

# THE ROBERT TAYLOR HOMES RELOCATION STUDY

A Research Report from the Center for Urban Research and Policy  
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## Introduction

This report presents findings from an ongoing study of public housing transformation in Chicago, Illinois. The focus of the study is the relocation experiences of households in the Robert Taylor Homes (RTH, hereafter) public housing development.

The report describes the experiences of tenants participating in the Chicago Housing Authority's (CHA) "Plan for Transformation." This summary briefing offers findings based on approximately 18 months of observation, from January 2001 until July 2002. The report begins with a brief description of the sample and the current state of relocation. Subsequent sections focus on (1) the sub-sample of families who have still not relocated from the RTH and the factors preventing relocation and (2) the sub-sample of families who have left the RTH during the last 18 months with a special emphasis on the issues they face during their exit and relocation into new communities. Findings are presented in abbreviated form in order to facilitate timely dissemination. For additional information, please contact the authors.

### Key Findings

- ❑ 89% of the families have not relocated with only one month remaining before building closure.
- ❑ Non-leaseholders comprise over 40% of the total population residing in the RTH.
- ❑ 39% of the relocated families report their primary service providers to be in/around the RTH, not in their new community.
- ❑ 29% of heads-of-households report either the return of an inmate from jail/prison or the expected return of an inmate in the next 9 months.
- ❑ 67% of the heads-of-households report suffering continued domestic abuse and harassment from partners with whom they once lived.
- ❑ Tenants have limited ties to the outside world: 83% of the "close friends and relatives" of the RTH tenants live in public housing.
- ❑ 90% of the families in the sample have at least one attribute that define them as non-lease compliant, hence are potentially eligible for removal from the public housing program.
- ❑ Tenants continue to have difficulties receiving timely, accurate information on relocation and service provision.
- ❑ 13% of the relocating families have made a successful transition to a new community.

### Key Recommendations

- ❑ When school is in session, relocation should occur minimally, and only when the process poses minimal burdens for the family.
- ❑ Families should be given sufficient time to search for new units without un-due pressure or harassment from administrative agencies, which includes property managers and relocation counselors.
- ❑ Trained tenants and advocacy agencies with experience in service delivery should play the lead role in service provision and information dissemination.
- ❑ On-site offices should be maintained where tenants can collect information. Such offices must be open during evening hours.
- ❑ Information dissemination must be centralized and coordinated to avoid persistent miscommunication and transmission of discordant information.
- ❑ Long term research and planning must occur to anticipate future stages of the relocation process. One pressing issue will be to coordinate housing policy with criminal justice policy.
- ❑ Current techniques designed to estimate tenants' utility bills should be modified in order to ensure proper determination of household usage and realistic schedules of payment.
- ❑ Law enforcement agencies should not be primary agency for squatter and non-leaseholder eviction; tenant leaders and advocates must lead the effective, humane resettlement of the non-leaseholder population.

**Part I – Who Lives in the Robert Taylor Homes?**

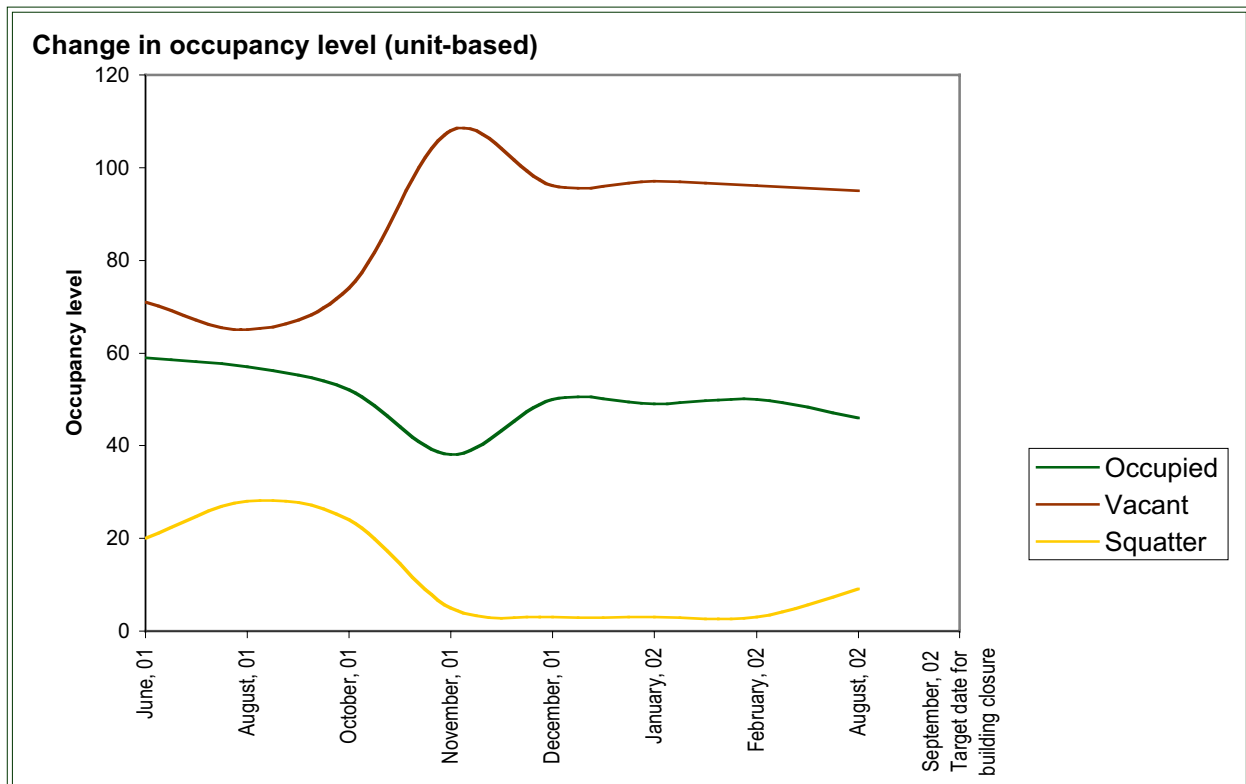
The population in public housing includes leaseholding and non-leaseholding residents, and squatters. In any particular household in the RTH, there is likely to be leaseholders and non-leaseholders in residence.

