**MAKING PUBLIC HOUSING WORK –
EXAMINING THE IMPLEMENTATION AND IMPACTS OF A
WORK REQUIREMENT IN PUBLIC HOUSING**

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A dissertation submitted to the faculty at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of City and Regional Planning.

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ABSTRACT

Kirstin Peterson Frescoln:
MAKING PUBLIC HOUSING WORK –
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WORK REQUIREMENT IN PUBLIC HOUSING
(Under the direction of Mai Nguyen)

How can public housing authorities (PHA) increase wage income among work-able residents? Eight PHAs in the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's (HUD) Moving to Work (MTW) program enforce a work requirement policy for some or all of their work-able residents. Although PHA work requirements remain controversial, HUD Secretary Ben Carson called for their broad adoption in 2018.

This dissertation is comprised of three papers. The first paper, "*Functionality, Norms, and Consequences*," compares the explanations of housing authority staff to those of residents about *why* the housing authority imposed a work policy. Both believe the policy and associated case management are intended to improve resident capacities and well-being. Residents assert a desire to work but are mindful of the many barriers and disincentives associated with low-wage employment. The second paper, *"Implementing Work"* uses the Charlotte Housing Authority (CHA) as a single qualitative case study to examine *how* a work policy is implemented within a public policy implementation framework. The CHA's experience highlights the importance of using data to determine the scope and causes of resident unemployment, taking into account the wider community and agency implementation environment, and monitoring the policy's impacts on family well-being as well as PHA rent income. The third paper, "*Work Requirements and Well-being,"* uses survey results and resident interviews to examine impacts of the work policy

on household well-being. Most residents believe the work requirement supports family well-being, however, significant health concerns, inadequate education, and limited access to childcare impede overall household well-being and adult capacity to engage in wage employment. PHAs considering a work requirement should partner with community health and childcare organizations and balance expectations for work with education and training opportunities.

This dissertation provides key insights into how a public housing work requirement should be implemented and evaluated. PHAs should be clear about the reason for implementing a work requirement, provide case management and other supports to reduce barriers to employment, avoid steep increases in rent associated with minor increases in resident income, and monitor the policy's effect on family well-being including loss of other supports such as Medicaid and food stamps.

To my husband who dried my tears, encouraged me, and supported me even when things were tough; our daughter who cheered me on; and our families and friends who tried to keep us all sane by making sure we were fed and cared for throughout this process.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFDC	Aid to Families with Depenent Children
AMI	Area Median Income
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CHA	Charlotte Housing Authority
CNA	Certified Nursing Assistant
CSS	Community Supportive Services
CURS	Center for Urban and Regional Studies
FHA	Federal Housing Administration
FSS	Family Self-Sufficiency Program
GED	General Equivalency Diploma
HCV	Housing Choice Voucher
HOPE VI	Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere
HUD	U.S. Housing and Urban Development
MTCS	Multi-family Tenant Characteristics System
MTW	Moving to Work
PHA	Public Housing Agency
PRWORA	Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act
ROSS	Resident Opportunities for Self Sufficiency
SNAP	Supplemental Nutriton Assistance Program
TANF	Temporary Assistance to Needy Families

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

Making Public Housing Work

How do we make public housing “work”? Why doesn’t it “work”? Public housing has been criticized for failing to adequately meet its core mission to provide a “decent home and suitable living environment for all Americans” (Austen, 2018; Hubbard, 2018). It has also been accused of contributing to the welfare dependency of its residents through policies such as its rent structure that seemingly discourages resident employment (Thrush, 2018).

The reasons that public housing is criticized for “not working” are complex. It is argued that public housing authorities (PHAs) are deeply underfunded (McCarty, Perl, & Jones, 2014a; National Housing Law Project, 2010) and that PHA budgets continue to shrink (Hubbard, 2018). Insufficient funding has contributed to a public housing stock that is difficult to maintain, heat, and cool (Written Testimony of Dominique Blom General Deputy Assistant Secretary, 2018). Even more importantly, lack of funding coupled with a lack of political support means there are not enough units or housing choice vouchers (HCV) to meet the needs of those who qualify; roughly one in four families that qualifies for public housing actually receives it (Poethig, 2014). The rent structure for assisted housing, typically charges tenants 30% of their income and is intended to keep housing affordable, but it may have the unintended consequence of discouraging residents from increasing their incomes (Rosenthal, 2007). Some scholars contend that once residents are assured of a safe and decent home that is subsidized by the government, they choose not to work (Murray, 1984). Research also suggests that there is not enough affordable housing in the private market in the United States, thereby discouraging those who receive assisted housing from leaving the security it offers (Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University, 2016). In addition, the lucky one in four who both qualify for and receive assisted low-income housing[1] bear greater burdens and face higher barriers to work (e.g. poor physical and mental health, low educational attainment, unreliable transportation and childcare) (Bolton & Bravve, 2012; Park, Fertig, & Metraux, 2014; "Resident Characteristics Report," 2017). The reality is that public housing may not be working due to some or all of these factors.

Public housing is one program in the portfolio of federal housing programs that plays a crucial role in three key social goals: (i) stabilizing housing for vulnerable families (Popkin, 2006), (ii) improving the neighborhood quality for vulnerable families (Turner, Popkin, & Rawlings, 2009), and (iii) serving as a "stepping stone" to economic self-sufficiency (Newman, 1999). Public housing authorities must work with local, state, and federal policy-makers to improve the effectiveness of policies and programs to achieve these three goals and to address the question of why public housing doesn't "work."

As the result of a series of historical and legislative shifts over the past six or more decades resulting in a reduction of funding for public housing, housing authorities have had to innovate to balance the fiscal realities of low federal funding and low rental income with the social goal of housing highly vulnerable individuals and families (Kleit & Page, 2008; Lane, 1995; Nguyen, Rohe, & Cowan, 2012; Quercia & Galster, 1997). The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's (HUD) demonstration program, Moving to Work (MTW), empowers participating PHAs with fiscal and regulatory flexibility to meet these challenges while requiring that they meet three broad goals – expand housing choice, incentivize economic

[1] Henceforth low-income assisted housing will be called "public housing." Public housing will be differentiated as development-based public housing and housing choice vouchers (HCV) when these are discussed separately.

self-sufficiency, and save money (Omnibus Consolidated Rescessions and Appropriations Act of 1996, 1996).

The term “economic self-sufficiency” will be used throughout this dissertation as it refers to the explicit language of the MTW legislative goals. Although the term is not defined in the MTW legislation, it is broadly accepted by participating PHAs, HUD staff, and legislators that the term refers to moving out of public housing and off of other public assistance. This understanding most likely orginated with the one of the earliest HUD self-sufficiency programs, Family Self-Sufficiency (FSS) begun in 1990. To graduate from the FSS program the individual must be employed, be independent of cash welfare assistance for a minimum of one year, and have accomplished other goals set out in the individual’s case plan (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2018). It is important to note that “economic self-sufficiency” is a term that is most often applied to individuals receiving public welfare such as Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF), Supplemental Nutritional Assistance Program (SNAP), public housing, and Medicaid while not recognizing the “public welfare” benefits middle and upper income households receive from tax benefits such as the mortgage interest deduction.

This dissertation explores the implementation and impacts of work requirements in public housing. It asks why PHAs have implemented a work requirement, how a PHA develops and implements one, and in what ways family well-being is impacted by enforcement of a work requirement.

I leverage and build upon the work of the Center for Urban and Regional Studies (CURS) at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill which was contracted to conduct a ten-year process and outcome evaluation of the Charlotte Housing Authority’s (CHA) MTW program. The extraordinary access and support provided by the CHA presents a unique opportunity for researchers to (i) understand the rationale for why a PHA would enforce a work requirement, (ii) to study the process of complex policy implementation over an extended period, and (iii) actively engage residents in an analysis of the well-being impacts of a work requirement on them and their families.

Understanding How We Got Here

A brief lesson on the history of public housing

To understand why public housing struggles today to meet its key goals, it is important to understand that public housing has been fundamentally shaped by broad historical currents. Introduced in the 1937 Housing Act, which provided funding to local authorities to raze slums and build affordable rental housing, public housing was intended to meet two needs: to improve public health and supply necessary housing during the Great Depression (McCarty et al., 2014a). First, much of the affordable rental property was unsafe and unhealthy, and the removal of "slum" properties in favor of safe and hygienic ones was considered a public health intervention. Second, the US was trying to emerge from the Great Depression and families needed rental properties they could afford while they looked for work, saved money, and then moved on.

Not long after the introduction of the 1937 Housing Act, the United States emerged from the Great Depression, thanks in part to the increased production associated with the economies of WWII. The Great Migration brought Blacks from the rural South to urban centers looking for work and needing housing (Logan, et al., 2015). As veterans returned from war they sought to marry and needed housing. To meet the increased housing demand, federal, state, and local governments continued to eradicate slums and build high-rise, public housing apartment buildings (Marcuse, 1995; McCarty et al., 2014a). Blacks, who found renting in the private market constrained by segregation and limited availability, could rent in the newly built public housing (Hirsch, 2000).

Veterans, wanting to take advantage of benefits including FHA loans to purchase a home, found availability in the newly built suburbs outside the cities (Jackson, 1985). As Whites (who were often paid more and had access to better jobs than non-Whites) left public housing and the cities in favor of the suburbs (Wilson, 1987), non-whites remained in public housing and were concentrated in less desirable parts of the cities (Carter, Schill, & Wachter, 1998).

Although federal funding supported the construction of public housing, rent revenues were intended to support the on-going maintenance of the buildings. As a more diverse population of residents was reduced to largely non-whites with limited access to employment, economic, and educational advancement, public housing rent revenues fell. In reponse, public housing administrators raised rents to cover the costs of maintenance and repair but residents refused to pay higher prices for what were failing properties (Walker, 2001). In 1969, Senator Brooke proposed an amendment to the 1937 Housing Act that no resident should pay more than 25% of his or her income for their public housing rent. This solved the problem of asking residents to pay greater and greater portions of their income to cover the costs of their housing but it did not solve the housing authority's rental income shortfall resulting in a lack of resources to maintain the buildings (Walker, 2001).

In 1974, the Housing and Community Development Act further amended the 1937 Housing Act and the 1969 Brooke Amendment by requiring PHAs to set aside at least 20% of all units for "very low-income" residents who make 50% or less of area median income (AMI). The 1974 act also established that all PHAs must set a "minimum rent." All households must pay the minimum rent set by the PHA even if the household has no income. In 1981, the rent assessment was increased from 25% of adjusted income to 30%, which remains the standard of "housing affordability" (National Low-Income Housing Coalition, 2014).

There are two primary methods of providing housing assistance to low-income families: Section 9 or development-based public housing and HCVs, better known as Section 8 (McCarty et al., 2014a). Section 9 public housing provides a unit within a particular development. HCVs provide the household with a subsidy with which the head of household can rent a home or apartment anywhere an HCV is accepted.

Today, approximately 3,300 local public housing agencies manage over one million public housing units and over two million HCVs (Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 2016; US Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2017a). The population served by development-based public housing tends to be older and poorer than that served through HCVs. This is in part because in most development-based public housing, maintenance and utilities are included in the rent payment whereas households renting with HCVs must pass credit checks, pay their own utility bills, and often maintain their property (e.g. mowing the lawn) (McCarty et al., 2014a).

According to the 2017 HUD Public Housing Resident Characteristics Report, 64% of those living in public housing are “extremely low-income” (making below 30% of AMI) and an additional 21% are very low-income (making below 50% of AMI). Thirty-three percent of households are non-elderly and non-disabled with dependent children, 17% are elderly and not disabled, 16% are elderly and disabled, 20% are non-elderly and disabled, and 14% are work-able and do not have dependent children. Thirty-five percent of all public housing households (elderly, disabled, and work-able) are female-headed with dependent children. Across all of public housing (including both rural and urban), 51% of households are White only, 45% are Black only, and 24% are Hispanic or Latino only.

Households receiving tenant-based vouchers or HCVs share similar characteristics to those living in development-based public housing. Slightly more of these households (42%) are female-headed with dependent children; an additional 3% of other households also include children. In total, 38% of households are work-able with dependent children, 7% are elderly and not disabled, 16% are elderly and disabled, 27% are non-elderly and disabled, and 12% are work-able and do not have dependent children ("Resident Characteristics Report," 2017). Forty-eight percent of tenant-based voucher recipients were White only, 47% were Black only, and 18% were Hispanic or Latino ("Resident Characteristics Report," 2017).

Unlike some other nations, public housing has never been an "entitlement" in the United States (Hulse, 2003; Svallfors, 2003). Many more households qualify for than receive housing assistance; only one in four qualified households receive it (Bolton & Bravve, 2012). PHAs use federal and local preferences to help decide which households will receive housing (Park et al., 2014). Often, PHAs prioritize households with children that are homeless or at risk of homelessness, are experiencing domestic violence, or have an active child-welfare case. These circumstances suggest greater exposure to trauma which increases the likelihood of physical, mental health, and substance use disorders (Green et al., 2000). Socio-economic status and race also place these households at greater risk for a variety of physical and mental health conditions (Adler & Rehkopf, 2008).

As a result of policies reaching as far back as the 1937 Housing Act, the population of low-income assisted housing is predominantly "very" to "extremely" low-income, often Black, single-female-headed households with dependent children who bear heavy mental and physical health burdens (National Center for Health Care for Public Housing Residents, 2008; National Low-Income Housing Coalition, 2004; Popkin, 2006). For these families, public housing housing is critical to helping the head of household obtain and maintain employment, thereby increasing household income and overall well-being (Heintze, et al., 2006; Lee, Beecroft, & Shroder, 2005).

When households pay just 30 percent of their adjusted income for housing, they are better able to afford food and medical care (Bailey et al., 2015; Lindberg et al., 2010). Receipt of assisted housing also helps children do better in school, ultimately increasing their likelihood of getting better jobs and not accessing welfare supports in the future (Currie & Yelowitz, 2000; Harkness & Newman, 2005; Mueller & Tighe, 2007). Additional research on housing assistance, particularly HCVs, finds that when families access better quality neighborhoods, stress-related health disorders decrease and access to better employment opportunities increase (Briggs, Goering, & Popkin, 2010; Chetty & Hendren, 2015; Moulton, Peck, & Dillman, 2014).

Self-sufficiency interventions in public housing

Research investigating the effect of housing assistance on employment is mixed (L. A. Rosenthal, 2007; Shroder, 2002). Despite the positive internalities and externalities associated with public housing, a substantial body of literature suggests that households may become “stuck” as a result of economic disincentives to move. These disincentives include the income “substitution effect,” the so-called “HUD tax,” insufficient stock of affordable housing, and fear of household economic “shocks” such as a job loss.

The income substitution effect argues that housing assistance serves as an in-kind monetary transfer reducing the household’s budget constraints and the relative cost of leisure. The household “substitutes” the housing subsidy for what would otherwise have to be earned income thereby reducing the need to work as hard to maintain their standard of living (Collinson, et al., 2015).

There are two main problems with this classic economic argument. First, most households that receive low-income housing assistance are so financially strapped that the substitution effect does not impact “leisure” but rather helps the household better afford things like food and medication (Lindberg et al., 2010). The other is an economic argument that once a household receives a good like housing, they will be induced to seek better housing, wanting to work and save more so that they can move out of public housing (Collinson, et al., 2015).

The “HUD tax” refers to the 30 percent of adjusted household income charged by PHAs for rent (McCarty et al., 2014a). Although it reflects the generally held belief that 30 percent of income represents housing affordability (Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University, 2016), the policy may have an unintended, negative effect on the economic mobility of work-able PHA residents. As household income increases, so does the household’s rent – the equivalent of a 30 percent tax on income – incentivizing households to keep their income low so their housing costs remain minimal (Rosenthal, 2007).

Current welfare systems, including TANF, SNAP, Medicaid, and public housing programs, require recipients to report all increases in income immediately, and as a result, benefits are reduced immediately (Urban Institute, 2016). These types of benefit reductions often result in a net loss of “income” for the family, particularly as expenses such as childcare, transportation, food, and clothing costs are likely to increase due to the individual’s work outside the home (Gabe, 2011; Morgen, Acker, & Weigt, 2013; United States Senate Budget Committee, 2012). Fear of the “welfare cliff” associated with benefit reductions appears to discourage increases in wage employment (Abt Associates Inc, Mills, Gubits, & Orr, 2006; Jacob & Ludwig, 2012; Patterson, Wood, Lam, Patrabansh, & Mills, 2004; United States Senate Budget Committee, 2012).

Even if families successfully engage in wage employment and navigate the welfare cliff, an on-going affordable housing crisis in the United States makes leaving public housing for market-rate housing extremely precarious (Steffen et al., 2015). Waitlists for public housing often rise into the thousands, and a PHA may only open up a waitlist for new households to apply every few years (Bowean, 2014; National Low-Income Housing Coalition, 2004). Once a household gains access, many are reluctant to abandon the economic security of a guaranteed 30 percent housing cost for market-rate housing that will likely consume a greater portion of their household income (Freeman, 1998). In addition, an unexpected job loss while living in market-rate housing often results in unpaid rent, eviction, and credit problems, while a job loss when living in assisted housing means a reduction in the households' rental costs to as little as the minimum rent payment of $25 to $50 per month (Brisson & Covert, 2015).

Whether because of the effects of income substitution, the structure of low-income rent assessment, or fears associated with the lack of affordable housing, numerous studies have found that receipt of public housing results in a reduction of work efforts and income (Abt Associates Inc, Mills, Gubits, & Orr, 2006; Jacob & Ludwig, 2012; Olsen, et al., 2005; Patterson, et al., 2004; Susin, 2005). The most promising research suggests that a household subsidy coupled with programmatic interventions aimed at supporting and/or requiring employment will result in increased economic and housing mobility (Rohe, Webb, & Frescoln, 2016).

Where Do We Go From Here?

Moving to Work (MTW) public housing authorities have instituted a variety of self-sufficiency program interventions and rent reforms aimed at increasing incentives for wage employment while reducing disincentives associated with rent increases (Webb, Frescoln, & Rohe, 2014). Incentives for wage employment include provision of case management, job training, education support, childcare, and transportation. Often, these authorities also implement some kind of rent incentive that helps shield employed residents from employment-related rent increases. These include reforms such as reductions in the income verification schedule (e.g. from annual to biennial), some kind of earned income disregard, and/or resident savings accounts.

In conjuction with these incentives, a number of MTW housing authorities have also implemented policies that encourage employment by making unemployment uncomfortable. These include time limits, work requirements, stepped rents (rents may start as low as 23% of income but increase over time to 35%), high minimum rents (as high as $225 monthly), and rent assessments established against a “minimum earned income” (i.e. rent assumed against 20 hours of employment at minimum wage) (Webb, et al., 2014).

Housing authority staff believe these policies have been effective at increasing wage employment and rent revenues while not substantially increasing evictions (Frescoln, et al., 2015; The Committee on Financial Services, 2013). However, broader adoption of MTW initiatives have been hampered by a lack of coherent data collection and rigorous evaluation (Buck, 2013; Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 2015; Government Accountability Office, 2012; Scirè, 2013; United States Congress House Committee on Financial Services Subcommittee on Housing and Insurance, 2014). Only one study is available on the employment and wage effect of an MTW employment policy. That study found that a work requirement implemented with case management supports and a variety of rent reforms increased wage employment and reduced minimum renters without increasing evictions (Rohe, Webb, & Frescoln, 2016).

Housing authorities have a variety of compelling reasons to increase the economic mobility and overall well-being of their residents. They want to support normative values of work and social engagement and help improve the life trajectories of their residents. They want to increase rent revenues so that the PHA is better able to operate in an environment of uncertain federal and state funding. They also want to increase positive exits to affordable market-rate housing and reduce time on waitlists for qualified, highly vulnerable households.

To accomplish these goals, eight MTW PHAs have implemented a work requirement for some or all of their work-able housing residents (Webb, Frescoln, & Rohe, 2015). This dissertation seeks to understand why these PHAs have implemented a work requirement, how one PHA, the Charlotte Housing Authority, implemented their work requirement, and what well-being impacts Charlotte's work requirement has had on mothers with dependent children. There are three papers that comprise this dissertation: "Functionality, Norms and Consequences: Policy Rationales for a Work Requirement in Public Housing," "What's Implementation Got to do with It? Lessons Learned from a Public Housing Work Requirement and Work Requirements," and "Well-being in Public Housing." Each of these papers will be described below.

Functionality, Norms and Consequences: Policy Rationales for a Work Requirement in Public Housing

The first paper in the dissertation, "*Functionality, Norms and Consequences: Policy Rationales for a Work Requirement in Public Housing,*" examines why housing authorities have implemented a work requirement for some or all of their work-able adult residents. Using MTW regulatory and fiscal flexibility, eight PHAs have implemented a work policy. In all cases, the authority has paired the work requirement with case management services and rent reforms, some have also established time limits (Webb et al., 2015).

Using a cross-case study of the eight PHAs and item analysis of responses provided during interviews with key staff, I seek to understand why the housing agency has implemented a work requirement. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with a mix of executive, middle management, and front-line staff at Atlanta, Champaign-Urbana, Delaware, Louisville, and San Bernardino. Lawrence-Douglas declined to participate in an interview but emailed responses to all questions. Charlotte Housing Authority staff were interviewed in a separate setting as part of a broader, longitudinal process and outcome evaluation of Charlotte's MTW program. PHA staff were asked questions regarding their perspectives on why the agency had implemented a work requirement. Their responses to this question and related discussion were analyzed in light of theories regarding provision of welfare supports and enforcement of work requirements.

Charlotte Housing Authority residents were interviewed to understand their perspetives on why the housing authority had implemented a work requirement. Using a semi-structured guide, residents were asked about why the CHA had implemented the work requirement and the policy's effect on their employment, household income, and household well-being over the course of four different interview periods. Resident responses were analyzed using the same theoretical frames in a process of predominately deductive coding.

Research results point to important insights into the ways that PHA staff and residents view and understand the rationales for a work requirement within public housing. Working from these findings, policy makers and PHAs can more effectively craft and implement policies to reach their actual policy intent.

What's Implementation Got to do with It? Lessons Learned from a Public Housing Work Requirement

The next paper of the dissertation, "*What's Implementation Got to do with It? Lessons Learned from a Public Housing Work Requirement*," explores the Charlotte Housing Authority's work requirement policy implementation process. Work requirements for work-able adults are intended to be a positive intervention to improve the functionality of PHAs and the well-being of residents, but in order to achieve postivie results, they must be effectively crafted and implemented.

This paper employs an adapted theoretical frame taken from 50 years of implementation research. The adapted framework examines the policy environment, the problem to be solved, resources available, and the process of implementation and evaluation to better understand the challenges associated with designing and enacting complex policies. A primary goal of this study is to provide recommendations for other PHAs that will implement work requirements once HUD expands the MTW Program.

The Charlotte Housing Authority provides a unique opportunity for researchers to study the process of complex policy implementation over an extended period. Analysis includes publically available plans and reports submitted to HUD, interview data gathered with executive, middle managers, and front-line staff across eight years, and other data such as CHA Board presentations and email exchanges between the CHA staff and researchers. The implementation framework provides a structure which is used to analyze and reflect upon the CHA's experience designing and operationalizing their work requirement. Finally, lessons are drawn from Charlotte's experience to inform future public housing work interventions.

Work Requirements and Well-being in Public Housing

Work Requirements and Well-being asks how the CHA's work requirement has impacted individual and family well-being. The CHA chose to pilot the work requirement in just five of their fifteen public housing developments, thereby producing a naturally occurring quasi-experimental design. I leverage this to investigate if there are differences in individual and family well-being measures between two groups: 1) work-able households in the public housing developments that are subject to the work requirement policy, and 2) a matched sample of public housing residents in the comparison sites that are not subject to the work requirement.

Data for this mixed-methods study comes from household mail surveys in 2010, 2012, and 2014, interviews with residents held in 2014, 2015, and 2016, and administrative data on income and case management participation from 2011 through 2014. We use matched data of work-able heads of household in 2010/2011 and 2014 to examine changes in health and income.

Due to the controversial nature of work requirements in public housing, residents who engaged in interviews were provided copies of each interview findings report and given an opportunity to reflect on and correct data contained in the report. Although not fully reflective of participatory research, we feel this process strengthened our research approach and findings.

This study provides critical insights into the well-being impacts of work requirements implemented within public housing. When positive, these impacts could lead to greater economic mobility for the affected adults and children in the household, but when the impacts are negative, an already vulnerable family could experience further harm.

Choice of the Charlotte Housing Authority for Intensive Study

The Charlotte Housing Authority is located in Charlotte, North Carolina in the south-central part of the state along the border with South Carolina. According to the US Census Bureau, the metro area has a population of approximately 2.5 million and the median household income is approximately $55,000.

The CHA has a staff of roughly 195 in seven divisions managing approximately 7,000 HCVs and 3,300 public housing units. The work and polices are overseen by a seven-member Board of Directors. Designated as a “high performing” public housing authority (US Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2017b), the CHA was invited to participate in the MTW demonstration as part of the original cohort of 24 but declined to join until 2007 (Rohe, Cowan, & Han, 2011).

In 2008, the CHA contracted with the UNC Chapel Hill Center for Urban and Regional Studies (CURS) to conduct a ten-year evaluation of the CHA's Moving to Work program (Rohe et al., 2011). The evaluation included sending surveys to all heads of household in Charlotte's family public housing in 2010, 2012, 2014, and 2016; interviews with CHA staff in 2010, 2012, 2013, 2014, and 2016, and observations of case management practice in 2014. A random sample of non-elderly, non-disabled residents subject to the work requirement was interviewed in January 2014, and then follow-up interviews were conducted in September 2014, and November 2015. A matched sample of work-able residents living in the comparison family public housing sites was conducted in September 2016. In addition to these data, we also accessed detailed case management and work requirement sanction data and administrative data including the Multifamily Tenant Characteristics System (MTCS) which details household size and income.

This research has benefited from a mixed methods approach. Throughout the research period, interviews conducted with CHA staff and residents were used to improve the questions asked in resident surveys and to provide fresh insights into research findings. Likewise, survey results and administrative data generated areas of interest to explore during our interviews with residents and staff.

Each of the three papers of this dissertation utilizes data gathered during the evaluation of the CHA's MTW program. Although each public housing agency and resident population is, to a certain extent, unique; the CHA is a good example of a "mid-sized,"[2] high-performing MTW

[2] The US Department of Housing and Urban Development would classify the Charlotte Housing Authority as a large PHA because it manages between 10,000-15,000 public housing units and HCVS. Within the context of current MTW PHAs, however, Charlotte would be considered "mid-sized."

agency. The work-able population subject to the CHA's work policy is largely reflective of the work-able public housing population nationally – minority, female-headed households with dependent children. As such, the CHA's experiences have relevance for the operations of other mid-sized MTW authorities.

All three papers in this dissertation leverage data collected as part of CURS' evaluation of the CHA. The author of this dissertation joined CURS as a Research Assistant CURS in June 2012 providing extraordinary access to the CHA's data and staff throughout its formulation. Throughout my five years, I have been given an opportunity not only to support the logistical efforts of the evaluation but also to shape the questions asked and breadth of informants included. I have led the efforts to engage directly with public housing residents through longitudinal interviews and limited forms of participatory research.

Funding for this research came from the Charlotte Housing Authority and a grant from the UNC Participatory Research Program. Although both received interim reports throughout the research period, neither attempted to influence these findings or policy recommendations.

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CHAPTER 2 - NORMS, FUNCTIONALITY, AND CONSEQUENCES: POLICY RATIONALES FOR A WORK REQUIREMENT IN PUBLIC HOUSING

How can public housing agencies best fulfill their mission to “provide decent and safe rental housing for eligible low-income families, the elderly, and persons with disabilities” (US Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2017a)? Only one in four eligible households ever accesses public housing (Steffen et al., 2015). As long as public housing is not considered a “right” (Bennett, Smith, & Wright, 2006), PHAs must develop policies that guide use of this limited resource; balancing their social obligation to house highly vulnerable households against the fiscal realities of maintaining aging properties. What responsibility do PHAs have to meet the housing needs of all those who qualify? Do public housing agencies have an obligation to increase the capabilities and economic self-sufficiency of their work-able residents (Rosenthal, 2007)?

The small HUD demonstration program, Moving to Work (MTW), is testing public housing reforms to determine how best to provide decent and safe rental property while addressing the fiscal challenges of public housing management and demand pressures generated by insufficient supplies of public and affordable housing (Webb, MD et al., 2014). Eight out of 39 MTW agencies have implemented a work requirement for some or all work-able residents (Webb, et al, 2015). This paper compares the rationales for a work requirement expressed by Public Housing Authority staff members and residents living in Charlotte’s public housing.

The rationale for implementing a work requirement in public housing can be explained by three general sets of motivations. One rationale relates to norms and argues that work is a normative value that increases well-being and that the housing authority should help unemployed and underemployed residents become connected to wage employment. Another rationale focuses on improving the functionality of the housing authority itself by increasing the number of work-able residents who work thereby increasing rental income and the likelihood that residents will successfully move out to market rate housing. A third justification relates to consequences and is bounded in a belief that if given a choice between working and receiving welfare supports (e.g. public housing, SNAP, etc.) the poor will be induced to work only if there are negative consequences for not working. These three rationales that relate to norms, functionality, and consequences form the philosophical rationales for the implementation of a public housing work requirement.

Why did these eight PHAs decide to implement a work requirement? How does the policy fit within the PHA's mission to provide safe and decent housing? What do their policies and stated rationales suggest about their recognized and unrecognized motivations for implementing a work policy in public housing? These motivations influence how the housing authority trains staff to implement the work policy and markets it to residents. Residents, in turn, form their own opinions about why the housing authority has enacted a work policy. Identification and understanding of these motivations may suggest opportunities for policy improvement (Kleit & Page, 2008; Levin-Waldman, 2005).

