | (38) | (28) | (69) | (90) | (48) |

Table 10-20

**Social Service Visits and Ease of Accessibility for Gautreaux Participants,
Gautreaux Eligible Non-participants and Regular Section 8 Recipients**

| | <i>Gautreaux Class</i> | | |
|---|------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| | <i>Participants</i> | <i>Eligible Non-Participants</i> | <i>Regular Section 8 Recipients</i> |
| <u>Proportion Who Visited a:</u> | | | |
| State employment office | 32(104) ^a | 28(127) | 26(175) |
| Social service/welfare office | 43(143) | 69(310) | 65(437) |
| Health clinic/hospital | 63(209) | 80(356) | 72(482) |
| Nursery/day care center | 24(78) | 34(152) | 28(186) |
| (N) | (330) | (364) | (415) |
| <u>Ease of Visitors Getting to:</u> | | | |
| <u>State Employment Office</u> | | | |
| Easy | 32 | 69 | 66 |
| Fairly easy | 36 | 23 | 31 |
| Difficult | 32 | 8 | 3 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| <u>Social Service/Welfare Office</u> | | | |
| Easy | 29 | 70 | 60 |
| Fairly easy | 29 | 22 | 33 |
| Difficult | 42 | 8 | 7 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| <u>Health Clinic/Hospital</u> | | | |
| Easy | 44 | 72 | 67 |
| Fairly easy | 34 | 18 | 27 |
| Difficult | 22 | 10 | 6 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| <u>Nursery/Day Care Center</u> | | | |
| Easy | 52 | 90 | 79 |
| Fairly easy | 29 | 9 | 20 |
| Difficult | 19 | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |

^a Figures in parentheses represent weighted number of respondents who report listing each facility and serve as bases for the percentage distributions.

Table 10-21

**Access to Social Services Compared to Accessibility in Old Neighborhood
for Gautreaux Participants and Regular Section 8 Recipients
(Percentage Distributions for Service Users)**

| Compared to Old Neighborhood, Access to: | Gautreaux Participants | Regular Section 8—Movers from: | | | |
|---|---------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------|
| | | Public Housing | Waiting List | General Public | All Movers |
| <u>State Employment Office Is:</u> | | | | | |
| Easier | 24 | 38 | 30 | 18 | 24 |
| Same | 28 | 50 | 50 | 68 | 61 |
| More difficult | 45 | 6 | 10 | 9 | 9 |
| NA | 3 | 6 | 10 | 5 | 6 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (103) | (16) | (10) | (22) | (48) |
| Improvement Index ^a | 0.5 | 6.3 | 3.0 | 2.0 | 2.7 |
| <u>Social Service/Welfare Office Is:</u> | | | | | |
| Easier | 22 | 33 | 33 | 20 | 26 |
| Same | 28 | 49 | 56 | 67 | 60 |
| More difficult | 48 | 16 | 4 | 11 | 12 |
| NA | 2 | 2 | 7 | 2 | 2 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (143) | (61) | (27) | (63) | (151) |
| Improvement Index ^a | 0.5 | 2.0 | 8.3 | 1.8 | 2.2 |
| <u>Health/Clinic/Hospital Is:</u> | | | | | |
| Easier | 27 | 32 | 34 | 32 | 32 |
| Same | 31 | 52 | 54 | 51 | 52 |
| More difficult | 39 | 16 | 3 | 13 | 12 |
| NA | 3 | — | 9 | 4 | 4 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (208) | (76) | (35) | (71) | (182) |
| Improvement Index ^a | 0.7 | 2.0 | 11.0 | 2.5 | 2.7 |
| <u>Nursery/Day Care Center Is:</u> | | | | | |
| Easier | 29 | 32 | 25 | 47 | 39 |
| Same | 35 | 46 | 58 | 43 | 46 |
| More difficult | 30 | 18 | — | 5 | 9 |
| NA | 6 | 4 | 17 | 5 | 6 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (77) | (28) | (12) | (21) | (61) |
| Improvement Index ^a | 1.0 | 1.8 | — | 9.4 | 4.3 |

^a Improvement Index is the ratio of service users who say getting to the service is easier since the move to those who say getting there is more difficult. The higher the number, the easier it is for the group to get to the service.

Table 10-22

Social Service Evaluations Compared to Services Received in Old Neighborhood by Gautreaux Participants and Regular Section 8 Recipients (Percentage Distributions)

| <u>Compared to Old Neighborhood, Services Provided by:</u> | <u>Regular Section 8—Movers from:</u> | | | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| | <u>Gautreaux Participants</u> | <u>Public Housing</u> | <u>Waiting List</u> | <u>General Public</u> | <u>All Movers</u> |
| <u><i>State Employment Office Are:</i></u> | | | | | |
| Better | 39 | 13 | — | 14 | 11 |
| Same | 49 | 87 | 50 | 64 | 67 |
| Worse | 4 | — | 30 | 18 | 16 |
| NA | 8 | — | 20 | 4 | 6 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (103) | (16) | (10) | (22) | (48) |
| Improvement Index ^a | 9.8 | 13.0 | — | 0.8 | 0.7 |
| <u><i>Social Service/Welfare Office Are:</i></u> | | | | | |
| Better | 36 | 21 | 15 | 21 | 20 |
| Same | 40 | 59 | 63 | 57 | 59 |
| Worse | 19 | 20 | 18 | 17 | 18 |
| NA | 5 | — | 4 | 5 | 3 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (143) | (61) | (27) | (63) | (151) |
| Improvement Index ^a | 1.9 | 1.0 | 0.8 | 0.8 | 1.1 |
| <u><i>Health/Clinic/Hospital Are:</i></u> | | | | | |
| Better | 39 | 26 | 28 | 18 | 22 |
| Same | 45 | 70 | 57 | 64 | 64 |
| Worse | 12 | 3 | 6 | 11 | 8 |
| NA | 4 | 1 | 9 | 7 | 6 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (208) | (76) | (35) | (71) | (182) |
| Improvement Index ^a | 3.5 | 8.7 | 4.7 | 1.6 | 2.8 |
| <u><i>Nursery/Day Care Center Are:</i></u> | | | | | |
| Better | 46 | 21 | 33 | 43 | 34 |
| Same | 36 | 61 | 25 | 29 | 39 |
| Worse | 9 | 11 | 17 | 9 | 11 |
| NA | 9 | 7 | 25 | 19 | 16 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (77) | (28) | (12) | (21) | (61) |
| Improvement Index ^a | 5.1 | 1.9 | 1.9 | 4.8 | 3.1 |

^a Improvement Index is the ratio of service users who say quality of service is better since the move to those who say it is worse.

Table 10-23

**Racial Income Mix in Present Neighborhood for Gautreaux Participants,
Gautreaux Eligible Non-Participants and Regular Section 8 Recipients
(Percentage Distribution)**

| | <i>Gautreaux Class</i> | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| | <i>Participants</i> | <i>Eligible Non-Participants</i> | <i>Regular Section 8 Recipients</i> |
| <u>Racial Mix</u> | | | |
| Most same race | 15 | 83 | 77 |
| About half are same | 8 | 6 | 8 |
| Less than half are same | 27 | 4 | 5 |
| Most of different race | 48 | 4 | 7 |
| DK, NA | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| <u>Income Mix</u> | | | |
| Most have lower incomes | 2 | 12 | 9 |
| Incomes about the same | 19 | 42 | 26 |
| Most have higher incomes | 55 | 24 | 41 |
| DK, NA | 24 | 22 | 24 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (330) | (364) | (415) |

Table 10-24

**Frequency of Visits to Old Neighborhood by Gautreaux Participants
and Regular Section 8 Recipients
(Percentage Distributions)**

| <i>Number of Visits</i> | <i>Regular Section 8—Movers from:</i> | | | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| | <i>Gautreaux Participants</i> | <i>Public Housing</i> | <i>Waiting List</i> | <i>General Public</i> | <i>All Movers</i> |
| None | 43 | 53 | 52 | 46 | 49 |
| Once or twice | 24 | 21 | 15 | 22 | 21 |
| 3-4 times | 15 | 12 | 8 | 8 | 9 |
| 5-10 times | 8 | 7 | 6 | 8 | 8 |
| More often | 7 | 6 | 13 | 11 | 11 |
| NA | 3 | 1 | 6 | 5 | 2 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (330) | (111) | (48) | (108) | (267) |

^a The question was: "During the past month how many times have you been back to your old neighborhood?"

Table 10-25

Reasons Why Program Participants Visited Old Neighborhood^a
 (Proportion of Total Mentions)

| <u>Reason:</u> | <i>Regular Section 8—Movers from:</i> | | | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| | <u>Gautreaux Participants</u> | <u>Public Housing</u> | <u>Waiting List</u> | <u>General Public</u> | <u>All Movers</u> |
| Visit family | 42 | 25 | 41 | 29 | 29 |
| Visit friends | 27 | 35 | 21 | 32 | 32 |
| Personal business | 11 | 11 | 21 | 12 | 13 |
| Visit doctor or dentist | 7 | 9 | 3 | 6 | 6 |
| Other | 13 | 20 | 14 | 21 | 20 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Number of mentions | 233 | 71 | 29 | 66 | 166 |
| Number of respondents | 188 | 52 | 23 | 58 | 133 |

^a Respondents who reported visiting their old neighborhood were asked: "Why did you go back there?"

Table 10-26

**Travel Time to Old Neighborhood for Gautreaux and
Regular Section 8 Participants^a**
 (Percentage Distributions)

| <u>Minutes</u> | <i>Regular Section 8—Movers from:</i> | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| | <u>Gautreaux Participants</u> | <u>Public Housing</u> | <u>Waiting List</u> | <u>General Public</u> | <u>All Movers</u> |
| 15 or less | 10 | 40 | 51 | 52 | 48 |
| 16-30 | 23 | 48 | 36 | 29 | 36 |
| 31-45 | 37 | 6 | 6 | 11 | 9 |
| 46-60 | 19 | 3 | — | 5 | 3 |
| More than 1 hour | 9 | 1 | — | 1 | 1 |
| NA | 2 | 2 | 7 | 2 | 3 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Number of respondents | 329 | 111 | 47 | 106 | 264 |
| Average travel time (minutes) | 39 | 20 | 16 | 19 | 19 |

^a The question was: "If you wanted to go back there, about how many minutes would it take you to get there by car?"