- *Leaseholders*: occupants recognized by the property manager and the CHA as legal dwellers of the RTH.
- *Non-Leaseholders*: (a) sub-leasing family units composed of (at least) one parent and (at least) one child or (b) individual boarders.
- *Squatters*: persons occupying units that either have been recently vacated or been officially designated by the CHA or the property manager as “vacant.”

The following table summarizes the demographic characteristics of the residents in the study sample (August 2002). The sample is based on *three buildings* in the RTH currently participating in the CHA’s transformation plan:

<b>Leaseholders</b>	<b>56%</b>
Men	2%
Women	26%
Children	72%
<b>Sub-lessees and Individual boarders</b>	<b>27%</b>
Adults	63%
Children	37%
<b>Squatters</b>	<b>16%</b>
Adults	74%
Children	26%

The population residing in the RTH changes over time:



Building composition is affected by the CHA and property manager administration, private market housing availability, relocation service provision, and personal and family dynamics. Observed patterns include:

- Squatter population increases in a public housing building 3 months before building closure. Squatters typically pay property manager staff and/or LAC a monthly fee, or perform janitorial and repair services without pay in exchange for permission to reside in building.
- Sub-leasing arrangements increase before building closure: departing families lease apartments to friends and relatives to gain additional income.
- Before building closure, leaseholding families face influx of boarders seeking to be placed on lease.

## Part II – Who Has Not Relocated from the Robert Taylor Homes?

The three buildings in this study were scheduled for closure September 2002. However, only a small percentage of families have successfully relocated.

- ❑ 89% of the residents continue to live in the RTH.
- ❑ 11% of the residents have moved out of the RTH.

### *Pacing & Scheduling Difficulties*

The relatively small percentage of relocatees raises concerns about the pace of the relocation process.

- Families are concerned about relocating during Autumn & Winter, citing earlier CHA assurances to forgo relocation during the school year.
- Families choose private market units that fail inspection.
- While families are waiting for a new unit, property manager reduces service provision including forgoing repairs, replacing household items with used, faulty equipment, avoiding rodent infestation problem, and preemptively taking mailbox and mail receiving privileges away. This does not afford families a stable climate in which to make careful, deliberate decisions in the best interest of household members.

### **Recommendations**

- ❑ Families should be given adequate time to begin the search process anew without harassment by any administrative agencies.
- ❑ When school is in session, relocation should occur without un-due interruptions to children's school performance. The students' transportation needs, in particular, should not be compromised.

### *Restricted Personal Networks*

Tenants of the RTH have extremely limited ties to individuals and organizations outside of public housing.

The restricted quality of tenants' relationships with each other can pose advantages and disadvantages during relocation. Dense networks of friends, relatives and neighbors facilitate the exchange of information and resources. But, they also suggest limited contact with agencies and persons outside of the RTH.

- ❑ 61% of the "close friends and relatives" of residents live within the RTH.
- ❑ 22% of the "close friends and relatives" of residents live in other public housing development buildings (17% do not reside in public housing).