This study examines the rationales provided by PHA staff members for why they have implemented a work requirement for work-able residents and compares these responses to those given by public housing residents. The study is grounded in a discussion of the theoretical rationales for welfare work requirements and considers how these are reflected in policies and programs implemented by PHAs. The study design and methods sections explain the qualitative methods employed and include a discussion of the semi-structured interviews and process of deductive coding derived from the theoretical and practical rationales for a work requirement. The research findings section reports the analysis from the interviews conducted with PHA staff and residents. Finally, study limitations and recommendations for modifications to policy and practice are provided to improve the implementation of future public housing work policies.

Literature review

Why tie a work requirement to welfare receipt?

Public housing reforms were instituted in conjunction with the broader welfare reforms that occured between 1996 and 2002 and the rationales for a work requirement in public housing follow those made in the 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) (Swartz & Miller, 2002). “Welfare reform” which ended the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program and replaced it with *Temporary* (emphasis added) Aid to Needy Families (TANF) introduced work requirements, sanctions for non-compliance, and time limits. As such, to understand why PHAs have embraced work requirements, it is helpful to consider why other welfare programs, such as TANF, have incorporated a work requirement (Burke et al., 1996).

The philosophical rationales for providing welfare benefits and conditioning those benefits on work requirements are based in moral and economic arguments (Anderson, 2004, Fleurbaey, 2008). Some of these arguments can be viewed as supportive and others as coercive (Fischer & Miller, 2006).

Moral rationales

Welfare and work policies instituted to support an individual’s growth and development reflect social liberal theories that argue addressing social issues of poverty, health, and education are core responsibilities of government (Brown, 2015; Diener & Suh, 1997). These are reflected in Rawls' theory of justice (1971) and Nussbaum and Sen's capabilities theory (1993). The New Deal and Great Society policies of Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, and Food Stamps are largely reflective of social liberal theory (Milbank, 2006). Coercive policies tend to reflect conservative social theories that argue that some individuals – particularly the poor – do not share the same values of family, duty, and hard work and therefore must be coerced to meet their social obligations (Mead, 1986). While social liberal theories focus on enabling individual capability, conservative social theories focus on structuring individual choice (Anderson, 2004; Harvey, 2005).

Rawls argues that the government should ensure a basic level of economic and social well-being for all, such that no one is disadvantaged or denied basic liberties (Rawls, 1971). This is consistent with the physiological needs which form the base of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (Maslow, 1943). The Federal government has established a variety of laws and welfare programs that reflect Rawlsian principles of justice, including establishing a minimum wage, unemployment benefits, Social Security benefits, and TANF income supports to help alleviate poverty and welfare supports such as subsidized housing, food stamps, Medicaid, and Medicare to help meet basic needs.

Nussbaum and Sen's capabilities theory expands upon Rawls' principles, suggesting that the government has a responsibility to help individuals achieve well-being by facilitating a life of functional capability (Nussbaum, 2003). Central to functional capability is the belief that most people would prefer to work and care for one's own family. Welfare policies consistent with the capabilities approach reduce barriers to employment through provision of case management services, referrals to physical and mental health services, access to educational and job training programs, and other supports as needed (Anthony, 2005; Danziger & Seefeldt, 2003; Martinson & Holcomb, 2007; Rohe & Kleit, 1997).

TANF includes both supportive and coercive elements. Supportive TANF benefits such as case management, job training, and educational supports help remove barriers to employment so that individuals are better able to engage in wage employment, move toward economic self-sufficiency, and care for their family (Center Budget and Policy Priorities, 2015). TANF work requirements, though fundamentally coercive, may also be seen as a means of supporting individuals who have become disengaged from wage employment due to a variety of barriers (Alfred & Martin, 2007; Babcock, 2014). The policy forces individuals to reengage with an employment search while the case management and other supportive services facilitate reentry into the workforce (Ayllon, 2013; Klein, 1990; Taylor, Gross, & Towne-Roese, 2015).

In contrast to those who believe most individuals want to be economically self-sufficient to care for their families, conservative political scientist, Lawrence Mead, argues that many individuals are poor because they do not share the same values of hard work, education, and family needed to be successful (Mead, 1986). This is consistent with Oscar Lewis' controversial thesis of a "culture of poverty" (Lewis, 1959). In his study of impoverished Mexican families, Lewis argued that the families were caught in a cycle of poverty because they had developed a sense of helplessness and disconnection from broader societal values, including wage employment, leading to a dependence on welfare.

To combat the "culture of poverty," Mead and others contend that welfare must be structured to "teach" individuals how to work and the value of wage employment over receipt of welfare (Shaw, Horton, & Moreno, 2008). Therefore, to discourage work-able individuals from reliance on welfare, receipt of benefits should be contingent on things like employment training and searches, and should include sanctions for non-compliance as well as limits on how much welfare an individual can receive. Reflecting these beliefs, TANF includes mandatory job searches while offering job skills training classes, sanctions non-compliance with reductions of benefits, and bars individuals from receiving more than 60 months of benefits during their lifetime (Center Budget and Policy Priorities, 2015).

Another common argument made by conservative theorists is that those who receive welfare supports have a reciprocal obligation to the government (Mead, 1986). While liberal theorists contend the government has a responsibility to ensure the basic well-being of the most vulnerable (Rawls, 1971), conservative theorists contend that work-able individuals, who receive welfare, have an obligation to seek and engage in wage employment or other activities that return value to society in exchange for the welfare benefit (Clark & Newman, 1997).

Whether the policy is seen as fundamentally coercive or supportive results from both the services which accompany the policy and the structure of the sanctions attached to it (Boone & van Ours, 2006; Danziger & Seefeldt, 2003). Imposition of severe sanctions such as termination of cash benefits, particularly for seemingly arbitrary or minor non-compliance, has been found in studies of TANF to contribute to further non-compliance (Cherlin & Burton, 2002; Fording, Schram, & Soss, 2013). On the other hand, when non-compliant individuals are given an opportunity to return to compliance without facing severe sanctions, for instance by having their benefits reduced rather than eliminated, studies have shown greater cooperation and a faster return to compliance (Boone & van Ours, 2006; Noussair & Tucker, 2005).

Economic rationales

Receipt of welfare can produce an “income” or “substitution” effect within a household and economic arguments hold that rational decision-makers weigh the costs and benefits associated with receiving welfare as opposed to working. Therefore, when welfare is considered an income supplement, it is important to understand how the welfare program is structured.

The income effect of a welfare benefit helps meet a basic need thereby freeing the individual to improve their economic position rather than simply focus on survival (Boone & van Ours, 2006; Keane & Moffitt, 1998; Rosenthal, 2007; Shroder, 2002). Receipt of welfare benefits serves to "boost" income through both direct (some kind of financial benefit) and indirect (ability to earn more money because of welfare supports) means. Those who believe welfare benefits operate as an income effect would support Nussbaum and Sen's "capabilities" argument that government should support individuals as they strive to improve their overall well-being (Adler, 2012; Blank, 2002).

The substitution effect of welfare receipt is theorized to "depress" income by meeting the housing and food requirements of the household, in effect freeing individuals to engage in leisure rather than labor, producing a drag on the economy and civil society (Bloom & Michalopoulos, 2001; Fischer, 2000). In this respect, the substitution effect would echo arguments in the culture of poverty narrative that individuals are lazy and want to live off of public welfare (Murray, 1984).

Finally, the classic economic argument of "rational choice" can also be applied to US welfare policy (Corbett & Lennon, 2003). Welfare recipients must balance receipt of welfare supports with the various costs of working (Manzini & Mariotti, 2012). While work and increased wages generate a variety of financial and other benefits, those wages may also prompt an increase in an individual's public housing rent, a reduction in their food stamps, and the possibility of becoming ineligible for Medicaid health coverage (DeSante, 2013; Morgen, Acker, & Weigt, 2013). At the same time, the demands (and usually the costs) of childcare and transportation are increased (Daugherty & Barber, 2001). Benefits eligibility is often set so low, that households experience reductions in crucial supports before they are able to accumulate sufficient wage income to make a positive difference in household well-being and income (Loya, Liberman, Albelda, & Babcock, 2008). Financial calculations associated with rational choice could lead households to choose welfare over wage employment if the income earned through employment produces a quality of life that is little better or even worse than one dependent on welfare. The sanctions and time limits attached to TANF can be viewed as a response to rational choice; it doesn't matter if it is arguably more "rational" to rely on welfare supports than engage in low-wage employment if the policy is structured to favor employment over welfare (Daugherty & Barber, 2001; Manzini & Mariotti, 2012).

A policy alternative to this kind of economic "rational choice" permits low-income households to maintain welfare benefits while working (Fischer & Miller, 2006). Expansion of Medicaid in the Affordable Care Act and the Earned Income Tax Credit are both examples of public policies that encourage increased wage employment while recognizing that low-income families require on-going supports to achieve a level of economic self-sufficiency (Benitez, Creel, & Jennings, 2016; Meyer & Rosenbaum, 2001).

Public housing self-sufficiency reforms

Public housing is a form of welfare support (McCarty et al., 2014a). It serves to provide affordable housing for highly vulnerable families and shelter from which work-able adults can complete interrupted educations, obtain training, become economically secure, and raise their children (Newman, 1999; Newman, 2008). Eligibility is limited to those with low-incomes (Park, Fertig, & Metraux, 2014); however, due to an insufficient supply of public housing, only one in four eligible households actually receives a housing benefit (Poethig, 2014).

Self-sufficiency interventions within public housing were implemented to increase household income and improve family well-being, but also to improve the function and financial condition of the housing agencies themselves (Rosenthal, 2004). PHAs recognized that having high numbers of very low-income residents who were dislocated from resources and broader social norms of employment, health, and social supports posed a crisis for both the residents and the agencies (Turner, Popkin, & Rawlings, 2009).

Fiscal and social pressures within PHAs have intensified since the 1960s (McCarty, et al., 2014; Quercia & Galster, 1997). The legacy of segregation and other discriminatory social practices coupled with PHA funding structures resulted in concentrated populations of very low-income, minority residents living in decaying housing within socially distressed neighborhoods (Turner et al., 2009). Further, well-meaning efforts to ensure that the highest need households – disabled, seniors, veterans, those with children, and those affected by domestic violence or involved in child welfare cases – had access to public housing means that the population served is highly vulnerable and requires significant supportive interventions (Cunningham, Popkin, & Burt, 2005; Spence, 1993).

The 1969 Brooke Amendment codified for public housing residents the generally accepted rule that individuals should pay no more than 30% of adjusted income for their housing (Schwartz, 2010). Although this provides an important protection for residents, it also means that when residents are unemployed or underemployed, PHAs experience shortfalls in rental income. As a result, PHAs cannot sustain the costs of maintaining their housing stock and essential services without substantial federal funding (McCarty, 2014). However, federal funding has not kept pace with the fiscal needs of PHAs (Fisher & Sard, 2017; National Housing Law Project, 2010). The self-sufficiency programs and public housing reforms of the 1990s were intended to:

increase household income, hasten positive move-outs, and improve social conditions within the housing communities and surrounding neighborhoods. In addition to these social goals, the policies were also intended to improve the fiscal health of public housing agencies (Quercia & Galster, 1997).

Public housing, like other welfare supports, has been criticized for “trapping” families in a cycle of dependency (Sawhill, et al., 2002; Carlson, et al., 2012; Painter, 2001). In particular, policy makers worry that public housing could actually decrease the drive to engage in wage employment (Jacob & Ludwig, 2012b). Like other welfare transfers, residents might succumb to the “substitution” effect and rationalize that they don’t need to work as much because their housing is provided (Keane & Moffitt, 1998). Public housing has also been criticized for isolating residents from broader social norms and employment (Newman, 1999; Turner et al., 2009) contributing to the kinds of behaviors and generational poverty described by Lewis (1959) and Mead (1986). Potentially the greatest disincentive to employment is public housing’s rent mechanism. Although charging 30 percent of income is intended to help households meet their housing needs and thereby increase economic mobility through mechanisms such as the “income” effect, many argue that the rent structure operates as a 30 percent “tax” on income (Rosenthal, 2007).

PHA administrators and other policy makers struggle to balance priorities of affordable housing with incentivizing increased household earnings. Public housing self-sufficiency interventions have been designed and implemented to mitigate the perceived barriers to employment inherent in the structures of the institution while also seeking to support residents who may have personal barriers to economic self-sufficiency (Cunningham et al., 2005; Rosenthal, 2007).

Increasing employment and income among work-able households within public housing generates a variety of positive changes. Households benefit from the increased income and emotional health associated with employment (Stronks, Mheen, Bos, & Mackenbach, 1997). Social conditions within the development are also improved when more households are employed resulting in reductions in crime and disorder (Joseph, Chaskin, & Webber, 2007). Finally, public housing agencies benefit from increased rental income, improvements in social conditions within the housing developments, and increases in positive move-outs (Rosenthal, 2007).

While public housing self-sufficiency interventions were implemented to address a variety of concerns related to resident income, employment, and move-outs, the 1996 MTW legislation was a direct response to Congressional calls for reform of welfare institutions including public housing (Solomon, 2015). MTW agencies represent a small pilot program of just 38 PHAs out of the roughly 3,300 in the United States. In exchange for local fiscal and regulatory flexibility each MTW agency must: (1) increase housing choice, (2) incentivize the economic self-sufficiency of work-able households, and (3) produce cost savings ("Moving to Work - Public and Indian Housing - HUD," 2017). MTW agencies have established a wide variety of policy and program reforms aimed at incentivizing economic self-sufficiency including work requirements, higher minimum rents, and admission preferences that favor employed households; only eight chosen to implement a work requirement for some or all of their work-able residents (Webb, et al., 2015).

Understanding the motivations and rationales for implementing a work requirement provides insight into what housing authorities seek to accomplish through policy. These, in turn, can lead to the development and implementation of policies or programs that generate increases in desired outcomes and the cessation of policies or programs that cause harm or are ineffective. (Blank, 2007; Freeman, 1998; Kimenyi, 1991; Polit et al., 2001)

This research uses a qualitative cross-case study of the work requirement policies implemented by these eight MTW PHAs to ask:

1. What are the rationales and motivations of PHA administrators and staff for implementing a work requirement?
2. How do public housing residents explain the housing authority's decision to implement a work requirement?
3. What are the similarities and differences in PHA staff and resident understanding of work requirement rationales and motivations?

Study Design, Data, and Methods

Study Design and Data

This research employs a qualitative cross-case study of eight MTW agencies that have implemented a work requirement for some or all of their work-able residents. PHAs with a work requirement were identified through a previously conducted content analysis of the 2012 MTW plans available on the HUD website (Webb, et al., 2014).

Staff at the eight PHAs with a work requirement were contacted via email for a phone interview. Five PHAs agreed to participate; however, Lawrence-Douglas declined to participate in a phone interview and instead sent in written responses to all questions along with additional program materials. The Chicago Housing Authority declined to participate. The Charlotte Housing Authority responded to these questions and others during separate in-person interviews (Rohe, et al., 2013; Rohe, Webb, & Frescoln, 2015). Resident perspectives are drawn solely from the work-able population living in the Charlotte Housing Authority's family public housing sites.

Phone interviews were conducted with PHA staff in December 2013 and January 2014, lasted between 60 and 90 minutes, and were recorded and transcribed to ensure accuracy. Interviews were conducted using a semi-structured guide that was shared with each PHA prior to the call. Data for the Charlotte Housing Authority are taken from interviews conducted with staff in July 2014. These interviews were also conducted using a semi-structured interview guide but included slightly different questions as the interviews were part of a much broader evaluation of Charlotte's MTW program. These interviews were also recorded and transcribed.

Table 2.1 includes a list of all PHA staff who provided data for this report by agency and type. Executives included the Chief Executive Officer, Chief Financial Officer, and/or Chief Administrative Officer. Middle managers tended to be staff charged with overseeing client services, case management supervisors, and/or program evaluation managers. Front-line staff included case managers and property managers. Resident interviewees were restricted to work-able heads of household living in Charlotte's public housing developments.

Table 2.1: Interviewees by Title and Location

	Atlanta	Champaign-Urbana	Charlotte	Delaware	Lawrence-Douglas	Louisville	San Bernardino
Executives	2	1	4	1	0	1	0
Middle managers	0	1	4	1	2	2	1
Front-line staff	0	2	6	0	0	3	2
Residents	0	0	62	0	0	0	0

Table 2.2 outlines the MTW work requirement policies at each of the eight sites included for analysis. The policies range from 15 hours per week for one adult household member in Charlotte to 30 hours per week for all adult household members in Atlanta. All policies include case management supports and some kind of sanction for failure to meet policy requirements.

Table 2.2: MTW Work Requirement Policies

PHA	Policy	Supports	Sanctions
Atlanta	All adults, 30 hrs/wk	Case management and family counseling services available, increased minimum rent ($125), and biennial rent recertification.	Eviction for non-payment of rent.
Champaign	All adults, 20 hrs/wk	Participation in FSS mandatory (case management & escrow), tiered flat rent, and time limit.	Eviction for non-participation. Must be in full compliance - all adults working at least 20hrs/wk by 6th year.
Charlotte	1 adult, 15 hrs/wk	Case management available, increased minimum rent ($75), biennial rent recertification, and banded rent ($2,500 income increments).	Given 60 days to become compliant. After, rent raised to 1/2 market rate for 6 months, then full market rate for 6 months, and then eviction.
Chicago	All adults, 20 hrs/wk	Case management available and increased minimum rent ($75).	Participation in case management becomes mandatory. Three "safe harbor" requests and then eviction.
Delaware	All adults, 20-30 hrs/wk	Case management mandatory. Have a five year "time limit" with possibility for extension.	Three "strikes" and then eviction.
Lawrence-Douglas	All adults, 15 hrs/wk	Case management available.	Rent raised to full market rate.
Louisville	HoH, 30 hrs/wk	Mandatory case management and time limit.	Have to move back to regular public housing.
San Bernardino	All adults, 15 hrs/wk	Case management available, biennial rent recertification, and increased minimum rent ($125). HCV has a five year time limit and pilot public housing site has six year limit.	Given 90 days to comply and then rent raised to market rate.

Data Source: MTW Plans and Reports

Residents subject to the work requirement were randomly selected from all work-able residents living in Charlotte family public housing in December 2013. Those selected were sent letters asking them to schedule an in-person interview with CURS researchers. Once on site, CURS researchers left notes at their residence for all persons in the sample who had not already scheduled interviews.

Interviews with residents living in the work requirement sites were conducted in January and September 2014 and November 2015. The interview sample for September 2014 and November 2015 included the original sample as well as additional randomly selected individuals subject to the work requirement to maintain an adequate number of potential interviewees. In these latter samples, residents who had been placed on improvement plans or a rent sanction were oversampled to ensure their perspectives were heard.

Comparison interviews were drawn from work-able residents who had been living in the non-work requirement family public housing sites in December 2013 and who were still living in CHA public housing in September 2016. The sample was matched against work-able residents living in the work-requirement sites in December 2013 using the age of the head of household, education, wage income in December 2013, and presence of dependent children. Residents in the sample were sent letters inviting them to interview with CURS researchers and the same process of in-person visits and solicitation was conducted to obtain a sufficient sample of interviewees.

All resident interviews were primarily conducted in their homes using a semi-structured interview guide. Although the interviews were wide-ranging, for this study, we draw on responses to questions including, “Why do you think the housing authority has implemented a work requirement?” and “Do you think the work requirement is fair? Why or why not?” For those heads of household who were interviewed more than once, we revisited these questions, seeking to understand if resident perspectives had changed over time. In particular, we wanted to understand if the imposition of sanctions would alter how residents viewed the policy. Table 2.3 details how many and which residents were interviewed during each of the four periods.

Table 2.3: Work-able Resident Interviews by Date

	Jan. 2014	Sept. 2014	Nov. 2015	Sept. 2016
Work Requirement Sites	15	14	15	N/A
Non-Work Requirement Sites	N/A	N/A	N/A	18

Interview data were supplemented with content analysis of publicly-available documents such as annual MTW reports submitted to HUD. MTW PHAs are required to submit an annual

Plan to HUD that details all policies and programs, baseline data, measurable objectives, and a timeline in addition to an annual Report that describes progress or barriers in meeting these goals ("Moving to Work - Public and Indian Housing - HUD," 2017).

Study Methods

Interview data, documents, and other printed media were uploaded and analyzed in Atlas.ti, a qualitative software package. CHA staff interviews, resident interviews, documents, and other printed media were coded separately by group. Deductive and inductive coding (see Table 2.4) was applied to the interview data. Deductive codes are those that are determined prior to coding; in this case, derived from the principal theoretical frames associated with welfare and work requirement policies. These include philosophical arguments such as Nussbaum and Sen's (1993) capabilities approach and Lewis' (1966) culture of poverty. Economic arguments include those related to increasing tenant incentives to work and addressing PHA budget shortfalls (Besley & Coate, 1992; Bloom & Michalopoulos, 2001; Rosenthal, 2007). Inductive codes are those that that emerge from the interview data and include beliefs related to changes in the social conditions of the housing developments, the need to increase positive resident move-outs, and sentiments associated with the normative value of work. Table 2.4 details the coding descriptions that were applied to both the PHA staff and resident interview data.

Table 2.4: Qualitative Codes

Code	Coding descriptions
Better Social Environment	Statements related to reductions in crime and “drama,” and “better role models for children” when more residents are working. Based on theories of mixed-income housing (Joseph et al., 2007).
Capabilities	Statements that a work requirement coupled with case management and services is designed to help people overcome barriers so they lead healthy, productive lives. Based on Nussbaum and Sen’s capabilities theory (Nussbaum et al., 1993)
Positive Move-outs	Statements related to the need to increase employment so households can afford to move out, making space for others on the public housing wait list (Martin Rogers, 2011; Poethig, 2014).
“Culture of Poverty”	Statements made that include concepts associated with the “culture of poverty” including that residents require a “mindset change”, “don’t want to work”, are “cheating the system,” and caught in generational poverty (Lewis, 1959).
PHA Operational Funding	Statements consistent with PHAs’ need to increase rental income by increasing household income and wage employment to address shrinking federal budgets and aging infrastructure (McCarty, 2014).
Normative	Statements related to the “normative” desire for able-bodied people to want to work, better themselves, and care for their children (Anderson, 2004).
Overcome “Rational Choice”	Statements discussing the need to make welfare supports undesirable or less desirable than wage employment (Manzini & Mariotti, 2012).
Reciprocity	PHA is providing affordable housing, work-able individuals need to do their part by working and paying more rent (Mead, 1986).

Using the codes outlined in Table 2.4, this paper sought to understand:

1. The rationales and motivations of PHA administrators and staff for implementing a work requirement;
2. How public housing residents explain the housing authority’s decision to implement a work requirement; and
3. Similarities and differences in PHA staff and resident understanding of work requirement rationales and motivations.

In this paper, I use a cross-case study method which allows for the analysis of trends and meaning across the cases and respondents within the cases, as well as identification of outliers

(Patton, 2015). Throughout the results section, I do not directly attribute quotations as interviewees were promised anonymity.

Results

This research seeks to understand why PHAs have implemented a work requirement and what residents perceive as the rationale for work policies. Table 2.5 quantifies interviewees' responses by both respondent type and response category.

Table 2.5: Reasons for a Work Requirement by Respondent Type and Response Category

	PHA Staff 2014	Work Req. Residents Jan. 2014	Work Req. Residents Sept. 2014	Work Req. Residents Nov. 2015	Comparison Residents 2016	Totals
Number interviewed	35	15	14	15	18	97
Capabilities	**34 (37%)**	**11 (24%)**	5 (15%)	5 (16%)	**11 (40%)**	66 (29%)
Culture of poverty	16 (17%)	9 (19%)	**9 (26%)**	8 (26%)	4 (15%)	46 (20%)
Normative	4 (4%)	8 (17%)	8 (24%)	**9 (29%)**	0	29 (13%
Positive move-outs	13 (14%)	6 (13%)	3 (9%)	1 (3%)	4 (15%)	27 (12%)
Reciprocity	9 (10%)	3 (7%)	6 (18%)	3 (10%)	0	21 (9%)
Money for PHA	14 (15%)	5 (11%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	0	21 (9%)
Better social environment	1 (1%)	3 (7%)	2 (6%)	3 (10%)	8 (30%)	17 (7%)
Overcome financial disincentives	0	1 (2%)	0	1 (3%)	0	2 (1%)
Totals	93 (100%)	46 (100%)	34 (100%)	31 (100%)	27 (100%)	231 (100%)

Responses often included more than one rationale; therefore, we provide the percentage for each response category.

Rationales and Motivations of PHA Administrators and Staff for Implementing a Work Requirement

The most commonly cited reason PHA staff gave for implementing a work requirement policy was related to increasing the "capabilities," and in so doing improving the overall well-being of residents. This belief is reflected in the construction of the policies themselves (see Table 2.2). The policies include access to case management, rent reforms, and more than one opportunity for residents to achieve compliance before facing severe sanctions. These suggest that the agencies recognize that many public housing residents face barriers to wage employment, need support, and may falter on their path to economic self-sufficiency.

As seen in Table 2.5, 37% of housing authority staff report that a work requirement is intended to help residents by supporting their “capabilities.” Data from interviews of PHA staff suggest that case management is considered a critical part of the work policy. One executive indicated that the policy was developed to ensure that residents could “get the skill sets needed and move on.” A property manager reflected on the policy, “I think having the social worker working with the residents has made a huge difference with [not prompting sanctions or evictions] and pushing them to take that step to either be in school or go to work.” A case manager described her role as that of a “co-pilot.” “You’re flying the plane. We’re going to hit some turbulence, but we are going to get through all that. It’s an honor and privilege to see them fly that plane.” She continued, “It is not really about people getting a job, it’s about [helping them] assess themselves and figure out where they are and where they want to go.”

Many PHA staff members believe that the work requirement serves to improve the overall well-being of the affected families. One PHA executive described what improved well-being would entail:

> Kids going to school, able adults going to work, having affordable housing anywhere they choose in the city as well as taking more responsibility, things like minimum rent and so on. All [of this is] supported by coaching and counseling.

A PHA middle manager expressed her agency’s conviction that a work requirement is

> …not just about giving a check, or paying somebody's rent, or a food bag … It's about getting the system aligned to help people who either have low waged jobs or have other barriers that prevent them from taking advantage of [community resources].

These sentiments are consistent with Nussbaum and Sen’s argument that the government should remove barriers and provide supports to help ensure individuals are able to live a life of functional capability such that overall well-being is enhanced. Each of these statements also references an underlying belief that the policy ensures residents are actively engaging in wage employment and education in ways that enhance their own well-being (not just improving the bottom line of the PHA). In the first, the executive talks about residents "taking more responsibility" by doing things like paying minimum rent but then modifies the statement by referencing the agency's commitment to "coaching and counseling." Similarly, the second statement begins with a clarification that the PHA should not be simply "giving a check or paying somebody's rent;" rather, it is the PHA's job to remove "barriers" encountered by residents to improve states of well-being.

Perhaps reflecting this idea that work policies serve as motivation for residents to be more active in their own economic self-sufficiency, the second most common rationale cited by PHA staff for a work requirement relates to overcoming resident behaviors associated with the "culture of poverty."

> We're just trying to change the mindset…We don't want to take people's part of their rent but I think it was something that we had to implement … to really get people motivated to do what's right. I think you have to put a little fire under people to get some people to be motivated.

During our interviews, statements that included "changing the mindset" frequently went on to reference behaviors associated with the culture of poverty. "We don't want you sitting at home on the couch flipping the TV, not doing anything. We're just trying to change the mindset [so] they will get that job." A front-line staff member stated, "Some of them seem as if they shouldn't have to work, should not have to do certain things 'cause they're in housing." Another staff member explained the need for a work requirement because without it households are

> ...not even putting forth the effort. They're comfortable with [living in public housing]. "I can sleep to one or two o'clock in the afternoon; I can pay my low 75 dollars and it's a done deal." They're comfortable. They need to be shaken out of the comfort zone so that they can make a difference. Do something, move forward.

Other statements associated with the culture of poverty referenced “generational poverty.” “We have generational poverty here and that's a cycle we have to break. It will take time but eventually [the work requirement] will help I think.”

Following these two broad rationales for implementing a work requirement are two that are more specific and measurable – increasing rental income and positive move-outs. Executive staff were more likely than front-line or middle managers to directly raise the issue of a work requirement generating additional rental income for the agency. One executive stated,

> You have got to make them work and help bear the expense. …This is a business, you have to bring in enough income and HUD has been very upfront about don’t look to us for money. So … the housing authority has got to think of ways to help the residents help us …I don’t see another way without having the resident be required to work if they are able.

Another executive said, “#1: We want to increase our familys’ earned income as creatively as we can… which will decrease the portion that we [the housing authority] pay. We [the housing authority] can use those savings to absorb any funding cut but also redirect it back to programs for the families.”

A different executive was forthright in her belief that the work policy was at least in part intended to increase positive move-outs: “If by economic self-sufficiency do you mean should housing authorities be required to help residents move on out? Yes absolutely, I don’t think any housing authority should be able to just move families in and they stay forever; I don’t.” Another executive described the policy as a means of achieving a goal within the agency’s strategic plan to increase housing access for families on the wait list: “Really the ultimate goal with our agency… is to transition our families through our programs so we can get to assess the 31,000 families that are on our waiting list.”

Within the rationales explained by PHA staff, approximately 10 percent referenced the idea of “reciprocity.” A middle manager described the work policy as “Explaining to [residents] the reason for the program…that assistance right now is not just assistance you need to do something to keep it." Similarly, another middle manager justified the work requirement as "Everybody does their part and [the work policy] is just guidance around how you do your part." A superviser of case managers explained the policy as a tool for mutual accountability: "The case managers are accountable for making sure that families are directly referred to resources. The family is accountable for doing their part, working."

While some PHA staff did discuss the role of the work policy as a means of supporting residents' own normative desire for wage employment, it was not one of the top rationales cited. One staff member who did was very clear in his belief that the work requirement served to support residents' own motivation: "I think most people, in the end, want to be able support themselves, and being on government assistance is debilitating to them in a lot of ways. People would rather support themselves, if you can do it in a respectful way."