Table 10-27

Current Length of Residence and Frequency of Visits to Prior Neighborhood for Gautreaux Participants and Regular Section 8 Recipients (Percentage Distributions)

| <i>Number of Visits to Prior Neighborhood in Past Month</i> | <i>Length of Resident</i> | |
|---|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| | <i>One Year or Less</i> | <i>More than One Year</i> |
| | <i>a) Gautreaux Participants</i> | |
| None | 39 | 50 |
| 1-2 | 24 | 24 |
| 3-4 | 18 | 9 |
| 5-10 | 9 | 7 |
| 11 or more | 7 | 7 |
| NA | 3 | 3 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (196) | (127) |

| <i>Number of Visits to Prior Neighborhood in Past Month</i> | <i>b) Regular Section 8 Movers</i> | |
|---|------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| | <i>One Year or Less</i> | <i>More than One Year</i> |
| | <i>b) Regular Section 8 Movers</i> | |
| None | 43 | 56 |
| 1-2 | 27 | 14 |
| 3-4 | 14 | 4 |
| 5-10 | 7 | 8 |
| 11 or more | 8 | 12 |
| NA | 1 | 6 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (209) | (161) |

Table 10-28

**Change in Quality of Life for Gautreaux Participants and Regular Section 8 Recipients
(Percentage Distributions)**

| | Regular Section 8—Movers from: | | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| | Gautreaux Participants | Public Housing | Waiting List | General Public | All Movers |
| <u>Overall Quality of Life Since Move Has:</u> | | | | | |
| Improved | 65 | 66 | 68 | 57 | 61 |
| Not changed | 23 | 28 | 28 | 30 | 29 |
| Worsened | 9 | 6 | 2 | 12 | 9 |
| DK, NA | 3 | — | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (330) | (111) | (48) | (108) | (267) |
| Improvement Index | 7.2 | 11.0 | 39.0 | 28.5 | 6.8 |

* The question was: "All in all, do you think the quality of your life has improved, or gotten worse since you moved, or hasn't it changed at all?"

Table 10-29

**Change in Quality of Life for Gautreaux Participants, by Place of Residence
(Percentage Distribution)**

| | Chicago | | County | | |
|---|---------------------|---------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| | General Area | Limited Area | West/South Cook | North Cook | DuPage |
| <u>Overall Quality of Life Since Move Has:</u> | | | | | |
| Improved | 60 | 67 | 74 | 66 | 70 |
| Not changed | 30 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 22 |
| Worsened | 10 | 11 | 3 | 10 | 8 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (20) | (36) | (27) | (70) | (89) |
| Improvement Index | 6.0 | 6.0 | 25.0 | 6.6 | 8.4 |
| | | | | | 4.2 |

Table 10-30

**Neighborhood Satisfaction of Gautreaux Participants, Gautreaux Eligible Non-Participants and Regular Section 8 Recipients by Length of Residence
(Percentage Distribution)**

| | 1-6 Months | 7-12 Months | 13-24 Months | 25 + Months | Total |
|---|---------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|-------|
| A) Gautreaux Participants | | | | | |
| Very Satisfied | 51 | 49 | 34 | 42 | 44 |
| Somewhat Satisfied | 33 | 39 | 38 | 33 | 37 |
| Somewhat Dissatisfied | 9 | 6 | 18 | 17 | 11 |
| Very Dissatisfied | 6 | 7 | 11 | 8 | 8 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (96) | (103) | (103) | (24) | (326) |
| B) Eligible Non-participating Families | | | | | |
| Very Satisfied | 24 | 9 | 11 | 15 | 15 |
| Somewhat Satisfied | 33 | 66 | 40 | 33 | 37 |
| Somewhat Dissatisfied | 24 | 7 | 28 | 27 | 25 |
| Very Dissatisfied | 19 | 18 | 21 | 25 | 24 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (21) | (44) | (47) | (324) | (436) |
| C) Regular Section 8 Families | | | | | |
| Very Satisfied | 39 | 21 | 27 | 15 | 20 |
| Somewhat Satisfied | 45 | 49 | 48 | 47 | 47 |
| Somewhat Dissatisfied | 13 | 18 | 21 | 24 | 21 |
| Very Dissatisfied | 3 | 12 | 5 | 14 | 11 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (31) | (194) | (151) | (282) | (650) |

CHAPTER XI

EVALUATION BY GAUTREAUX FAMILIES OF ASSISTANCE RECEIVED FROM THE LEADERSHIP COUNCIL

As a result of the demonstration, Gautreaux families typically moved into garden or low-rise apartment buildings, were generally satisfied with their housing units, reported that they had adequate space, and believe their new accommodations to be better than their previous dwelling. On all housing satisfaction measures, Gautreaux placements were more likely than the regular Section 8 families, and much more likely than the eligible non-participating families, to be satisfied with their current housing.

In addition to bringing about improvements in the neighborhood conditions of the Gautreaux participants, the demonstration was also intended to upgrade the quality of their housing. Furthermore, many participants said they moved because of a desire to improve their housing quality. This section describes the changes in the type of housing to which families moved and their satisfaction with that housing.

More than three-fourths of the Gautreaux participants (81%) said they were satisfied with their current house or apartment and that it was a better place to live compared to their previous residence (80%). This widespread sense of satisfaction with their current dwelling unit was not reported among eligible non-participants (56%) or regular Section 8 participants (68%). Furthermore, among Gautreaux participants, 44 percent reported that they were very satisfied, twice the proportion of eligible non-participants (22%). It is important to note that the lower level of housing satisfaction recorded among eligible non-participants more nearly equals the national norms for subgroups with similar characteristics. Consequently, Gautreaux participants reported greater levels of satisfaction than would be expected based on national standards (See Tables 11-1 and 11-3).

The vast majority of Gautreaux participants felt their home had enough living space (87%), and two-thirds felt they had more space than in their previous residence. Roughly the same proportions of the Section 8 families answered similarly. Eligible non-participants were the least satisfied with the amount of space in their dwelling units; 38 percent reported that they did not have enough space in their home, compared to just 12 percent among Gautreaux participants, and 19 percent among regular Section 8 participants. Thus, recent movers, either Gautreaux or regular Section 8 participants, were more likely to have adequate living space than the eligible non-participants (See Tables 11-2 and 11-4).

Gautreaux and regular Section 8 participants moved from similar types of dwelling units in their prior neighborhoods. Regular Section 8 participants who moved from public housing, however, were the most likely to have lived in a high-rise apartment (72%); in comparison, only about 20 percent of regular Section 8 participants who moved from conventional housing and 30 percent of Gautreaux families had lived in high-rise apartments (See Table 11-5).

After participation in the demonstration, however, Gautreaux families more frequently lived in garden or low-rise apartments (47%) than eligible non-participating families (18%), or regular Section 8 participants (39%); the latter two groups more frequently lived in high-rise apartments (43% and 32% respectively) than Gautreaux participants (19%). Interestingly, even though the proportions are both small, Section 8 participants somewhat more frequently lived in detached single family and duplex units (20%) than Gautreaux demonstration participants (10%), and eligible non-participants (13%) (See Table 11-6).¹ Participation in the demonstration, therefore, meant a greater likelihood of living in a garden apartment than in a high-rise building but less likelihood of living in a detached dwelling. This may be explained, in part, by the very low vacancy rates of larger units in the suburbs.

Although the average family contribution toward housing costs was almost the same for Gautreaux placements (\$72) as for Section 8 families (\$70), Gautreaux families were placed in units renting for almost one-third more than the units of regular Section 8 families (\$287 vs. \$217).

The cost to Gautreaux families for housing, on average, dropped as a result of participation in the program from \$105 to \$72 per month (See Table 6-8). However, the decline in personal housing cost was much greater for regular Section 8 participants. The average family contribution for regular Section 8 recipients was \$121 before and \$70 after participation in the program.

The reason for the greater decrease among Section 8 families is that proportionately fewer of these families were in public housing prior to receiving Section 8 assistance, so their housing costs were higher.²

¹ Thirteen percent of Gautreaux participants lived in "other" units which were often called "walk-ups" by the landlords.

² These cost data were obtained from Section 8 forms completed at the time the family began to receive rental assistance.

Sixty-two percent of Gautreaux families lived in public housing while only 30 percent of Section 8 families moved from public housing. Not surprisingly, the average contract and gross rents for Gautreaux families after the move were higher than for Section 8 participants. The average gross monthly rent (including utilities) was \$303 for Gautreaux families while it was \$255 for Section 8 participants; the average contract rent (excluding utilities) was \$287 for Gautreaux families but \$217 for Section 8 recipients (See Table 11-7).

If comparisons are drawn between families who moved and those who did not move at the time they began to receive rental assistance, either under the Section 8 program or the demonstration, it is clear that those who moved did so primarily for reasons other than financial relief. Those who leased in place, however, were relatively more concerned about cost. The cost saving figures for these two groups of families are striking. The average monthly housing cost for Gautreaux families who moved declined only \$27; for Section 8 who moved, the cost dropped by about \$34. However, those families who leased in place, saved \$113 and \$77 respectively (See Table 10-8). Since more of those who moved came from public housing than of those who did not move, these findings are not surprising. The mover families already benefitted from reduced cost housing and were more interested in an improvement of residential environment. For the Gautreaux families, this represented 96 percent of the families; however, for regular Section 8 families, a much smaller proportion (59%) were interested in moving to a new dwelling.

In summary, Gautreaux families were as satisfied with their housing as they were with their new neighborhood. Like their satisfaction with their neighborhood, their housing satisfaction exceeded that reported by regular Section 8 families or eligible non-participating families. Most of them moved either to garden or high-rise apartments rather than to detached units, duplexes or row houses. In fact, they were somewhat less likely to live in detached single family units after participating than before. Last, not only were they satisfied with their housing but their housing cost also dropped by an average of \$33.

Table 11-1

**Overall Evaluation of Present Dwelling by Gautreaux Participants,
Gautreaux Eligible Non-Participants and Regular Section 8 Recipients^a
(Percentage Distributions)**

| <i>Satisfaction with Current Dwelling</i> | <i>Gautreaux Class</i> | | |
|---|------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| | <i>Participants</i> | <i>Eligible Non-Participants</i> | <i>Regular Section 8 Recipients</i> |
| Very satisfied | 44 | 22 | 29 |
| Somewhat satisfied | 37 | 34 | 39 |
| Somewhat dissatisfied | 12 | 24 | 21 |
| Very dissatisfied | 7 | 19 | 10 |
| NA | — | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (330) | (364) | (415) |

^a The question was: "In general, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your (house/apartment)?"

Table 11-2

**Evaluation of Space In Present Dwelling by Gautreaux Participants,
Gautreaux Eligible Non-Participants and Regular Section 8 Recipients^a**

| <i>House Has Enough Personal Space</i> | <i>Gautreaux Class</i> | | |
|--|------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| | <i>Participants</i> | <i>Eligible Non-Participants</i> | <i>Regular Section 8 Recipients</i> |
| Very true | 57 | 39 | 52 |
| Somewhat true | 30 | 22 | 29 |
| Not very truly | 6 | 11 | 9 |
| Not all true | 6 | 27 | 10 |
| NA | 1 | 1 | * |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (330) | (364) | (415) |

^a The question was: "How true is this statement: You home has enough space so you can do the things you want to do—without others getting in your way or distracting you?"