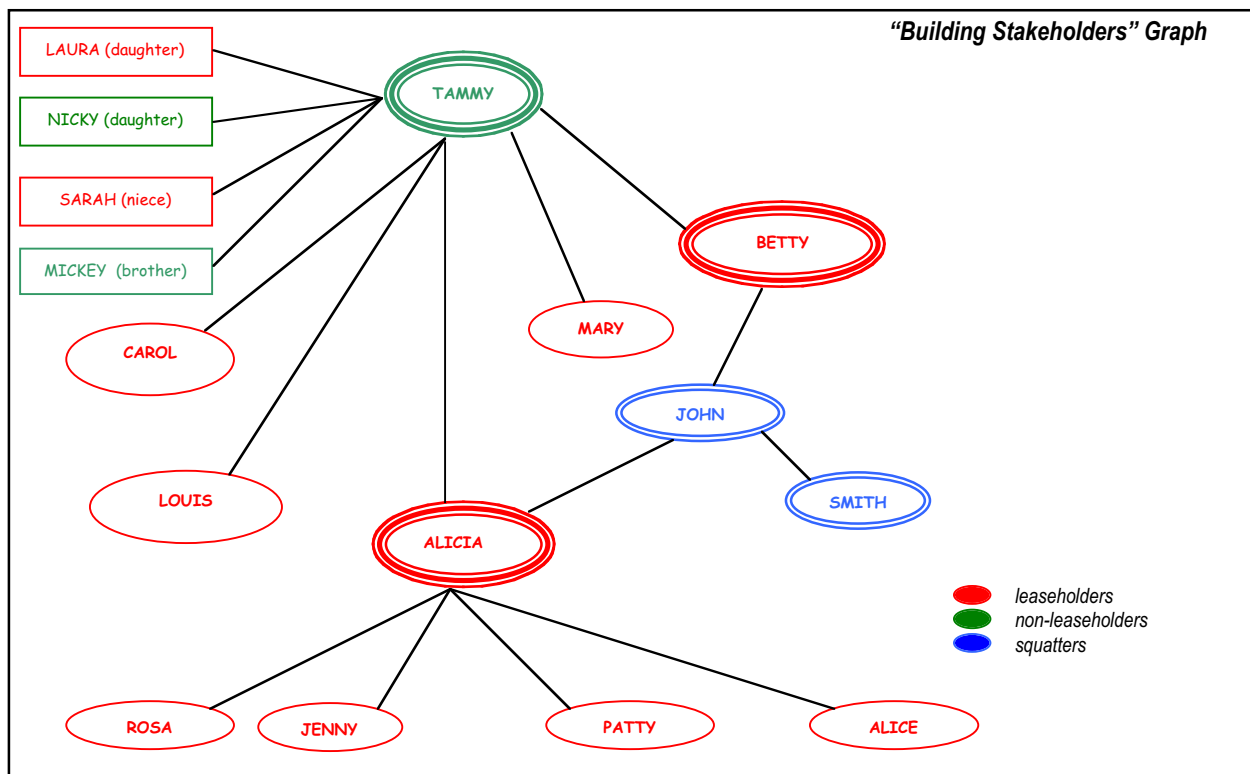
### **Recommendations**

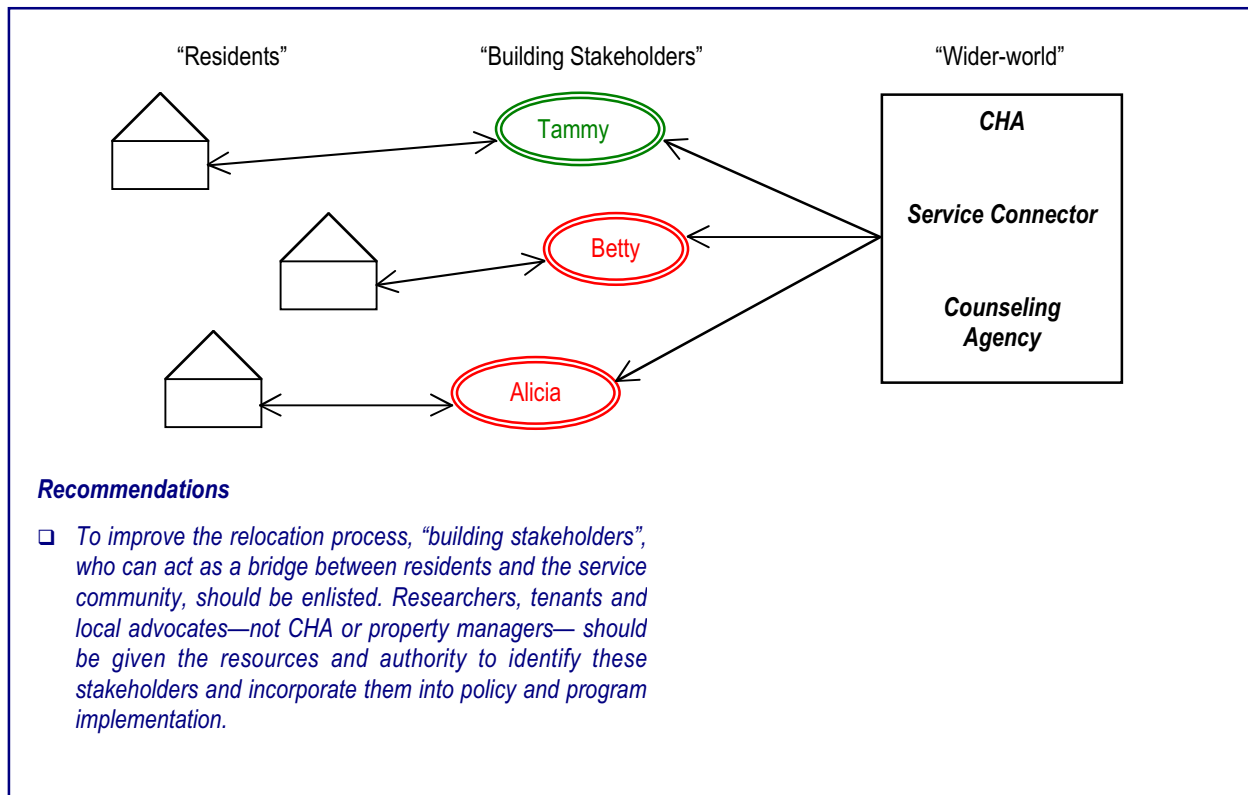
- ❑ The most successful movers have 2 degrees of separation from a landlord or an agency that manages and rents housing units. These movers typically use personal connections to locate a unit, and then they turn to the counseling and mobility agencies to handle the paperwork, inspections, etc. The role of counseling agencies may need to be re-defined in order to ensure their utility for tenants.

Our study finds that tenants’ relationships to each other can critically affect their capacity to relocate effectively. In each building, key tenants, so-called “building stakeholders”, play an important role by connecting families to one another. They also provide a conduit to the outside world. Building stakeholders perform several critical functions:

- Tenants use building stakeholders as first point of reference for information, such as available social services, potential Section 8/HCV housing units, and liaison with LAC and property manager.
- Squatters routinely use building stakeholders to legitimize their presence in the building.
- Law enforcement agencies disseminate information through building stakeholders and acquire information from them.
- Building stakeholders are able to reduce gang violence and resolve conflicts between gangs.

In the following graph, ‘Tammy’, ‘Betty’ and ‘Alicia’ are “building stakeholders”:





### Administration

The CHA has made efforts to improve its communication with families. However, households in the RTH continue to face obstacles receiving information about the relocation process.

- Over 50% of the families have not received timely notification regarding the status of their Housing Choice Voucher application, the times and dates of meetings, the availability of services, etc.
- Mailboxes are out of order for weeks at a time. Undelivered mail is discarded in lobbies, trash receptacles, and hallways.
- Agencies enlisted to help tenants find private market units often cite their relations with landlords as a strength. However, agency staff often deny applicants their first (and second) neighborhood preference, redirecting them instead to landlords with whom they already have made arrangements. Given that residents are relocating primarily into impoverished areas, there must be better arrangements in place so that families make efficacious choices and are not reliant on the interests of counseling agencies.