PHA staff also did not place significant emphasis on changing the social conditions within the housing development as a result of the work requirement or using it as a means to overcome resident resistance to the "HUD tax." Perhaps if our questions had been more broadly about the package of reforms that PHAs had put in place, staff may have talked more about other policies such as rent reforms which are generally intended to encourage increased household income while reducing the immediate impact of the standard 30% of income HUD rent assessment.

Discussions related to social conditions were more generally tied to family well-being and the impact PHA staff believed the work requirement would have on the way children would benefit from seeing their parents working. An executive shared, "If nothing else we think it's extremely important to model what we want our children to do. We want our children … to go on to be productive citizens - working and in school."

How Public Housing Residents Explain the Housing Authority's Decision to Implement a Work Requirement

The top three rationales cited by residents for the PHA implementing a work requirement were related to increasing capabilities, overcoming the "culture of poverty," and supporting residents' belief in the normative value of work. As seen in Table 2.5, although the most common rationale differed across the four time periods residents were interviewed, these three were consistently high. The notable exception is that none of the residents interviewed as part of the comparison group talked about the work policy as a means of supporting the normative value of employment.

During the initial interview with residents who were subject to the work requirement and the only interview held with residents in the comparison group, the most common motivation attributed to the PHA for implementing a work policy was to enhance and support resident capabilities for economic self-sufficiency. Residents interviewed in January 2014 told us the work requirement had been implemented "so people can better themselves" and "to help us out." Another said, "I know they want [residents] to be independent and go out there and do something for themselves and their family." One resident described the program as follows, "They help us with job leads, they refer us to places like Gracemar [an employment support and case management agency]. They help you with childcare. Once you are employed at least 15 hours per week, they help you go to school. It is just kind of a stepping stone to get your life on track and pay regular bills."

For residents living in the non-work requirement sites, discussion of the policy was entangled in complaints that those subject to the policy received access to case management and other supports that were not available to them. Residents believe the work requirement is intended to improve resident capabilities, economic self-sufficiency, and family well-being. Because residents in the comparison sites didn't have either the work requirement or its accompanying resources, they felt cheated of the benefits they believed would result from the policy. "We don't have anything. We don't have caseworkers. I was told that caseworkers could help you take classes and help you find jobs. [But,] we don't have nothing over here."

Despite these complaints, residents in the comparison sites were, generally, supportive of a work requirement and believed that a policy implemented with case management and other supports is intended to increase resident capabilities and overall well-being. "To me, [the work requirement] is the moving forward process, if you are able to work, and they're helping you with programs that can help you get a job."

Many residents – particularly those subject to the work requirement – believed that the work policy was at least in part intended to overcome behaviors associated with the "culture of poverty." Common to resident responses are sentiments similar to this shared by a resident subject to the policy interviewed in January 2014 when asked why the housing agency had instituted a work requirement. "Cause we got a lot of lazy people out here that don't want to work. People depend on the system, that's all they do." A different interviewee asked the same question in September 2014 answered, "They're saying that you're lazy and that they actually want you to get up and do something." When asked the question a third time in October 2015, residents again told us the work requirement was instituted because "There are lazy people who just don’t want to work. So, I don’t see nothing wrong with the ready to work program, ‘cause I feel like, you sitting at home all day, the least you can do is go make some money for yourself.”

The third most common rationale cited by residents for PHA implementation of a work requirement was that it supported and reinforced a normative desire for work-able individuals to work and care for themselves and their families. Perhaps because they were not subject to the policy and therefore didn’t need to defend or interact with it, this was not a rationale given by residents living in the comparison, non-work requirement sites.

As seen in Table 2.5, residents subject to the work requirement policy frequently cited both the “culture of poverty” and “normative” themes as motivations for the PHA policy. In discussing the policy rationale and whether they thought it was fair, residents commonly phrased their response like this, “I think [the work policy] is fair only because I know that I want to work. I don’t want to sit around all day. I want to work.” Or this, “You should want to work. You should want to work and get out and get self-sufficient. Not all them years that people have been living here.”

Not all responses included a comparison of those who want to work versus those who don’t. Residents subject to the policy also frequently provided rationales for the policy that cited the normative frame without the culture of poverty counter balance. Those statements were similar to these shared by two residents during the January 2014 interviews. “Everybody needs to work. Anyone with kids and able bodies ought to go to work. Everyone needs experience in the field so when you’re 63 you’ll have something to fall back on. You got to be doing something with yourself, be it school or work.” “If we are able-bodied, we should be able to work.”

Finally, it was not uncommon for a single response to embody these three themes –

capabilities, culture of poverty, and normative frames – when answering the question of why the housing agency had instituted the work requirement. For example, one resident describes the motivation for the work requirement policy as follows…

> Everybody should want to become self-sufficient. I just think it is fair. It is a teacher. It is teaching you that you have to work. It is teaching you that you can't rely on the system with food stamps and stuff. You should be able to provide for your family- buy groceries and pay rent. You should be able to do all of that if you are able bodied.

Residents also indicated that they believed the work policy had been implemented to increase rental income for the PHA and to increase positive move-outs thereby reducing the time eligible families spent on the waitlist for housing. In both cases, their responses suggest understanding of the challenges faced by the PHA in balancing the challenges of fiscal and housing pressures. Curiously, although residents living in the comparison sites discussed the housing authority's need to increase positive move-outs, they did not specify rationales associated with increasing rental income.

Residents who believed the work requirement was, at least in part, implemented to increase rental income were straight forward in their assertions, "I think [the housing agency] could make more money if people work." Another answered, "They are trying to help you get a job. If you don't have job, get one. They want you to pay money. That's how it seems to me." Another resident clearly set out the financial argument for the PHA,

> What they're saying is that we're tired of you paying 75-100 dollars and the rest of the money is coming out of our pocket. We're paying while y'all are just sitting, using free water, using free electric, going outside to play and just sitting in these houses and not doing nothing... They want you to get up and do something. How about you get a part-time [job] and go out for five hours a day? It don't matter if your rent go up to $150, that's better than 75-100 dollars a month.

Residents were also aware that other families, like themselves, were waiting for housing and interviewees raised this as a potential motivation for the work requirement in each of the interview periods. In their responses, residents frequently linked themes of positive move-outs with increasing capabilities. “[The PHA is] trying to help us. So I would want to try to find a job, just to get out of here so the next person can move in.” The following respondent closely related her own situation to those on the wait list.

> [The work policy is intended] to help you get out of these apartments, that way somebody else who has children just like you can move in. And maybe they need help to go back to school – get a high school diploma, or go to college, or get a job just like you. It’s basically to help you and your family move up.

Residents were much more likely than PHA staff to suggest the work requirement had been implemented, in some part, to improve social conditions within the housing developments. One resident tied themes related to the culture of poverty to a belief that with more people working, her community would be a better place to live, “We got a lot of lazy people out here that don’t want to work. People depend on the system, they get into fights. There is a lot of trouble in the projects but if you [make people work], you don’t have to worry about that.” Another postulated, “I feel like a lot of crime takes place with the residents who are home 24/7. It will get us out and about instead of staying at home and stirring up trouble.”

Residents who believed the work requirement related to a reciprocal obligation between the residents and the housing agency expressed similar sentiments to this one given by a resident in a work requirement site, “I think if you have a roof over your head that’s reasonable rent, you get help from all over the place, and you get transportation…. [Then you should be able to] work!” Another resident explained, “We are getting something from them and they are wanting to receive something from us in return.”

Residents did not identify the work policy as a means to overcome a “rational” reluctance to begin or increase wage employment because the increased wages would result in loss of benefits including increased housing costs and reduced food stamps. It may be that those thoughts are embedded in resident discussions related to the "culture of poverty" and "reciprocity" or "money for the PHA." This kind of belief may be represented by what a resident in a work requirement site said about the motivation for the work policy, "They're letting you know, 'Look, we're not playing with you, this is nowhere free to stay.'" Or this one shared by another resident subject to the work requirement, "They want people to work more and people say 'I don't want to work more because my rent will go higher.' And they don't keep working and do what they're supposed to do because I guess they're poor."

Discussion

In this study, PHA staff that work at agencies that had implemented a work requirement and residents living in public housing managed by the Charlotte Housing Authority were asked about their perspectives on why the PHA had enacted a work requirement. As discussed in the preceding two sections, there is a great deal of concordance between responses from PHA staff and residents of the Charlotte Housing Autority's public housing in regards to the rationale for a work requirement.

Analysis of responses points to four key findings regarding PHA motivations for adopting work requirement policies. First, residents subject to the work requirement generally reference the same themes as PHA staff in discussing rationales for implementing a work requirement. Second, all respondent types believe that work policies have been implemented to develop resident capacity or capabilities for work and, ultimately, self-sufficiency. Third, there remains a strong narrative around the "culture of poverty" among both residents and public housing staff. Both staff and residents believe that a work requirement with supportive services, not a voluntary work program, is important to fostering behavior change. Finally, despite the persistence of the negative stereotypes associated with the "culture of poverty," residents subject to the work requirement tended to view their own belief system as one that valued work and understands the need to use the limited resource of public housing as a means to greater economic self-sufficiency for themselves and others on waitlists.

The overall shared understanding regarding the rationales for the work requirement is likely two-fold. First, PHA staff were explicit in how they marketed and explained the work requirement to residents. Second, as noted in the previous discussion of the rationales for welfare and work requirements, there is a long tradition of discourse regarding welfare in the United States. That discourse has naturally influenced how PHA policy makers think about their mission and residents rationalize enforcement of work policies. Residents are highly aware of how welfare receipt, including public housing, is viewed in the United States. As such, it is not surprising that residents subject to the policy would reiterate these views as they explain what they believe the rationales for a work requirement in public housing to be. Based on the dichotomy of the way interviewees discuss their own "normative" expectations for work and the "culture of poverty" behaviors attributed to "others," the negative discourse surrounding welfare receipt is strongly influencing resident perspectives.

There were significant differences in the interviews with residents in the non-work requirement sites in comparison to either residents subject to the work policy or PHA staff. These differences may provide insight into how public housing residents view work and work requirements more generally. Forty percent of residents living in the comparison sites believe a work requirement paired with case management is intended to increase resident capacity for economic self-sufficiency. Charlotte's implementation of the work requirement and supportive services in five of their fifteen family public housing communities seems to have created a kind of "demand" for the self-sufficiency services – and the work policy which accompanies them.

Residents living in the comparison sites were also more likely than either residents living in a work requirement site or public housing staff to believe the work requirement had been implemented to improve the overall social conditions of the public housing development. Despite the literature and overt public housing policy and programs focused on increasing development-wide employment as a means of not only increasing household income but also reducing social problems, this was not a key policy rationale cited by PHA staff. It was something that residents in both the work requirement and non-work requirement sites believed was a work policy rationale

Limitations

This study has several limitations that can be rectified through future research. It does not investigate either the implementation of the work requirements or their effects on either residents or PHA operations. Future studies should evaluate individual PHA work policies and compare them across programs to begin developing promising or even evidence-based practices that increase resident well-being and economic self-sufficiency. The Chicago Housing Authority did not participate in this study, and as one of the largest PHAs in the US, understanding more about their work policy would have been helpful. Also, at each of the other PHAs, the sample was limited to staff availability. This meant that at some PHAs, we interviewed a range of staff from executive to front-line staff, while at others we spoke only with executives or middle managers. Due to a variety of logistical limitations, this study includes resident perspectives from only the Charlotte Housing Authority. Future studies should interview residents of the other PHAs with work policies. Finally, the interviewees may have tempered their responses to make them more socially acceptable. Residents may have invoked both the “normative” and the “culture of poverty” frames when discussing the work policy because these are broadly represented in the public discourse concerning work requirements.

Policy Recommendations

This study examined the rationales for implementing a work requirement comparing responses provided by different kinds of interviewees: public housing authority staff, residents of public housing subject to a work requirement, and a control group of residents not subject to a work requirement. Understanding why housing authorities have implemented a work policy provides insights into both the broader challenges faced by PHA staff and residents and the ways to improve work policy development and implementation as these are considered in an increasing number of PHAs around the country.

Attaching work requirements to means-tested welfare supports is a popular policy response. Already a part of TANF and food stamps, several states have now tied work requirements to Medicaid (Anderson, 2004; Bolen, et al., 2016; Falk, et al., 2014; Musumeci, et al., 2018). HUD Secretary, Ben Carson, has called for a series of changes to the agency's policies with regard to their impact on resident economic self-sufficiency (Jensen, 2018). In April 2018, Carson proposed the "Making Affordable Housing Work Act" which would eliminate the current HUD policy that raises rent as incomes rise, empower PHAs to develop their own rent structures, and approve increased flexibility of HUD funding to support economic self-sufficiency programs (Administration Bill to Amend the US Housing Act of 1937, 2018). He also explicitly endorsed the work requirement policy implemented by the CHA ("Why Charlotte Is One of Ben Carson's Models for HUD's Work Requirements," 2018).

While maintaining a cautionary stance toward expansion of the public housing work requirements, there are a variety of policy and practice recommendations that emerge from this research. These include suggestions for work policy messaging, the importance of providing case management services, and understanding that most work-able residents want to work.

There is high concordance between what PHA staff and residents subject to the CHA's work requirement say are rationales for the work policy. This suggests a powerful tool for housing authorities. They can shape staff and resident attitudes about a work requirement by reinforcing the normative nature of work, the shared responsibility for positive outcomes between residents and the housing agency including improved social living environments, and the role of case management supports in growing resident capabilities.

Differences in the ways that PHA staff view the work requirement suggest that training staff about the specific rationales for the work policy is important. Middle managers were the least likely to frame the work requirement as a response to a derogative "culture of poverty." Educating both executive and front-line staff about the needs and barriers of the PHA's work-able population could help change attitudes and rhetoric that residents do not want to work. In addition, this reinforces for the PHA staff that barriers to employment (such as interrupted educations or lack of childcare) as well as rational reasons, such as the cost tradeoffs associated with low-wage employment (loss of Medicaid, reduction in food stamps that result in an overall reduction in the household food budget, etc.) may explain why work-able adults could be reluctant to engage in wage employment.

There are very real financial deterrents to increasing household income for residents of public housing, such as increasing rents. While housing agencies don't control food stamp or Medicaid policy, they can implement rent reforms that reduce the deterrent effects of household income increases on rent. Policies including banded rent, earned income disregards, and escrow accounts are all examples of policies MTW PHAs can implement to address policy deterrents to increased income (Webb, Frescoln, & Rohe, 2015).

Support services seem to be a critical component to making work requirements acceptable to both staff and residents. Work-able residents living in public housing face many barriers to economic self-sufficiency. Support services such as case management, availability of job training and childcare, and transportation assistance reassure stakeholders that the policy is intended to support family well-being rather than to punish residents. More importantly, these services should serve to increase resident incomes while also increasing rental income and positive move-outs.

Residents believed the work requirement was instituted, at least in part, to improve social conditions within the housing development by increasing wage employment among work-able residents and reducing opportunities for crime as a result. This was not a motivation raised by many PHA staff, however, it represents an opportunity for staff to market the policy to staff and community leaders as a possible effect associated with increasing the number of households working within a public housing development. PHAs can monitor data associated with police calls and property management complaints. Decreases in crime, noise, and other nuisance complaints can result in improvements in well-being for residents, PHA staff, and the surrounding community.

Housing agencies contemplating implementation of a work requirement should carefully consider what problem they want to solve through enforcement of a work requirement policy. All the PHAs in this study referenced their desire to increase resident capacity to engage in wage employment. As a result, they simultaneously implemented case management services. Some housing authorities wanted to increase the move-out rate, and therefore mandated resident participation in case management participation and instituted a time limit. Others wanted to increase PHA rent revenues and resident tolerance for higher rents, so they implemented the work requirement with rents that started low and increased over time. Implementation of a work requirement alone may not achieve the agency's stated goals.

If the goal is truly to increase resident "self-sufficiency," housing authorities should reconsider work requirements for residents without a high school diploma or GED. Instead, they should support residents without a diploma or GED to participate in and complete these classes in lieu of or in addition to an adjusted work requirement.

Perhaps one of the most striking findings from this research is that residents seem to understand and agree with PHA officials about the rationales for a work requirement when implemented with case management and other supports for work-able adults. Residents indicate a desire to work and understand the value of wage employment for themselves and their families. They believe working residents make for better social communities. Residents also understand that PHAs have fiscal constraints and that many households are waiting their turn for affordable housing. Policy makers should avoid reinforcing the many negative narratives that accompany welfare receipt. Instead, public housing work policies can be structured to remove the many barriers to increasing resident employment and wages while amplifying a narrative of shared commitment to the normative values of work, family, and community.

It is not clear whether Congress will support Secretary Carson's bill to make work requirements available to all PHAs. It is likely however, that work requirements for work-able adults receiving public housing supports will continue to be part of the national dialogue associated with welfare receipt. The policies enacted by the eight MTW agencies have a critical role to play in informing the dialogue and the parameters of any future PHA work requirement. It is essential, therefore, that these PHAs engage in a process of continuous evaluation to determine how the work requirement policies are affecting resident employment, family well-being, agency rental incomes, and move-outs (both positive and evictions).

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Why Charlotte Is One of Ben Carson's Models for HUD's Work Requirements. (2018, July 12). *Morning Edition*. National Public Radio. Retrieved from https://www.npr.org/2018/07/12/627621845/why-charlotte-is-one-of-ben-carsons-models-for-hud-s-work-requirements

CHAPTER 3 - WHAT'S IMPLEMENTATION GOT TO DO WITH IT? LESSONS LEARNED FROM A PUBLIC HOUSING WORK POLICY

Implementation is the vehicle for turning policy into action. In fact, public policies are only as effective as the implementation process which actuates them (Rabb & Winstead, 2003). This study seeks to understand how a work requirement policy was implemented within a single public housing agency (PHA). Although PHAs have offered programs to increase residents' self-sufficiency for several decades, participation has been voluntary. The programs have largely sought to provide incentives for employment such as the escrow account included in the Family Self-Sufficiency (FSS) program or the income disregard of Jobs Plus (Rosenthal, 2007). A work requirement constitutes a very different approach because it threatens a sanction, usually a loss of all or a portion of the rent subsidy, if the lease holder does not comply with the policy (Falk, McCarty, & Ausenberg, 2014).

Drawing on the experiences of the Charlotte Housing Authority (CHA), located in North Carolina, we examine how a PHA develops and implements a work requirement for work-able public housing residents. This inquiry uses a policy implementation framework that takes into account the macro environmental effects of existing legislation such as minimum wage and welfare policies and broad public discourses such as those associated with welfare receipt, while recognizing the effects of local implementation capacities to address the identified problem, in this case finding ways to increase the wage income of public housing residents. Data for this study are drawn from publicly-available documents, longitudinal interviews with CHA staff, and resident surveys to understand the policy development environment and implementation process of the CHA's work requirement.

HUD Secretary, Ben Carson, introduced the "Making Affordable Housing Work Act" in spring 2018 which proposes a variety of changes to the Housing Act of 1937 including elimination of the current practice of increasing rent as household incomes rise, empowering PHAs to develop their own rent structures, and providing for increased flexibility of HUD funding to support economic self-sufficiency programs (Administration Bill to Amend the US Housing Act of 1937, 2018). Secretary Carson visited the CHA in July 2018 to highlight Charlotte's Moving to Work program including its work requirement and rent policies (Booker, 2018). Attention to Charlotte's policies coupled with the fall 2018 announcment of the expansion of the MTW cohort to an additional 30 small PHAs (US Dept. of Housing and Urban Development, 2018) makes understanding issues related to successful implementation of these kinds of self-sufficiency interventions particularly critical. This study contributes to the understanding of public policy implementation and provides specific insights into the implementation of work requirements for public housing residents. In the next section, I review the literature on public policy implementation studies and then explicate the public policy implementation framework used in analysis of the CHA's work policy. Next, I examine the specific challenges and benefits of implementation within the Moving to Work (MTW) program. Following, the study design section explains selection of the CHA for intensive study and discusses the methods and data sources utilized. Applying the public policy implementation framework, I examine the CHA's implementation experience to understand how it reflects or departs from the framework. The final section discusses the findings and limitations of this study before proceeding to a set of recommendations for other housing authorities and policy-makers considering a similar set of economic mobility strategies.

Literature Review

Implementation Science

Emerging from evaluations of President Johnson's Great Society reforms, the study of policy implementation is a relatively new field of political science. (Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1983). The package of reforms that encompassed President Johnson's Great Society were highly complex; ranging from the Civil Rights Act to the Early and Seconday Education Act, to the creation of Medicare and Medicaid, housing, rural development, consumer protections, and more – all with an overall goal of the elimination of poverty and racial injustice (Milikis & Mileur, 2005). Early studies found that the laws passed as part of President Johnson's Great Society were failing to meet their objectives and social scientists wanted to understand why (Milikis & Mileur, 2005). The consensus that grew out of these studies was that while Johnson had conceptualized a wide range of policies to affect poverty and racial injustice, insufficient attention had been given the legislation's implementation. Before implementation became a noted field of study, political scientists largely assumed that the implementation of policy into programs simply happened (Corbett & Lennon, 2003). What emerged from the studies of the Great Society was that there are two critical processes embedded in operationalization of policy: first, crafting the policy and then, implementing the policy. The legislation written to reflect Johnson's Great Society suffered from a lack of clear goals, objectives, and directive implementation strategies (Brown-Collier, 1998; Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1983).

The initial response to these studies focused on writing better legislation and policy to produce better outcomes—a top-down approach (Bardach, 1977; Pressman, & Wildavsky, 1973). Based in case studies, these approaches argued that well-intentioned policy could fail because it did not address the underlying problem(s), often due to insufficient data and analysis regarding the problem(s) causes (Bardach & Patashnik, 2016; Berman, 1980; Elmore & Williams, 1976). If policy makers took care to incorporate data, write clear directives, and provide sufficient implementation resources they would be much more likely to achieve the outcomes intended (Elmore & Williams, 1976; Yin, 2004).

The second generation of implementation research sought to understand the ways agencies put policy into effect, including the hiring and training of staff and capturing, analyzing, and using data to improve operationalization. These studies, also largely based in case studies, utilized a more “bottom-up” approach. Lipsky’s *Street-level Bureaucracy* (2010) is one of the best-known examples of this type of implementation research. Lipsky demonstrates that even well-conceived policies implemented with sufficient resources may fail because front-line staff exercise independent decision-making. Without tight implementation control and continuous data monitoring, these “street-level bureaucrats” will implement their own version of the policy which may result in outcomes different from those intended by the policy’s authors (Hupe & Hill, 2015).

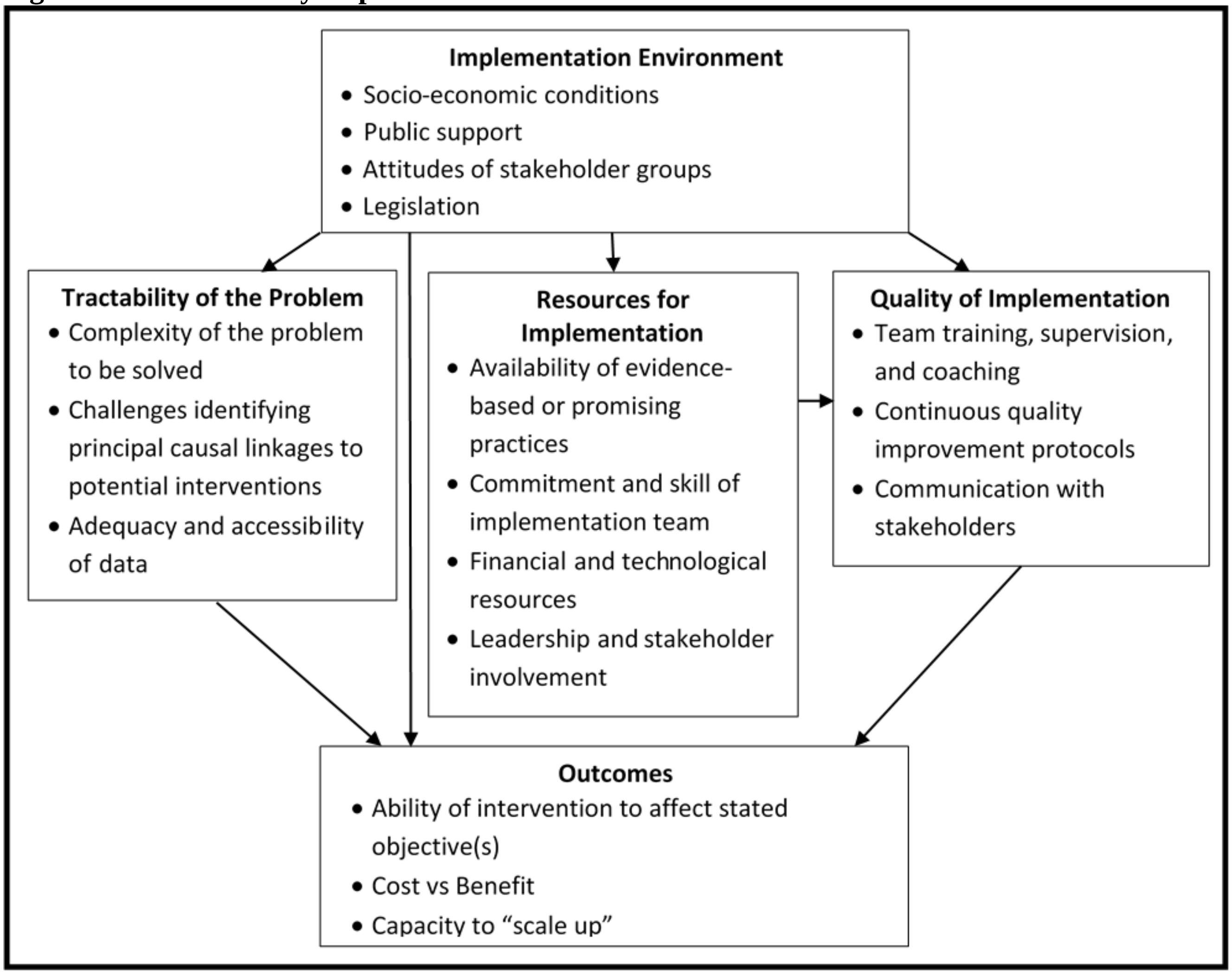
The third generation of implementation research has sought to conduct meta-analyses of implementation and to extend the research to the fields of business and product development (Fixsen, et al., 2005; Hupe & Hill, 2015; Willging, et al., 2015). These studies seek to elucidate the core behaviors involved in developing and implementing a policy or product that reliably produces the desired result (Fixsen et al., 2005). A particular focus has been on how agencies and individuals can implement evidence-based practices – those that accurately incorporate data and research on causality and that produce reliable results – with fidelity (Mead, 2003).

Implementation studies today seek to understand policies in their totality. They recognize that both “top-down” policy conceptualization and “bottom-up” policy operationalization must be addressed to reliably produce the desired outcomes (Hupe & Hill, 2015; Nilsen, et al., 2013). Data collection and continuous quality improvement processes are key to ensuring that policies produce their intended outcomes (Metz et al., 2014). Finally, scholars increasingly acknowledge that policies and programs should produce change commensurate with the scope of the problem - effective policies and programs must “scale-up” to meet the level of need (Eaton et al., 2011).

Evaluating Implementation of Public Policy

To evaluate implementation of public policy, scholars must consider both both the top-down creation of the policy and the actual process of implementation (Sabatier, 1986). Figure 3.1 explores how policy and implementation factors work together to produce outcomes (Nilsen et al., 2013). Public policy implementation is a complex process in which the implementation environment affects how problems are defined, the availability of resources, and how outcomes are measured (Cairney, 2012). The implementation environment itself comprises the socio-economic conditions, public attitudes, and the attitudes of stakeholder groups (Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1983).

Figure 3.1: Public Policy Implementation Framework



The *implementation environment* operates at both the macro and micro level and affects all aspects of public policy implementation. In much the same way the physical environment – air, humidity, and temperature – affects what plants and animals live in a particular area and how these adapt to live successfully or not, the implementation environment affects what policies are enacted and their success or failure. Macro-level influences include federal and state legislation, economic policies, public attitudes, and the strength of the economy or labor market, all of which affect how a policy is conceived, resourced, and evaluated. Micro-level factors include those elements unique to a particular community or implementing agency such as local laws, attitudes, and economy which can affect how a policy is enacted and evaluated (Fischer, Miller, & Sidney, 2007). For instance, a program intended to reduce poverty would take into account federal and state anti-poverty legislation such as minimum wage, food stamps, TANF, and education programs but would need to operate effectively within the local community by embracing local institutions, labor trends, and socio-demographics.

The definition of *the problem* is arguably the most critical step in public policy implementation. Public and stakeholder attitudes influence the questions asked, for instance, about why there is poverty and the data examined to define poverty and its impacts (Corbett & Lennon, 2003). Complex problems such as poverty will always be difficult to define, the principal causes difficult to isolate, and potential interventions difficult to ascertain (Cohn, 2004). Often, inadequate data complicates both the way the problem is defined and causation determined (Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1979).

Resources for implementation are both tangible – financial and technological – and intangible – leadership, commitment, and skill of those charged with implementation. Again, the implementation environment influences both the kinds and qualities of resources available (Fixsen et al., 2005). The intangible resources of staff leadership, commitment, and skills are the creative, coachable resources that ultimately implement policy (Lipsky, 2010).

Quality of implementation is a function of both tangible and intangible resources. If resources have been provided at an adequate level, what remains is the implementation itself. Important considerations for quality implementation include hiring the right staff, properly training and supervising them, rigorous data collection and analysis, and regular stakeholder communication. The *implementation environment* can either facilitate or hinder the quality of the implementation, particularly when unanticipated factors intervene such as a change in the political climate or a sudden loss of a particular resource.

Ultimately, implementation is about *Outcomes*. The complexity of the problem, the resources available, the quality of the implementation, and the implementation environment all influence whether an intervention meets its stated objective, the cost versus the benefits, and its capacity to be scaled up to meet the need (Cairney, 2012; Wensing & Grol, 2004).