* Less than one-half of one percent

Table 11-3

Evaluation of Dwelling by Gautreaux Participants and Regular Section 8 Recipients Compared to Previous Dwelling^a
 (Percentage Distributions)

| <i>Size Compared to Previous House</i> | <i>Regular Section 8—Movers from:</i> | | | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| | <i>Gautreaux Participants</i> | <i>Public Housing</i> | <i>Waiting List</i> | <i>General Public</i> | <i>All Movers</i> |
| Better | 80 | 66 | 64 | 67 | 66 |
| Same | 11 | 21 | 19 | 26 | 24 |
| Worse | 8 | 11 | 13 | 7 | 9 |
| DK, NA | 1 | 2 | 4 | — | 1 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (329) | (111) | (47) | (106) | (264) |
| Improvement Index ^b | 10.0 | 6.0 | 4.9 | 9.6 | 7.3 |

^a The question was: "Compared to where you lived before, is your present (house/apartment) a better place to live or a worse place to live, or is it about the same?"

^b Improvement Index is the ratio of movers who say their dwelling is better than the one they had before they moved to those who say it is worse.

Table 11-4

Evaluation of Dwelling Space by Gautreaux Participants and Regular Section 8 Recipients Compared to Previous Dwelling
 (Percentage Distributions)

| <i>Size Compared to Previous House</i> | <i>Regular Section 8—Movers from:</i> | | | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| | <i>Gautreaux Participants</i> | <i>Public Housing</i> | <i>Waiting List</i> | <i>General Public</i> | <i>All Movers</i> |
| More Space | 67 | 60 | 60 | 66 | 63 |
| Same | 14 | 22 | 11 | 16 | 17 |
| Less space | 19 | 18 | 25 | 18 | 19 |
| DK, NA | * | — | 4 | — | 1 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (329) | (111) | (47) | (106) | (264) |

* Less than one half of one percent.

^a The question was: "Does your (house/apartment) have more, less, or about the same amount of space as your previous home?"

Table 11-5

**Type of Present Dwelling of Gautreaux Participants,
Gautreaux Eligible Non-Participants and Regular Section 8 Recipients
(Percentage Distributions)**

| <i>Present Dwelling</i> | <i>Gautreaux Class</i> | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| | <i>Participants</i> | <i>Eligible Non-Participants</i> | <i>Regular Section 8 Recipients</i> |
| Detached single family | 3 | 5 | 4 |
| Duplex/twin | 7 | 8 | 16 |
| Rowhouse | 10 | 19 | 4 |
| Garden apartment | 47 | 18 | 38 |
| High-rise apartment | 19 | 43 | 32 |
| Other | 13 | 6 | 6 |
| NA | 1 | 1 | * |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (330) | (364) | (415) |

Table 11-6

**Type of Previous Dwelling of Gautreaux Participants
and Regular Section 8 Recipients
(Percentage Distributions)**

| <i>Prior Dwelling</i> | <i>Regular Section 8—Movers from:</i> | | | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| | <i>Gautreaux Participants</i> | <i>Public Housing</i> | <i>Waiting List</i> | <i>General Public</i> | <i>All Movers</i> |
| Detached single family | 9 | 2 | 8 | 10 | 7 |
| Duplex/twin | 13 | 4 | 19 | 22 | 16 |
| Rowhouse | 13 | 9 | 6 | 6 | 7 |
| Garden apartment | 22 | 12 | 33 | 35 | 28 |
| High-rise apartment | 30 | 72 | 21 | 18 | 35 |
| Other | 11 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 4 |
| DK, NA | 2 | — | 11 | 3 | 3 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (330) | (111) | (48) | (108) | (267) |

Table 11-7

**Selected Housing Cost Characteristics of Gautreaux Participants
and Regular Section 8 Recipients**

| <i>After Program Participation</i> | <i>Gautreaux Participants</i> | <i>Regular Section 8 Recipients</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|---|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Average Gross Rent (includes utilities) (N) | \$303 (395) | \$225 (778) | \$252 (1183) |
| Average Contract Rent (excludes utilities) (N) | \$287 (399) | \$217 (788) | \$241 (1187) |
| Average Family Contribution to Housing Cost (N) | \$ 72 (417) | \$ 70 (787) | \$ 71 (1204) |
| <i>Prior to Program Participation</i> | | | |
| Average Family Contribution to Housing Cost (N) | \$105 (408) | \$121 (782) | \$116 (1190) |

Table 11-8

**Selected Housing Cost Characteristics of Mover and Non-mover
Gautreaux Participants and Regular Section 8 Recipients**

| | <i>Gautreaux</i> | | <i>Regular Section 8</i> | |
|---|------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| | <i>Movers</i> | <i>Non-Movers</i> | <i>Movers</i> | <i>Non-Movers</i> |
| <i>After Program Participation</i> | | | | |
| Average Gross Rent (includes utilities) (N) | \$306 (408) | \$249 (17) | \$238 (461) | \$209 (323) |
| Average Contract Rent (excludes utilities) (N) | \$290 (408) | \$230 (17) | \$232 (461) | \$200 (323) |
| Average Family Contribution to Housing Cost (N) | \$ 73 (408) | \$ 80 (17) | \$ 68 (461) | \$ 73 (323) |
| <i>Prior to Program Participation</i> | | | | |
| Average Family Contribution to Housing Cost (N) | \$100 (408) | \$193 (17) | \$102 (461) | \$150 (323) |

CHAPTER XII

FUTURE MOBILITY PLANS AND LOCATIONAL PREFERENCES OF GAUTREAUX FAMILIES

Four in ten Gautreaux participants said they were now thinking about moving from their present home and over one-half said they definitely or probably would move in the next two years. This is, however, fewer than the number of eligible non-participating and regular Section 8 families who said they are going to move.

People's thoughts and expectations about moving provide an additional indicator of residential quality. Although many Gautreaux participants (54%) indicated they would probably move in the next two years, larger proportions of the eligible non-participating and regular Section 8 families indicated that they were also likely to move. Sixty-five percent of all eligible non-participating families said they were thinking about moving and over two-thirds (68%) indicated that they were likely to move in the next two years. For the regular Section 8 families, the comparable figures are 51 percent and 59 percent, respectively (See Tables 12-1 and 12-2).

For all three groups, small-sized dwelling units of poor quality were most often mentioned as reasons for considering a change in residence. Nonetheless, there were differences in the importance placed on the dwelling unit, compared to 48 percent for the eligible non-participants and 55 percent for the regular Section 8 participants. On the other hand, poor neighborhood quality was more likely to be mentioned by the Gautreaux families more often reported the inconvenient location of the neighborhood, including its poor transportation, than did respondents in other groups (16% vs. 3%) (See Table 12-1).

Gautreaux residents' thoughts about moving were also more often affected by the particular housing complex in which they lived. Thirteen percent noted the possibility of being forced to move, either because of building condemnation or eviction. Virtually no one in the other two groups gave these reasons for considering a move. Although a small proportion (11% of the Gautreaux families and 7% of the Section 8 families) mentioned problems with landlords, these figures are slightly larger than the four percent for non-participants.

Interestingly, those families placed through the demonstration in Chicago were more likely to want to move than those placed in the suburbs (53% vs. 61%). Furthermore, families placed in the suburbs of Chicago varied in their likelihood of moving according to where they reside. Families placed in Cook County were less likely to indicate a potential move in the next two years than were families placed in DuPage County and the more distant Will and Kane Counties (See 12-3).

Comparable data collected for the 1978 HUD Survey of the Quality of Community Life indicate that only 29 percent of suburban residents, nationally, and 30 percent of suburban residents in the Chicago SMSA said they definitely or probably would move in the next two years. The Gautreaux placements, then, appear to be a much more mobile group than other suburban residents.

Past empirical research has consistently demonstrated that moving intentions are associated with negative evaluations of both housing and the neighborhood environment. Findings from the current study support such relationships.

Under the terms of the regular Section 8 program administered by the Chicago Housing Authority, recipients are not permitted to live in the suburbs and, indeed, only about one-half of them expressed a desire for a suburban residence. An even smaller proportion -- one in ten -- of the group of eligible Gautreaux families who did not participate in the demonstration, preferred the suburbs to the city. In this regard, therefore, Gautreaux recipients were atypical. Approximately two-thirds of Gautreaux families stated a preference for living in the suburbs. Persons who desired a suburban location cited residential and neighborhood quality as their reasons; those preferring to live in the city most frequently cited convenience and the availability of public transportation as their reason.

When asked where they preferred to live, two-thirds of Gautreaux residents mentioned the suburbs outside Chicago (See Table 12-4). In contrast, 16 percent of the regular Section 8 participants and only 12 percent of the eligible non-participants said they preferred a suburban location. Among Gautreaux families placed within Chicago, a higher proportion of those in Limited Areas (38%) indicated a preference for the suburbs than those living in General Areas (20%).

When Gautreaux participants who preferred to live outside of Chicago were asked where they would like to live, every county in the region was mentioned. The most popular choices were the closer in Cook and DuPage Counties while least popular were the more distant Will and Kane Counties. Among the Gautreaux residents who said they definitely intended to move before 1981, one-half indicated they wanted to live in communities in northern Cook and DuPage Counties, while nearly a quarter mentioned places in the western half of Cook County (See Table 12-6). The specific communities mentioned most frequently were Oak Park, Bellwood and Evanston, suburbs contiguous to the Chicago city limits (See Exhibit K).

For each group of likely movers who said they preferred to live in Chicago, good transportation was cited more often than anything else as the major reason. Over one-third of both Gautreaux placements (34%) and regular Section 8 families (35%) and over one-fourth of all eligible non-participating families (28%) gave such a reason. Over 25 percent of each group also mentioned locational factors, such as the convenience of a Chicago residence to shopping and downtown activities, as important reasons (See Table 12-7).

Locational convenience and good public transportation were cited as reasons by close to 60 percent of Gautreaux families who desired to move back to Chicago.

The reasons Gautreaux participants and regular Section 8 recipients gave for wanting to move to suburban communities outside of Chicago varied considerably. This is not expected. Section 8 families and eligible non-participating families all lived in Chicago while most Gautreaux families lived in the suburbs. Thus, the Gautreaux families were indicating why they wanted to move from one suburban location to another while the Section 8 families were indicating why they wanted to move from the city to the suburbs (See Table 12-8).

For Gautreaux participants preferring the suburbs, no single reason was mentioned by as many as one-third of all prospective movers. However, for the eligible non-participating families and the regular Section 8 families, the reasons for desiring a move to a suburban location were clearly related to the neighborhood quality. Over one-half of the Section 8 families (53%) and close to one-half of the eligible non-participating families (44%) gave reasons related to neighborhood quality for desiring such a move. However, only 28 percent of Gautreaux families mentioned neighborhood reasons.

Substantial majorities of all three groups of families -- Gautreaux participants, non-participants, and regular Section 8 recipients -- desired a neighborhood with an equal number of minorities and non-minorities as opposed to a neighborhood with a predominance of either group.
However, Gautreaux families were more likely to prefer such racially balanced neighborhoods. Interestingly, however, this preference did not appear to be a major consideration in the decision by Gautreaux families to participate in the demonstration.