### Recommendations

- ❑ *Reliance on mail delivery or phone service will not be sufficient given the current state of affairs in RTH. Since many families lack telephone service, there must be in place multiple-communications strategies, including postage of flyers, the use of part-time tenant consultants as “communication workers” who can disseminate information to households, and the removal of all dissemination responsibilities from the property manager.*
- ❑ *Relocation agencies must be monitored to ensure that they are respecting tenants’ neighborhood preferences, instead of prioritizing landlords of their own choosing.*
- ❑ *There is a dearth of resident advocates involved in the process whom families trust to act on their behalf. Incorporating such agents immediately would both ease the burden for CHA and property manager staff and improve the communication between administrative agencies and the residential population.*

Additional factors making relocation difficult for families include:

- Relocation specialists and counselors who work for agencies contracted to assist families have remarked that there is a low rate of tenant utilization of their services. However, they are generally unaware that families have difficulty receiving their information, nor are they cognizant of the range of hardships and obstacles families face. Effective relocation will not occur unless service providers and relocation specialists enter the community and meet with households in residents' apartments and buildings.
- Tenants receive information from property managers, CHA personnel, development teams, police officials and members of the Local Advisory Council (the elected tenant representatives who participate in CHA management and budgetary allocation). These agencies disseminate discordant or conflicting information.
- Only 35% of residents utilize the LAC for information during relocation. However, nearly all believe the LAC can determine, at will: (1) tenants' capacities to remain in HCV program, (2) the private-market neighborhood options, and (3) the services the tenants are eligible to receive. The LAC remains a significant political body in public housing, but its authority must not be allowed to influence relocation deleteriously.