Moving to Work as a Policy Development Mechanism

HUD's public housing program is defined by a top-down, highly regulated set of policies with operating rules that have evolved since the 1937 Housing Act (McCarty, Perl, & Jones, 2014). HUD rules govern tenant eligibility criteria, how rent is determined, and whether local agencies can set aside surplus funds for 'rainy day' expenses, among many other topics. Furthermore, local agencies are severely restricted in how they can use their funding; each agency is funded through specific line items which cannot be combined or moved (Webb, Frescoln, & Rohe, 2015).

The Moving to Work program (MTW), however, offers a select group of PHAs flexibility in how they deliver affordable housing to low-income residents (Webb, Frescoln, & Rohe, 2014). Enacted in 1996, MTW provides participating agencies with two complementary flexibilities. First, they may request waivers from federal regulations to enact local policies such as new tenant screening criteria, rent calculation, and inter-agency partnerships. Second, agencies may combine funding line items into a single, flexible account (though they do not receive additional funding through the MTW program). With these flexibilities, MTW agencies can develop and test policies that meet the needs of their local communities while achieving the program's three broad statutory goals: increasing cost-effectiveness, expanding housing options, and helping low-income families become more self-sufficient. (Webb, Frescoln, & Rohe, 2017).

While the MTW legislation intends that successful policies developed by local agencies would be considered for national implementation, the legislation itself was not structured to support broad policy development (US Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2013). Flexibility provided to local agencies produces unique policies that may not be appropriate for national adoption. More importantly, the original MTW legislation didn't require rigorous evaluation, which limits understanding of both the mechanism and effects of MTW interventions and has resulted in criticism of the program (Buck, 2013; Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 2015; Government Accountability Office, 2012; Scirè, 2013; Fischer, 2015). Finally, all MTW PHAs are meant to be "high performing" (US Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2017). As such, "typical" PHAs may not have the capacity to implement the kinds of complex policies and programs developed by the MTW PHAs (Webb, Frescoln, & Rohe, 2017).

MTW agencies are constantly engaged in the *public policy implementation framework* as they develop, implement, and evaluate policies intended to address the three MTW objectives (Webb, Frescoln, & Rohe, 2017). Many of *the problems* encountered by an MTW PHA are similar to those faced by all PHAs – the need to support low-income tenants in moving to economic self-sufficiency, maintain aging housing stock, and balance tight budgets. The *implementation environment* at the macro level is similar for all PHAs but the local environment can differ significantly. The housing authorities of Baltimore City, San Diego, Champaign County, IL and Portage, OH operate in very different implementation environments and while all four PHAs share a mission of providing housing to Low-Income households, the approach each will take is dictated by their local implementation environment. MTW PHAs are not provided any additional resources for implementation; instead, they must generate “administrative savings” to fund policies to meet the other two statutory objectives (Webb et al., 2017). Finally, while staff at a standard PHA operate within a highly regulated environment, the staff at an MTW PHA are responsible for developing processes that ensure the *quality of the implementation*.

Study Site, Study Design, and Data

Study site and population

The Charlotte Housing Authority (CHA) is a quasi-governmental agency that serves the city of Charlotte, NC. Spanning both North and South Carolina, the Charlotte metro area has a population of approximately 2.5 million (approximately 1 million of this is the City), and an economy grounded in financial services. The CHA serves roughly 11,700 households with a portfolio of approximately 5,200 Housing Choice (Section 8) Vouchers, and 3,300 public housing units 2,700 other subsidized units for low-income families, and 500 market-rate units. The agency employs approximately 195 individuals and is overseen by a seven member Board of Commissioners (The Housing Authority of the City of Charlotte, North Carolina, 2017). Although originally invited to join MTW in 1999, the CHA did not join the program until January 2008 (US Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2015).

Study Methods

To understand the implementation of a PHA work requirement, I conducted an in-depth case study of the Charlotte Housing Authority (Yin, 2014). The CHA was selected because it is representative of the decisions and processes a mid-sized MTW PHA would follow when implementing a work requirement policy (Patton, 2015). The research team was provided a unique opportunity to understand and study this case as it is engaged in a ten-year longitudinal evaluation of the CHA's entire MTW plan (Rohe, Cowan, & Han, 2011). Importantly, the team has been able to follow the development and implementation of the agency's MTW activities—including the work requirement—from initial conceptualization through policy development, implementation, and modification. As a member of the research team, I was provided access to internal email discussions of policy decisions, frequent staff interaction, and a broad range of data.

I use the *public policy implementation framework* described in Figure 3.1 to structure this evaluation of how well the CHA's work requirement policy implementation follows this framework (Patton, 2015). Utilizing the *framework* helps with transferability of findings as these are common to public program interventions (Dunn, 2004; Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1983; Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980).

Data

Data for this study come from numerous primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include semi-structured interviews and informal communications with CHA staff. Secondary sources include publicly-available reports and materials. The data were uploaded to and analyzed in Atlas.ti.

Interviews with CHA staff were conducted between 2010 and 2016 (see Table 3.1). Although a much broader range of executive and other staff were interviewed each year, data for this study are restricted to discussion of the development and implementation of the CHA's work requirement. Staff interviews referenced in this study include: the Chief Executive Officer in 2010, 2014, and 2016; the Chief Administrative Officer in 2010, 2012-2014, and 2016; mid-level management staff included the Senior Vice President of Client Services, the Self-Sufficiency Program Manager, the Moving to Work Project Manager, and the Client Services Project

Analyst in 2010, 2012-2014, and 2016; front-line staff include case managers in 2010, 2012-2014, and 2016 and property managers in 2013 and 2015 at each of the work-requirement sites. Four of the seven CHA Board of Commissioners were interviewed in 2010 to obtain a broad understanding of the agency leadership's decision to become a Moving to Work agency and to implement a work requirement. In subsequent years, the board member representing residents was interviewed. The interviews sought to understand implementation decisions and challenges as well as staff perspectives on the impacts of the MTW reforms on staff, residents, and the community.

Table 3.1: CHA Staff Interviewed

Year	Executive Staff	Board Members	Mid-level Managers	Front-line Staff	Total # of Interviews
2010	2	4	10	3	19
2012	1	0	8	3	12
2013	1	0	9	15	25
2014	3	1	13	6	23
2016	5	1	12	3	21
Total # of Interviews	12	6	52	30	100

I also analyzed written reports that included the CHA's annual MTW Annual Plans from 2007–2016, MTW Reports from 2009–2015, and the CHA's Admissions and Continued Occupancy Plan (last revised in 2013) that governs agency operations. I also include in my analysis selected slides presented during Board of Commissioners meetings and email exchanges between the research team and CHA staff that elucidate policies and rationales. Finally, we reviewed third-party evaluations of the CHA's MTW program (Rohe et al., 2011, Rohe, et al., 2013, Rohe, et al., 2015, Rohe, et al., 2017).

The data used in this study were analyzed using deductive methods derived from the *public policy implementation framework*. All primary and secondary data sources were coded for year and type of informant – executive, mid-level, front-line, board member, or type of report. Chunks of text from each interview and report were then coded to reflect whether it described the *implementation environment, tractability of the problem, resources for implementation, quality of the implementation*, or *outcome.* Data were further coded within each of those broad codes to capture particular aspects. For instance, within the *tractability of the problem* text was further coded to reflect the *complexity of the problem to be* solved, etc. When uploaded into Atlas.ti, the researcher is able to look for patterns in the coded data through varous lenses including code co-occurrence. Code co-occurrence helps point to the connections between the data, such as the ways that the *implementation environment* impacts the *resources for implementation*, and how these impact *outcomes.* Code co-occurrence also enables the researcher look for meaing across the data to generate new, inductive codes. An example of an inductive code that emerged in this data related to the ways different level of staff perceived the ways that policy implementation was being supported (or not).

Findings

Overview of the CHA Implementation Process

Before analyzing its implementation, we first provide an overview of the work requirement policies using the Public Policy Implementation framework. Table 2 lists the CHA's resident work requirement interventions, describes some key implementation changes over time, and indicates when each intervention was planned and actually implemented.

The CHA proposed an ambitious set of self-sufficiency interventions — increased assessment and case management supports, a work requirement, and four different rent reforms — and proposed to implement them within two years of joining MTW. These self-sufficiency interventions were just one piece of the CHA's proposed MTW Plan which also included other financial reforms, landlord initiatives, affordable housing development, increasing housing choice within opportunity neighborhoods, and others.

Table 3.2: CHA Work Requirement Interventions

Intervention	Notes	Planned Start	Actual Start
Work Requirement	Original plan required 15 hours HoH + 5 hrs from each family member; moving to 30 hours HoH + 10 hrs each additional family member by April 2011. Work requirement increased to 20 hours + 5 hrs for each additional work-able adult in April 2017.	April 2009	January 2014
Self-Sufficiency Program Case Management	Original plan sought to assess all work-able residents and place them in a particular level self-sufficiency intervention support. Original plan included two FSS sites and three large family sites. Revised plan included two FSS sites and three small family sites. The two FSS sites began receiving case management from CHA staff in 2010 and three other sites from contracted case managers in 2011. Transitioned to all CHA case management in April 2013.	April 2009	October 2010 (FSS sites) September 2011 (other 3 sites)
Rent Sanctions	Households not in compliance with the work requirement are mandated to participate in case management. After 60 days, they lose ½ of their rental subsidy. After 6 months, they lose all rental subsidy. Original plan anticipated working with residents for one year prior to imposing rent sanctions. Residents were given 3 ½ years of case management and other supports prior to rent sanctions.	April 2010	May 2014

The CHA's initial MTW Plan, submitted to HUD in 2007, proposed three linked policies – a work requirement for work-able residents, case management supports, and a rent sanction for non-compliance with the work requirement. HUD gave the CHA approval to initiate planning and to implement within the timeframes indicated in their plan. As seen in Table 3.2, although the CHA planned to implement the policies within their first full year of MTW participation, implementation of all three policies was significantly delayed.

The Problem

The agency began by trying to define *the problem* to be solved. The CHA needed to determine which households were already working and could move toward "economic self-sufficiency" and which would require more intensive supports. An assessment of resident needs and a review of agency administrative income data suggested resident needs were substantial and unemployment significant. Almost two thirds (60.1%) of CHA's public housing residents fell into what the CHA determined as needing the most intensive services including case management and other supports to address health, family well-being, education, and employment needs. Less than twenty percent (16.6%) were assessed as ready for career development supports, and just 4.2% were deemed prepared to engage in employment. CHA administrative data indicated that 26% of households reported no income at all; 43% relied on income from TANF, disability, or child support payments; and roughly one third (34%) of work-able residents had any income from wages. (Charlotte Housing Authority, 2009).

Resources for Implementation

To plan their interventions, CHA staff contacted other MTW PHAs to ask their advice on implementation of work requirements with case management supports and rent reforms similar to those the CHA was contemplating. The staff also reviewed lessons learned from a previous CHA-developed economic self-sufficiency program and their implementation experiences with the Family Self-sufficiency (FSS) program.

Using funds set aside as a result of MTW funding flexibility, the CHA contracted with a local social services agency to begin providing assessment and case management at three public housing sites in September 2010. The sites were selected by the CHA staff to serve as the pilot for the work requirement because they deemed them better able to support resident employment (closer to transportation and employment opportunities). The CHA included two other housing developments already designated for families participating in the FSS program. Case managers employed by the CHA already provided supportive services to the residents there.

Before the CHA could fully implement their proposed 2009-2010 Plan to HUD, which included case management, a work requirement, and rent sanctions for non-compliance, the agency experienced a major loss of leadership. First, the CHA's Chief Executive Officer resigned in September 2011 to take over management of the Chicago Housing Authority (Stabley, 2011). Second, with the CEO's departure, other executive staff also resigned, leaving the CHA in transition. Without key leadership, the CHA Board moved to delay enforcement of the work requirement with its accompanying rent sanctions.

Implementation Environment

Although the loss of leadership resources was clearly a critical factor in the CHA Board's decision, it was the *implementation environment* that factored as or more significantly in the decision to delay implementation. The CHA became an MTW site in 2008, just as the Great Recession was beginning. At the time the CHA planned to implement rent reforms and a work requirement in April 2009, the unemployment rate in North Carolina was rising steadily and peeked in February 2010 at 11.5% (Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, 2017). If the work requirement was implemented at this time, CHA's residents would face a highly competitive employment environment in which few would succeed.

Engagement with stakeholder groups is a critical aspect of the *quality of the implementation*, in large part because the attitudes of stakeholder groups so strongly influences how the *problem* is defined, the *resources* provided for implementation, and the perception of *outcomes.* The CHA wrote in their 2007-2008 MTW Plan to HUD, "CHA will use FY 2007 as a planning year to further develop the MTW Program. Public participation forums will be held to maximize input into the MTW Plan from the Board of Commissioners, residents, key stakeholders and the general public" (Charlotte Housing Authority, 2007, p. 12). CHA staff engaged in a variety of processes intended to gather information, assess potential impacts, and determine resources needed. These processes included, “brainstorming sessions with staff, MTW suggestion surveys … as well as community meetings focused on MTW” (Charlotte Housing Authority, 2009, p. 9).

During one of the early information gathering sessions, it became clear that key stakeholders had concerns about how the proposed set of policies would affect *the problem* of resident self-sufficiency. Stakeholders, including an attorney from Legal Aide of North Carolina and a community provider for homelessness services worried that the policies would increase homelessness. They were concerned that a high number of residents who would be affected by the sanctions associated with failing to meet the work requirement. They also worried that there were likely high numbers of “disabled” residents who had never been assessed as such and that many of these residents likely suffered from significant and unaddressed mental and physical health disabilities that would impact their capacity to comply with the work policy (Charlotte Housing Authority, 2009).

Already faced with high unemployment associated with the recession and the loss of their CEO, staff learned that the Democratic National Party would hold its 2012 National Convention in Charlotte (“Democrats Pick Charlotte for 2012 Convention,” 2011). Political perceptions strongly influence public and stakeholder attitudes.

Demonstrating the interconnectedness of the *implementation environment* and *resources for implementation,* an executive staff member shared during interviews, “It’s a challenge when you don’t have a CEO. Some of the initiatives [indicating the work requirement in particular] are a bit of a political hot-spot. Without a CEO out there to embrace that and market it in political circles, you’re a bit challenged” (Donegan, 2012).

While case management supports continued during this entire period, the “controversial” work requirement and rent sanction were delayed for more than four years. Eventually, the CHA felt prepared to move forward. A new CEO was hired in late 2012 and other executive and middle management staff were in place (Housing Authority of the City of Charlotte, 2013). The unemployment rate in the Charlotte area had dropped over this time (United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2017) and the CHA and Board members agreed to enforce sanctions for households that failed to meet the work requirement beginning in January 2014 (Rohe, et al., 2015).

Quality of the Implementation

The *quality of the implementation* is dependent on staff skills and supervision, the agency’s ability to engage in continuous quality improvement (data collection, review, and program adjustment), and successful stakeholder engagement.

The CHA uses a data management system called Yardi that is one of several systems favored by housing authorities for managing housing unit and leasing data. Yardi is not built to track data associated with social service case plans. Frustrated by attempts to make changes to Yardi, by the time the 2012-2013 Plan was submitted to HUD, the CHA had instead adopted a Master Tracking System in Excel for analyzing data on supportive services. Staff were required to maintain data in both systems to track resident progress toward economic self-sufficiency.

Prior to beginning sanctions enforcement, CHA case managers assessed or reassessed all residents listed as non-elderly and non-disabled living in the five work-requirement family housing sites. They found many residents who were ostensibly “work-able” but who instead should have been categorized as disabled due to health issues. The CHA exempted these individuals from the work requirement and worked with some to file for legal disability status (Charlotte Housing Authority, 2015b).

A critical aspect of the quality of any implementation is the adherence to *continuous quality improvement protocols*. To determine if the work requirement and related policies were being implemented as proposed and to monitor the effect of those policies on residents, staff, and the PHA, the CHA carefully reviewed front-line case manager and property manager reports of resident compliance. Case managers maintained data in the Master Tracking System designed to capture employment, participation in training and education, and referrals to support services outside of housing. Property managers maintained data related to rent assessments and court filings for non-payment of rent in the Yardi data system. Middle managers charged with overseeing the self-sufficiency interventions met regularly with front-line case managers to monitor and coach the processes of implementation. Front-line, middle management, executive staff, and outside stakeholder groups closely monitored outcomes associated with the policies including hardship requests, court filings, and evictions (Charlotte Housing Authority, 2015; Rohe et al., 2016; Rohe, et al., 2015). Working from this data, the CHA made modifications to the MTW Plan, reported progress to their Board of Commissioners, and continued to meet with community stakeholders such as Legal Aide and staff from the Homeless Network.

Outcomes

To evaluate the success of the work requirement, the CHA decided to track (1) the employment rate of work-able heads of household and other family members, (2) the increase in the mean and median income of families (wages and other sources) (3), the number of family members in training and education, and (4) the amount of money spent on resident supportive services (Charlotte Housing Authority, 2010).

In June 2016, the Center for Urban and Regional Studies (CURS) published a report on the interim impacts of the work requirements at the request of the CHA (Rohe, Webb, & Frescoln, 2016a). The employment rate had risen in the five work requirement sites between enforcement of the work requirement in January 2014 and December 2016; from approximately 72% at the two FSS sites to 97% and from just under 40% to 90% at the three other sites. Unsurprisingly, household income also rose during this period. Rather than the mean and median incomes, CURS reported the change in minimum renters (households whose income rose above $250 monthly or $3,000 annually). The percent of minimum renters dropped from 40% in December 2013 to 18% among households living in the two FSS sites and from 55% to 30% at the three other sites.

Data on the number of residents engaged in training and education and money spent on the interventions comes from the CHA 2016 report to HUD (Charlotte Housing Authority, 2017). The CHA anticipated providing supportive services to increase self-sufficiency to 295 households and reported providing them to 293 households. The cost of providing supportive services to households in these five sites was approximately $2,600 per household prior to the CHA's changes in case management activities and was reported as $1,300 per household in the 2016 MTW report to HUD.

Analysis

This research seeks to better understand public policy implementation by examining whether the CHA's work policy implementation process followed the *public policy implementation framework* and asking what lessons can be learned from the CHA's experience to facilitate implementation of similar strategies by other MTW PHAs. In this next section, I will discuss the ways that the CHA either adhered to or departed from the recommended practices of the *Public Policy Implementation Framework* and suggest how this can serve to inform the choices of other MTW PHAs.

The Problem

The MTW legislation calls on participating agencies to “incentivize” the economic self-sufficiency of work-able public housing residents. If this is *the problem* to be defined and solved, no public housing self-sufficiency intervention will be sufficient to the task. The unemployment and underemployment of public housing residents is rooted in historical and political processes some of which are the results of public housing policy (Rosenthal, 2007; Turner, Popkin, & Rawlings, 2009) but many of which are the result of a series of blatently racist macro and micro political policy decisions (Massey & Denton, 1993).

Assuming that PHAs only have control over those policies within their direct sphere, the PHA must examine how its policies contribute to *the problem* of resident unemployment of underemployment. Critics of public housing suggest that the standard PHA rent structure that charges 30 percent of adjusted income serves as a disincentive to increasing household income – as income goes up, so does the resident’s portion of the rent (Rosenthal, 2007). Others argue that public housing’s mission to provide housing for highly vulnerable families places an extreme burden on the PHA to address severe and often long-standing employment, education, and health barriers among their residents (Turner, Popkin, & Rawlings, 2009). Housing authorities are charged with providing quality living environments not with resolving chronic health conditions, incomplete educations, or other barriers to employment among their residents (Cunningham, et al., 2005).

Effective *Public Policy Implementation* accurately identifies the *principal causal linkages* to *the problem* and uses this analysis to select interventions. Low resident employment and household income is a complex problem – there are no clear causal pathways pointing to specific interventions (Mumford, et al., 2000). Recognizing this, the CHA pursued a multifaceted work requirement that incorporated an incentive of supportive case management and a rent sanction for non-compliance. The supportive case management was intended to address resident barriers to employment. The work requirement and rent sanction for households that failed to comply with the work requirement were instituted to address CHA analysis of resident employment data suggesting that even in developments where case management was made available to residents, many work-able residents did not work. If an incentive of case management was insufficient to increase resident employment then the CHA concluded a sanction was needed to impel residents to meet a work requirement.

The CHA implemented policies that were within the scope of the agency's control. Many, arguably most, of the causes for resident unemployment or underemployment lay outside the CHA's control. These range from barriers related to the residents themselves including issues such as health and education, to those related to the resident's family structure and resources such as the need to care for children or the lack of transportation, to the structures of welfare supports such as Medicaid and food stamps. All of these barriers significantly impact a resident's ability to work and their individual decisions regarding the pros and cons of work.

Resources for Implementation

Resources for implementation include financial, technological, programmatic, staff capacity, and leadership capacity. Resources are highly influenced by the implementation environment and the quality of the implementation is ultimately reliant on both resources and the environment.

Neither at the time that the CHA was selecting their self-sufficiency interventions nor today are there any documented “evidence-based practices” to increase the economic mobility of work-able public housing residents. There are several promising practices, including the FSS and Jobs Plus programs (Bloom, Riccio, & Verma, 2005; Planmatics, Inc, DeSilva, & Wijewardena, 2011). Both these programs incentivize employment by setting aside the rent increase tied to increases in household income. In the FSS program, a household’s rent increases as their income increases, but the additional rent is placed into an interest-bearing escrow account for the household’s use upon “graduation” from the program (US Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2018). The Jobs-Plus program uses an “income disregard” policy in which enrolled households are not subject to income-based rent increases for a set period of time, usually two years (Bloom et al., 2005). Participation in both of these programs is voluntary, therefore neither has a “work requirement” or includes a sanction for non-compliance. Only MTW PHAs have the capacity to implement a work requirement and only eight agencies, including the CHA, have decided to do so. Although there are some limited evaluations suggesting that MTW-based work requirements may be effective at increasing employment without causing harm (Frescoln, et al., 2018; Rohe et al., 2016), at the time the CHA decided to enforce the policy, there was no public housing-based work requirement research available.

High capacity leadership and personnel are two key resources needed for any program implementation but are particularly critical when implementing an untested and controversial policy. The CHA demonstrated prudence in their decision to delay enforcement of the work policy when confronted by high area unemployment and the unexpected loss of agency leaders.

Implementation Environment

The *implementation environment* often dictates the choices available. The economic conditions in Charlotte in 2010 suggested that public housing residents - who already faced barriers associated with low educational attainment, poor health, and inconsistent work histories - would struggle to compete in a labor market with over 11 percent unemployment. The CHA had to delay enforcement of the work requirement and rent sanction until the economic environment offered more opportunities for employment.

Quality of the Implementation

The quality of the implementation is highly dependent on resources and the implementation environment. The CHA worked to manage the quality of the implementation by engaging in a process of continuous quality improvement. They collected and reported data, reviewed reports provided to them by their evaluators, and worked with the staff at various levels to make incremental changes to their policies and procedures.

Throughout this process, the CHA was challenged by their ability to collect and analyze data, particularly related to case management tasks and outcomes. Because resident self-sufficiency case management support is not necessarily a core PHA function, HUD has not emphasized development of nor provided housing agencies with a database designed to manage traditional social work case management functions. After an expensive and time-intensive process of modifying the Yardi database, the CHA abandoned their efforts and resorted to tracking the implementation and outcomes of the work requirement policy in an excel database created by staff. While the excel database captured data month to month, case managers often failed to accurately track changes in hours worked, completion of key goals such as receipt of a

General Equivalency Diploma, or to capture referrals made to various workshops resulting in loss of critical data (Rohe, et al., 2013; Rohe, et al., 2015).

As evidenced by the differences in planned and actual implementation of the self-sufficiency reforms (see Table 3.2), the CHA chose to delay or alter many of the interventions. Staff shared different perspectives on the halting implementation of the work requirement. Some felt the delay was appropriate given the economic and political conditions while others argued that the delay had negatively impacted both staff and resident perceptions of the MTW interventions. Residents and staff wondered if the agency really would follow through on the work requirement and sanctions that had been announced several years earlier but not enforced.

Outcomes

Housing and self-sufficiency professionals cannot agree on the most effective interventions to increase the economic mobility of low-income families living in assisted housing. Without clear causal pathways to direct interventions, however, the CHA implemented many simultaneous reforms making it difficult to isolate the effect of any one of them. As a result, although the CHA had intended to track changes in mean and median income, the rent reforms implemented with the work requirement meant that it was not possible to actually know how much income had changed. The only reliable measure was a change in households paying minimum rent (household income under $3,000) because these households were required to report changes in income within the same month that they occurred.

Based on their experiences with the work requirement and other reforms, the CHA proposed a series of changes to the work requirement in 2016. Reflecting what they believed to be a successful implementation, they proposed increasing the number of hours each head of household would need to work and the number of hours each other member of the household would need to work. The agency also proposed expanding the work requirement and case management supports to all work-able households who are minimum renters (adjusted income less than $3,000 annually). CHA executive staff proposed the changes based on data and evaluations conducted over the course of several years (Frescoln et al., 2018; Rohe et al., 2013, 2015, 2016) and a belief that the agency and community stakeholders could adequately meet the needs of the expanded work requirement population without increasing evictions (Evans, 2016).

Limitations

This research was conducted using a single case — the Charlotte Housing Authority in Charlotte, NC between the years of 2007 and 2017. Although we believe it to be typical of any mid-sized PHA that would be selected for MTW participation, we acknowledge that some aspects of the case study could reflect properties unique to the CHA, the Charlotte, NC region, or the ten years encompassed.

This study has attempted to increase the transferability of the findings and policy recommendations by utilizing an implementation framework to guide analysis of the case study. We believe this pragmatic approach improves understanding within the case and its applicability to other public policy processes.

Finally, as part of the research team, I have had access to publicly available written materials and have engaged with executive, middle management, and front-line staff in interviews over the course of the MTW's implementation period, but there may be facts or insights not shared in these venues.

Policy Recommendations

The CHA's experience is broadly reflective of the challenges often faced by an institution as it seeks to engage in a major change process. With the exception of major events like a recession, many challenges can be anticipated and addressed proactively. The CHA's experience in planning and implementing their work policy is therefore instructive for other public agencies and particularly for other current and future MTW PHAs. Lessons learned from Charlotte's experience include the importance of: ensuring leadership is in place and that stakeholders are consulted early and often; taking socioeconomic and political factors into account; ensuring data systems are in place prior to implementation; and engaging in processes of on-going evaluation.

Charlotte's 2009-2010 MTW Plan anticipated implementation of more than 27 different initiatives within two years of MTW admission. As housing authorities engage in reform and installation of new programs, they should keep in mind the complexity of public policy implementation.

The PHA needs to keep in mind leadership and staff capacities. Traditional PHAs, even high-performing ones, have little experience with new program or policy development and implementation. Staff will develop capacities for this work over time; however, executive leadership and skilled coaching from middle-management are essential to developing an agency-wide aptitude for innovation and competent implementation.

The CHA also recognized the importance of having robust data and reports for implementation and on-going evaluation. Many organizations struggle with capturing and analyzing data. MTW PHAs face a particular challenge as the data systems available to and designed for management of a local housing agency are not adequate or designed for capturing and reporting data outside standard procedures and HUD regulations. Housing authorities contemplating the kinds of reforms instituted by the CHA, such as supportive case management and a work requirement, must prioritize data systems and identification of data critical to evaluation activities.

When Congress authorized the MTW program, they did not allocate any additional funding for program development, data collection, or evaluation. Moving to Work was conceived as a bottom-up mechanism of policy innovation and reform; however, its value as an incubator of effective new policies and programs has so far been limited by insufficient data and an inability to isolate and evaluate the reforms (Buck, 2013; Government Accountability Office, 2012; Scirè, 2013). The MTW statute did not require that participating agencies engage in independent evaluation of their reforms.

Charlotte set aside funds to engage a variety of consultants to help with the development and implementation of their MTW plan and contracted an independent research group to provide process and outcome evaluations of their ten-year plan. The information provided by these outside experts was used to direct and refine implementation of the agency's proposed policies and programs. These supports helped the CHA make evidence-informed decisions about their reforms. This data is also useful when engaging with and educating stakeholder groups.

HUD Secretary, Ben Carson, has called for implementation of a work requirement similar to the one implemented by the CHA (Carson, 2018; "Why Charlotte Is One of Ben Carson's Models for HUD's Work Requirements," 2018). Prior to expansion of the policy or national adoption, much more research and evaluation of the policy impacts is needed (W. Fischer, 2017; Frescoln et al., 2018; Jensen, 2018; Webb, Frescoln, & Rohe, 2016).

As demonstrated through this case study, effective implementation is challenging and the decisions made about how to navigate the myriad factors involved in the implementation process are critical to their success. Without sufficient attention to and adequate support for the drivers of public policy implementation, reforms implemented by these PHAs may not meet their full potential or could do harm to residents, staff, PHA operations, or communities.

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CHAPTER 4 – WORK REQUIREMENTS AND WELL-BEING IN PUBLIC HOUSING

As poverty and minority status can exacerbate individuals' risk for physical and mental health disabilities, public housing residents – 64% of whom are classified as very low-income and 45% of whom are African-American – are at especially high risk for poor health (Adler and Rehkopf 2008). Furthermore, many public housing residents live in negative social environments (e.g. high crime and socially isolated) that can further lower well-being (Bennett, Smith, and Wright 2006). One study found that public housing residents were three times more likely to report fair or poor health and twice as likely to be diagnosed with chronic health conditions as compared to black women nationally. In addition, 29% of public housing residents reported poor mental health (Manjarrez, Popkin, and Guernsey 2007).

This paper addresses the question: What are the impacts on the well-being of residents when public housing agencies (PHAs) require work-able (i.e., less than 62 years of age and non-disabled) residents to have a job in order to remain in their housing? In theory, a work requirement could improve well-being by increasing household income (Danna and Griffin 1999; Stronks et al. 1997). However, work requirements could also reduce well-being by increasing stress and housing precarity (Bowie and Dopwell 2013; Hasenfeld, Ghose, and Larson 2004; Starkey et al. 2012).