When asked what neighborhood racial mix they would prefer, Gautreaux participants, regardless of moving intentions, were most likely to say they wanted one balanced between members of minority and non-minority groups (72%). The majority of eligible non-participants (63%) and Section 8 families (61%) responded the same way. Roughly, one-sixth to one-fourth of each group indicated that the racial composition of the neighborhood did not matter. Very few of either group indicated a preference for living in a neighborhood populated primarily by members of either race (See Table 12-9). These findings are consistent with other research on preferences of blacks to live in racially mixed neighborhoods.¹

While a majority of Gautreaux participants preferred racially balanced neighborhoods, a smaller proportion preferred a neighborhood in which the neighbors had incomes different from their own. Forty-five percent of Gautreaux families, 41 percent of the regular Section 8 recipients and 35 percent of the eligible non-participants respondents said they wanted to live in neighborhoods where there was an income mix. It appears, therefore, that living in a racially balanced neighborhood is relatively more important than living in a mixed income neighborhood for all three groups of families.

Gautreaux residents were no more likely to say they wanted more or fewer friends in their neighborhood than the regular Section 8 participants and only slightly more inclined to want more relatives living near them than did members of other groups. Whereas, one in four Gautreaux participants preferred to have more relatives living in their neighborhoods, less than one in five of the eligible non-respondents and regular Section 8 participants desired more relatives living nearby.

¹ In a 1976 study conducted by H. Schumann, et al. of the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan, it was found that a substantial majority of black respondents preferred racially balanced neighborhoods. See Institute for Social Research "Newsletter", Summer, 1979, (Ann Arbor, Michigan).

In conclusion, roughly 40 percent of Gautreaux families said they were thinking of moving within two years, but even larger proportions of Section 8 and non-participating families were planning to move. Most of the Gautreaux participants were interested in remaining in the suburbs, particularly those closer to the city, such as areas in Cook and DuPage Counties. Those most likely to move, who preferred to live in Chicago, cited reasons of adequate public transportation and locational convenience in the city. Of those eligible families who did not participate in the demonstration, only one in ten preferred to live in the suburbs.

These findings reinforce the previous results concerning satisfaction. The majority of Gautreaux families was content with living in the suburbs. While they may have had plans to move, they intended to move within the suburbs. This conclusion is also consistent with data obtained on families who have already made multiple moves while in the demonstration; most of them also moved within the suburbs.

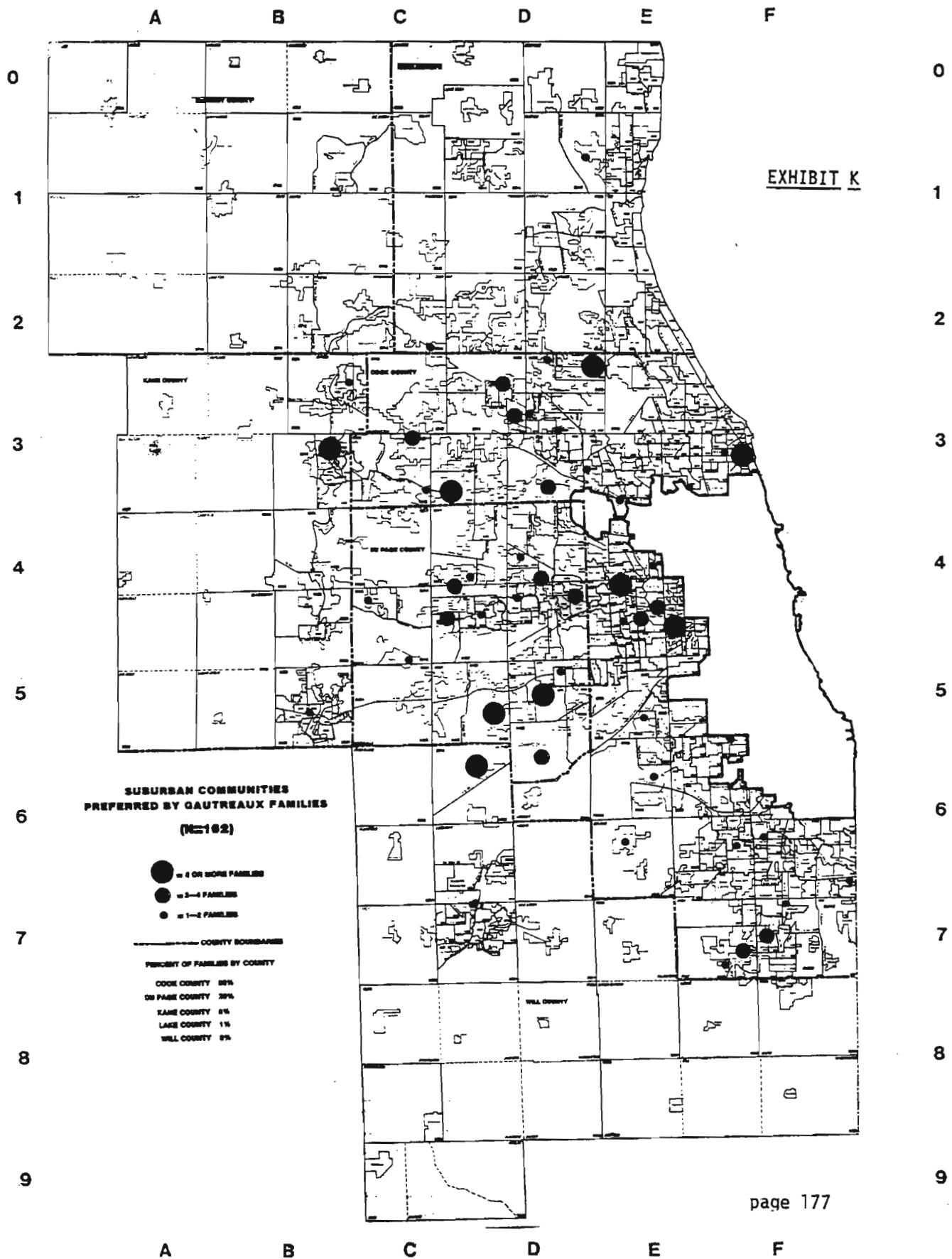


Table 12-1

Moving Considerations of Gautreaux Participants, Gautreaux Eligible Non-Participants and Regular Section 8 Recipients^a
 (Proportion of Total Mentions)

| | <i>Gautreaux Class</i> | | |
|--|------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| | <i>Participants</i> | <i>Eligible Non-Participants</i> | <i>Regular Section 8 Recipients</i> |
| <i>Thinking About Moving from Present House?^a</i> | | | |
| Yes | 43 | 65 | 51 |
| No | 56 | 34 | 48 |
| NA | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (330) | (369) | (415) |
| <i>Reasons^b</i> | | | |
| <i>Dwelling</i> | 39 | 48 | 55 |
| Too small | 19 | 31 | 22 |
| Poor housing quality | 12 | 8 | 19 |
| Costs are high | 2 | 5 | 4 |
| Other | 6 | 4 | 10 |
| <i>Location; inconvenient, poor transportation</i> | 16 | 3 | 2 |
| <i>Poor Neighborhood quality</i> | 11 | 29 | 19 |
| <i>Forced Relocation; eviction, building condemned</i> | 13 | — | 1 |
| <i>Improve Environment for Self and Family</i> | 6 | 4 | 6 |
| <i>Building Management; poor quality and poor landlord relations</i> | 7 | 4 | 11 |
| <i>Other</i> | 8 | 12 | 6 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Number of mentions | 191 | 318 | 289 |
| (N) | (139) | (225) | (202) |

^a The question was: "Are you thinking about moving out of your present (house/apartment)?"

^b For respondents who said they were thinking about moving out of their present residence, the question was: "Why would you like to move?"

Table 12-2

Likelihood of Moving for Gautreaux Participants, Gautreaux Eligible Non-Participants and Regular Section 8 Recipients^a
 (Percentage Distributions)

| | <i>Gautreaux Class</i> | | |
|---|------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| | <i>Participants</i> | <i>Eligible Non-Participants</i> | <i>Regular Section 8 Recipients</i> |
| <i>Likelihood of Moving Within Next Two Years</i> | | | |
| Definitely will move | 22 | 27 | 21 |
| Probably will | 32 | 41 | 38 |
| Probably will not | 28 | 16 | 24 |
| Definitely will not | 9 | 8 | 8 |
| NA | 9 | 8 | 9 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (330) | (364) | (415) |

^a The question was: "Would you say that you definitely will move, that you probably will move, that you probably will not move, or that you definitely will not move?"

Table 12-3

Likelihood of Gautreaux Participants Moving by Place of Residence
 (Percentage Distribution)

| | <i>Chicago</i> | | | | | |
|---|---------------------|---------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------|------------------|
| | <i>General Area</i> | <i>Limited Area</i> | <i>West/South Cook</i> | <i>North Cook</i> | <i>DuPage</i> | <i>Will/Kane</i> |
| <i>Likelihood of Moving Within Next Two Years</i> | | | | | | |
| Definitely will move | 16 | 25 | 15 | 27 | 18 | 33 |
| Probably will | 37 | 28 | 39 | 32 | 45 | 32 |
| Probably will not | 42 | 36 | 39 | 30 | 26 | 25 |
| Definitely will not | 5 | 11 | 7 | 11 | 11 | 10 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (19) | (36) | (28) | (66) | (83) | (40) |

Table 12-4

Preference for Residential Location of Gautreaux Participants, Gautreaux Eligible Non-Participants and Regular Section 8 Recipients^a
 (Percentage Distributions)

| | Gautreaux Class | | |
|---|------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| | <u>Participants</u> | <u>Eligible Non-Participants</u> | <u>Regular Section 8 Recipients</u> |
| <u>Preference for Chicago or Suburbs</u> | | | |
| Chicago | 33 | 80 | 82 |
| Suburbs | 64 | 12 | 16 |
| NA | 3 | 8 | 2 |
| Total (N) | 100 (330) | 100 (365) | 100 (415) |

^a The question asked was: "Would you like to live within the city limits of Chicago or outside the city limits?"