#### **Recommendations**

- ❑ *On-site offices should be maintained where tenants can collect information on relocation resources, including timing of meetings and social and human services. The locations should be made in consultation with tenants to ensure their availability for families, particularly with respect to gang issues that constrain tenants' movements.*
- ❑ *CHA property must be made secure and safe so that families, and service providers and relocation specialists can meet with one another inside apartments and other areas inside buildings.*
- ❑ *Information dissemination must be centralized and coordinated to avoid persistent miscommunication.*
- ❑ *Neither property managers nor LAC personnel should be used as the official vehicle to disseminate information to households. Independent agents with experience and expertise should be hired that work in conjunction with community stakeholders (whom tenants trust), the LAC and the CHA.*

### **Part III – Who Has Relocated from the Robert Taylor Homes?**

While there are “successful movers” in our sample, the significant number of “hardship cases” requires special attention from the CHA and the counseling agencies for the benefit of the whole program. “Success” and “hardship” families share distinct profiles:

#### **“Successful Movers”:**

- ❑ *Single, female household heads around their mid-30's*
- ❑ *Have one or two children; therefore have to look for smaller units in the private market*
- ❑ *Regular users of available services, familiar with HCV regulations and lease compliance criteria*

#### **“Hardship Cases”:**

- ❑ *Older parent, usually with a spouse or a partner*
- ❑ *Usually have three or more children*
- ❑ *Multiple non-lease compliant residents and individual boarders using their units*
- ❑ *Household members suffer from severe health care issues, such as physical and mental disabilities, often compounded by substance abuse issues*
- ❑ *Return of inmates from jails and prisons*
- ❑ *Inability to meet HCV requirements*



*The “successful mover” population comprises 13-20% (depending on the building in our sample) of those families who have relocated by July 2002*

### **Recommendations**

- ❑ *Successful movers should be made into “role models.” These families will likely form the potential group of movers returning to housing development sites after redevelopment. Efforts should be made to ensure their continued stability in the private market and their likelihood of returning to mixed-income communities.*
- ❑ *Hardship cases require enhanced assistance. Counseling agencies should work in conjunction with tenants who are employed to identify these families in each building. Their needs should be carefully reviewed in order to promote “curability” of “lease compliance.”*
- ❑ *Options must exist so that some families with exceptional hardships receive permanent care. Efforts at “curability” and enforcing “lease compliance” may ultimately promote instability, distrust, miscommunication and ultimately, not serve the best interests of household members.*

### Retention to Community

All residents remain strongly connected to the RTH community after they relocate. Tenants continue to rely on friends and relatives who lived in their former the RTH building.

Families continue to patronize stores, churches, and service providers in Greater Grand Boulevard, even while assimilating to a private market neighborhood far away. Their strong connections to organizations and stakeholders in Greater Grand Boulevard include relations with clergy, social service providers, barbers and hairstylists, police officers, teachers and school administrators, social workers, and police officers.

- ❑ *39% of relocated families keep their children in RTH by sending them to live with another household, either in their building or nearby.*
- ❑ *37% of all families in our sample desire to keep children in K-12 schools in the RTH community (or nearby).*
- ❑ *77% of relocated families report that their primary service providers are in the Greater Grand Boulevard community, not in their new community.*
- ❑ *63% of relocated families approach service providers, churches, and schools in their new communities only after seeking and acquiring an explicit recommendation from stakeholders in Greater Grand Boulevard with whom they had an existing relationship.*
- ❑ *Public housing families face difficulties transporting children to school because of a lack of personal vehicle, minimal knowledge of available busing services, and inability to afford daily public transportation.*

### **Recommendations**

- ❑ *Monthly meetings of stakeholders in receiving communities and those in neighborhoods in/around public housing should be in place to (1) ensure adequate update of relocation status for social service community and (2) facilitate family’s transition to new agencies and new neighborhoods.*
- ❑ *“One-stop concierges” should be created who respond to the wide range of obstacles tenants encounter, from light bills and household budget management, to building relationships with schools. This would greatly improve the relationships of relocating families with their new communities by reducing the number of actors who provide them with service assistance, thereby reducing the potential for miscommunication and discrepant information. These “concierges” should not be CHA staff, property managers or LAC personnel. They must be trained individuals with expertise in counseling and service delivery.*
- ❑ *Schools in neighborhoods saturated both by Section 8 and public housing relocatees must be adequately prepared for the influx of households unfamiliar with private-market habitation.*

### *Initial Period of Vulnerability: 1-12 Months*

The 12-month period after the departure from the RTH is a critical period for families. Several factors prevent a smooth transition.