Currently, only eight PHAs – all participants in the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's (HUD) Moving to Work (MTW) demonstration – have implemented work requirements for some or all of their work-able residents (Webb, Frescoln, and Rohe, 2014). As of March 2018, requirements range from 20 hours per week of work for a single household member to 30 hours for all work-able adults in the household (“Moving to Work - Public and Indian Housing - HUD” 2017). Although all policies have been implemented with case management supports and protections for residents who find compliance difficult, failure to comply results in eventual eviction in all but one agency (“Moving to Work - Public and Indian Housing - HUD” 2017).

The MTW demonstration encourages participating housing agencies to implement innovative policies and programs to help residents achieve self-sufficiency, among other statutory goals. To do so, MTW agencies can seek waivers from standard HUD regulations and to combine various funding streams into a single, flexible account. MTW agencies have the funding and regulatory flexibility to implement not only policies to structure resident behaviors such as work requirements but also policies to support those behaviors including case management, transportation, childcare assistance, and tuition reimbursement. Together, these supports could increase well-being by connecting public housing residents to employment, education, healthcare, and other resources.

Well-being is a multi-dimensional concept that encompasses physical, mental, emotional and social functioning (U.S. Office of Disease Prevention and Health Promotion 2017). To achieve a state of well-being, one must be sufficiently healthy and resourced to meet the basic needs of the family, while also being able to engage with family, friends, and community. This paper seeks to expand our understanding of public housing work requirements by examining how well-being, examined through changes in household income and self-rated health, is affected by CHA’s work policy. To date, work requirements in public housing have attracted little research attention and the available research has primarily focused on the economic impacts on public housing residents and not the impacts on wellbeing. For example, an evaluation of Charlotte Housing Authority's work requirement found a statistically significant and positive impact on residents' employment status without a corresponding increase in evictions (Rohe, Webb, and Frescoln 2016). Placing these findings in the broader context of resident well-being is crucial to understand the impact of work requirements.

Literature Review

Defining Well-being

According to the US Office of Disease Prevention and Health Promotion website (2017), "Well-being is a relative state where one maximizes his or her physical, mental, and social functioning in the context of supportive environments to live a full, satisfying, and productive life." As such, well-being comprises physical and mental health components in addition to income, safety, and social connections. To achieve a state of well-being, one must be sufficiently healthy and resourced to meet not only basic needs, but also to be able to engage with family, friends, and community.

At their most basic, measures of well-being include physical factors that comprise the base of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs, which include access to safe water, housing, food, and physical security (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2017). Higher-order well-being measures include physical and mental health factors that impact an individual's capacity to engage in activities such as employment, parenting, and recreation (Dodge et al. 2012; Nussbaum 1993).

Beyond objective health measures, well-being also encompasses subjective factors including life satisfaction, sense of control or autonomy, and level of social connectedness (Diener et al. 1985; King, Renó, and Novo 2013; US Office of Disease Prevention and Health Promotion, 2017). These subjective measures help explain why some individuals, who have all their objective needs met, rate their well-being as poor while others, who live in much more difficult circumstances, might rate their well-being as high (Andrews and Withey 1976; Diener 2000; Dodge et al. 2012).

Well-being and Employment

Wage employment has many obvious benefits related to well-being (Bambra 2011); perhaps chief among these is providing financial resources to meet basic needs (Deaton 2008; Diener and Biswas-Diener 2002). Poverty and unmet basic needs are highly correlated with poor physical and mental health (Burns 2015; Kitagawa and Hauser 1973).

In addition to increasing the purchasing power of households, wage employment itself is linked to improved health and well-being (Faragher, Cass, and Cooper 2005). Studies have consistently found a mutually-reinforcing relationship between employment and health (a critical component of well-being). Ross and Mirowsky (1995) found that not only does being healthy improve the odds of obtaining employment, but also that full-time employment predicts slower declines in health. Full-time employment had a particularly protective effect on women's health (Stronks et al. 1997). Even after controlling for other socioeconomic factors, increased wages are associated with improved health in both men and women (Stronks et al. 1997).

Studies on households receiving Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) — a population similar to public housing residents — demonstrated improvements in mental health, including reduced depression, when individuals earned at least $1,000 per month (Sullivan and DeCoster 2001). A 2007 study of mothers required to work as part of welfare reform found that employment resulted in improvements in the mothers' psychological well-being and reductions in financial strain and food insecurity (Coley et al. 2007).

Increasing employment among public housing residents

Public housing helps low-income families meet many of the basic needs fundamental to well-being — access to shelter, water, and utilities — affordably at 30 percent of adjusted income (McCarty, Perl, and Jones 2014). However, safe and stable housing is just one component of well-being. Residents of public housing encounter risks associated with unemployment or underemployment and have poor health resulting from family health histories, food insecurity, and exposure to trauma and unhealthful environments (e.g. violence, pollution, and social isolation) (Alfred 2007; Bowie and Dopwell 2013; Park, Fertig, and Metraux 2014). Further, interrupted educations, inadequate job skills, and unreliable transportation and childcare make obtaining employment difficult to achieve (Edin and Kissane 2010; Popkin 2004).

Recognition of these barriers led US Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to begin encouraging housing agencies to implement self-sufficiency programming (Rosenthal 2007). These programs include Family Self-Sufficiency (FS), Residents Opportunities and Self-Sufficiency (ROSS), HOPE VI Community Supportive Services (CSS), Jobs Plus, and locally-developed programs including those associated with Moving to Work and Choice Neighborhoods. Participants generally receive case management services, including assessment of needs and referrals to training, education programs, employment, and other resources (Abt Associates Inc 2001; Annie E. Casey Foundation 2010; Bloom, Riccio, and Verma 2005; DeSilva et al. 2011; Ficke and Piesse 2004).

Overall, participation in public housing self-sufficiency programs has been found to have a modest positive impact on both employment and household income. Studies of the FSS program, for example, find that graduates are more likely to be employed and have higher incomes than non-graduates and accrue an average escrow savings account of between $3,000 and $6,000 (Anthony 2005; DeSilva et al. 2011; Ficke and Piesse 2004; Sard 2001). Likewise, studies of the Job-Plus program found modest increases in household income when the intervention model is properly implemented and sustained (Bloom, Riccio, and Verma 2005). These initiatives' effects on the economic self-sufficiency of public housing residents has been limited, however, due to low participation and completion rates (Bloom, Riccio, and Verma 2005; DeSilva et al. 2011; Ficke and Piesse 2004). Evaluators also caution that results of public housing self-sufficiency interventions vary substantially based on the quality of the implementation (Rosenthal 2007; Bloom, Riccio, and Verma 2005).

While not solely focused on improving residents' self-sufficiency, HUD's Moving to Work (MTW) demonstration encourages participating housing agencies to implement innovative policies and programs to help residents achieve self-sufficiency, among other statutory goals. Participation in MTW is restricted to PHAs that meet HUD's definition of "high performing" which includes a record of strong fiscal management and high HCV lease-up rates (Office of Public and Indian Housing, HUD 2017). This designation is critical as MTW allows agencies to seek waivers from standard HUD regulations and, more importantly, to combine various funding streams into a single, flexible account. Funding flexibility can allow PHAs to fund supportive services including case management, transportation, childcare assistance, and tuition expenses for job training and educational programming.

Other MTW efforts to increase self-sufficiency have proven more controversial. Arguably the most controversial are those that have the potential to increase housing insecurity, including work requirements and time limits (de-identified, 2016). Eight MTW agencies have implemented a work requirement for some or all of their work-able residents: Atlanta, Champaign County (IL), Charlotte, Chicago, Delaware, Lawrence-Douglas County (KS), Louisville, and San Bernardino (CA). The requirements range from 20 hours per week of work for a single household member to 30 hours for all work-able adults (“Moving to Work - Public and Indian Housing - HUD” 2017). All policies have been implemented with case management supports and protections for residents who find compliance difficult (“Moving to Work - Public and Indian Housing - HUD” 2017). Failure to comply with the policy results in eventual eviction in all but one agency (Louisville).

Despite their potential to increase housing insecurity, we know little about how work requirements impact public housing residents. However, the work requirement component of Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) within the 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity and Reconciliations Act (PRWORA), otherwise known as “welfare reform,” has been extensively evaluated (Morgen, Acker, and Weigt 2013; Schoeni and Blank 2000; Falk, McCarty, and Aussenberg 2014; Meyer and Rosenbaum 2000). Given their shared target population and substantially similar goal of increasing economic self-sufficiency, we can develop hypotheses about the impacts of a public housing work requirement with case management services from studies of the impacts of TANF work requirements.

Initial evaluations of welfare reform found that more households became employed (Cancian et al. 1999). Later evaluations, however, found that without substantial improvements in education (Edin and Kissane 2010) and subsidized childcare (Cook 2012; Shlay 2010), individuals did not sufficiently increase their wage income to offset increases in the costs associated with working, such as transportation and childcare, in addition to loss of other welfare benefits like food stamps (Cancian et al. 2002; Corcoran et al. 2000; Henrici 2006; Meyer and Sullivan 2006; Ellen et al. 2004).

While increased income is critical to well-being, current welfare policies generally reduce benefits like Medicaid and food stamps when income rises, which can result in net reductions in household income, reduced access to medical care, and increases in food insecurity (Edin and Shaefer 2015; Henrici 2006). These stressors can lead to increased rates of anxiety, depression, and disease, further eroding the health and well-being of a population whose health is already worse than that of the general population (Corcoran, Danziger, and Tolman 2004; Jayakody, Danziger, and Pollack 2000; O'Campo and Rojas-Smith 1998).

Well-being among individuals reliant on welfare supports such as public housing, food stamps, and Medicaid is complex and reflective of both personal and policy actions. In this study, we examine how a public-housing work requirement, implemented with case management and rent reforms, impacts residents' well-being. Based on previous research (Rohe, et al., 2016), we anticipate the work requirement and case management will increase employment without increasing evictions. Based on the literature review, we expect that the CHA's work requirement will be associated with increases in self-rated health due to access to additional supportive resources (case management, transportation, and referrals to training and other programs), increased employment, and higher household income. However, the work requirement could also increase household stress by raising anxiety or depression due to the difficulties associated with work and single parenting, loss of welfare benefits, such as food stamps, or fear of eviction.

Study Site, Study Design, and Data

This paper examines the effects of a work requirement implemented by Charlotte Housing Authority (CHA) on the well-being of affected residents. CHA manages roughly 3,300 public housing units and 8,500 Housing Choice Vouchers. Admitted to MTW in 2007, their program comprises several major initiatives, including rent reforms, expanding its housing portfolio, and a work requirement, which only applies to work able residents in five of its fifteen public housing developments.

CHA's work requirement mandates that all work-able households - those with at least one non-disabled adult aged 18 to 61 - maintain 15 hours per week of employment; in lieu of employment, residents may complete pre-approved work-related activities for up to 12 months. Beginning in fall 2011, CHA has provided voluntary case management to residents at all five work-requirement sites. CHA notified affected residents in fall 2013 that work requirement enforcement would begin in January 2014.

Case managers work with property managers to monitor compliance. Sanctions for non-compliance include:

- Initially, non-compliant residents are placed on a two-month improvement plan which requires them to meet with case managers and either obtain employment or complete "work-related activities." Approved work-related activities include documented job searches, training or licensure programs, and some educational activities.
- Continued non-compliance results in loss of half the household's subsidy. In most cases, this means that rent would be reassessed from the minimum $75 to between $360 and $450 per month for a two- to three-bedroom unit.
- If non-compliance continues for more than six months, the household loses its entire subsidy.
- Households are evicted if they cannot pay the higher rents or if they remain non-compliant for one year.

Prior evaluations of CHA's work requirement indicate broad resident support for, and compliance with, the policy (Rohe et al. 2013; Rohe, Webb, and Frescoln 2016). A vast majority of residents believe the work requirement is fair: among work-able respondents to a 2012 survey, 87 percent of those in the work requirement sites and 80 percent of those in the non-work requirement sites thought so (Rohe et al. 2013). Administrative data suggests that the policy has not increased evictions; since enforcement began in May 2014 and September 2016, only two households have been evicted (Rohe, Webb, and Frescoln 2017).

While case management alone was not successful at increasing employment, when paired with a work requirement, residents' employment increased significantly (Rohe, Webb, and Frescoln 2016). Analysis of administrative data in December 2012 (15 months after case management began) indicated 51% of residents were employed. One year later, just prior to enforcement of the work requirement, 58% were employed, and a year after enforcement began, wage employment had risen to 88%. After another year, the number of residents employed was 93.9% (Rohe, Webb, and Frescoln 2016).

Study Methods

CHA implemented the work requirement in five of its fifteen family public-housing sites thereby allowing for a natural quasi-experimental design. Residents living in the five work requirement sites are the treatment group, while the comparison group is composed of work-able residents living in the other ten family public-housing sites.

Given how little we know about public housing work requirements, we use mixed-methods and convergent analysis (Creswell 2015) — which involves separate analysis of each type of data and then comparisons of the results to seek areas of convergence or divergence in the findings — to investigate the impacts of the policy on well-being. This approach improves our understanding by leveraging the advantages of both quantitative and qualitative methods (Caracelli and Greene 1997; London, Schwartz, and Scott 2007).

Data for this study include mail survey responses, CHA administrative data, and longitudinal interviews with residents of public housing. Surveys were mailed to all heads of household in CHA's fifteen non-elderly public housing sites in July 2010 (response rate 75%) and September 2014 (response rate 53%). Survey data includes responses to questions about physical and mental health and food security. Quantitative analysis is limited to those work-able respondents who responded to both the 2010 and 2014 surveys (25 treatment and 101 comparison cases). Administrative data for each household includes the head of household's age, the number of children, disability and elderly status, and household income. The income variable used is obtained from the Total Household Income in HUD's Multifamily Tenant Characteristics System (MTCS). Work-able households living in CHA housing have their incomes verified biennially unless they are a minimum renter, in which case the household is required to report an increase in their income within 30 days. Due to these policies, the Total Household Income may not be the household's actual income at the time the variable was taken in June 2011 and December 2014.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with work-able residents subject to the work requirement in January 2014, September 2014, and November 2015, and with residents in the non-work requirement (comparison) sites in September 2016. Interviewees in the treatment group were randomly selected from residents living in the five work requirement sites in January 2014 (N=15). The interview sample for September 2014 (N=14) and November 2015 (N=15) includes this original sample as well as additional randomly-selected individuals. Fifteen heads of household were interviewed more than once across the three periods. Residents placed on improvement plans or a subsidy sanction were oversampled to ensure that we heard their perspectives.

The comparison interviews were drawn from work-able residents who had been living in the comparison family public housing sites in December 2013 and who were still living in CHA public housing in September 2016. The sample was matched with work-able residents living in the work-requirement sites in December 2013 based on age, whether there were dependent children living in the home, household income, and whether the head of household had a high school diploma or GED.

We asked all interviewees about their household composition; health; employment experiences; educational background; participation in education, job training, or life skills programs; and receipt of welfare benefits such as Medicaid and food stamps. We also asked how working outside the home affects their family, their views on the work requirement and, if applicable, experiences with case managers and sanctions. Interviews were recorded, transcribed, and analyzed using deductive coding.

Quantitative Results

Due to limitations related to sample size, results are suggestive of trends rather than causal inferences. Summary statistics are presented for all work-able survey respondents living in public housing without the work requirement (comparison) and in the five work requirement sites (treatment). As seen in Table 1, the sample is largely composed of African-American females. Work requirement respondents were slightly younger (average 42 years vs 47), were more likely to have children (80% vs 61%), and were better resourced —56% had reliable access to a car and 84% had a high school diploma or GED.

Table 4.1: Demographic Characteristics of Treatment and Comparison Groups

2014	Public Housing Comparison (N=101)		Work Requirement Treatment (N=25)	
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.
% Female[1]	98	—	96	—
% Black/African-American[1]	98	—	100	—
Age head off household[1]	46.99	9.89	42.04	9.18
% Dependent child in home[1]	61	—	80	—
Total number children in home[1]	1.38	1.50	1.84	1.68
% Reliable access to car[2]	42	—	56	—
% High School Diploma or GED[2]	52	—	84	—

Data Sources: [1] CHA Tenant Directories December 2014
[2] 2014 Survey of CHA public housing residents

Median household income increased between 2010 and 2014 for both groups (see Table 2). Median income among comparison group members was lower than that of the treatment group in 2011 ($1,812 vs $7,540) and in 2014 after the work requirements were implemented ($3,204 vs $10,826). The resulting change in median income from 2011 to 2014 was $1,392 for the comparison group versus $3,286 for the treatment group.

Table 4.2: Median Household Income of Treatment and Comparison Groups

	Median Household Income			Standard Deviation	
	2011	2014	Change	2011	2014
Public Housing Comparison (N=101)	$1,812	$3,204	$1,392	$5,183	$6,011
Work Requirement Treatment (N=25)	$7,540	$10,826	$3,286	$6,187	$8,016

Data Source: June 2011 and December 2014 Multi-Family Tenant Characteristics System (MTCS) report

The 2014 survey of households living in the work requirement sites asked what, if anything, the head of household had done in response to the work requirement. Fifty two percent indicated they had looked for a new job, 37% said they had found a new job, and 22% said they were working more hours. The Total Household Income data within the MTCS data is reflective of these survey results: reported wage employment increased from 48% to 60% among residents in the work requirement sites between 2011 and 2014.

Although household income increased, food insecurity among households who were subject to the work requirement rose from 60% in 2010 to 76% in 2014. The increase is consistent with what heads of household said during interviews – that their food stamps were cut as household income rose.

Table 4.3: Household Income Characteristics of Treatment and Comparison Groups

	Public Housing Comparison (N=101)			Work Requirement Treatment (N=25)		
Percent of Households	2011	2014	% Change	2011	2014	% Change
With wage any income[1]	20	36	16	48	60	12
With total income ≥ $1,000/month[1]	9	17	8	28	40	12
Minimum renter[1]	69	50	-19	36	24	-12
Food ran out sometimes or often[2]	67	65	-2	60	76	16

Data Sources: [1] June 2011 and December 2014 Multi-Family Tenant Characteristics System (MTCS) report
[2] 2010 and 2014 surveys of CHA public housing residents

Low-income and minority populations have worse health outcomes than the general population and our survey results confirm this (see Table 3). On average, our respondents estimated their health to be "good" (1 is poor, 3 is good, and 5 is excellent) but overall self-rated health worsened slightly within both the comparison (3.21 to 2.91) and treatment (3.84 to 3.04) groups between 2010 and 2014. Forty-five percent of respondents in the comparison group and 40% of those in the treatment group report having at least two chronic diseases in 2014 including asthma, hypertension, diabetes, or an autoimmune or inflammatory disease such as lupus, fibromyalgia, or arthritis.

Table 4.4: Mean of Health Characteristics for Treatment and Comparison Groups

	Public Housing - Comparison (N=101)					Work Requirement - Treatment (N=25)				
	2010		2014		Change in Mean	2010		2014		Change in Mean
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.		Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	
Self rated health (SRH)	3.21	1.19	2.91	1.14	-0.30	3.84	0.90	3.04	1.14	-0.80
CES-D (score ≥ 10 is depressed)	9.13	6.22	10.28	6.63	1.15	8.60	5.85	10.44	5.99	1.84
BMI (≥ 30 obese in AA women)[1]	32.78	9.01	33.99	9.35	1.21	32.95	10.09	35.18	9.67	2.23

Data Sources: 2010 and 2014 surveys of CHA public housing residents

[1] New studies account for different ranges of healthy/unhealthy BMI in non-White populations (Wagner & Heyward, 2000)

Survey data indicate that respondents' poor health impacts their daily living in multiple ways and most measures of health worsened for those in both the treatment and comparison groups. Self-rated health, depression, Body Mass Index (BMI) and the number of chronic diseases heads of household reported all increased. While not statistically significant, reported anxiety increased more among the treatment than the comparison group between 2010 and 2014.

Table 4.5: Health Characteristics by Percent for Treatment and Comparison Groups

	Public Housing Comparison (N=101)			Work Requirement Treatment (N=25)		
Percent of Households	2010	2014	% Change	2010	2014	% Change
Two or more chronic diseases	20	45	25	12	40	28
Physical health limited accomplishments	52	54	2	40	64	24
Physical health limited activities	46	44	-2	28	44	16
Emotional health limited accomplishments	49	46	-3	32	48	16
Anxiety affected activities	42	39	-3	24	40	16

Data Sources: 2010 and 2014 surveys of CHA public housing residents

Qualitative Results

Work Requirements and Income Changes

Based on resident surveys and interviews, the CHA work requirement impacted household income in four key ways. First, for some, the policy provided the impetus and support to secure wage employment. Although there is a common perception that public housing residents don't want to work (Mead 1986; Falk, McCarty, and Aussenberg 2014), almost every resident we spoke with in the treatment and comparison groups wanted to work and believed that other work-able residents should as well. One woman living in a work requirement site shared, "[I think the work policy is fair because] it pushes me to go out and do things I should already do, things I should've already done…job research, working on resumes, etc." Despite this support, many also expressed fear that they would unable to find work, as expressed by one resident, "For the people who are looking - it's hard. You can't make people hire you. You can't make people give you a chance."

Many interviewees in the treatment sample told us that case managers provided the support needed to obtain wage employment. A mother of two who was unemployed when she moved into a work requirement site explained, "I think it is a good stepping stone if you do what you are actually supposed to do. 'Cause they have a lot of resources for you to accomplish the things you are trying to accomplish. …I would say my best experience is my case worker." Another praised her case manager for encouraging her to complete Certified Nursing Assistant (CNA) training. She now has a job she enjoys that pays $14 per hour.

Second, the work requirement seems to have affected education, which in turn affects income, in two very different ways. Some residents said the case management helped them return to school to obtain certifications, such as a CNA, allowing them to earn more. Others, however, stated that the policy was impeding their educations (particularly completion of their GED). While less commonly expressed, frustration with case managers was mostly related to enforcement of the policy, such as requiring parents with dependent children and inadequate childcare to work, in low-wage, dead-end jobs. A mother of three without a GED who had been sanctioned for not meeting the work requirement said she didn't find the case manager helpful because, "they pushing you to find any kind of job. You know what I mean? It's not fair, because they’re not thinking about it long term. I mean working at McDonald’s is not a long-term job.” When forced to take a minimum wage position simply to meet the work requirement, a parent may be forced to not only forgo pursuing education and training opportunities that could increase her earning power, she must also take time away from her family and provide for alternative care for her child(ren). This likely results in a negligible increase in the household’s overall income.

Third, households that transitioned from unemployment or underemployment talked about having their welfare supports reduced. Just as low-wage income likely produces expenses, such as childcare that would not otherwise be incurred, even small increases in income can cause reductions in welfare benefits. Many in the work requirement sites told us that their welfare benefits had been reduced as their wage incomes increased. Several expressed frustrations similar to this one: “The more you make, the more they take.” One resident explained, “I have a temp job making $8 per hour. They cut my food stamps from $333 down to $65 so that’s not incentive to work.”

Reductions in welfare benefits are especially acute for most interviewees, as their jobs didn’t pay enough for families to live independent of welfare. A common sentiment was shared by an interviewee living in a work requirement site. When asked about her ability to become economically self-sufficient (for instance move out of public housing and off of food stamps and Medicaid), she said, “The biggest problem with me, is trying to find a decent paying, permanent job…because you can’t survive off of eight, nine, even ten dollars.” Another work requirement interviewee stated “I’m doing way better than I was before but that’s just because I’m working hard to get what I want. Other than that, no, I still feel like I’m at the bottom. I’m not getting anywhere.”

Finally, parents pointed to the tradeoffs of increased employment on their family – more income but also less family time. Almost all interviewees discussed working in the context of their parenting role. Many in the work-requirement sites told us that the increased income resulting from changes in employment had improved the overall well-being of their families because they felt less financial pressure and could afford to do a little bit more than meeting their basic needs:

> I feel like it's a stress when I'm not working, because I do not like bill collectors and then I don't like them to turn my stuff off. Then my kids…when they [are] going on field trips, "Momma, we just need five dollars…OK, I can give you five dollars to go on the field trip." But when I'm not working, it makes me feel bad.

All but three of our interviewees were single mothers and each addressed the challenge of balancing work and parenting. The lack of affordable and reliable childcare directly impacted their employment. One told us, "My biggest challenge is being a single mom. I mean, I have so much on me. If…one of the kids gets sick, I'm the only one to go get them." Another recounted turning down a fast food management position because she did not have affordable childcare.

Interviewees across all sites told us the security provided by living in public housing had a positive impact on their overall well-being. Not only did it provide shelter, but it also helped them stabilize financially. One shared, "If it wasn't for the rent being adjustable I know I probably would have been evicted a long time ago." Another articulated the role that public housing played in her ability to plan for and act on her career and educational goals. "Being a single mother of four and just going to school, the housing authority is very beneficial to me. I need to establish a career and work on it until I'm able to move out on my own."

Work Requirements and Health Outcomes

As evidenced by both survey results and resident interviews, the baseline physical and mental health of CHA's work-able public housing residents is very poor. Although health measures generally worsened within both groups, individuals living in the work requirement sites reported diminished health in all measures.

Both groups reported high rates of depressive symptomatology; depression negatively impacts physical health and reduces capacity for employment (Ross and Mirowsky 1995; Wells, Stewart, and Hays 1989). Interviews with work requirement residents suggest much of this is situational — the demands of being a single mother and struggling financially — but it was exacerbated by trauma events, poor health histories, and/or their inability to afford health care. A 35-year-old mother of three who did not have health insurance and was relocated to one of the work requirement sites after a serious domestic violence incident, told us, “They said I got high blood-pressure. I'm anemic. I know I'm depressed, so I guess I'd just say ‘good.’ When I'm not at work I sleep a lot. I'm sad, I mean, I just feel like down, depression, sad. I don't want to be bothered.”

The way a work requirement interacts with other welfare benefits such as food stamps and access to Medicaid is of significant concern given the health challenges of public housing residents. In North Carolina, for instance, in order for an adult to be eligible for full Medicaid benefits, a mother with a single dependent cannot make more than $434 monthly. If she has two children, she can’t make more than $569, and with three children no more than $667 monthly (NC Medical Assistance Health and Human Services, 2016). A household of a single parent with one child who lives in a CHA work requirement development would make *one dollar* too much to qualify for full Medicaid insurance if working only the required 15 hours per week at minimum wage (15 x $7.25 x 4 = $435). As such, the work requirement policy of just 15 hours a week and the qualifications for Medicaid are incongruent. Complying with the requirements for one program disqualifies a household from receiving the benefits of the other, thereby creating hardships.

Without full medical insurance for routine care, interviewees described going to the emergency room to access medication and health care. One woman, who was subject to the work requirement shared,

> I had to go to the ER. My blood pressure was through the roof and my head was hurting so bad. They were going to admit me if it didn't come down. I just want to be happy about something. I'm glad to be alive. I'm thankful for my health and my strength and my children and my family so I am happy about some things. But I am always depressed and sad about stuff.

Despite the challenges of reduced benefits and balancing parenting and employment, those subject to the work requirement reported feeling less stressed as a result of increased wage income. At least part of this resulted from feeling that they were better able to care for their family, "Me being the only parent, it's important for [my son] to see me going to work and working to get what we need."

Discussion

This paper has sought to understand how a public housing work requirement paired with case management affects well-being as measured by changes in household income and self-rated health. Survey and interview data suggest CHA's public housing residents support enforcement of a 15 hour per week work requirement for work-able residents when implemented with case management support and opportunities for compliance through work-related activities. Despite overall support for the policy and increases in household income, interviewees reported frustrations with obtaining living wage employment, reductions in welfare benefits following marginal increases in income, a perceived housing agency focus on employment over education, and deteriorations in self-reported health.

During interviews, those in the work requirement sites reported that the policy had provided motivation to find work and that the case managers had offered support and encouragement. Work requirement interviewees, who had increased their wage employment, indicated that increased wages had reduced some stressors by providing the household with a little extra money that could be used to pay down bills or purchase small “treats” such as a meal out or school pictures.

Although there were increases in both employment and hours worked, few households reached the threshold of $1,000 monthly found by Sullivan and DeCoster (2001) to improve mental health and depression; only 17% of comparison households and 40% of treatment households met that threshold in 2014. One reason households likely did not meet this threshold was low educational attainment; just 52% of comparison and 84% of treatment heads of household within the survey sample had either a high school diploma or a GED. Several interviewees argued that the policies would be more effective if residents without a GED or high school diplomas were given a choice between obtaining a GED or wage employment. Households were particularly frustrated that increases in income resulted in reductions in their food stamp benefits and Medicaid coverage.

Access to sufficient, healthy food and healthcare is of critical importance as responses to the 2010 and 2014 surveys suggest that self-rated health worsened within both treatment and comparison groups. Reasons for this may include the already low baseline health status of the residents and the normal health declines due to aging.

Most of the literature suggests that wage employment improves health (Faragher, Cass, and Cooper 2005; Ross and Mirowsky, 1995; Stronks et al. 1997) and interviewees in the work requirement sites reported some reductions in financial stressors; however, the survey data revealed reductions rather than improvements in measures of health. The relatively brief time of the intervention and the sample size may have contributed to these results. Also, research on welfare reform indicates that low-wage employment might not be sufficient to generate health improvements (Cancian et al. 1999; Corcoran et al. 2004; Ellen et al. 2004; Meyer and Sullivan 2006).

Limitations

Our study has several limitations we hope to address in future research. First, it was dependent on a small survey sample of 126 work-able households and an interview sample of 48 individuals. Second, we would like to examine changes over a longer period following work requirement enforcement. Finally, household income and education within the treatment and comparison groups were significantly different at baseline. Despite these limitations, this study contributes to our limited knowledge of the effects of work requirements on public housing residents.

Policy Recommendations

Only MTW agencies currently have the authority to impose work requirements. Given the limitations of this study and lack of other studies examining work requirements in public housing, we caution against expanding such policies without additional study. HUD should require any housing agency proposing a work requirement to collect additional data, including changes in health and well-being for all those living in the household.