Table 12-5

**Preference for Residential Location of Gautreaux Participants,
by Place of Residence
(Percentage Distribution)**

| | Chicago | | County | | |
|---|---------------------|---------------------|------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| | <u>General Area</u> | <u>Limited Area</u> | <u>West/South Cook</u> | <u>North Cook</u> | <u>DuPage</u> |
| <u>Preference for Chicago or Suburbs</u> | | | | | |
| Chicago | 80 | 62 | 32 | 18 | 22 |
| Suburbs | 20 | 38 | 68 | 82 | 78 |
| Total (N) | 100 (20) | 100 (37) | 100 (28) | 100 (66) | 100 (89) |
| | | | | | Will/ Kane (47) |

Table 12-6

**Likelihood of Gautreaux Participants Moving,
by Locational Preferences
(Percentage Distributions)**

| <i>Locational Preference for People Wanting to Move Outside Chicago—Counties</i> | <i>Definitely Will</i> | <i>Probably Will</i> | <i>Probably Will Not</i> | <i>Definitely Will Not</i> |
|--|----------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| West Cook County | 23 | 28 | 8 | 11 |
| South Cook County | 6 | 13 | 14 | 21 |
| North Cook County | 35 | 25 | 20 | 21 |
| DuPage County | 15 | 19 | 34 | 26 |
| Will County | 6 | 11 | 4 | 11 |
| Kane County | 6 | 2 | 8 | 5 |
| Outside region | 9 | 2 | 12 | 5 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (34) | (47) | (50) | (19) |

| <i>Locational Preference for People Wanting to Move Outside Chicago—Ring</i> | <i>Definitely Will</i> | <i>Probably Will</i> | <i>Probably Will Not</i> | <i>Definitely Will Not</i> |
|--|----------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Inner ring of suburbs | 38 | 38 | 12 | 27 |
| Middle ring of suburbs | 44 | 56 | 62 | 63 |
| Outer ring of suburbs | 9 | 4 | 14 | 5 |
| Outside region | 9 | 2 | 12 | 5 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (34) | (47) | (50) | (19) |

Table 12-7

**Reasons Why Prospective Gautreaux and Regular Section 8
Movers want to Live Within Chicago City Limits
(Proportion of Total Mentions)**

| | Gautreaux Class | | |
|--|-----------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| | Participants | Eligible Non-Participants | Regular Section 8 Recipients |
| <u>Reason</u> | 38 | 29 | 37 |
| Good transportation | 34 | 28 | 35 |
| Good schools | — | — | 1 |
| Other | 4 | 1 | 1 |
| <u>Location</u> | 30 | 29 | 26 |
| Convenient to job, school, church, etc. | 12 | 15 | 14 |
| Convenient to shopping downtown | 18 | 14 | 10 |
| Other | — | * | 2 |
| <u>Social</u> | 11 | 13 | 12 |
| Near family, friends | 11 | 12 | 11 |
| Other | — | 1 | 1 |
| <u>Neighborhood Quality</u> | 4 | 3 | 6 |
| Clean, attractive | — | * | * |
| Other | — | 1 | 1 |
| 4 | 2 | 5 | |
| <u>Familiarity:</u> grew up there | 6 | 14 | 9 |
| <u>Lake City:</u> don't like suburbs | 3 | 8 | 8 |
| Other | 9 | 4 | 2 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Number of mentions | 73 | 251 | 242 |
| (N) | (52) | (193) | (175) |

* One half of one percent.

Table 12-8

**Reasons Why Prospective Gautreaux and Regular Section 8
Movers want to Live Outside the City of Chicago
(Proportion of Total Mention)**

| | <i>Gautreaux Class</i> | | <i>Regular Section 8 Recipients</i> |
|--|------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| | <i>Participants</i> | <i>Eligible Non-Participants</i> | |
| <i>Reasons</i> | | | |
| <i>Public Service</i> | 21 | 20 | 21 |
| Good transportation | 7 | — | 1 |
| Good schools | 12 | 12 | 7 |
| Other | 2 | 8 | 15 |
| <i>Location</i> | 18 | 2 | 6 |
| Convenient to job, school, church, etc. | 11 | 2 | 4 |
| Convenient to shopping downtown | 7 | — | 2 |
| Other | — | — | — |
| <i>Social</i> | 12 | 12 | 7 |
| Near family, friends | 5 | 4 | 2 |
| Other | 7 | 8 | 5 |
| <i>Neighborhood Quality</i> | 28 | 44 | 53 |
| Quiet, private | 8 | 14 | 24 |
| Clean, attractive | 4 | 12 | 13 |
| Other | 16 | 18 | 16 |
| <i>Familiarity:</i> grew up there | 2 | — | — |
| <i>Other</i> | 19 | 22 | 13 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Number of mentions (N) | 130 | 40 | 54 |
| | (84) | (31) | (33) |

Table 12-9

Preferred Social Characteristics of Neighborhood for Gautreaux Participants, Gautreaux Eligible Non-Participants and Regular Section 8 Recipients^a
 (Percentage Distributions)

| <i>Social Characteristics</i> | <i>Gautreaux Class</i> | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| | <i>Participants</i> | <i>Eligible Non-Participants</i> | <i>Regular Section 8 Recipients</i> |
| <i>Racial Mix</i> | | | |
| <i>All own race</i> | | | |
| All own race | 2 | 4 | 2 |
| Mostly own race | 4 | 3 | 9 |
| Equal mix | 72 | 63 | 61 |
| Moslty different race | 6 | 2 | 3 |
| Doesn't matter | 16 | 27 | 23 |
| NA | — | 1 | 2 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| <i>Income Mix</i> | | | |
| <i>Mostly same income</i> | | | |
| Mostly same income | 14 | 25 | 20 |
| Mostly different income | 45 | 35 | 41 |
| Doesn't matter | 40 | 33 | 36 |
| NA | 1 | 7 | 3 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| <i>Friends in Neighborhood</i> | | | |
| <i>Like more friends</i> | | | |
| Like more friends | 18 | 16 | 20 |
| Like fewer friends | 17 | 17 | 16 |
| Doesn't matter | 64 | 66 | 63 |
| NA | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| <i>Relatives in Neighborhood</i> | | | |
| <i>Like more relatives</i> | | | |
| Like more relatives | 25 | 19 | 18 |
| Like fewer relatives | 24 | 27 | 59 |
| Doesn't matter | 50 | 51 | 21 |
| NA | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (N) | (330) | (364) | (415) |

^a The questions asked were: "Would you like to live in a neighborhood where the people were all the same race as you, mostly of your race, mostly of a different race, or would you prefer a neighborhood that was mixed, half and half?"; "Would you like to live in a neighborhood were most families had about the same income, or where the families had different incomes?", "Would you like to have more of your friends living in your neighborhood, fewer friends, or wouldn't it matter?", and "Would you like to have more relatives living in your neighborhood, fewer relatives, or wouldn't it matter?"

APPENDIX A

DESCRIPTION OF EXISTING DATA ON CHICAGO SMSA
RENTAL HOUSING MARKET

One frequently mentioned constraint regarding the operation of the Gautreaux demonstration is the availability of units in the Chicago SMSA which meet Section 8 quality standards, rent at or below the Fair Market Rent, are located in areas with low minority concentration, and are vacant. It was the purpose of this study to determine whether or not the FMRs operated, as designed, or if there was a "sufficient" number of vacant units to permit the demonstration to be carried out successfully. However, given that the rental market can impose severe limitations on a low-income family's search for housing, even a family receiving the Section 8 assistance, it was necessary to provide, at least, a broad outline of the rental market in order to set the demonstration in the proper context.

The description and analysis of the Chicago rental market presented in this study was based on existing data drawn primarily from the 1975 Annual Housing Survey (AHS) for the Chicago SMSA. The AHS data were selected after discussions with representatives of the Economic and Market Analysis Division of HUD's Office of Policy Development and Research (PDR); the Chicago Area Office economist; the Federal Home Loan Bank Board of Chicago; the Northern Illinois Planning Commission (NIPC); the Illinois Housing Development Authority; and various private rental market experts in the Chicago area.

Several criteria were used in evaluating the various available data sources for the Chicago SMSA. First, the data had to be available on an SMSA-wide basis; the District Court had determined that the Chicago housing market incorporated all jurisdictions within the Chicago SMSA and the interpretation was reflected in the Letter of Agreement establishing the demonstration (See Page 29). Second, the data had to be disaggregated to the smallest possible geographical level. SMSA-wide rates were not acceptable, since they reveal little about the actual location of units which are available. Third, the data had to identify vacancies by rent levels, by tenure, by the number of bedrooms, and by whether or not the unit was in standard or substandard condition. Fourth, and most important, the data had to be reliable.

Using these criteria, four data sources were examined: material provided by the Chicago Area Office Economist; postal vacancy and idle electric meter surveys; Housing Assistance Plans (HAPS); and, Annual Housing Survey (AHS) data for the Chicago SMSA. After consideration of all sources, the AHS data were selected as the most useful, especially when supplemented with data from other sources. The following discussion outlines the strengths and weaknesses of each source and the rationale for the use of the AHS data.

Data provided by the Chicago Area Office economist included various worksheets and a report, "The Current Housing Market Situation: Chicago, Illinois as of September, 1975". The latter is an analysis prepared by the Area Economist and provides data regarding vacancy, household, and population trends, estimated demand for rental housing, and estimates of the number of people eligible for Section 8 housing assistance. However, this analysis covers only Chicago and suburban Cook County rather than the entire SMSA. The non-SMSA-wide nature of this document was also the major shortcoming in the worksheets and other materials available from this source.

Although Housing Assistance Plans (HAPs) include an assessment of the condition and availability of rental units within local jurisdictions, these collective plans were not appropriate as a basis for an analysis of the rental market of the Chicago SMSA for several reasons. First, HAPs are generally prepared by communities as part of their application for Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) funds. Therefore, HAPs are available only for those communities that choose to apply for these funds and not for all communities in the SMSA. Second, methods used in the preparation of HAPs vary among communities so the reliability of individual HAPs cannot be assumed.

The postal vacancy surveys and idle electric meter reports have numerous defects. One major problem is that they do not distinguish units by tenure, by condition, by contract rent, or by number of bedrooms. They also suffer from a lack of reliability. Postal vacancies are noted by individual mail carriers during their deliveries and have always been of questionable accuracy. Idle electric meters, on the other hand, do not always indicate a vacant unit. An idle meter can be the result of delinquent payments or of a vandalized or removed meter. In spite of these problems, these surveys and reports do indicate trends.

The 1975 Annual Housing Survey of the Chicago SMSA was determined to be the most comprehensive existing data source for the rental housing market in the Chicago SMSA. The data come from over 13,000 interviews with a representative sample of families in the Chicago SMSA. Data on availability, cost, and quality of rental units, as well as income and racial characteristics of households, are disaggregated by county. In addition, the 1975 Chicago data are available by community planning district. A planning district is a county subdivision with a population of approximately 250,000. The boundaries of a planning district are defined by certain demographic characteristics of the majority of its households, including race, income, median rent, median housing value and education. The major problem with these data is that characteristics of the rental housing market observed in 1975 may not reflect the marked in 1979. However, given the scope and comprehensive nature of the data, the analysis on this report relies on this source and supplements it with more recent trend data from the postal vacancy surveys.