#### Domestic Abuse

90% of our sample is single, female heads-of-households (19 years to mid-50s). The majority reports a history of sexual harassment and domestic abuse. In the RTH, women traditionally have limited access to services and resources, ranging from law enforcement to health clinics and counseling. The relocation process appears as a continued period of fear from abusive partners and spouses.<sup>2</sup>

- ❑ *67% of female heads-of-households leaving the RTH report suffering continued domestic abuse from partners with whom they once lived.<sup>1</sup>*
- ❑ *31% of female heads-of-households report increases in sexual harassment and domestic abuse after their relocation.*

#### Inmate Return

Successful private market transition is made difficult because of the return of inmates from jails and prisons to public housing and HCV households. This released population suffers from poor credit, inability to pay rental security deposits, inadequate financial resources to conduct housing searches, stigma based on criminal records, and other issues that make their transition into stable housing arrangements difficult. HCV holders' subsidized rents make them a logical point of return for released inmates. Families in our sample welcome released inmates into their lives. However, they often do so in a clandestine manner because of restrictions in the HCV program that limit boarders and income earners from residing with them.

- ❑ *29% of family heads-of-households in our sample report either the return of a released inmate or anticipate the return of an individual from jails/prisons into their homes in the next 9 months.*
- ❑ *43% of this subpopulation (i.e., 29%) do **not** want the released inmate to live in their household but do not expect to evict or prevent the person from living with them.*
- ❑ *56% of this subpopulation report that the released inmate will be involved in illegal economic activities upon returning to their household (drug trafficking is most commonly cited, racketeering, property theft, loansharking and extortion were also listed).*
- ❑ *An additional 12% of our overall sample expect that at least one currently incarcerated individual will be living with them within 2 years.*

#### **Recommendations**

- ❑ *Long-term success of the transformation of public housing will require greater coordination of housing and criminal justice policy. We recommend that researchers and advocates begin a process of dialogue to understand the intersection of the two policies and consider longitudinal research designs aimed at documenting how the incarcerated and recently released inmate population will affect the plan for transformation in the coming decade.*
- ❑ *Agencies offering assistance with domestic abuse and harassment should be immediately incorporated into the relocation process.*

<sup>1</sup> Reports of heightened domestic abuse are far less common for those relocating to another public housing unit. We suspect that any such decrease is a result of the partners/spouses feeling uncomfortable entering another public housing site of which they have little first-hand knowledge.

<sup>2</sup> Abusive partners/spouses threaten women in their new private market unit. In their new community, the head-of-household cannot utilize the informal social support networks in the RTH, including LAC officers, friends, squatters and street gang members, to help them prevent perpetrators from entering their home or carry out retribution and punishment. Since this population typically has not utilized police or battered women services while living in the RTH, it is not surprising that they do not report turning to such services in their new communities. However, nearly every person expressed a willingness to learn more about the availability of such services.

### Harassment in Host Community

Residents who have relocated are circumspect when approaching neighbors for fear of rebuke or stigma as “Section 8” holders.

- Over 30% report verbal harassment by neighbors who taunt them or ask them to return to the “projects.” An equivalent percentage report some form of racial harassment from organizations and businesses in their host community.
- Among the most preferred neighborhoods are Chatham, Englewood, Grand Boulevard, Oakland, South Shore, Washington Park, and Woodlawn. In terms of their demographic characteristics (Table 1), these neighborhoods are already socioeconomically disadvantaged. Their lack of resources can potentially exacerbate the adjustment processes of relocating families.

	<i>Median Rent (in dollars)</i>	<i>% Below poverty level</i>	<i>% African-American</i>
<i>Oakland</i>	<i>256</i>	<i>42.1</i>	<i>98</i>
<i>Grand Boulevard</i>	<i>376</i>	<i>46.8</i>	<i>98.3</i>
<i>Washington Park</i>	<i>454</i>	<i>48.8</i>	<i>98</i>
<i>Woodlawn</i>	<i>469</i>	<i>32.9</i>	<i>93.5</i>
<i>South Shore</i>	<i>565</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>97.1</i>
<i>Chatham</i>	<i>578</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>96.5</i>
<i>Englewood</i>	<i>500</i>	<i>41.4</i>	<i>98.3</i>

Table 1 - Source: www.census.gov

### *Non-leaseholders*

Numerous types of individuals live with families “off-the-lease.” Families accept non-leaseholders into their units to acquire additional household income, creating potential lease violations. These patterns continue after families relocate.