CHA’s policy reflects recognition of barriers many work-able public-housing residents encounter in finding and maintaining employment. Other housing agencies should consider a similar policy that begins with a low employment threshold (15 – 20 hours), case management for all affected households or those who are non-compliant, and provision for engagement in “work-related activities” in lieu of wage employment. These policies have provided a safety net for residents who are making a good faith effort to find employment and protection from immediate eviction for non-compliance.

One of the most significant barriers to employment was low education levels and a lack of job skills. Housing agencies considering implementing a work requirement should allow individuals who are subject to the policy to meet it through completion of education and job training. This could be accomplished through partnerships with community agencies, including Workforce Investment Boards, to help residents develop employment skills and obtain marketable licensures.

Housing agencies should work with local public health organizations to provide additional support for improving the health of public housing residents. The health needs of this population have been well documented and our study provides additional evidence of the need for expanded services. Federal and state policy makers should carefully consider the way work requirements may impact access to health care and food.

Overall, CHA's work requirement including case management and other services was associated with increases in wage employment without increasing evictions. Parents described wanting to work to provide financially for their families and to serve as a role model for their children. They reported feeling less stressed when they had a little extra money to treat their families and pay their bills. Despite this, household income was not sufficient to support a move out of public housing, physical and mental health needs remained severe, and few residents made progress toward improving their educational levels. Housing agencies could improve the effectiveness of public housing interventions to increase family self-sufficiency and well-being by providing more job training and educational opportunities, additional health interventions, and access to case management services.

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CHAPTER 5 - CONCLUSIONS

In 2015, Chetty and Hendren published a paper that examined the impacts of poverty on the intergenerational mobility of children. In their review of the 100 largest counties in the United States, they found that children who grew up poor in Mecklenburg County have the second worst long-term economic prospects. They argued that this kind of intergenerational poverty is the result of extreme income inequality and the effects of persistent racial segregation. Only poor children growing up in Baltimore City, MD had worse economic outcomes.

In 2014, the Charlotte Housing Authority (CHA) began enforcement of a work requirement for work-able residents living in five of their family public housing developments. The policy, implemented with case management and other supports, could potentially alter the economic and overall well-being trajectories of these families.

This dissertation has sought to understand: (i) why the CHA decided to implement a work requirement with case management services and rent reforms, (ii) how the CHA went about implementing the policies and whether they adhered to recommended implementation theories, and (iii) what the well-being impacts of these policies have been on the households subject to them. Throughout, I have attempted to ask questions, utilize methods, and distill meaning and value to improve implementation and operations at the CHA and other public housing agencies contemplating similar interventions. I have uncovered and highlighted important data and themes that may help inform the dialogue more broadly about poverty and poverty interventions.

Key Findings and Policy Recomendations

Norms, Functionality, and Consequences sought to understand the rationale for a work requirement within public housing. The study found that a majority of the residents and PHA staff interviewed believe that work policies are being enforced to develop resident capacity or capabilities for work and, ultimately, self-sufficiency. Despite this, narratives surrounding the "culture of poverty" continue to preoccupy both residents and public housing staff. Particularly as policy makers call for PHAs to enact work requirements for their work-able residents, it is critical to change the dialogue. Work requirements are not needed to "force unwilling residents" to work, rather policy change is needed to remove the many barriers faced when "willing residents" want to go to work.

Understanding PHA administrator and staff motivations for implementing a work requirement within public housing helps identify how the policy should be implemented and what other issues may be motivating the need for a work requirement. Asking residents about the motivation for a work requirement helps identify how best to conduct resident outreach and engagement.

PHAs should develop education and outreach strategies for both residents and staff about the barriers and strengths of residents and the purposes of the work policy. Effective strategies could improve community relations and transition residents to a positive view of themselves, their neighbors, and the work policies.

Implementing Work found that the CHA paid heed to many but not all the factors of the implementation framework. Implementation of some activities was complicated by factors affecting implementation. These included the lack of clear causal theories about why households do not move more effectively out of public housing and the lack of evidence-based interventions to intervene and increase household economic mobility. The CHA also confronted challenges related to data collection; existing housing database systems are designed to help manage standard PHA operations such as unit leasing and rent calculation, not comprehensive case management of resident health, education, training, and employment.

An example of where the CHA demonstrated clear recognition of the factors affecting implementation was their decision to delay enforcement of the work requirement. They recognized that they could not require their less highly qualified residents to engage in wage employment during a period of high unemployment and that they would need clear political leadership once they did decide to implement.

Effectively engaging an implementation framework is challenging and the decisions made about how to navigate the myriad factors involved in the implementation process are critical to their success. Housing agency staff are not traditionally required to research, implement, and evaluate interventions – usually they focus on providing a safe and decent home. MTW PHAs are required to innovate and implement. They will need additional education about and support in engaging with the drivers of public policy implementation to effectively evalutate the reforms implemented by these PHAs. Without this, the policies PHAs develop and implement may not meet their full potential or could do harm to residents, staff, PHA operations, or communities.

The final chapter of this dissertation, *Work Requirements and Well-being* seeks to understand if the development and implementation of a work policy, which could result in eviction if not met, improves or erodes resident well-being. Resident survey results and interview data indicate that most residents support a work requirement. CHA residents support the policy as implemented with case management services, rent reforms, and the ability to engage in work related activities. Residents recommend that the CHA and other PHAs prioritize completion of a GED or high school diploma over engagement in low-wage work alone.

Interviews with residents suggest that although changes in wage employment caused a variety of logistical changes in household routines, increases in wage income produced some reductions in individual stress. Whether as a result of increased income or simply because North Carolina did not expand Medicaid, most of the women we spoke with did not have full health insurance. This lack is of particular concern given the significant health needs indicated by residents in their surveys and interviews.

As a result of rent reforms implemented by the CHA to encourage residents to increase their household incomes, it is difficult to specifically determine changes in income resulting from enforcement of the work requirement. However, both the survey and interview data suggest that a work requirement implemented with both incentives and sanctions can produce meaningful changes in engagement in wage employment. Improvement plans are a good example of this kind of balanced approach; although residents who are out of compliance with the work requirement must meet with the case managers, the case managers help residents engage with positive social supports through the completion of work-related activities. These, in turn, this can lead to increased income and overall well-being. It is also difficult to determine exactly how household income was impacted by reductions in welfare benefits resulting from increases in wage employment. Interview data suggests that most households that increased their wage income experienced some reduction in other welfare benefits, particularly food stamps.

Finally, we learned that residents believe enforcement of a work requirement results in improvements in the social characteristics of their public housing communities. Theories of mixed-income communities, social supports for work, and social disorganization suggest that increasing the percentage of working households within a community would improve social conditions.

Well-being is a “relative state” and overall, the CHA’s work requirement seems to have supported well-being through the provision of case management and other interventions to increase wage employment. Importantly, administrative data indicates the work requirement has not substantially increased evictions.

Most public housing residents want to work and believe it is important to provide financially for their families and serve as a role model for their children. Although similar in many ways to welfare reform (adoption of TANF), there is at least one significant difference. When we asked residents what had helped them move toward self-sufficiency (increased wages, reductions in welfare supports, and a potential move out of public housing), almost everyone talked about the role of affordable housing. The income-adjusted rent and assured safe shelter serves as a “stepping stone” to higher education, better work, and improved credit and budgeting.

Future Research

More research is needed to understand why more work-able residents don’t move out of public housing at higher rates. Without this information, policy makers and program administrators may continue to implement policies and programs that will fail to meet their intended objectives because they do not adequately address causal pathways.

The causes of poverty are multifaceted. Some of the challenges encountered by the CHA in their efforts to increase the economic mobility and health of their residents are ones that a PHA cannot solve on their own. These include the lack of affordable, reliable, and quality childcare, insufficient access to affordable and quality health insurance/health care, and insufficient supplies of quality and affordable housing.

Future studies should evaluate individual PHA work policies and compare across programs to begin developing promising or even evidence-based practices. Future studies should plan to interview residents of the other work policy programs and, given the change in perspectives witnessed within our sample, we recommend that those interviews be conducted over time.

Final Thoughts

Currently, there are only eight PHAs with a resident work requirement and only 39 PHAs that have the statutory capability to enforce a work requirement for work-able residents. With the proposal from HUD Secretary Carson to require work-able adults to engage in wage employment, there is a high likelihood that more PHAs will adopt work requirements. Moving to Work was conceived as a bottom-up mechanism of policy innovation and reform. Its value as an incubator of effective new policies and programs has so far been limited by insufficient data and an inability to isolate and evaluate the reforms.

There is still much work to be done to understand why public housing doesn’t work as effectively or efficiently as policy makers would like to improve the economic and overall well-being of work-able residents. The problem is extraordinarily challenging and there are numerous variables impacting success. The findings reported in this dissertation suggest that work policies implemented in ways which adhere to the theories of implementation science could be an effective tool in what PHAs can do to reduce household poverty and improve the life chances of children living in these households.

The Charlotte Housing Authority and families receiving housing assistance from the CHA may serve to map an effective path out of poverty. We hope that future research will find improvements in the life trajectories of children who spend time growing up in public housing in Charlotte, North Carolina.

APPENDIX 1:
MTW WORK/INCOME REQUIREMENT SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

- ➢ Request an updated copy of the agency's policy (in advance of call)

Q1 - Why have MTW housing authorities chosen to implement a work or income policy?
Q2 – What process did MTW housing authorities follow to develop the work or income policy?
Q3 – What have the interim outcomes of the work or income policy been?
Q4 – What recommendations do current work and income policy implementors have for those housing authorities considering a similar policy?
Q5 – How can this information inform the CHA's work requirement policy and process?

- ➢ When did you first begin discussing implementation and enforcement of a work/income requirement?

- ➢ Why were you interested in implementing a WR or MEI? What were the arguments for and against?

- ➢ What process did you go through to develop the policy? Who was involved in the discussions? Did you involve
  - tenants?
  - board members?
  - community stakeholders?
  - others?

- ➢ What was the reaction from the following groups:
  - staff?
  - tenants?
  - board members?
  - community stakeholders such as social services and homeless agencies?
  - legal and other advocacy groups?
  - others?

- ➢ Can you direct me to any media coverage as a result of the consideration and implementation of the policy?

- ➢ When was the policy actively implemented? Were there any delays between development of the policy and implementation? What caused the delays?

- ➢ What kinds of complementary programs and policies have you put in place e.g. case management services, job training, etc.? Were these delivered by agency staff or community partners? What are the costs to delivering these programs and who is covering those costs? (average per person) and/or What percentage of funding was provided by each group?

- What do you allow in lieu of actually working for pay (e.g. job training, classes, volunteering, etc.)?

- Have you imposed sanctions related to non-compliance with the work requirement? Have you experienced any challenges imposing the sanctions?

- Do you have a hardship policy? Under what circumstances does it apply?

- What have been the benefits and drawbacks of the policy? What has contributed to achieving these outcomes (e.g. complementary programs, change in tenant expectations, change in staff interactions)?

- What have been the challenges to implementing the policy? Of these challenges, what can the housing authority do to address them, if anything?

- Have you made changes to the policy since you first enacted it? [If so, what and why?]

- Have you been monitoring impacts? [If so, how?]

- What does the data tell you? What have the impacts of the policy been on:
    - % of residents are fulfilling the work requirement through these actions?
    - hardship requests? # and % of residents sanctioned? positive and negative move outs?
    - agency income from increases in tenant rents
    - tenant quality of life (pluses of working and income vs minuses of child/family impacts)

- How can the housing authority best meet its goal of providing housing to very low-income families in a time of shrinking federal funding? (e.g. increasing tenant rent burden, imposing time limits, developing more for-profit housing to pay for subsidized housing, imposing income/work requirements, providing self-sufficiency programs, establishing escrow accounts, mandatory credit or other counseling, other?)

- If you had it to do over, what would you do differently? What advice would you give to other agencies considering implementing a work/income requirement?

- If you could wave a magic wand, what one thing do you think would make the greatest difference in moving public housing residents to economic self-sufficiency?

APPENDIX 2: CHA STAFF INTERVIEW GUIDE II (JUNE 2012)

I. General Questions

1. For the record, let me begin by asking your name, title and how long you have been working for the CHA.
2. Over the last two years, what have been your Moving Forward (MF) program responsibilities?
3. What are you MF program responsibilities? Have your responsibilities changed over the last two years?
   (IF SO) How have they changed?
4. On average, about what percent of your time do you spend on the MF program?
5. Over the last two years, have there been any major changes in the MF program? [WE SHOULD REVIEW THE ANNUAL REPORT AHEAD OF TIME.]
   (IF YES) What are they?
   What led to those changes?
6. Have there been any differences of opinion among staff members and/or between staff and the board over how the budget flexibility allowed under MF is used?
   (IF YES) What are/were those differences?
   Who held what opinions?
   How have the differences been resolved?

II. Implementation Challenges

7. What have been the major challenges in implementing the MF program?
   How have those challenges been overcome?
   What challenges remain?
8. What has gone well in implementing the program?
9. What hasn't gone so well?
10. How has CHA staff turnover impacted the implementation of the MF program? On a scale of 1 to 10 how much impact has it had?
11. Communication issues were identified as a problem in the first set of staff interviews we conducted. Has anything been done to address this issue?
    (IF YES) What has been done?
    Has it gotten better, worse or stayed about the same?
    Does it still need to be improved? (IF SO) How?
12. Having staff with the right skills to administer the more flexible MF program was also identified as an issue in our last set of interviews. Is this still a problem?
    (IF YES) Has anything been done to address it?

III. Rent Reform

13. Rent reform has two main elements: minimum rents and escrow accounts. First I would like to ask about minimum rents. How has the implementation of <u>minimum rent</u>s gone?
    Were there many tenant complaints?
    Have the minimum rents directly contributed to forced moves or evictions?
        (IF YES) How many?
14. How many hardship exemptions were applied for?
    How many were granted?

For what reasons?
For what period of time?

15. How has the implementation of escrow accounts gone?
    How many households currently have them?
    What's the average account value?
    Any escrow account withdrawals so far?
    (IF YES) For what purposes?

IV. Work Requirements

16. How has the implementation of the work requirements gone?
    Any recent changes in the work requirements?
    Any tenant complaints? (IF YES) What types of complaints?
17. Do you think the work requirement has been motivating residents to prepare for, or seek, employment?
    (IF YES) For what percentage of the residents would you say it had that affect?
18. When did the one year training period begin for the various developments involved?
    (LIST DEVELOPMENTS)
19. When will the 15 hours of employment begin for each development?
    (LIST DEVELOPMENTS)
20. Have residents been given more than one year to prepare for the work requirement?
    (IF YES) Please explain why.
21. How many residents are currently under the work requirement?
    How many people are currently out of compliance with the requirement?
22. At this time, have the sanctions been imposed on any residents?
    (IF SO) How many have received notification of being out of compliance?
    Have any households applied for a hardship exemption? (IF YES) How many?
    Were the case managers involved in the decision to grant a hardship exemption?
    (IF NOT) When do you anticipate the sanctions will begin?
    What do you think the reaction will be from inside and outside the CHA?

V. Supportive services

23. Overall, how has the implementation of supportive services gone?
    What problems have you run into?
    What changes have you made in the way case management is done?
24. How have the CHA and Children's Home Society case managers performed?
    Any major differences between the two groups of counselors?
25. To what extent have tenants been progressing toward self sufficiency?
    What have been the major obstacles for tenants in moving toward self sufficiency?
26. To what extend does a lack of social services, such as day care of job training programs, impede resident progress toward self sufficiency?
27. What's the cost, per resident/per year for case management?

VI. Education Initiatives

28. What's the status of the proposed truancy policy?
    Has it been implemented for the households that signed release forms?
29. What's the status of the Community in Schools (CIS) program?

How many CHA children are being served?

30. What's the status of the Partners in Out of School Time (POST) program?
    How many CHA children are being served?
31. What's the status of the CHA Scholarship Program?
    How many CHA children are being served?

IX. Financial Issues

42. How have/will recent changes in HUD funding impacted the MF program?
43. How has the CHA used its budget and regulatory flexibility?
44. Do you think there is a good balance in funding for resident services versus the construction and acquisition of new units?
45. In what ways has the MF program led to cost efficiencies? Are these being documented?
    (IF NOT) can they be documented or at least estimated?
46. How have the rent reforms impacted CHA revenues? What do you see moving forward?
47. How else has the MF program affected CHA finances?

X. The Impacts of Moving Forward

48. In what ways has the Moving Forward program changed how the CHA operates?
    What can you do now that you couldn't do before Moving Forward?
49. Overall what would you say are the best things about the MF program?
50. What do you think have been the worst things about the MF program?
51. Has the Moving Forward program helped the CHA increase community support for its mission?
52. Has the MF program impacted the CHA's relationship with HUD?

XI. Looking Ahead

53. If you had to do it over again, what would you change about the MF program design?
    What would you change about MF was implemented?
54. What advice would you give to staff at other housing authorities about designing and implementing an MTW program?
55. Has there been any discussion of other MF program changes or new initiatives?
56. Is there anything else we should know about the MF program that we didn't talk about?

APPENDIX 3: CHA STAFF INTERVIEW GUIDE II (JULY 2014)

General Questions

1. For the record, let me begin by asking your name, title, and how long you have been working for the CHA.
2. [SCREENING] Over the last two years, which of the following activities have you been involved with?
    a. General Moving Forward oversight?
    b. Rent reform?
    c. Work requirement?
    d. Hardship requests?
    e. Supportive services/case management?
    f. Education initiatives?
    g. New housing development?
    h. HCV/Section 8?
    i. CHA finances?
    j. <u>[BE SURE TO ASK FINAL QUESTIONS OF EVERYONE]</u>

General MF Implementation (ask everyone)

1. MTW's has three statutory goals: reducing costs, providing incentives to achieve self-sufficiency, and increasing housing choices for low-income families. How has your work allowed CHA to meet these goals in light of current budget concerns?
2. Over the last two years, what would you say have been the major changes in the MF program?
    a. What led to those changes?
    b. Who proposed them?
    c. Were any of them especially contentious?
3. Over the past two years, what have been the major challenges in implementing the MF program?
    a. How have those challenges been overcome?
    b. What challenges remain?
4. Over the last two years, has CHA staff turnover impacted MF program implementation?

5. Communication between CHA units surfaced as a problem in the first set of staff interviews we conducted. Have there been any new initiatives to improve communication across departments?
    a. [IF YES] What has been done?
    b. Does it still need to be improved? [IF SO] How?

General MF Program Oversight

1. How has HUD's requirement that you use a standard set of metrics to assess the impacts of activities approved under MTW worked for you?
    a. Do the new metrics make sense for all activities? How difficult is it to provide data on those metrics?
2. What is the status of resident safety initiatives? What are your plans for these?
3. What changes has CHA made to waitlist procedures as a result of MTW?
4. What is the status of the Center for Employment Services? What is the goal of its partnership with Be Benevolent?
5. What has been the impact of biannual income recertifications on CHA finances? On the tenants? Do you believe the benefits of biannual recertifications outweigh the disadvantages?

Rent Reform

1. Concerning minimum rents:
    a. What was the rationale for changing minimum rents?
    b. Overall, how would you say the implementation of minimum rents has gone?
    c. What impacts have minimum rents had on tenants? Do you believe minimum rents have motivated them to work more? Have they led to an increase in evictions?
    d. Do you believe that $75 is an appropriate minimum rent? Is there any discussion of changing minimum rents? [PROBE: Is there any discussion of raising it to $100?] Why or why not?
2. Now let's talk about banded rents:
    a. What was the rationale for going to banded rents?
    b. Overall, how has the implementation of banded rents gone?
    c. Do you think residents understand the banded rents? What makes you think they do/do not? Do you believe the banded rents have motivated them to work more?
    d. Do you think that $2,500 is the right band width? Is there anything you would change with the banded rents policy?
3. Now let's talk about the escrow accounts.
    a. What was the rationale for adopting escrow accounts?

b. Overall, how has the implementation of escrow accounts gone?

c. Do you think residents understand the escrow accounts? What makes you think they do/do not? Have escrow accounts been effective in motivating tenants to work more?

d. Do you have any ideas for how the escrow accounts might be made more effective in motivating work effort?

Work Requirements

1. First, let's talk generally about implementation of the work requirement:
   a. Do you think residents understand the provisions of the work requirement? What makes you think they do/do not?
   b. How do you think implementation is going?
2. We understand that a reassessment of client ability to work was done and a number of clients were reclassified as Tier 4 and are not subject to the work requirement.
   a. Who made the decision to do the reclassifications? What were the arguments made for doing it?
   b. What were the criteria applied to the reclassifications to Tier 4? Who actually made the decisions regarding the reclassifications?
   c. Will residents be periodically reassessed to see if they still belong in Tier 4 or should be subject to the work requirement?
3. Turning to enforcement of the work requirements on <u>non-Tier 4</u> tenants:
   a. To what extent is the work requirement being enforced?
   b. Do you think that enforcing the work requirement has made a difference in residents' commitment to finding work?
   a. Residents are "expected to exhibit a good faith effort to find work." How do you determine if residents are meeting this?
   b. What has been the case manager's role in enforcing the work requirement?
   c. What happens when residents cycle in and out of work?
   d. Is there an appeals process? If so, how does that work? What are the grounds for exemptions or extra time to meet the requirement?
   e. What have been the challenges to implementing and enforcing the work requirement?
   f. Are there aspects of the work requirement implementation or enforcement that concern you? Do you think that the CHA should be doing something differently?
4. What's been the local political reaction, if any, to enforcing the work requirements? (supportive? critical?) How has the CHA prepared for and/or managed this?

Hardship requests

1. Have you noticed any changes in the volume or types of hardship requests made?
2. Have you felt a need to alter how the hardship policies are applied?

Supportive services

1. Broadly, what is the CHA's vision for providing supportive services to CHA clients?
   a. In your opinion, What role should a housing authority have in providing client services related to improving economic self-sufficiency, health, individual and family well-being?
2. We understand that the supportive services provided those subject to the work requirement have recently been changed. What were the reasons for making these changes? (e.g. cost, assessments of effectiveness of the old model? Other?)
   a. Would you please describe those changes?
3. This model relies on partnering agencies providing the bulk of the self-sufficiency related services and supports for CHA residents. What do you view as the advantages and disadvantages of this approach?
4. Has CHA conducted outreach to these direct service agencies? [IF YES] How is the CHA collaborating with these service providers?
5. Do you believe that all the agencies that clients are being referred to have the capacity to take on CHA clients in a timely fashion? Which ones do? Which ones don't?
6. Have you solicited feedback from case managers on the new case management approach? [IF YES] What has their feedback been?
7. Will this change in case management lead to any changes in the information collected on the CSS monthly reports?
8. Has there been any turnover in MF case managers? [IF YES] How has this affected the program?

Education Initiatives

1. What are the goals of CHA's education outreach initiatives?
   a. How do partnerships with CMS and others allow CHA to achieve these goals?
2. What is the status of the following partnerships?
   a. Communities in Schools (CIS) program?
   b. Partners in Out of School Time (POST) program?
   c. The CHA Scholarship Program?
3. What have been the challenges in implementing CHA's education initiatives? How have these challenges been overcome? What challenges have you not been able to overcome?
4. Is there any discussion of other education initiatives?

Financial Issues

1. How has the CHA used its budget and regulatory flexibility?
2. In what ways has the MF program led to cost efficiencies? Are these being documented? [IF NOT] Can they be documented or at least estimated?
3. How have the rent reforms impacted CHA revenues? [PROBE: How have biannual recertifications specifically impacted CHA finances?]
4. How else has the MF program affected CHA finances?

Last Questions (ask everyone)

1. Regarding the Impacts of Moving Forward:
    a. In what ways has the MF program changed how the CHA operates?
    b. Overall what would you say are the best things about the MF program?
    c. What do you think have been the worst things about the MF program?
    d. Do you believe the broader Charlotte community is aware of the Moving Forward program? [IF YES] How has the community responded to the MF program?
    e. What have been the most critical reforms implemented as a result of MTW flexibility?
2. Looking Ahead:
    a. If you had to do it over again, what would you change about the MF program design?
    b. What would you change about how MF was implemented?
    c. What advice would you give to staff at other housing authorities about designing and implementing a MTW program?
    d. Which reforms would you recommend for HUD to adopt as national policy?
    e. Has there been any discussion of other MF program changes or new initiatives?
    f. Is there anything else we should know about the MF program that we didn't talk about?
3. We are preparing to send out a survey to Section 9 residents in both Moving Forward and non-Moving Forward developments. What would you be interested in learning from the survey? Is there anything in particular that you feel we should ask about?
4. Are there any questions or issues that you would like us to address in our evaluation going forward?

Case Manager Interview Guide III

Introduction: Hand them IRB form and summarize

For the record, let me begin by asking your name and title.

I. Case Management Tasks

1. Which developments do you work with?
2. How many cases do you manage at each site?
    a. How has this changed over time?
    b. How manageable is this number?
3. Has CHA central office staff told you explicitly what the economic self-sufficiency goal should be? [IF YES] Please tell me what that is.
    a. Do you have different experiences working with clients across sites (e.g., those living in Victoria Square or Claremont vs those living in Tarlton, Leafcrest or Cedar Knoll)?
    b. Do you have any clients who have maintained a traditional or "legacy" FSS contract? [if YES] The traditional FSS contracts have a five year limit and more generous escrow accounting whereas the Moving Forward FSS has no time limit but less generous escrows. Do you think one or the other model is more effective at motivating clients toward self-sufficiency? Why?
4. Please describe what you do with the Moving Forward case management participants.
    a. Walk us through a typical meeting with a client. Do these meetings differ for residents who are work compliant versus one who is not?
    b. On average, how often do you make contact with each participant? Are the contacts face to face, by phone or both? How do you decide what is appropriate/needed?
    c. About how long is a typical contact?
    d. Do you have a set agenda or set of items that you discuss with your clients? [IF YES] What are they?
    e. We understand that the supportive services provided have recently been changed. Can you describe these changes? What were the reasons for making these changes? (e.g. cost, assessments of effectiveness of the old model? Other?) Who were the main advocates for these changes?
5. Do you work with the head of household, or with the entire family?
6. What services do you typically refer clients to?
    a. How do you handle those referrals? Do you make the initial contact or do provide the client with a name and phone number to make the initial contact?
    b. How responsive are each of these providers?

c. Do any of these services have waiting lists?

d. [IF YES] Which ones? How long?

e. How much and what kind of contact do you have with the staff at the agencies where you refer clients?

f. Do you check to see if clients have followed through with the referrals? Do you obtain a release of information from your clients so that you can talk with the agencies to which you refer your clients (particularly if you are making mental health or substance abuse referrals)?

g. What other kinds of services and/or supports do you think your clients need that they are not able to access? Why are they unable to access those services/supports (don't exist, wait too long, can't afford, etc.)?

7. How do you track client progress?

   a. What forms or software do you use?

   b. How easy is it to maintain your required data reporting and individual case plans? Is the reporting redundant?

   c. Do you reference client data when meeting with clients? [IF YES] Can you give us an example of how you have used data when working with a client?

II. Rent reform has three main elements: minimum rents, banded rents, and escrow accounts.

1. First I would like to ask about minimum rents.

   a. Overall, how has implementation of minimum rents gone?

   b. What impacts have minimum rents had on tenants? Do you believe minimum rents have motivated them to work more? Have they led to an increase in evictions?

   c. Do you believe that $75 is the appropriate minimum rent? Do you have a sense of what percentage of your clients have trouble paying minimum rents?

2. Now let's talk about banded rents.

   e. Overall, how has the implementation of banded rents gone?

   f. Do you think residents understand the banded rents? What makes you think they do/do not? Do you believe the banded rents have motivated them to work more?

   g. Do you think that $2,500 is the right band width? Is there anything you would change about the banded rents policy?

3. Now let's talk about the escrow accounts.

   e. Overall, how has the implementation of escrow accounts gone?

f. Do you think residents understand the escrow accounts? What makes you think they do/do not? Do you believe escrow accounts been effective in motivating your clients to work more?

g. Do you have any ideas for how escrow accounts might be made more effective in motivating work effort?

III. The other major reform was the decision to begin enforcing the work requirement.

1. First, let's talk generally about implementation of the work requirement.

   a. How do you think implementation is going?

   b. What role (if any) did you have in the decisions related to implementation of the work requirement?

   c. Have you had any opportunities to talk with CHA central office staff about how you think the implementation is going?

   d. Are there aspects of the work requirement implementation or enforcement that concern you? Do you think that the CHA should be doing anything differently?

2. We understand that a reassessment of client ability to work was done and a number of clients were reclassified as Tier 4, and thus they are not subject to the work requirement.

   a. Who made the decision to do the reclassifications? What were the arguments made for doing it?

   b. What were the criteria applied to the reclassifications to Tier 4?

   c. Who actually made the decisions regarding the reclassifications?

   d. Will residents be periodically reassessed to see if they still belong in Tier 4 or should be subject to the work requirement?

3. Turning to enforcement of the work requirements on <u>non-Tier 4</u> tenants:

   c. Do you think residents understand the work requirement? Are expectations clear?

   d. Do you think that enforcing the work requirement has made a difference in residents' commitment to finding and maintaining work?

   e. What has been your role in supporting residents in their efforts to meet the work requirement?

   f. Residents are "expected to exhibit a good faith effort to find work." How do you determine if residents are meeting this?

   g. We understand that residents may complete 'work-related activities' in lieu of facing sanctions. What do you include as 'work-related activities?' How many of your clients are completing work-related activities in lieu of working? How do you determine if a client completing work-related activities is compliant?

h. What has been your role in enforcing the work requirement?

i. Is there an appeals process? If so, how does that work? What are the grounds for exemptions or extra time to meet the requirement?

j. What have been the challenges to implementing and enforcing the work requirement?

4. How has enforcement of the work requirement changed the work you do with clients?

    a. Has this increased your case load and the amount of work you have to do?

    b. Are residents more or less motivated to work with you?