Table A-1

Sample Description and Response Rate Information

| | <u>Gautreaux Housing Demonstration</u> | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|--|-------------------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|--|
| | <u>Eligible</u> | | | | <u>Regular Section 8 Program</u> | | | |
| | <u>Participating Families</u> | <u>Non-participants</u> | | <u>Non-movers</u> | <u>Public Housing</u> | <u>Waiting List</u> | <u>General Public</u> | |
| Population Size | | | | | | | | |
| Under 62 | 431 406 | 13,210 11,284 | 9,445 9,150 | 372 350 | 144 | 57 | 274 | |
| Sample Selection Probability | 1.0 | .040 | .020 | .50 | 1.0 | 1.0 | .50 | |
| Subsample Weight | 1.0 | 1.0 | 2.0 | 2.0 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 2.0 | |
| Number of Eligible R's | 406 | 451 | 183 | 175 | 144 | 57 | 137 | |
| Number of Completed Interviews | 330 | 281 | 83 | 148 | 111 | 48 | 108 | |
| Personal | 212 | 62 | 20 | 31 | 34 | 9 | 18 | |
| Telephone | 118 | 219 | 63 | 117 | 77 | 39 | 90 | |
| Response Rates | .813 | .623 | .459 | .896 | .771 | .842 | .788 | |
| Refusal Rate | .010 | .042 | .022 | .034 | .042 | .018 | .051 | |
| Combined Error ^a | .012 | .060 .057 | .083 | .052 | .023 .014 | .019 .012 | .061 | |
| Usable Address, Non-contact Rate | .084 | .202 | .273 | .080 | .139 | .140 | .124 | |
| Unusable Address Rate | .093 | .133 | .251 | .040 | .048 | — | .037 | |

^a Combined sampling and non-response errors. This means that in 95% of the cases the true figures is the reported figure plus or minus the combined error for each group.

Table A-2

Extent of Address Changes from Official Lists Among Eligible Respondents

| | <i>Gautreaux Section 8 Existing Housing Demonstration</i> | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|-------------------------|------------|------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| | <i>Eligible</i> | | | | <i>Regular Section 8 Program</i> | | | | |
| | <i>Participating Families</i> | <i>Non-participants</i> | | | <i>Non-movers</i> | <i>Public Housing</i> | <i>Waiting List</i> | <i>General Public</i> | <i>Total</i> |
| <u>Interviews</u> | | | | | | | | | |
| No change in Address | 252 | 275 | 59 | 147 | 103 | 46 | 106 | 988 | |
| Address change | 78 | 6 | 24 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 2 | 121 | |
| Total | 330 | 281 | 83 | 148 | 111 | 48 | 109 | 1109 | |
| <u>Non-interviews</u> | | | | | | | | | |
| Refusals | 7 | 19 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 1 | 6 | 48 | |
| Original address | 46 | 145 | 79 | 16 | 20 | 7 | 21 | 336 | |
| Unable to contact R | 12 | 89 | 39 | 10 | 15 | 7 | 16 | 190 | |
| Unusable address, deadend | 34 | 56 | 40 | 6 | 5 | 0 | 5 | 146 | |
| New address | 23 | 6 | 16 | 5 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 60 | |
| Unable to contact R | 15 | 2 | 10 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 39 | |
| New address unusable | 8 | 4 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 21 | |
| Total | 76 | 170 | 100 | 27 | 33 | 9 | 29 | 444 | |
| Total Eligible Respondents | 406 | 451 | 183 | 175 | 144 | 57 | 137 | 1553 | |

Table A-3

Information Sources for Finding New Addresses

| <i>New Address Information Source</i> | <i>Gautreaux Section 8 Existing Housing Demonstration</i> | | | | | | | | <i>Total</i> | |
|---|---|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------------|-----|--------------|--|
| | <i>Participating Families</i> | <i>Eligible Non-participants</i> | | <i>Regular Section 8 Program</i> | | | | | | |
| | | <i>Public Housing</i> | <i>Waiting List</i> | <i>Non- movers</i> | <i>Public Housing</i> | <i>Waiting List</i> | <i>General Public</i> | | | |
| SRC tracking | 45 | 37 | 21 | 13 | 15 | 6 | 7 | 144 | | |
| CHA | 19 | 57 | 33 | 6 | 3 | — | 2 | 120 | | |
| DuPage County | 7 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 7 | | |
| Leadership Council | 16 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 16 | | |
| Cook County | 20 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 20 | | |
| Elgin County | 13 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 13 | | |
| Total changes | 120 | 94 | 54 | 19 | 18 | 6 | 9 | 320 | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Results by Source</i> | <i>No new information, confirmed previous information</i> | | <i>New information obtained</i> | | <i>Total</i> | | <i>Proportion successful</i> | | | |
| | 68 | — | 76 | — | 144 | — | 54% | | | |
| CHA | 108 | — | 12 | — | 120 | — | 10% | | | |
| DuPage County | — | — | 7 | — | 7 | — | 100% | | | |
| Cook County | 9 | — | 11 | — | 20 | — | 55% | | | |
| Leadership Council | 2 | — | 14 | — | 16 | — | 88% | | | |
| Elgin County | 12 | — | 1 | — | 13 | — | 8% | | | |
| Total | 199 | — | 121 | — | 320 | — | 38% | | | |

APPENDIX B

POTENTIAL BIAS OF 1970 CENSUS DATA IN ESTIMATION OF RACIAL COMPOSITION OF SUBURBAN COMMUNITIES

Because 1970 U.S. census data form the basis for much of the demographic analysis in this report, it is useful to examine the pattern of demographic (especially racial) shifts among municipalities during the subsequent decade. If 1970 census data seriously misrepresent the current racial composition of Chicago suburbs, then results of the analysis based on 1970 census data may be misleading. This analysis shows that while more blacks are living in the suburbs, the black proportion of the suburban population has not changed substantially relative to Chicago.¹

Fortunately, numerous Chicago area communities conducted special population censuses after 1970. Although the methodology of such locally conducted censuses may vary, any major racial changes should be detected.² Table 1 shows the average annual change in non-white population for 32 suburban communities in the Chicago SMSA that conducted special censuses between March 1973 and April 1977.³

TABLE 1

| <u>1970 Population</u> | <u>Annual Percentage Change</u> |
|---|---------------------------------|
| Less Than 1% Non-White (26 Municipalities) | +.145% |
| 1 - 2% Non-White (5 Municipalities) | +.186% |
| 13.8% Non-White (Waukegan) | +.320% |

¹ All statistics cited in this section are drawn from the Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission's June 30, 1978, Regional Data Report.

² Special censuses generally involve a 100 percent household survey, the undercount of minorities is likely to be less in a special census than in the decennial census.

³ Averages are not weighted by population of municipality. Municipalities that did not conduct special censuses tend to have larger non-white populations based on estimates derived from available school district data.

All but four of these communities reported increases in the percent black, but these increases were well below one percent. As Table 1 shows, those communities which had the smallest percent black in 1970 also exhibited the smalles increases in percent black.⁴

Several suburban communities did not conduct special censuses after 1972; these tended to have higher proportions of black residents. Where a reasonably close correspondence could be made between municipal boundaries and elementary school district boundaries, school enrollment figures for 1970 and 1976 were used to indicate the direction and approximate rate of racial change. Table 2 shows changes in percent black enrollees for these school districts, grouped by 1970 percentages of black enrollment.⁵ Once again, the greater the initial (1970) black proportion, the greater the rate of racial change.

TABLE 2

| <u>1970 % Black (N)</u> | Total Changes | Average Annual Change |
|----------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| Less than 1% (7 districts) | + 1.83 | + .31 |
| 1 - 9.9% (4 districts) | + 7.23 | + 1.21 |
| 10% or more (3 districts) | + 14.43 | + 2.41 |

Table 3 on the following page shows the figures for percent of black population for those six suburban communities in which at least 20 Gautreaux families were placed.⁶ All of these communities experienced an increase in the proportion of black population subsequent to 1970. Bolingbrook and Carol Stream exhibited the greatest racial change: both had one percent of fewer black residents in 1970 and both had four percent after. Rolling Meadows, Wheeling and Woodridge had, on the average, less than one percent black population in 1970 and just over one percent in the mid-1970's.

⁴ An exception was Bolingbrook, which received 28 Gautreaux families and increased its proportion of black population from 0.4% in 1970 to 4.3% in August 1976. Twenty-eight Gautreaux families moved there.

⁵ School districts boundaries and municipal boundaries are not identical in most cases. Three communities for which no close correspondence could be found btween the two types of units were excluded from this analysis.

⁶ Elgin was excluded because it did not conduct a special census after 1972.

In conclusion, most Chicago suburban communities experienced increases in the proportions of their black populations during the 1970-1976 period. However, the rates of change in the proportion of black population among these suburban communities were not of sufficient magnitude to make 1970 census data seriously misleading for the analysis in this report. Communities to which large numbers of Gautreaux families moved were overwhelmingly white, both in 1970 and afterward. Furthermore, these communities had very few minority residents compared to Chicago neighborhoods from which the Gautreaux families moved.

TABLE 3

| | No. of Gautreaux Families | PERCENT BLACK | | | | | |
|-----------------|---------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| | | 1970 Census | School Dist. | Special Census | 1975 School Dist. | Average Percent Change | |
| Bolingbrook | 28 | 0.4 | - | 4.3 | - | .65 | |
| Carol Stream | 26 | 1.1 | - | 4.1 | - | .43 | |
| Elgin | 21 | 5.3 | 3.5 | - | 4.6 | .18 | |
| Rolling Meadows | 24 | 0.6 | - | 1.2 | - | .15 | |
| Wheeling | 23 | 0.5 | - | 0.6 | - | .03 | |
| Woodridge | 44 | 1.0 | - | 1.3 | - | .08 | |

Bolingbrook Special Census, 8-76;
 Carol Stream Special Census, 4-77;
 Elgin School District Enrollments, 1970, 1976;
 Rolling Meadows Special Census, 9-74;
 Wheeling Sepcial Census, 8-74;
 Woodridge Special Census, 7-74.

APPENDIX C
DESCRIPTION OF ATTITUDINAL SURVEY

The three distinct populations that formed the basis of the research design were: families participating in the Gautreaux demonstration, families eligible to participate but not doing so; and, families assisted through the regular Section 8 Existing Housing Assistance Payments Program administered by the Chicago Housing Authority. The survey instrument was designed to obtain information: reasons for participating in the Section 8 program or Gautreaux demonstration, evaluation of assistance received in the move; satisfaction with neighborhoods and housing, plans for moving again, residential preferences, and demographic information on the populations identified above.

This section provides a description of the various aspects of the attitudinal survey used in this study. It includes a description of the sample design, the definition of the various groups and subgroups interviewed, a report of response rates for these groups, and a discussion of problems encountered during the survey and the procedures followed to alleviate these problems.

Gautreaux participants were defined as all families placed in existing housing through the demonstration by the Leadership Council between the beginning of the program and the end of January 1979. The respondents were drawn from a list of 432 placements supplied to HUD by the Leadership Council. Seven names were duplicates who had moved twice under the demonstration and were reported twice by the Leadership Council. Nineteen of the remaining 425 were placements made in Section 8 New Construction units during the second year of the demonstration. These names were reported with the Section 8 Existing placements due to a change in the reporting procedure after the first year. This change was not discovered until after the interviewing process was begun.