Tenants are well acquainted with the non-leaseholding population—in most cases, squatters and off-the-books individuals are legitimate members of the community—an unwanted intruder jeopardizing safety occurs, but is exceptional.

Currently, the approach to non-leaseholders is based on the use of law enforcement as the lead agency to remove the all ‘off-the-lease’ persons. In the RTH, project staff have routinely observed police officials breaking down apartment doors, physically and verbally harassing tenants, and intimidating tenants into giving up the names of off-the-book dwellers. In almost every case, the non-leaseholders have returned and re-connected with families. Thus, the outcome has been a further deterioration of trust between residents and law enforcement and increased frustration among police officers regarding the inability to implement more effective strategies for delivering enforcement services.

#### **Recommendations**

- ❑ *Law enforcement agencies should desist in their efforts to remove non-leaseholders and squatters. Human service providers, working in conjunction with police, should play the lead role.*

It is encouraging that the CHA and the City of Chicago have promised to undertake a more human approach to non-leaseholders, one that recognizes that (a) public housing has been an important refuge for both off-the-lease residents who otherwise have limited housing options (b) off-the-books individuals are an integral part of households and severing their connections is, in most cases, impossible. To date, no effective implementation of a non-leaseholding policy has occurred either in the RTH or neighboring developments.

- ❑ 87% of the HCV holders report living with a non-leaseholding individual(s) who had previously lived with them in Robert Taylor.
- ❑ 34% of the HCV holders living with non-leaseholders report that they would evict their non-leaseholders if their income streams were more secure. The remaining proportion usually claimed that the non-leaseholder was a relative who is likely to remain in the household.

### Recommendations

- ❑ Provisions in CHA policies and procedures—and the Relocation Rights Contract—allow for the inclusion of non-leaseholders into the public and subsidized housing programs. A responsible action, at this moment, would be to allow families discretion in the ability to place off-the-books persons on the lease and to extend new leases and Housing Choice Vouchers to non-leaseholding families—subject to thorough screening and counseling.
- ❑ The CHA should contract with locally based service providers, i.e., organizations that already have an established connection to public housing communities, in their efforts to expand shelter space and programs for non-leaseholding families. Many of these organizations have strong connections with the faith-based community; their inclusion would promote greater trust and confidence among the resident population. However, many do not have the political connections necessary to procure city contracts.
- ❑ Special provisions should be made to move squatters, one-by-one, into SROs and temporary shelters. Tenants, whom squatters trust, should be paid to perform this role in conjunction with outside agencies.

### Non-Lease Compliance

Non-lease compliance is endemic. The ubiquity of non-lease complaints threatens to reduce the number of families who can potentially return to rebuild, mixed-income communities.

- ❑ 90% of the leaseholding families in our sample have some attributes that currently define them as non-lease compliant.<sup>3</sup>
- ❑ The most common household conditions that threaten their capacity to remain in the public housing program include: a member of the household using or selling drugs; past history of delinquency in payment of rent; and, unusually high electricity bills that can exceed several thousand of dollars.

### Criteria for maintaining lease-compliance, according to the Relocation Rights Contract, include:

- ❑ Being current with rent or in a repayment agreement
- ❑ Having no unpaid balance to the CHA or a utility company
- ❑ Having no unauthorized occupants, and in such a case to add such occupants to the lease
- ❑ Having a good housekeeping record as indicated by the housekeeping inspection reports

Source: Relocation Rights Contract

<sup>3</sup> “Lease-compliance” is a term that originates from the Relocation Rights Contract signed in December 2000.