IV. Challenges/Lessons

1. Do you think the CHA has realistic expectations about moving residents to self-sufficiency?
2. What are the three biggest challenges clients have in moving toward self-sufficiency?
3. What practices have you identified that have been particularly effective for engaging clients?
4. What lessons have you learned about the case management of public housing residents?

V. We have a few last questions related to your background and training

1. Can you tell me about your educational and professional background?

    a. What is your degree(s)? Do you hold any applicable licenses or certifications (counseling, System of Care, etc)?

    b. How long have you worked as a social worker? With what populations?

    c. How long have you worked for the CHA? In what capacities?

    d. How long have you worked with the FSS or Moving Forward case management programs?

2. Did you receive any special training to work with Moving Forward participants? [IF YES]

    a. What did it cover?

    b. How long was the training?

    c. Who conducted the training?

    d. Have you ever received training in cognitive behavioral therapy, motivational interviewing, or the stages of change?

3. We are preparing to send out a survey to Section 9 residents in both the pilot work requirement sites and the non-work requirement developments. What would you be interested in learning from the survey? Is there anything in particular that you feel we should ask about?

4. Is there anything else that is important for us to know that we haven't covered today?

APPENDIX 4: CHA STAFF INTERVIEW GUIDE II (JANUARY 2016)

Screening Questions

1. For the record, let me begin by asking your name, title, and how long you have been working for the CHA.
2. [SCREENING] Over the last two years, which of the following activities have you been involved with?
    3. Rent reform
    4. Work requirements
    5. Supportive services
    6. Education initiatives
    7. New housing development and RAD
    8. HCV/Section 8
    9. CHA finances
    10. Jobs-Plus
    11. MF administration
    12. **<u>[BE SURE TO ASK FINAL QUESTIONS OF EVERYONE]</u>**

General MF Implementation (ask everyone)

1. What would you say are the most important benefits of participating in the MTW program?
    a. What has it enabled you to do that you wouldn't have been able to do without it?
2. What would you say are the current <u>major challenges</u> in implementing the MF program?
    a. Has turnover in senior or administrative staff been an issue?
    b. Has communication among CHA divisions been a problem?
    c. To what extent have you been actively involved in proposing new initiatives?
    d. Has there been resistance to any of the new initiatives?
    i. If so, from where
    e. Any challenges posed by HUD? If so, what have they been?
    f. Any other challenges that you have faced in implementing the MF program?
    3. Is there any downside to participating in the MTW program?

Rent Reform

Have there been any changes <u>or</u> discussions of future changes in the MF rent policies including:

1. Minimum rents?
    a. Any discussion about raising the minimum rent? Why or why not?

2. Banded rents and Biennial income verifications?
   a. Any discussion of changing either the rent bands or the biennial rent calculation in any way?
   b. When are tenants required to report changes in income?
      i. Do you think residents are reporting changes at those times?
      ii. What happens if you find at verification that residents should have been paying more rent in past months?
   c. What is the status of adopting triennial recertification for elderly/disabled households? Why is this policy only being applied to HCV households?
   d. Do you think these rent policies are encouraging tenants to increase their income?
   e. What evidence do you have that these have been effective?
   f. Has the CHA done anything to help residents better understand how the policy could benefit them?
   g. Do you think that impact of banded rents and/or biennials is worth the cost to the housing authority?
3. Incentive accounts?
   a. Any discussion about changing them in any way?
   b. Do you think the incentive accounts are encouraging tenants to increase their income?
   c. What evidence do you have that these have been effective?
   d. Has the CHA done anything to help residents better understand how incentive accounts could benefit them?
      i. Do residents receive a notification about their incentive account balance?
   e. Do you think that impact of incentive accounts is worth the cost to the housing authority?
4. Hardship policies?
   a. Have these been changed in any way? Any discussion of dividing hardships between short- and long-term issues
   b. How can hardship policies be changed given HUD regulations?
   c. Is there talk about making any changes such as debt forgiveness, shorter forgiveness periods or limiting the number of extensions?
   d. Have you noticed an increase or decrease in the number of hardships requested and granted?

Work Requirements

Any changes or discussions of future changes in the MF <u>work requirements</u>?

1. What have been the challenges in implementing and enforcing the work requirement?
2. In your opinion, how successful has the work requirement been? Why?
3. Looking back on the implementation so far, what would you change, if anything, about the work requirement policy?
4. How do you monitor work requirement outcomes? Do you meet regularly with case managers and/or property managers?
5. What happens when someone, subject to the work requirement, secures a job and then loses it?
6. Is there a plan to increase work requirements to 30 hours per week? Why or why not?
7. What is the current policy if there is more than one adult (married couples, co-habitating adults, parent and adult children) living in the home? Have there been any particular challenges related to enforcement of this aspect of the policy?
8. Is there a plan to expand the work requirement to other developments or to the Section 8 clients? If so, what level of case management will be provided?
9. Is there a time limit on how long clients can engage in "work-related activities" and remain compliant with the work requirement?
10. Has the work requirement received much press attention?
11. Has it been criticized by legal aid or other tenant advocates?
12. Any other changes or discussions of changes in the work requirement?

Supportive Services
Any changes or discussions of future changes in the <u>*supportive services*</u> *offered to those subject to the work requirement?*

1. Any changes in plans for the continuation and/or the expansion or contraction of services?
2. What's your assessment of increasing the number of clients per case manager? Is the assess and refer model working better, about the same, or worse than the previous model?
3. Any additional emphasis on helping people get better jobs by helping them access skills training programs? Or on helping residents acquire "career" versus "survival" jobs?
4. Have there been any changes, or discussions of changes, to support for the following services? Have you pursued any additional partnerships for these issues?
    a. Day care subsidies
    b. Transportation subsidies
    c. Helping clients access alcohol and substance abuse programs
    d. Helping clients access mental health service?
    e. Special supports for the elderly
    f. Special supports for the formerly homeless?

Youth Initiatives

5. What are the goals of CHA's youth outreach initiatives?
    a. How do your existing and proposed partnerships help the CHA meet those goals?
6. What successful partnerships have you developed?
7. What partnerships are you currently working to develop?
8. What is the status of CHA's partnerships with CMS?
9. What have been the challenges in implementing CHA's education initiatives? How have these challenges been overcome? What challenges have you not been able to overcome?
10. Is there any discussion of other education initiatives?

Financial Issues

Achieving greater cost effectiveness is another of MTW's goals . . .

1. Have there been any changes in the previously adopted cost savings initiatives?
    a. How about biennial/triennial recertifications? Are the reporting requirements clear?
    b. How has the direct deposit of Section 8 payments gone?
    c. High-performing unit program
    d. Others?
2. Any changes in the use of the single fund authority? Is there still a major transfer from the Section 8 allocation to public housing operations?
    a. How might this change with the introduction of RAD?
    b. How would a provision that 90% of the Section 8 allocation be used for the Section 8 program impact your MF program? What are you doing now that you couldn't do if this provision were introduced?
3. Any discussion of introducing other cost savings initiatives?

MF Administration

1. Has the CHA undertaken any new initiatives to publicize the MF program to the wider community; CHA staff, CHA residents?
2. To what extent have staff been involved in designing new MF activities?
3. Any problems implementing new initiatives such as:
    a. Single platform (UPCS) for inspections (phasing out HQS)
    b. Over-income families being able to stay in their units while the subsidy is transferred to another unit in the development?
    c. Other new initiatives? [homeownership program, elderly/disabled triennials, port-in work requirement, controlled HCV moves]
4. Has the CHA developed any new community partnerships?

   a. With whom? Why?
   b. What characterizes the partnership for instance material goods such as use of a vacant unit, staffing, or money transfers; data sharing; MOU outlining expectations; other? **[SEE IF WE CAN GET COPIES OF MOU'S]**
   c. Have you had any difficulties establishing or maintaining partnerships?

5. Any new initiatives to address health issues among CHA clients?
   a. If so, can you describe these to me? (Who's involved in delivering the program? How many people has it touched? Is there a particular health focus?
6. Does the CHA have plans to ban smoking in additional properties? If yes, how do you anticipate implementing the policy?
7. Any changes in the screening or priorities for new residents? (working, homeless, veterans, others?)
8. Any changes in resident safety initiatives?
9. Any other important changes in CHA management that we should know about?

Final Questions

1. What advice would you give to staff at other housing authorities about designing and implementing a MTW program?
2. What do you think has been the most "innovative" policy or program implemented since beginning MTW?
3. What activity would you like to see implemented?
4. Are there any MF activities that you would like to see re-thought or eliminated?
5. Are there programs or policies you think should be made available nationwide for adoption?
6. Is there anything else we should know about the MF program?
7. Are there any issues that you would like us to address in our evaluation going forward?

Case Manager Interview Guide – January 2016

Case Management Tasks

1. For the record, let me begin by asking your name and title
2. Which developments do you work with?
3. How many cases do you manage at each site?
    a. How has this changed over time?
    b. How manageable is this number?
    c. Do you have different experiences working with clients across sites?
4. Please contrast how you interact with clients who are (i) compliant with the work requirement, (ii) non-compliant with the work requirement, and (iii) not subject to the policy
    a. What prompts a meeting?
    b. How often do you make contact? What method do you use to contact them?
    c. How long does a meeting last?
    d. What do you discuss at meetings?
    e. Do you have a set agenda that you discuss with your clients? [IF YES] What are they?
5. Non-compliant residents are initially places on Improvement Plans …
    a. What are the key elements of an Improvement Plan?
    b. What are the typical requirements of an Improvement Plan?
    c. If residents fail to fulfill the requirements of an Improvement Plan, are they immediately sanctioned? Why or why not?
6. What services to you offer to children in the household? To adults who aren't the head of household?
7. What services do you typically refer clients to?
    a. Now that more clients are working, are you making fewer referrals? Have the types of referrals you made changed as well?
    b. In the past, residents commonly cited health, education, and childcare as barriers to achieving self-sufficiency. Are those still the primary barriers? What have you done to address these?
    c. Further, two issues we've seen in interviews with residents are depression/mental health and substance abuse. Do you often refer clients to services for these issues
    d. Have you had any difficulty with certain service providers in terms of non-response or long waiting lists? If so, which ones?

e. What other kinds of services and/or supports do you think your clients need that they are not able to access? Why are they unable to access those services/supports (don't exist, wait too long, can't afford, etc.)?

8. How do you track client progress?

   a. What forms or software do you use?

   b. Do you reference client data when meeting with clients? [IF YES] Can you give us an example of how you have used data when working with a client?

9. Has the work requirement impacted the culture of the development? If so, how?

Rent reform has four main elements …

1. First, I would like to ask about minimum rents.

   d. What impacts have minimum rents had on tenants? Do you believe minimum rents have motivated them to work more? Have they led to an increase in evictions?

   e. Do you believe that $75 is the appropriate minimum rent? Do you have a sense of what percentage of your clients have trouble paying minimum rents?

   f. As you may know, the CHA has the option of raising the minimum rent to $100. What impact do you think that would have on your clients?

2. Now let's talk about banded rents.

   h. Do you think that residents understand banded rents? Have banded rents motivated them to work more?

   i. [IF NO] What has helped residents understand the banded rents?

   j. [IF YES] What do you think would help residents understand banded rents more?

   k. Do you think that $2,500 is the right band width? Is there anything you would change about the banded rents policy?

3. Now let's talk about the incentive accounts.

   a. Do residents understand the incentive accounts? Have incentive accounts motivated them to work more?

   b. [IF NO] What has helped residents understand the incentive accounts?

   c. [IF YES] What do you think would help residents understand incentive accounts more?

4. Finally, let's discuss biennial recertifications:

   a. Do residents understand this policy? Has it motivated them to work more?

   b. Do you have any sense that residents are abusing this policy by, for example, quitting their jobs and requesting recertification?

Another major MF activity is the work requirement…

5. First, let's talk generally about implementation of the work requirement.

   e. How do you think implementation is going?

f. What role did you have in decisions related to implementation of the work requirement?

g. Have you had any opportunities to talk with CHA central office staff about how you think the implementation is going?

h. Are there aspects of the work requirement implementation or enforcement that concern you? Do you think that the CHA should be doing anything differently?

6. The implementation and enforcement of the work requirement is largely a shared task between you and the case managers. I would like to ask you a few questions about that.

    a. Which aspects of implementation/enforcement you are each responsible for completing.

    b. Do you think this division of labor is effective? Why or why not?

    [IF NOT ADDRESSED IN THE PREVIOUS ANSWERS]

    c. How often do you meet in person to discuss how things are going and share data regarding resident efforts and barriers?

    d. What do you do when a household is non-compliant?

    e. What happens when you become aware of a particular hardship experienced by the household?

7. Prior to work requirement enforcement beginning, several tenants were temporarily reassessed to Tier 4.

    a. Have there been any additional assessments of tenants for disability status?

    b. Were any temporarily-assessed residents unable to secure disability? If so, were they then classified as work-able?

    c. What about new residents in the development – are they assessed for disability status as well?

8. Turning to enforcement of the work requirement on <u>non-Tier 4</u> tenants:

    a. In your opinion, how successful has the work requirement been? Why?

    b. Do you think residents understand the work requirement? Are expectations clear?

    c. What has been your role in supporting residents in their efforts to meet the work requirement?

    d. The MF plan states that the work requirement may eventually be increased to 30 hours per week. What impact do you think that would have on your clients? Has this been discussed recently?

    e. What happens when someone, subject to the work requirement, secures a job and then loses it? How many of your clients struggle with habitual cyclic employment?

    f. What challenges have you faced in implementing and enforcing the work requirement?

g. Why do you think evictions for non-compliance have been so low?

h. Are there any aspects of the work requirement that you would like to see changed?

9. Are you enforcing the work requirement for non-heads of household?

   a. **[IF YES]** How are you tracking this? What new challenges or opportunities has this posed?

   b. **[IF NO]** Are there any discussions about expanding the work requirement to these individuals?

10. Residents may complete 'work-related activities' in lieu of facing sanctions…

    a. What do you include as 'work-related activities'? Does GED completion or attending college count as a work-related activity?

    b. How many of your clients are completing work-related activities in lieu of working?

    c. How do you determine if a client completing work-related activities is compliant? For example, do you check in to see if they've attended a certain class?

    d. In the last three months, the number of tenants completing 'work-related activities' increased, decreased, or stayed the same over time? What about over the past year?

Challenges/Lessons

5. What advice would you have for other case managers just beginning to work with clients subject to a work requirement?

6. Do you think the CHA has realistic expectations about moving residents to self-sufficiency?

7. What are the three biggest challenges clients have in moving toward self-sufficiency?

8. What practices have you identified that have been particularly effective for engaging clients in moving toward self-sufficiency?

9. What lessons have you learned about the case management of public housing residents?

10. Is there anything else that is important for us to know that we haven't covered today

[ONLY ASK IF 1st TIME] We have a few questions about your background/training

5. Can you tell me about your educational and professional background?

6. by Percent Did you receive any special training to work with Moving Forward participants? [IF YES]

   a. What did it cover?

   b. How long was the training?

   c. Who conducted the training?

   d. Have you ever received training in cognitive behavioral therapy, motivational interviewing, or the stages of change?

PROPERTY MANAGER INTERVIEW GUIDE – JANUARY 2016

Property Management Tasks

10. For the record, let me begin by asking your name and title
11. Which developments do you work with?
12. How many units do you manage at each site?
13. How has your work changed since implementation of the work requirement?

Work Requirements

11. How do you think implementation is going?
12. What role (if any) do you have in the decisions related to implementation of the work requirement? For instance, have CHA administrative staff talked with you how strictly to enforce the work requirement?
13. The implementation and enforcement of the work requirement is largely a shared task between you and the case managers. I would like to ask you a few questions about that.
    a. Which aspects of implementation and enforcement you are each responsible for completing.
    b. Do you think this division of labor is effective? Why or why not?

    [IF NOT ADDRESSED IN THE PREVIOUS ANSWERS]

    c. How often do you meet in-person with the case managers to discuss how things are going and share information about resident efforts and barriers?
    d. What do you do when a household is non-compliant?
    e. What happens when you become aware of a particular hardship experienced by the household?
14. Turning to enforcement of the work requirement on <u>work-able</u> tenants:
    i. In your opinion, how successful has the work requirement been? Why?
    j. Do you think residents understand the work requirement? Are expectations clear?
    k. What has been your role in supporting residents in their efforts to meet the work requirement?
    l. What happens when someone, subject to the work requirement, secures a job and then loses it? How many of your clients struggle with habitual cyclic employment?
15. Residents may complete 'work-related activities' in lieu of facing sanctions…
    a. What role do you play in determining work-related activities and ensuring resident compliance with these?
16. Prior to work requirement enforcement beginning, a number of tenants were temporarily reassessed into Tier 4.
    a. Have there been any additional assessments of tenants for disability status?

b. Were any temporarily-assessed residents unable to secure disability? If so, were then they classified as work-able?

c. What about new residents in the development – are they assessed for disability status as well?

d. Would you prefer a mix of elderly, disabled, and working households in the development or do you think it would be better to have an all work-focused development?

17. What happens when a new household moves into the development and is not working?

18. Are you enforcing the work requirement for non-heads of household?

 a. **[IF YES]** How are you tracking this? What new challenges or opportunities has this posed?

 b. **[IF NO]** Are there any discussions about expanding the work requirement to these individuals?

19. What impact do you think increasing the work requirement (to 30 hours for heads of household and 10 for non-heads) would have on your residents?

20. Has the work requirement changed the culture of your developments? If so, how?

21. Do aspects of the work requirement implementation or enforcement that concern you? Do you think that the CHA should be doing anything differently?

Rent Reform

22. First I would like to ask about minimum rents.

 g. Overall, how has implementation of minimum rents gone?

 h. What impacts have minimum rents had on tenants? Do you believe minimum rents have motivated them to work more? Have they led to an increase in evictions?

 i. Do you believe that $75 is the appropriate minimum rent? Do you have a sense of what percentage of your clients have trouble paying minimum rents?

 j. As you may know, the CHA has the option of raising the minimum rent to $100. What impact do you think that would have on the households living in your development(s)?

23. Now let's talk about banded rents.

 l. Do residents understand the banded rents? Have they motivated them to work more?

 m. [IF NO] What has helped residents understand the banded rents?

 n. [IF YES] What do you think would help residents understand banded rents more?

 o. Do you think that $2,500 is the right band width? Is there anything you would change about the banded rents policy?

24. Now let's talk about the incentive accounts.

 a. Do residents understand the incentive accounts? Have they motivated them to work more?

b. [IF NO] What has helped residents understand the incentive accounts?

c. [IF YES] What do you think would help residents understand incentive accounts more?

25. Finally, let's discuss biennial recertifications:

a. Do residents understand this policy? Has it motivated them to work more?

b. Do you have any sense that residents are abusing this policy by, for example, quitting their jobs and requesting recertification?

Challenges/Lessons

11. What advice would you have for property managers who are new to the work requirement developments?

12. Do you think the CHA has realistic expectations about moving residents to self-sufficiency?

13. What are the three biggest challenges clients have in moving toward self-sufficiency?

14. What lessons have you learned about how to effectively work with public housing residents?

15. Is there anything else that is important for us to know that we haven't covered today?

[ONLY ASK IF FIRST TIME SPEAKING WITH US] We have a few last questions related to your background and training

7. Can you tell me about your educational and professional background?

a. What is your degree(s)? Do you hold any applicable licenses or certifications?

b. How long have you worked for the CHA? In what capacities?

c. How long have you worked with the FSS or Moving Forward sites?

8. Did you receive any special training to work with public housing residents or to support the economic self-sufficiency of public housing residents? [IF YES]

a. What did it cover?

b. How long was the training?

c. Who conducted the training?

APPENDIX 5: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR RESIDENTS SUBJECT TO THE WORK REQUIREMENT (JANUARY 2014)

Thank you for taking the time to talk with us today. We are speaking with residents to better understand CHA's work requirement, and would like to ask you some questions about your time living here, your work experience, the CHA's new work requirement, and the services provided by the case managers. The information you share with us is confidential – nothing you tell us will be shared in a way that you or your comments could be identified. We will be talking to a number of residents and will look for common themes or ideas that were raised by residents, and will never identify you by name. This information will be shared in a general way with the Charlotte Housing Authority so that they can better understand the work requirement's impact on families and how to improve their communication and services.

As university researchers we are bound by something called an Institutional Review Board, which makes sure no harm comes to anyone as a result of our work. In order to participate in the interview, we need to read to you the release of information and have you sign that it is okay to talk with you.
We would like to record this interview so that we can ensure that we capture your thoughts accurately. If it is okay to record the interview, we will need you to mark here. If you are willing to participate in the interview but would prefer that we not record the interview, we will need you to mark here. Again, your information is kept completely secure and nothing you say will be shared in such a way that you could be identified.

I. First, we would like to ask some questions to learn a little more about you and your family.

2. How many people live in your house?
3. Do you have any children that live with you?
    a. How old is each of them?
    b. How many are in school?
    c. Are any of them working?

II. Now, we'd like to ask you some questions about your experience living here.

4. How long have you lived in public housing?
5. On a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 being like very much, how much do you like living in public housing?
    a. What do you like about living in public housing?
    b. What don't you like about living in public housing?
6. Do you want to continue living in public housing?
    a. Why?
    b. If you want to go, where do you see yourself going?
    c. If you want to go, what needs to happen for you to leave public housing?

III. Now, we'd like to ask you some questions about your work experience.

7. Are you currently working? (If no, SKIP to #7)

a. What do you do?
b. Where/For whom do you work?
c. How many hours per week do you work?
d. How much do you make per hour?
e. How long have you been working this job?
f. On a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 being like the most, how much do you like your job? Why?

8. Are you currently looking for work/another job?
    a. (SKIP if working) Why do you believe you are not currently working?
    b. (SKIP if working) What are the obstacles to you working?
    c. What kind of job would you like to have?
    d. What do you need to get that type of job?
9. What work-related training/classes have you attended?
    a. What training/classes would you be interested in attending?

IV. Now, we'd like to ask you some questions about the work requirement.

10. Are you familiar with the CHA's work requirement? (if no, SKIP to #10)
    a. Please tell us what you understand about the work requirement.
    b. Do you recall when you first learned about the work requirement?
    c. How are you learning this information? For instance, are you learning about it from a letter, flyers, a community meeting, housing authority staff, case managers, or other residents?
    d. Do you think you and your adult family members are currently meeting/compliant with the work requirement?
        i. If so, why do you feel you are meeting the requirement?
        ii. If not, what do you and other adult family members need to meet the work requirement? Are you doing these?
    e. What have you done, if anything, as a result of the work requirement? What will you do in the future? For instance, have you begun working or working more hours?
    f. If you don't meet the work requirement, do you think you will be evicted? Why or why not?
    g. Why do you think the housing authority has implemented a work requirement?
    h. On a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 being very fair, how fair do you think the work requirement is?
        i. If you don't think the requirement is fair, what should the housing authority do instead?
    i. On a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 being very likely, how likely is it that the CHA will impose the work requirement? Explain.
    j. Have you spoken with any of your neighbors or other CHA public housing residents about the work requirement? What kinds of things did you discuss? What do they think about the work requirement?

V. Finally, we'd like to ask you some questions about the case managers.

IF IN THE FSS PROGRAM (opt-in case management)

11. Why did you apply to be in the Public Housing Family Self-sufficiency Program?
    a. Has/Have the case manager(s) helped you? Why or why not?
    b. On a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 being very satisfied, how satisfied are you with the help you received from the case managers?
12. What did you think of the fact that you had to move to [VICTORIA SQUARE/CLAREMONT] to be part of the FSS program?

IF NOT IN THE FSS PROGRAM (opt-out case management)

10. Have you ever worked with one of the on-site case managers? (If no, skip to #12).
    a. Why do you think the housing authority has hired on-site case managers?
    b. Why did you meet with/work with the case manager?
    c. Has/Have the case manager(s) helped you? Why or why not?
    d. On a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 being very satisfied, how satisfied are you with the help you received from the case managers?
11. (SKIP if working with a case manager) Are you aware that the housing authority has hired case managers?
    a. Why have you not worked with a case manager?
    b. Why do you think the housing authority has hired on-site case managers?
    c. What kinds of things do you think the case managers are supposed to be doing?

12. Is there anything else you would like to tell us about your experience living in Charlotte Public Housing, the work requirement or case management?

13. Is there something else we should have asked you?

APPENDIX 5: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR RESIDENTS SUBJECT TO THE WORK REQUIREMENT (SEPTEMBER 2014)

(This guide includes all questions, if a resident interviewed with us previously, certain questions were confirmed or skipped rather than asked.)

Thank you for taking the time to talk with us again today. We met with you and others living in the five work requirement developments back in January just as the work requirement was going into effect, and we are here today to check-in with you about how things are going. We would like to ask you some questions about living here, your work experience, CHA's rent policies, and the services provided by the case managers. Some of the questions will be the same, because we want to know if or how things have changed, but there are some new questions too. The information you share with us is completely confidential – nothing you tell us will be shared in a way that you or your comments could be identified. We will be talking to a number of residents and will look for common themes or ideas that were raised by residents, and will never identify you by name. This information will be shared in a general way with the Charlotte Housing Authority so that they can better understand the work requirement and other rent policies' impacts on families, and how to improve their communication and services.

As university researchers we are bound by something called an Institutional Review Board, which makes sure no harm comes to anyone as a result of our work. In order to participate in the interview, we need to read to you a release of information and have you sign that it is okay to talk with you.

We would like to record this interview so that we can ensure that we capture your thoughts accurately. If it is okay to record the interview, we will need you to mark here. If you are willing to participate in the interview but would prefer that we not record the interview, we will need you to mark here. Again, your information is kept completely secure and nothing you say will be shared in such a way that you could be identified.

I. First, we would like to ask some questions to learn a little more about you and your family

1. How many people live in your house?
2. Do you have any children that live with you?
    a. How old is each of them?
    b. How many are in school?
    c. Are any of them working?

II. Thanks. Now, we would like to ask you some very general questions.

3. Describe to me what being economically self-sufficient would look like for you.
4. What do you think are <u>your</u> biggest challenges to becoming economically self-sufficient?
5. In thinking about your situation, what has been most helpful so far getting you on your feet financially? [Possible prompts - This might be getting into public housing, being able to

purchase a car, TANF, educational assistance, childcare assistance… Whatever you think has helped you and why.]

III. Now, we'd like to ask you some questions about your experience living here.

6. How long have you lived in public housing?
7. On a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 being like very much, how much do you like living in public housing?
   c. What do you like about living in public housing?
   d. What don't you like about living in public housing?
8. Do you want to continue living in public housing?
   a. Why?
   b. If you want to go, where do you see yourself going?
   c. If you want to go, what needs to happen for you to leave public housing?

III. Now, we'd like to ask you some questions about your work experience.

9. Are you currently working? (If no, SKIP to #7)
   a. What do you do?
   b. Where/For whom do you work?
   c. How many hours per week do you work?
   d. How much do you make per hour?
   e. How long have you been working this job?
   f. On a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 being like the most, how much do you like your job? Why?

10. Are you currently looking for work/another job?
    a. (SKIP if working) Why do you believe you are not currently working?
    b. (SKIP if working) What are the obstacles to you working?
    c. (Ask if currently working but also looking) Why are you looking for another position?

11. Have you attended any work-related training/classes?
    a. What training/classes would you be interested in attending?

IV. The Charlotte Housing Authority has begun several new policies related to rent payments: banded rent, income certification every two years, incentive accounts, increased minimum rent, and the work requirement. We would like to ask you some questions about each of these.

12. Are you currently or have you ever been a "minimum renter"?
    a. [If YES] How did you get the money to pay the minimum rent – currently $75?
    b. Does knowing that you are going to have to pay rent, whether you are working or not, motivate you to find and keep a job?
    c. What do you think is a fair minimum rent? Why?
13. Please tell me what you understand about the banded rent policy.

a. Have you been in a situation where your income increased but your rent did not due to the banded rent policy?
b. Has the banded rent policy encouraged you to work and earn more because it is likely that your rent will not increase? (due to the additional income falling within your current income band)

14. Income verification every two years instead of annually is another new policy.
    a. Have you been through income verification since April?
    b. [If YES] Was it because you were due for income verification, because your income dropped or because your income increased?
    c. [IF YES] Was your rent adjusted up or down?
    d. Has knowing that your rent will not increase (unless you are a minimum renter) until the next two year certification, motivated you to find better paying work?

15. The CHA has also established incentive accounts for all residents earning some amount of wage income as long as their total income is at least $12,500 annually (on average a little more than $1,000 per month).
    a. Do you know if you qualify and have an incentive account?
    b. [IF YES] Do you know how much money you have in your incentive account?
    c. [IF THEY HAVE MONEY IN IT] Have you used any of your incentive money? What have you used it for?
    d. Does knowing that the CHA is putting money into a savings account for you based on your increased earnings motivate you to work and earn more?

16. Okay, now the work requirement.
    a. What have you done as a result of the work requirement? For instance, have you begun working or working more hours?
    b. Have you ever fulfilled the work requirement by completing work-related activities instead of working? [IF YES] What activities did you do?
    c. Have you been out of work at any time since January? How did the work requirement change how you responded to being out of work?
    d. Have you been placed on probation for not meeting the work requirement? [If YES] Can you describe that experience for me?
    e. If you or others don't meet the work requirement, do you think the CHA will evict residents? Why or why not?
    f. Do you think the work requirement is fair? Why or why not?
       If you don't think the requirement is fair, what should the housing authority do instead?

V. Now, I'd like to ask you some questions about the case managers.

17. Have you worked with the on-site case manager since January?
    a. Why did you meet with/work with the case manager?
    b. Tell me a little your meetings with the case manager. What do you usually talk about and do?

c. Has/Have the case manager(s) helped you? What has the case manager done to help you? What do you wish she or he had done differently?
d. How satisfied are you with the help you received from the case managers?

18. Do you think that getting additional education would help you find, keep, or upgrade your employment? [IF YES] What have been the obstacles to getting that education?

19. Do you think that getting additional job training would help you find, keep, or upgrade your employment? [IF YES] What have been the obstacles to getting that training?