Eligible non-participating families were defined as families who were either tenants in or applicants for family public housing and therefore part of the legal Gautreaux class. Respondents were selected from lists provided by the Leadership Council. These lists were originally received from CHA. The lists consisted not of the entire Gautreaux class but rather only these tenants residing or eligible for 0, 1, or 2-bedroom units. Early experience in the demonstration had lead the Leadership Council to concentrate on placing small to medium-size families rather than large families due to the relatively limited availability of larger units in the suburbs. The decision was made to sample from the same lists the Leadership Council used to contact and counsel potential participants in order to ensure comparability between the eligible non-participating and the participating respondents.

Regular Section 8 participants were defined as all those families assisted under the Section 8 Existing Program in the CHA using Section 8 certificates authorized in 1976 and 1977. Section 8 recipients using certificates earmarked for the elderly were excluded for comparability reasons, since the demonstration and the Gautreaux litigation concerned mainly non-elderly families. Families assisted prior to 1976 under the Section 23 Housing Assistance Payments Program, which were converted to the Section 8 Program, were excluded from the sample. An additional 400 families, who were converted to Section 8 after placement through a Chicago Development Authority program, were also excluded. These groups were excluded because they were placed through a different program or in a different time period. Again, the intention was to ensure as much comparability as possible with the Gautreaux placements. Therefore, of the approximately 5,300 families in the Chicago Section 8 Program, approximately 825 were considered to be eligible for the sample.

In addition to these basic groups, several subgroups were identified. Eligible non-participating families were separated into families currently in public housing and families on the waiting list. Regular Section 8 families who did not move subsequent to receiving their Section 8 certificates were distinguished from families who did move. Among the movers, Gautreaux class families, i.e., those who moved from public housing or who moved while on the waiting list for public housing distinguished from families who were not part of the Gautreaux class, i.e., the general public. These distinctions were made in order to match the distinctions established by the various court orders in the Gautreaux class.

All samples are fully representative of the groups from which they were drawn. In addition, each subsample is fully representative of the several special types of participants identified. In all, there were a total of seven distinct and representative samples or subsamples drawn from the three separate populations. They are as follows:

- (A) All participants in the Gautreaux demonstration.
- (B) Eligible families, under age 62, who were not participating in the Gautreaux demonstration.
 - o Eligible non-participating families living in public housing; and
 - o Eligible non-participating families on public housing waiting lists.
- (C) Regular Section 8 Existing Housing recipients under age 62.

- o Participating families who did not move after qualifying for housing assistance;
- o Participants who moved from public housing units;
- o Participants who moved while on public housing waiting lists; and
- o Participants who moved from private housing and not on waiting lists.

Among the participating families in the Gautreaux demonstration, 81 percent were successfully contacted for interviews. Just one percent of all Gautreaux participants contacted in person refused to be interviewed. Of the reported number of participating families, nearly 18 percent could not be located for interviews, because of the unavailability of correct address information.

Among all participants in the regular Section 8 Existing Housing Program, the combined response rate was 81 percent, ranging from a high of 85 percent among non-movers to a low of 77 percent among participants who moved from public housing (See Table 1.1). Among Regular Section 8 participants who were contacted, less than four percent refused to be interviewed. Overall contacts could not be made with approximately 15 percent of regular Section 8 participants, even though address information was more often usable. Regular Section 8 participants proved more difficult to contact successfully at home.

Among the eligible non-participating families, the achieved response rates were lowest. Just 57 percent of all eligible non-participants were successfully contacted for interviews. This lower response rate was not due to higher refusals among those actually contacted, as just three percent refused to be interviewed when contacted. The major limiting factor was outdated name and address lists. Nearly four in ten eligible non-participants had incorrect address information so the majority of these non-respondents could not be located for interviews.

Sample weights were devised to insure representativeness when subsamples were combined. To combine the samples of eligible non-participants, (those currently living in public housing and those on the waiting list) weights were set inversely proportional to the probability of selection (See Table 1.1). Since individuals on the waiting list were half as likely to be selected as individuals living in public housing,

they were double-weighted when combining these subsamples. Regular Section 8 participants were similarly weighted, giving non-movers and movers from the general community double weight when combining these subsamples. Further adjustments for non-response rates were largely due to differences in the adequacy of address information on official lists, not from differences in refusals.

The major cause of non-response was incorrect address information.

Among Gautreaux participants, nearly 33 percent of the addresses on the official list (135 out of 406) were incorrect (Table 1.2). Almost two-thirds of these addresses were successfully updated and resulted in completed interviews (78 out of 135). In comparison, just nine percent of all regular Section 8 participants' addresses were incorrect, although fewer of these addresses were successfully updated and resulted in completed interviews (13 out of 44). Among the eligible non-participants sampled, 41 percent had incorrect address information, and proportionately fewer were eventually found and interviewed (30 out of 148).

When address information was found to be incorrect, field investigations and record checks at local housing offices were initiated. Whenever interviewers encountered incorrect address information, they were instructed to: (1) conduct on-site tracking, including checking with building management, nearby neighbors, janitors, and so forth, and (2) check local directories, post office, mail carriers, and so forth.

The Survey Research Center (SRC) office in Chicago coordinated all further attempts to gain updated address information from the various housing authorities. Among the agencies, which provided access to records, were: the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities, Chicago Housing Authority, Cook County Housing Authority, DuPage County Fair Housing, Kane County Housing Authority, Lake County Housing Authority, and Elgin County Housing Authority.

The total number of changes in respondent address information which resulted from these tracking procedures was 320 (See Table 1.3). Nearly half of these new addresses came from SRC field tracking procedures (144 out of 320). The Chicago Housing Authority was the second most important source of address information. However, most of the information obtained merely confirmed previous outdated information.

APPENDIX D

SECTION 8 HOUSING QUALITY STANDARDS

The presence of any one or more of the following 20 characteristics make a unit fail to satisfy HUD standards.*

1. Unit lacks complete plumbing facilities or shares these.
2. Unit lacks complete kitchen or shares it.
3. Unit completely without running water) for 6 or more hours
or complete unusable toilet) at least 3 times in
or complete unusable sewage system) past 90 days.
4. Presence of unvented room heaters burning gas, oil, or kerosene; absence of any means of heating.
5. Closing rooms for a week or more during past winter because they could not be heated.
6. Completely unusable heating system for 6 or more hours 3 or more times during past winter.
7. Not all rooms have working electric wall outlet.
8. Leaking roof.
9. Cracks or holes in interior walls or ceiling (hairline cracks excluded).
10. Holes in floor.
11. Broken plaster or peeling paint -- any amount.
12. Public halls lacking light fixtures, or none of these fixtures in working order.
13. Loose, broken, or missing steps on common stairways.
14. Not all stair railings firmly attached, or missing stair railings.
15. Presence or signs of rats or mice in last 90 days and exterminator comes irregularly or not at all.
16. Lacks direct access; entry only through another housing unit.
17. Fuses or circuit breakers blew 3 or more times in last 90 days.
18. Exposed wiring.
19. Unit lacks electricity.
20. Kitchen stove, refrigerator, and sink not all working.

*Note: This list was compiled by the Office of Management and Budget.

APPENDIX E

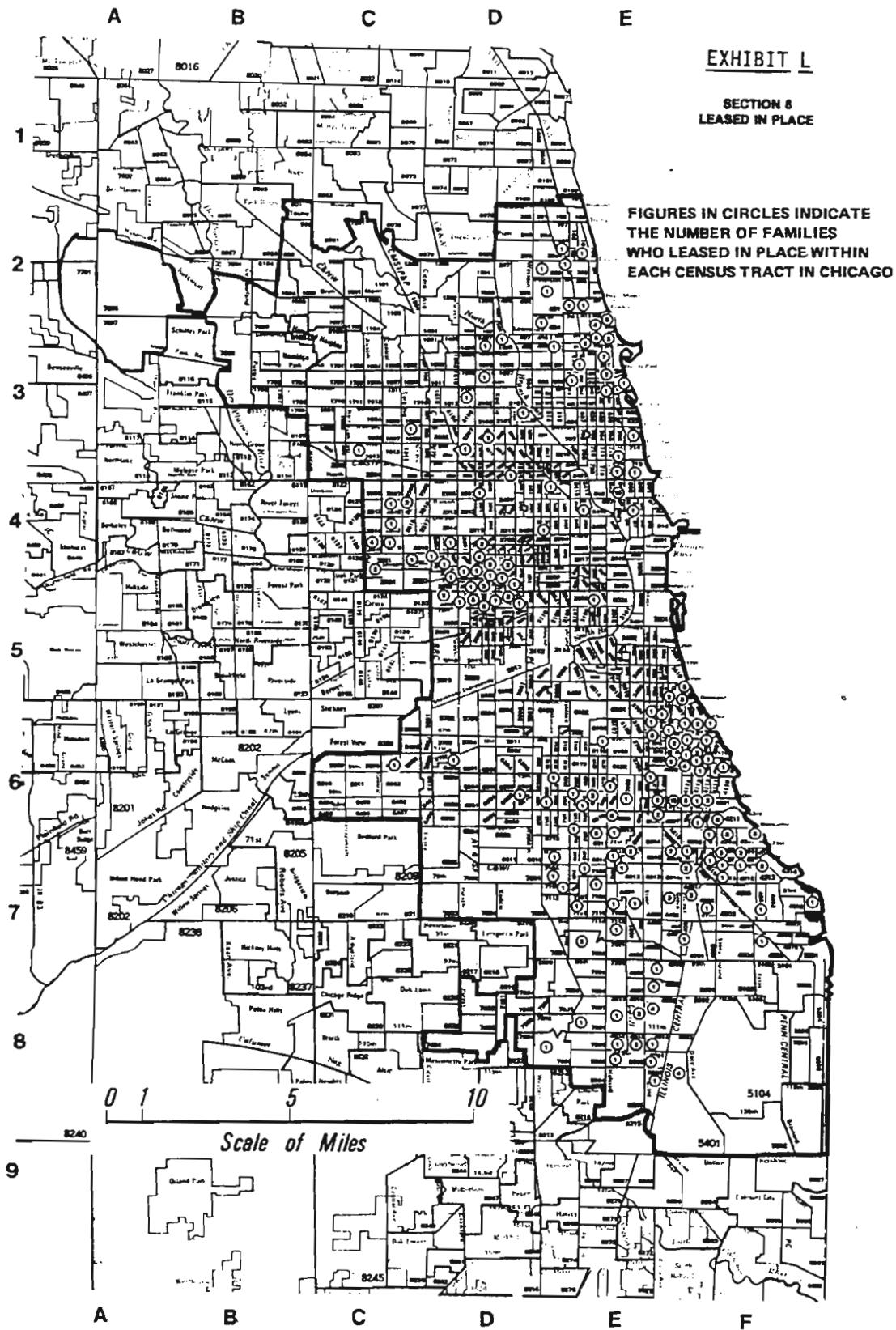
LIST OF COMMUNITIES TO WHICH GAUTREAUX FAMILIES MOVED

| <u>Community</u> | <u>Number of Families</u> |
|-------------------|---------------------------|
| Addison | 7 |
| Arlington Heights | 2 |
| Aurora | 5 |
| Bartlett | 2 |
| Bloomingdale | 4 |
| Bolingbrook | 28 |
| Calumet City | 2 |
| Carol Stream | 26 |
| Chicago | 68 |
| Chicago Heights | 7 |
| Clarendon Hills | 2 |
| Des Plaines | 2 |
| Downers Grove | 7 |
| Elgin | 21 |
| Elk Grove Village | 1 |
| Elmhurst | 6 |
| Elmwood Park | 4 |
| Forest Park | 2 |
| Glendale Heights | 2 |
| Glen Ellyn | 1 |
| Glenview | 1 |
| Gurnee | 2 |
| Hanover Park | 14 |
| Harvey | 2 |
| Hinsdale | 5 |
| Hoffman Estates | 7 |
| Itasca | 9 |
| Joliet | 5 |
| Justice | 4 |
| LaGrange Park | 1 |
| Lansing | 1 |
| Lombard | 5 |
| Markham | 1 |
| Mount Prospect | 1 |
| Oak Forest | 1 |
| Oak Park | 4 |