Patterns of discretionary behavior by administrative agencies create undue confusion and increased family hardships. For example, families report clandestine arrangements with the property manager. The two most common cases are:

- Tenants request new leases or lease renewal directly from the property manager, who typically declines, but allows the family to live in a unit illegally for a monthly payment. These informal arrangements do not protect either the family or the property manager. Families generally are afraid to call the CHA for assistance or report these practices to the LAC for fear of being evicted and losing their unit altogether. Other forms of informal and bad faith arrangements include: squatters paying property manager staff (and, on occasion, police officers) to live in apartments; administrative agencies hiring tenants and squatters part-time to perform janitorial services in order to forgo hiring full-time staff.
- Some discretionary behaviors may be born out of good will, but can be equally injurious. For example, in order to speed up building closure, families are being declared lease compliant when they possess unpaid light bills. This appears as an act of generosity since the family is allowed to move into the private market with a HCV. In fact, however, such discretion can create further hardships for families: once in the private market, failure to rectify their past electricity balances leads to their removal from the public housing (and HCV) program. Families are generally unaware of their rights, the available means to challenge faulty light bill estimates and improper evictions, and means to properly “cure” their lease violations such as high electricity bills. Often, they turn down other, equally stable living arrangements based on the faulty understanding that they are lease compliant. The problem arises when they move into the private market and find themselves unable to pay past electricity bills. In such cases, these families lose not only their subsidized housing unit, but may also have missed out on the capacity to form supportive arrangements with others to ensure their safety and welfare.

## Conclusion

The Chicago Housing Authority and its contracting agencies have made great strides in attempting to ensure that the relocation of public housing residents occurs smoothly and responsibly. The process remains a difficult one for families and the number of tenants able to negotiate the transition to new homes remains woefully low. Our study suggests that several additional steps can be taken both to ensure safe, effective relocation and to create the foundations for administrative agencies, advocates, and researchers to monitor the ongoing progress of the transformation plan:

- A thorough study of the determination of electrical bills needs to be conducted. This includes not only the methods for assessing and estimating past and current balances, but also ways to ensure that payment plans are developed in a plausible and responsible manner. Even a sum of \$50 per month is a high cost for a family whose household monthly income is a few hundred dollars. It should be noted that current methods for determining household electricity bills appear to be unsystematic: estimates are used in place of light meter readings, meters sometimes measure electricity usage for several apartments and the bills for the household combine all of the usage together rather than separating out the usage for each unit. In addition, estimates in the form of monthly bills change dramatically, often by thousands of dollars per month, even in cases where the leaseholder has not made a payment or has submitted an appeal (see “Shocking Electric Bills Update”, *Residents’ Journal*, June-July 2002, for a more comprehensive evaluation of residents’ experience with high light bills).
- Currently, there is only minimal inclusion of residents into the transformation process. Most notably, tenants are rarely, if ever, involved in research, monitoring, and advocacy efforts. Their participation will be critical if any of the following objectives are desired: (1) systematic understanding of outcomes and experiences of families (2) process-based understanding of information dissemination and patterns

of communication among the resident population and agencies/organizations responsible for administration and service delivery (3) human rights-style monitoring aimed at observing improprieties and ensuring protection of residents' civil rights.

- The CHA has welcomed opportunities to work with researchers and has instituted its own tracking system. However, to date, the research community has not taken advantage of opportunities to participate productively and develop a longitudinal research design protocol that can document the transformation process and provide timely feedback on process and outcomes. We recommend that dialogues continue to occur between researchers and CHA in order to foster exchange of information and prevent duplicity of efforts and resources.

## Appendix - Research Techniques

This study of relocation incorporates several forms of data collection:

- *Household Census*: Each month project staff enumerate the people living inside the buildings, including all leaseholding and non-leaseholding residents. This census includes listings of: occupied and vacated units; shifts in family and household composition; sub-leasing and squatting arrangements, and patterns of co-habitation and the exchange of boarders among households.
- *Ethnography*: Observational data is recorded on critical developments occurring in the fieldsite, such as police behavior, gang dynamics, tenants' interactions with counseling agencies, and CHA and property manager staff, and ties between residents and relocated families.
- *Social Networks*: Each resident in the sample is given a set of survey instruments that assess their ties to others in the building and their relations with people and organizations in the wider world. These network measures focus on the sources of information for residents, their utilization of service organizations in the relocation process, and their patterns of sharing and support with others in the building.

Residents of RTH form an integral part of the research team. Professor Sudhir Venkatesh trained Ms. Beauty Turner, a reporter and assistant editor at Residents' Journal, in the techniques of social science research. Ms. Turner has participated in all aspects of research design and is currently managing other tenants working on the project. These individuals help Professor Venkatesh and Ms. Isil Celimli, a graduate student at Columbia University, to administer surveys and interviews, conduct observation, monitor housing conditions, track families during relocation, and record journals and field notes. As the relocation process moves forward, tenants will be assigned a small number of families to follow during the relocation process. Ms. Turner will supervise this phase of the study.

### Recommendations

- *The use of tenants as fieldworkers and research assistants is a critical means by which the project is able to document the relocation process. In addition, tenants employed as research staff routinely act as conduits for families: they provide information to families on existing services, they record household needs and locate services and resources, and they provide information to the relocatees regarding the transformation process.*

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