20. We have talked a lot about all the different rent reform policies and services, like case managers and job training, that CHA has put in place to encourage you to work more. Tell me a little more about how you view these policies. Which of these has been most effective in motivating and supporting you [and your adult family members] to make changes toward becoming more independent?

VI. Last questions!

21. Are there any other CHA policies or programs that have been especially useful in helping you and your family?
22. Are there any other CHA policies or programs that have **not** been particularly useful for you and your family?
23. Is there anything else you would like to tell us about your experience living in Charlotte Public Housing, the rent reforms, work requirement or case management?
24. Is there something else we should have asked you?

APPENDIX 7: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR RESIDENTS SUBJECT TO THE WORK REQUIREMENT (OCTOBER 2015)

Thank you for taking the time to talk with us again today. We met with you and others living in the five work requirement developments back in January and September 2014, and we are here today to check-in with you about how things are going. We are visiting with residents to ask your thoughts about how this policy has affected you and your family.

We would like to ask you some questions about your work experience, the work requirement, and the case managers. We've asked some of these questions before, but we want to know if anything has changed since we last spoke.

The information you share with us is completely confidential – nothing you tell us will be shared in a way that you could be identified. We will never identify you by name. We will be talking to about 20 residents and will look for common themes raised by residents. This information will be shared in a general way with the Charlotte Housing Authority so that they can better understand the work requirement and other rent policies' impacts on families, and how to improve their communication and services.

As university researchers we are bound by something called an Institutional Review Board, which makes sure no harm comes to anyone as a result of our work. To participate in the interview, we need to read to you a release of information and have you sign that it is okay to talk with you.

We would like to record this interview so that we can ensure that we capture your thoughts accurately. If it is okay to record the interview, we will need you to mark here. If you are willing to participate in the interview but would prefer that we not record the interview, we will need you to mark here. Again, your information is kept completely secure and nothing you say will be shared in such a way that you could be identified.

I. First, we would like to ask some questions to learn a little more about you and your family [If a repeat, ask if anything has changed]

1. How many people currently live in your house?
2. Do any children live with you?
   a. How old is each of them?
   b. How many are in school?
   c. Are any of them working?
3. How long have you lived with the CHA?
4. How did you come to live with the housing authority?

II. Thanks. Now, we would like to ask you some very general questions. [ASK IF NOT ASKED PREVIOUSLY]

5. Describe to me what being economically self-sufficient would look like for you.
6. What do you think are <u>your</u> biggest challenges to becoming economically self-sufficient?

7. In thinking about your situation, what has been most helpful so far getting you on your feet financially? [Possible prompts - This might be getting into public housing, being able to purchase a car, etc.)

III. Now, we'd like to ask you some questions about your work experience.

8. Are you currently working? (If no, SKIP to #??)
   a. What do you do?
   b. Who do you work for?
   c. How many hours per week do you work?
   d. How much do you make per hour?
   e. How long have you been working this job?
   f. On a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 being like the most, how much do you like your job? Why?

9. Are you currently looking for work/another job?
   a. [SKIP if working] Why do you believe you are not currently working?
   b. [Ask if currently working but also looking] Why are you looking for another position?
   c. [ASK ALL] What have been some the obstacles you have encountered as you looked for work? For instance, do you need more education, training, childcare, transportation?

10. Have you attended any work-related training/classes?
    a. What training/classes would you be interested in attending?

11. Okay, now the work requirement.

    [IF NEW INTERVIEWS]

    a. Were you working prior to enforcement of the work requirement? [IF NO] Why weren't you working?
    b. Did enforcement of the work requirement cause you to begin working or to work more hours?

    [ASK ALL]

    c. Now that the work requirement has been actively enforced for almost two years, do you think the housing authority did the right thing? Why or why not? [IF THEY DON'T ADDRESS FAIRNESS – ASK]
    d. Have you been out of work at any time since the policy was implemented? How did the work requirement change how you responded to being out of work?
    e. Have you ever fulfilled the work requirement by completing work-related activities instead of working? [IF YES] What activities did you do?
    f. Have you been placed on sanction for not meeting the work requirement? [If YES] Tell me a little bit about the interactions you had with the CHA staff (property managers and case managers) leading up to being placed on sanction. What did you do after you received the 60 day notice? Once they raised your rent, how did you find the money to pay the increased rent?

g. What did you do to get off of sanction? What was most helpful to you during that process? [prompts: case managers? Housing management staff? The Center for Employment Services staff or programs?]
h. If you don't meet the work requirement, do you think the CHA will evict you? Why or why not?
i. What would you do / where would you live if you were evicted?

We would also like to know how the work requirement has impacted your family life.

12. First, some questions about childcare and the time you spend with your children…[SKIP IF NO CHILDREN PRESENT OR NOT WORKING]
    a. Who cares for your children when you are at work?
    b. [IF USE PAID CHILDCARE] How do you pay for your childcare?
    c. Have you had to leave work to attend appointments with your child (doctor, school)? How often? How did you arrange that with your employer? Did you experience any problems with your employer because of the time away?
    d. Has working changed your daily or weekly routines with your children? In what ways?

13. And now some more general questions. …[SKIP IF NO CHILDREN PRESENT OR NOT WORKING]
    a. Do you think working has improved your family's financial situation? Why or why not?
    b. What have been some of the good things about work and how it has impacted your family?
    c. What have been some of the bad things about work and how it has impacted your family?

V. Now, I'd like to ask you some questions about the case managers.

a. When was the last time you met with a case manager?
b. Why did you meet with/work with the case manager?
c. Tell me a little your meetings with the case manager. What do you usually talk about and do?
d. Has/Have the case manager(s) helped you? What has the case manager done to help you? What do you wish she or he had done differently?
e. How satisfied are you with the help you received from the case managers?

VI. Last questions!

14. How would you rate your own health? Excellent, Very Good, Good, Poor, Very Poor? Why?
15. How would you rate your children's health? Excellent, Very Good, Good, Poor, Very Poor? Why?
16. Do you and your children have health insurance?

17. Are there any CHA policies or programs that have been especially useful in helping you and your family? (For instance, have the biennial rent adjustments or the incentive accounts or programs at the Center for Employment Services helped?)
18. Are there any CHA policies or programs that have been harmful for you and your family?
19. What advice do you have for the CHA? (Prompt: for instance the work requirement, rent policies, case management services, maintenance, administration)
20. Is there anything else you would like to tell us about your experience living in Charlotte Public Housing?
21. Is there something else we should have asked you?

APPENDIX 7: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR RESIDENTS LIVING IN PUBLIC HOUSING (SEPTEMBER 2016)

Thank you for taking the time to talk with us today. The information you share with us today is confidential – nothing you tell us will be shared with the housing authority or anyone else in a way that you or your comments could be identified. We will be talking to a number of residents and will look for common themes or ideas that were raised by residents. We would like to ask you some questions about the Charlotte Housing Authority's policies and how they affect you and your family. This information will be shared in a general way with the Charlotte Housing Authority so that they can work to improve the policies and programs that impact families like yours.

As university researchers we are bound by something called an Institutional Review Board. We have to tell them everything we want to do and why and they work with us to make sure no harm comes to anyone as a result of our work. In order to participate in the interview, we need to read to you the release of information and have you sign that it is okay to talk with you.

I would like to record this interview so that I am better able to listen to what you are telling me and so that I can ensure that we capture your thoughts accurately. If it is okay to record the interview, we will need you to mark here. If you are willing to participate in the interview but would prefer that we not record the interview, we will need you to mark here. Again, your information is kept completely secure and nothing you say will be shared in such a way that you could be identified.

I. *First, I would like to ask some questions to learn a little more about you and your family*

2. How many people currently live in your house?
13. Do any children live with you?
    a. How old is each of them?
    b. How many are in school?
    c. Are any of them working?
14. How would you rate your own health? Excellent, Very Good, Good, Poor, Very Poor? Why?
15. How would you rate your children's health? Excellent, Very Good, Good, Poor, Very Poor? Why?
16. Do you and your children have health insurance?

II. *Now, I would like to ask you some questions about living in public housing.*

17. How long have you lived in CHA housing?
18. How did you come to live in CHA housing?
    a. Have you lived in public housing before?
19. On a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 being like very much, how much do you like living in your current place?
    a. What do you like about this development and the people who live here?
    b. What don't you like about it?
    c. What could residents do to improve the living situation here?
    d. What could the CHA do to improve the living situation here?
20. Do you want to continue living in CHA public housing?

a. Why or why not?
b. If you want to go, where do you see yourself going?
c. If you want to go, what needs to happen for you to leave public housing?

III. One of the reasons people live in public housing is to help them become more stable financially.

21. Describe to me what being economically self-sufficient would look like for you.
22. What do you think are <u>your</u> biggest challenges to becoming economically self-sufficient?
23. In thinking about your situation, what has been most helpful so far getting you on your feet financially? [Possible prompts - This might be getting into public housing, being able to purchase a car, etc.)
24. Do you think that public housing authorities should require work-able residents to work? Why or why not?
    a. If they did require work-able residents to work, how many hours per week do you think would be fair?
    b. Do you think that the housing authority should have to provide any services or supports along with the work requirement? What should those be?

IV. Now, I would like to ask you some questions about your work experience.

25. Are you currently working? (If no, SKIP to 17)
    a. What do you do?
    b. Who do you work for?
    c. How many hours per week do you work? Are your hours consistent or do they vary from week to week?
    d. How much do you make per hour?
    e. How long have you been working this job?
    f. On a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 being like the most, how much do you like your job? Why?
26. How would you describe your work history? Steady? Sporadic/Temporary? Why haven't you worked steadily?
27. Are you currently looking for work/another job?
    a. What kind of job are you looking for?
    b. How are you trying to find a new job?
    c. [SKIP if working] Why do you believe you are not currently working?
    d. [Ask if currently working but also looking] Why are you looking for another position?
    e. [ASK ALL] What have been some the obstacles you have encountered as you looked for work? For instance, do you need more education, training, childcare, transportation?
28. You said that you are looking for work in [name field]. Is that the kind of work you would really like to do? If not, what would you like to do?
29. What do you think you would need to do to get that kind of a job?
30. In the last two years (2014-2016), have you attended any work-related training/classes?
    a. Are there any training/classes would you be interested in attending?

ASK RESIDENTS WHO ARE WORKING

31. First, some questions about childcare and the time you spend with your children…[SKIP IF NO CHILDREN PRESENT OR NOT WORKING]
    e. Who cares for your children when you are at work?
    f. [IF USE PAID CHILDCARE] How do you pay for your childcare? [Prompt – Do you receive any subsidies? How much do you have to pay out of pocket?]
    g. Have you had to leave work to attend appointments with your child (doctor, school)? How often? How did you arrange that with your employer? Did you experience any problems with your employer because of the time away?
    h. Has working changed your daily or weekly routines with your children? In what ways?

32. And now some more general questions. …[SKIP IF NOT WORKING]
    d. Do you think working has improved your/your family's financial situation? Why or why not?
    e. Are there good things about work and its impact on you/your family?
    f. Are there bad things about work and its impact on you/your family?

The Charlotte Housing Authority began several new policies related to rent payments: banded rent, income certification every two years, incentive accounts, and increased minimum rent. I would like to ask you some questions about each of these.

33. Are you currently or have you ever been a "minimum renter"?
    d. [If YES] How did you get the money to pay the minimum rent – currently $75?
    e. Does knowing that you are going to have to pay rent, whether you are working or not, motivate you to find and keep a job?
    f. What do you think is a fair minimum rent? Why?

34. Please tell me what you understand about the banded rent policy.
    c. Have you been in a situation where your income increased but your rent did not due to the banded rent policy?
    d. Has the banded rent policy encouraged you to work and earn more because it is likely that your rent will not increase? (due to the additional income falling within your current income band)

35. Income verification every two years instead of annually is another new policy.
    e. Have you been through income verification since April?
    f. [If YES] Was it because you were due for income verification, because your income dropped or because your income increased?
    g. [IF YES] Was your rent adjusted up or down?
    h. Has knowing that your rent will not increase (unless you are a minimum renter) until the next two year certification, motivated you to find better paying work?

36. The CHA has also established incentive accounts for all residents earning some amount of wage income as long as their total income is at least $12,500 annually (on average a little more than $1,000 per month).
    e. Do you know if you qualify and have an incentive account?
    f. [IF YES] Do you know how much money you have in your incentive account?
    g. [IF THEY HAVE MONEY IN IT] Have you used any of your incentive money? What have you used it for?
    h. Does knowing that the CHA is putting money into a savings account for you based on your increased earnings motivate you to work and earn more?
37. Are there any CHA policies or programs that have been especially useful in helping you and your family? (For instance, have the biennial rent adjustments or the incentive accounts or programs at the Center for Employment Services helped?)
38. Are there any CHA policies or programs that have been harmful for you and your family?
39. What advice do you have for the CHA? (Prompt: for instance the work requirement, rent policies, case management services, maintenance, administration)
40. Is there anything else you would like to tell us about your experience living in Charlotte Public Housing?
41. Is there something else we should have asked you?

APPENDIX 8: RESIDENT SURVEY

Moving Forward Developments

RESIDENT SATISFACTION SURVEY
Second Follow Up Questionnaire

The Center for Urban and Regional Studies
The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Hickerson House, CB #3410
108 Battle Lane
Chapel Hill, NC 27599

This survey is part of a research project to evaluate the Moving Forward initiative. The enclosed survey asks questions about your home, neighborhood, health, employment, and how you feel about the Moving Forward initiative we are studying. We will use the results of this survey to help inform the Charlotte Housing Authority about how residents feel about the Moving Forward initiative and how to improve it.

Please answer all questions unless instructed to skip. If there are questions that you do not want to answer, please write IS (intentional skipped) in the margin. The more information you share with us, the better able we will be able to inform the CHA about how to improve the services you and other residents receive.

Thank you in advance for taking the time to complete this 20 minute survey and helping with our research.

If you have questions or concerns about this research, you may contact the Principal Investigator, William M. Rohe, Ph.D. at:
The Center for Urban and Regional Studies
Hickerson House, CB #3410
The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Chapel Hill, NC 27599
Phone: (866) 280-3987 (toll free)   Email: brohe@unc.edu

1. What is your date of birth? __________/_________/______________
Month Day Year

2. When did you move into your current apartment? ______/________
Month Year

A. QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR CURRENT HOME AND NEIGHBORHOOD

3. How long would you like to continue living in your current home?
(CHECK ONE)

- ☐ As long as possible
- ☐ Several more years
- ☐ A few more years
- ☐ I would like to move as soon as possible

4. How would you rate the following **physical** conditions in your development?

	Excellent ▼	**Good** ▼	**Fair** ▼	**Poor** ▼
The attractiveness of the landscaping	☐	☐	☐	☐
Upkeep of the buildings	☐	☐	☐	☐
The facilities available for children	☐	☐	☐	☐
The development's **overall physical** condition	☐	☐	☐	☐

5. Overall, how satisfied are you with your neighborhood?
(CHECK ONE)

- ☐ Very happy
- ☐ Somewhat happy
- ☐ Somewhat unhappy
- ☐ Very unhappy

6. How do you rate the neighborhood in terms of the following?

	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor	Don't know
Having access to good schools	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Having access to public transportation	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Having access to health care services	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Having access to child care	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Having access to parks and recreation facilities	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Being close to job opportunities	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Being close to job training or job placement programs	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

7. Thinking about the area that you consider your neighborhood, please indicate whether the following items are a big problem, some problem, or not a problem.

	Big problem	Some problem	Not a problem
People being attacked or robbed	☐	☐	☐
People ***selling*** drugs	☐	☐	☐
People ***using*** drugs	☐	☐	☐
Gangs	☐	☐	☐
Rape or other sexual attacks	☐	☐	☐
Shootings and violence	☐	☐	☐
Home break-ins and thefts	☐	☐	☐
Property damage to homes, buildings, or cars	☐	☐	☐

8. How safe do you feel being out alone in the parking lots, the lawns, the street or sidewalks right outside your home at night? (CHECK ONE)

- ☐ Very safe
- ☐ Somewhat safe
- ☐ Somewhat unsafe
- ☐ Very unsafe

9. How safe do you feel allowing your child(ren) outside to play in the areas around your home during the day? (CHECK ONE)

- ☐ I do not have any children living with me

- ☐ Very safe
- ☐ Somewhat safe
- ☐ Somewhat unsafe
- ☐ Very unsafe

B. QUESTIONS ABOUT CHA POLICIES, PROGRAMS AND STAFF

10. How satisfied are you with each of the following?

	Very satisfied ▼	Somewhat satisfied ▼	Somewhat dissatisfied ▼	Very dissatisfied ▼	Don't know ▼
The way the housing authority responds to maintenance requests	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The way the housing authority responds to complaints, such as noisy neighbors	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The housing authority's rules for residents	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
How the housing authority enforces its rules	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The way you are treated by the housing authority's staff	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The availability of services to help you increase your income	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

11. How happy would you be if the CHA made all public housing units smoke-free?

- ☐ Very happy
- ☐ Somewhat happy
- ☐ Somewhat unhappy
- ☐ Very unhappy

12. How well do you understand the banded rent policies that calculate your rent based on the income band your household falls? (CHECK ONE)

- ☐ Very well
- ☐ Somewhat
- ☐ Only a little
- ☐ Not at all

13. How well do you understand the biennial (every other year) income recertification policies that are part of the Moving Forward program? (CHECK ONE)

- ☐ Very well
- ☐ Somewhat
- ☐ Only a little
- ☐ Not at all

14. Do you think the current minimum rent of $75 is…

- ☐ too high
- ☐ about right
- ☐ not high enough

15. How well do you understand the hardship exemption for minimum rent and increased rent?

- ☐ Very well
- ☐ Somewhat
- ☐ Only a little
- ☐ Not at all

16. Have you done any of the following in response to the changes in rent policies (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

- ☐ Look for a new job
- ☐ Find a new job
- ☐ Work more hours
- ☐ Enroll in a school or training program
- ☐ None of the above

17. Do you currently have funds in a CHA incentive account?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No → **IF NO, SKIP TO QUESTION 19**
- ☐ Don't know → **IF DON'T KNOW, SKIP TO QUESTION 19**

18. Do you know how much money you currently have in your incentive account?

  - ☐ I have $______________ in my incentive account.
  - ☐ I don't know how much I have in my incentive account

19. Has the policy of placing money in an incentive account when you have wage income and a total income over $12,500 caused you to …

- ☐ Look for a new job
- ☐ Find a new job
- ☐ Work more hours
- ☐ Enroll in a school or training program
- ☐ None of the above

C. QUESTIONS ABOUT EMPLOYMENT AND LOOKING FOR WORK

20. Do you currently work for pay?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No → **IF NO, SKIP TO QUESTION 22**

21. How long have you been working at your main job, the one at which you work the most hours? (CHECK ONE)

- ☐ Less than 3 months
- ☐ 3 months to just under 6 months
- ☐ 6 months to just under one year
- ☐ One year to just under 3 years
- ☐ Three years or more

22. Have you looked for work in the past 12 months?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No → **IF NO, SKIP TO QUESTION 24**

23. Thinking about your own experience looking for work during the last 12 months, have any of the following made it difficult for you to find work?

	Yes ▼	**No** ▼
Not having work experience	☐	☐
Not having enough education	☐	☐
Not having child care	☐	☐
Lack of transportation	☐	☐
Not speaking English well	☐	☐
Having a disability	☐	☐
Discrimination	☐	☐
Lack of jobs in the neighborhood	☐	☐
Having a drug or alcohol problem	☐	☐
Having a criminal record	☐	☐

24. Please tell us whether you are currently receiving the following services to move towards economic independence, and if not, whether you need those services.

	Currently receiving ▼	Need but <u>not</u> receiving ▼	Don't need ▼
Jobs skills training	☐	☐	☐
Computer training	☐	☐	☐
Transportation assistance	☐	☐	☐
Childcare	☐	☐	☐
Life skills training such as budgeting or parenting	☐	☐	☐
Educational courses	☐	☐	☐
Medical assistance	☐	☐	☐
Mental health treatment	☐	☐	☐
Drug and/or alcohol treatment	☐	☐	☐

25. How useful have the following services been?

	Very useful ▼	Somewhat useful ▼	Not very useful ▼	Not at all useful ▼	Have not used ▼
Jobs skills training	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Computer training	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Transportation assistance	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Childcare	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Life skills training such as budgeting or parenting	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Educational assistance	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Medical assistance	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mental health treatment	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Drug and alcohol treatment	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

26. What other kinds of assistance would you like to receive?

____

____

____

D. QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR EXPERIENCE AND SATISFACTION WITH CHA'S MOVING FORWARD PROGRAM.

27. Have you **ever** worked with a case manager or participated in employment or social service programs provided **under CHA's Moving Forward program?**

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No → **IF NO, SKIP TO QUESTION 32**

28. How many Moving Forward case managers have you had since the beginning of the program? | ________ Case Managers |

    29. If more than one, would you say the change in case manager was a big problem, small problem or not a problem?
        - ☐ Big Problem
        - ☐ Some problem
        - ☐ Not a problem

30. Are you **currently** working with a case manager or participating in employment or social service programs provided **under CHA's Moving Forward program?**

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No → **IF NO, SKIP TO QUESTION 32**

31. In order to understand your experience working with your **current** case manager, please tell us whether you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly agree ▼	Agree ▼	Disagree ▼	Strongly disagree ▼
I am satisfied with the services provided by my **current** Moving Forward case manager.	☐	☐	☐	☐
My **current** case manager understands my needs and helps me find the services I need.	☐	☐	☐	☐
My **current** case manager helped me to better understand the requirements of the Moving Forward program.	☐	☐	☐	☐
I meet with my **current** case manager regularly and she/he follows through on commitments.	☐	☐	☐	☐
My **current** case manager holds me accountable to my case plan	☐	☐	☐	☐
I have a strong and supportive relationship with my **current** case manager.	☐	☐	☐	☐

32. In order to understand your experience with the Moving Forward program, please tell us whether you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly agree ▼	Agree ▼	Disagree ▼	Strongly disagree ▼
My participation in the Moving Forward program has helped me to strengthen my life skills.	☐	☐	☐	☐
The Moving Forward services have helped me move towards economic independence.	☐	☐	☐	☐
The Moving Forward services have prepared me to find a job.	☐	☐	☐	☐

33. How well do you understand the work requirements that are part of the Moving Forward program? (CHECK ONE)

- ☐ Very well
- ☐ Average
- ☐ Not so well
- ☐ Not at all

34. What do you think would happen if you could not fulfill the work requirement? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

- ☐ I am elderly or disabled, so the work requirement does not apply to me.
- ☐ I would be allowed to ask for more time to fulfill the requirement.
- ☐ I would be required to take more training or classes.
- ☐ I would be required to pay higher rent.
- ☐ I would be evicted from the public housing.
- ☐ Other (please specify) ____

35. What do you think would help you fulfill your work requirement? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

- ☐ I am elderly or disabled, so the work requirement does not apply to me.
- ☐ More time to look for a job
- ☐ More training
- ☐ More job opportunities in my community
- ☐ More childcare
- ☐ More transportation assistance
- ☐ Improved health
- ☐ Drug and alcohol treatment
- ☐ Other (please specify) ____

36. What have you done in response to the work requirement? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

- ☐ Look for a new job.
- ☐ Find a new job.
- ☐ Work more hours
- ☐ Enroll in a school or training program
- ☐ None of the above

E. QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR HEALTH

37. In general, would you say your health is: (CHECK ONE)

- ☐ Excellent
- ☐ Very good
- ☐ Good
- ☐ Fair
- ☐ Poor

38. Has a doctor or other health professional <u>ever</u> told you that **<u>you</u>** have asthma? (CHECK ONE)

- ☐ No → **Go to Question 40**
- ☐ Yes → **Go to Question 39**

    39. <u>During the past 12 months</u>, did **<u>you</u>** have to visit an emergency room or urgent care center because of asthma?

    - ☐ Yes
    - ☐ No

40. Has a doctor or other health professional <u>ever</u> told you that one of **<u>your children</u>** has asthma? (CHECK ONE)

- ☐ No → **Go to Question 42**
- ☐ Yes → **Go to Question 41**

    41. <u>During the past 12 months</u>, did **<u>one of your children</u>** have to visit an emergency room or urgent care center because of asthma?

    - ☐ Yes
    - ☐ No

42. Has a doctor or other health professional <u>ever</u> told you that you have arthritis, rheumatoid arthritis, gout, lupus, or fibromyalgia?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

43. Has a doctor or other health professional <u>ever</u> told you that you have hypertension, also called high blood pressure?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

44. Has a doctor or other health professional <u>ever</u> told you that you have Type 2 diabetes or sugar diabetes?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

45. Do you have recurrent headaches that interfere with work, family, or social functions?

- ☐ Yes → **Go to Question 46**
- ☐ No → **Go to Question 48**

46. How many of these types of headaches have you had in the past three months? __________

47. Have your headaches been diagnosed as migraines?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

48. What is your height without shoes? | feet | inches |

49. What is your weight without shoes? | pounds |

50. Do you now smoke cigarettes every day, some days, or not at all?

- ☐ Every day
- ☐ Some days
- ☐ Not at all
- ☐ Don't know/Not sure

51. During the past four weeks, how often. . .

	All of the time	Most of the time	Some of the time	A little of the time	None of the time
Did you accomplish less than you wanted due to your physical health?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Were you limited in the kind of work or other activities you could perform due to your physical health?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Did you accomplish less than you wanted due to emotional problems, such as feeling depressed or anxious?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Did you do your work or other activities less carefully than usual due to emotional problems, such as feeling depressed or anxious?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

52. For each of the following statements, please indicate how often you felt that way **in the past week**.

	Less than one day	One or two days	Three or four days	Five or more days
I was bothered by things that usually do not bother me	☐	☐	☐	☐
I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing	☐	☐	☐	☐
I felt depressed	☐	☐	☐	☐
I felt that everything I did was an effort	☐	☐	☐	☐
I felt hopeful about the future	☐	☐	☐	☐
I felt fearful	☐	☐	☐	☐
My sleep was restless	☐	☐	☐	☐
I was happy	☐	☐	☐	☐
I felt lonely	☐	☐	☐	☐
I could not "get going"	☐	☐	☐	☐

F. QUESTIONS ABOUT CHILDREN UNDER THE AGE OF 19 YEARS OLD LIVING IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD

53. How many children do you have <u>under the age of 19 living in your home</u>?
|____| → **IF 0, SKIP TO QUESTION 60**

54. Of your children <u>under the age of 19 living in your home</u>, when was your <u>oldest</u> child born? |_______| / |______|
Month Year

55. If you have more than one child <u>under the age of 19</u> and <u>living in your home</u>, when was your <u>youngest</u> child born? |_______| / |______|
Month Year

If none of the children living in your household are in school, SKIP TO QUESTION 60

56. How well is the <u>oldest child</u> in your household doing in school? (CHECK ONE)
- ☐ Excellent
- ☐ Good
- ☐ Fair
- ☐ Poor
- ☐ Very poor

57. Have any of the following events happened <u>in the past twelve months?</u>

	Yes ▼	**No** ▼
Did any of the children living in your household drop out of school?	☐	☐
Did any of the children living in your household become pregnant?	☐	☐
Did any of the children living in your household get arrested?	☐	☐

If none of the children living in your household are in <u>high</u> <u>school</u>, SKIP TO QUESTION 60

58. What plans does your high schooler(s) have for what he/she will be doing after graduation? (CHECK ONE)

- ☐ Four year college
- ☐ Two year college or vocational school
- ☐ Get a job
- ☐ Join the military
- ☐ He/she has no specific plans
- ☐ I do not know

59. Are you and your child(ren) aware of the CHA Scholarship fund?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

G. QUESTIONS ABOUT YOU

60. How often during the past 12 months <u>did you worry about whether your food would run out</u> before you got money to buy more? (CHECK ONE)

- ☐ Often
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Never

61. How often during the past 12 months <u>did your food run out</u> before you got money to buy more? (CHECK ONE)

- ☐ Often
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Never

62. Did you ever live in public housing prior to age 17?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Don't know

63. Do you own or have regular access to a working car or other vehicle?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

64. Do you have any of the following? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

- ☐ Valid driver's license
- ☐ Valid DMV nonoperator's ID Card
- ☐ US Military ID Card or Veterans ID Card
- ☐ I do not have any of these.

65. Do you have a bank account?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

66. What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?

- ☐ Grade 1–11, please specify: |______|
- ☐ 12th grade, no diploma
- ☐ 12th grade, regular high school degree
- ☐ GED
- ☐ Some college credit, no degree
- ☐ Associate's degree (for example: AA, AS)
- ☐ Bachelor's degree (for example: BA, BS) or higher

67. Are you currently enrolled in any education courses? (CHECK ONE)

- ☐ I am not enrolled in any education courses
- ☐ I am working on my GED
- ☐ I am taking college courses, but am not working towards a degree
- ☐ I am taking college courses and working towards an Associate's degree (for example: AA, AS)
- ☐ I am taking college courses and working towards a Bachelor's degree (for example: BA, BS)
- ☐ I am enrolled in job training courses (Which type: ______________________

____

68. What is your current marital status? (CHECK ONE)
- ☐ Never married
- ☐ Currently married
- ☐ Separated
- ☐ Divorced
- ☐ Widowed

69. What are the best things about the CHA's Moving Forward programs and policies?

____

____

____

70. What would you like to see changed in the CHA's Moving Forward programs and policies?

____

____

____

If you have other comments you would like to share, please write them here:

____

____

____

____

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey!

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey. Your responses will help us understand how the Moving Forward Initiative is affecting people like you.

Please place the completed survey in the envelope provided and mail it to:

Kirstin Frescoln
The Center for Urban and Regional Studies
Hickerson House, CB# 3410
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, NC 27599

All research involving human volunteers is reviewed by a committee that works to protect your rights and welfare. If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant, you may contact, anonymously if you wish, the Institutional Review Board at (919) 966-3113 or by email at IRB_subjects@unc.edu.
If you contact the IRB, please refer to study number 09-1739.