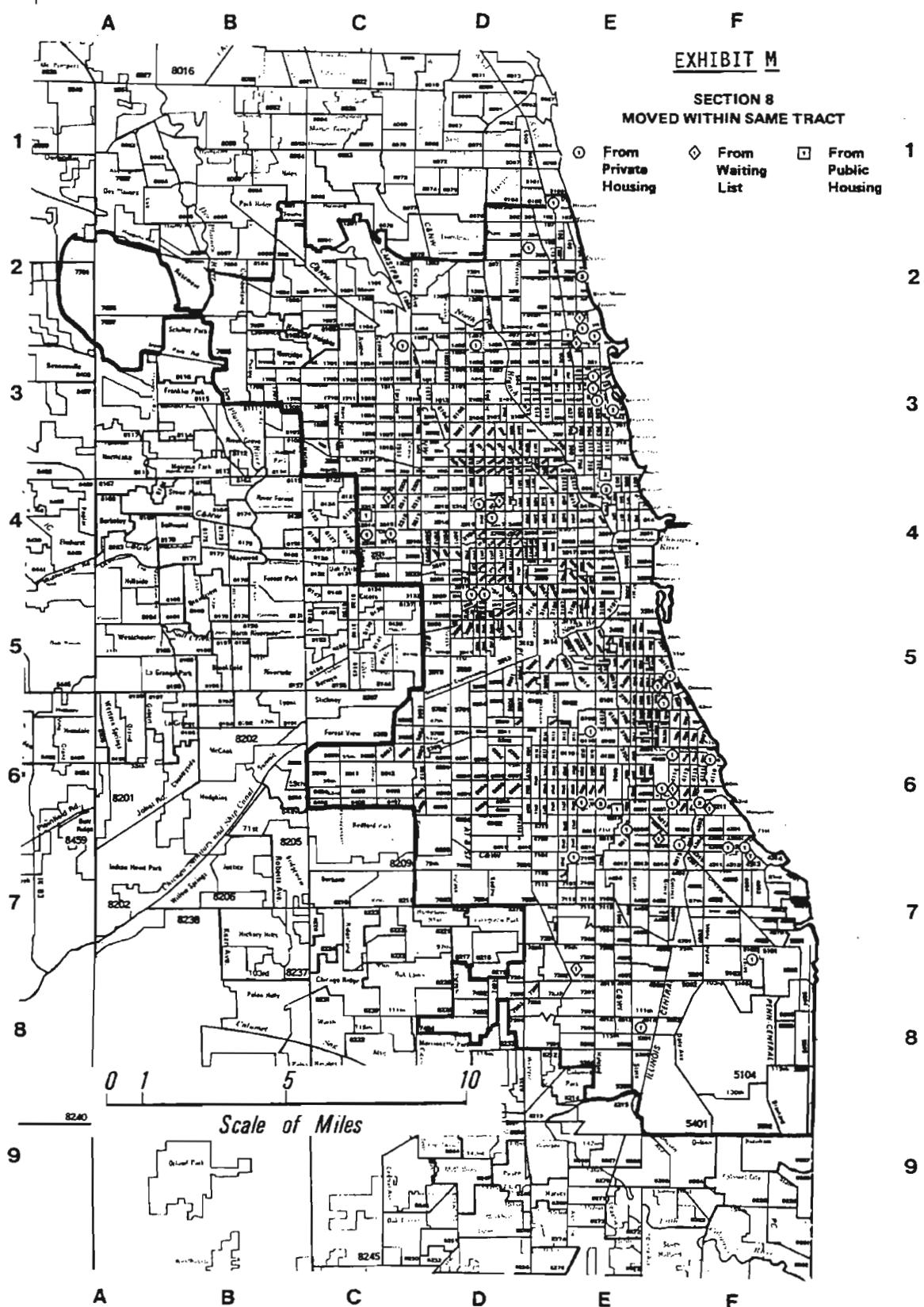
APPENDIX E (cont'd)

| <u>Community</u> | <u>Number of Families</u> |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| Palatine | 14 |
| Palos Hills | 11 |
| Park Forest | 2 |
| Prospect Heights | 1 |
| Richton Park | 2 |
| Riverside | 1 |
| Rolling Meadows | 24 |
| Roselle | 1 |
| Schamburg | 11 |
| Skokie | 1 |
| Streamwood | 2 |
| Thorton | 1 |
| Vernon Hills | 1 |
| Villa Park | 1 |
| Waukegan | 5 |

APPENDIX F



APPENDIX F (CONT'D)



OTHER RECENT REPORTS BY THE DIVISION OF POLICY STUDIES

Preliminary Findings from the Field Study: Report of the Task Force on Multifamily Property Utilization (August, 1977)

Estimation of the types and frequency of problems facing financially troubled HUD-insured subsidized multifamily housing projects; assessments of the adequacy of project income, HUD management, and project management.

Problems Facing Financially Distressed Multifamily Housing: A Field Study of the HUD-Insured Unsubsidized Inventory (December, 1978)

Estimation of the types and frequency of problems facing financially troubled HUD-insured unsubsidized multifamily housing projects; assessments of program and market factors, project development and management by developers, owners and managers, and HUD development and management practices.

Problems Affecting Low-Rent Public Housing Projects: A Field Study (January, 1979)

Estimation of the number and types of public housing projects believed to be in "troubled" condition; assessments of the financial, physical, managerial and social problems facing public housing.

Housing for the Elderly and Handicapped: The Experience of the Section 202 Program from 1959 to 1977 (January, 1979)

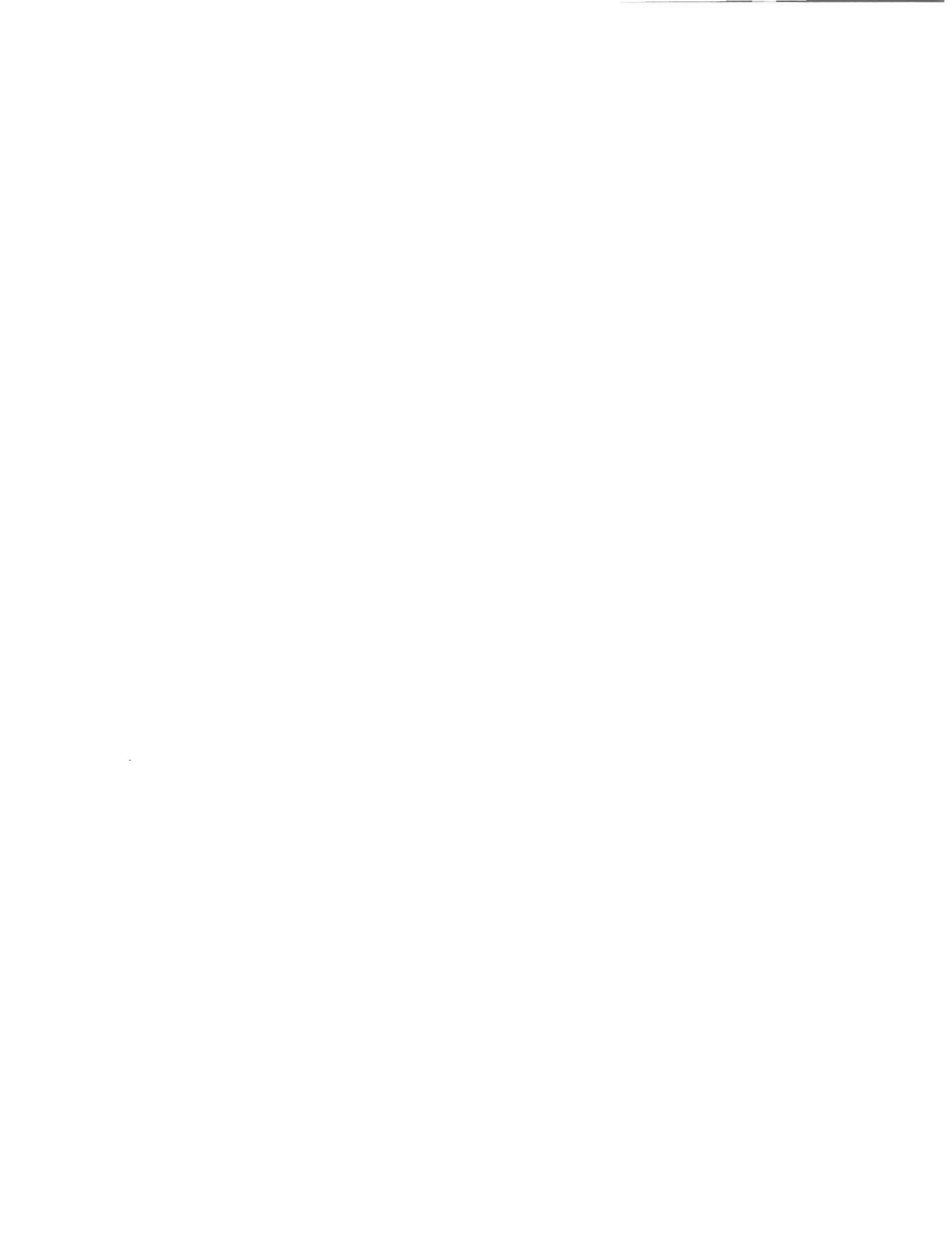
Evaluation of the design, administration, cost and performance of HUD's program of direct loans to nonprofit organizations for the purpose of developing and operating multifamily housing projects for elderly and handicapped persons.

A Survey of Citizens' Views and Concerns about Urban Life (February, 1978)

Report on a national, cross-section survey of 7074 Americans in cities, suburbs, towns and rural areas to record their past experiences, their present attitudes, and their predictions about the future of the nation's cities and of their own communities.

The 1978 HUD Survey on the Quality of Community Life: A Data Book (November, 1978)

Compendium of responses to HUD's 1978 survey on how Americans view the conditions and problems of their communities, containing frequency tabulations of the answers to each survey question and breakdowns for region, location, occupation, marital status, age, education, income, tenure, race/ethnic group, sex and local census data.



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