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Long-Term Outcomes for CHA Residents

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Chronic Violence: Beyond the Developments

Chantal Hailey and Megan Gallagher

As part of its ambitious Plan for Transformation, the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) demolished thousands of distressed public housing apartments in high-rises that all but defined entire neighborhoods on Chicago's South and West sides (Popkin et al. 2013). The goal was to change both the social dynamics and the physical structure of those communities (Popkin 2010). The Urban Institute has been tracking outcomes for CHA families from two distressed public housing developments over the past decade; many now have housing choice vouchers (HCV) and are renting homes in the private market, and others moved to rehabilitated public housing or new mixed-income housing developments (Buron and Popkin 2010; Buron, Hayes, and Hailey 2013). The majority of these residents reported improvements in housing and neighborhood quality by 2009, and those residents who had relocated with vouchers were slightly better off than those who remained in traditional public housing (Popkin et al. 2010). Since then, the CHA has continued investing in its remaining public housing stock, renovating units and improving security.[1] These improvements have clearly benefited public housing residents, who now report more favorable housing and neighborhood conditions than residents using vouchers in privately owned rentals (Buron et al. 2013).

As the CHA moved forward with the Plan, it encountered serious challenges with resident relocation. In response to these issues and pressure from advocates and researchers (Popkin 2010), the agency established relocation and case management services for residents, first through the Service Connector and then through Family-Works (Vale and Graves 2010). As it became clear that some residents would require more help than its basic programs could provide, the CHA began collaborating with the Urban Institute and two service providers to test the feasibility of a more intensive case management program. The Chicago Family Case Management Demonstration began in 2007 and provided residents from two of CHA's remaining developments with wraparound services, including case management, transitional jobs, literacy training, and relocation counseling (Popkin, Theodos, et al. 2010; Popkin et al. 2013). After five years of tracking participants, many have experienced employment and health gains, improved housing and neighborhood conditions, and reduced levels of depression, worry, and anxiety (Popkin, Theodos, et al. 2010; Popkin and Davies 2013).

Although CHA families' overall quality of life has improved and the Demonstration showed promising improvements for even the

> Children and young adults who have moved from distressed CHA public housing need support as they manage exposure to violence in their new neighborhoods.

highest risk adults, none of these changes appear to have affected the life trajectories for their children and youth (Gallagher 2010; Getsinger and Popkin 2010). Youth who moved from CHA developments did not attend better schools, become more highly engaged in school, or improve their academic performance (Gallagher 2010; Gallagher and Bajaj 2007; Boston 2009; Jacob 2003).[2] In fact, the children from our studies who either remained in their original public housing or who relocated to other public housing were more likely to exhibit delinquent behavior than their peers who relocated with vouchers (Popkin 2010; Gallagher and Bajaj 2007). Girls, in particular, appeared to be suffering from the chaos and disorder of emptying developments (Gallagher and Bajaj 2007; Popkin 2010). But boys were also vulnerable; as in the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) demonstration, boys who relocated from public housing with a voucher fared worse than those who remained in public housing.[3] Children of CHA relocatees in our studies often kept to themselves to avoid problems intergrating into their new neighborhoods (Gallagher and Bajaj 2007).

Our most recent follow-up in 2011 confirmed these dismal results: the youth we studied who have lived through CHA's Plan have gained little more than a better living environment. A substantial portion of young adults is neither in school nor working; teens are struggling with academic failure, delinquency, and trauma. In the absence of a major intervention, most of these young people are likely to be mired in the same type of poverty as their parents, living in neighborhoods suffering from chronic disadvantage and cycling in and out of the workforce.

This brief reports the long-term outcomes for participants in the Chicago Panel Study (Panel Study) and the Chicago Case Management Demonstration (Demonstration; for details of both, see the description of the Long-Term Outcomes for CHA Residents study on page 9). In each study, we asked parents about

one or two "focal children" per household. Between our initial contacts with families and our follow-up survey in 2011, many young focal children grew into young adults. Our Panel Study sample currently includes 130 adult heads of household who reported in our survey about the well-being of 28 young children (age 0–12), 40 teenagers (age 13–17), and 52 young adults (age 18 or older). The Demonstration sample currently comprises 272 adult heads of household reporting about the well-being of 93 young children, 69 teenagers, and 50 young adults. In August 2011, we conducted in-depth interviews with 12 parents, 5 young adults, and 6 teenagers from these two samples. All changes and differences reported here are statistically significant at the $p < .10$ level, unless otherwise noted.

Relocating to Better, but Still Disadvantaged, Neighborhoods

When we began talking with CHA Panel Study residents in 2001 and Demonstration participants in 2007, everyone lived in extremely distressed neighborhoods. Most Panel Study respondents reported that gangs (75 percent), shootings and violence (69 percent), and drug trafficking (85 percent) were big problems in their neighborhoods (Popkin et al. 2002). Demonstration participants also described their original public housing developments as extremely troubled and high-crime; a substantial proportion of residents reported big problems in their neighborhood with gangs (60 percent), shootings and violence (50 percent), and drug dealing (78 percent; Popkin et al. 2008).

By 2009, nearly all respondents in both samples were living in communities that they viewed as considerably safer than their original public housing developments. Over half (54 percent) of Panel Study residents and about a quarter (28 percent) of Demonstration respondents had opted for a voucher, and at that point there were no differences in perceived safety according to type of housing assistance (Popkin and Price 2010; Theodos and Parilla

2010). Although crime was decreasing during this time across Chicago, the neighborhoods where small groups of relocatees with vouchers had settled experienced smaller reductions in crime than neighborhoods with none or few relocatees (Popkin, Rich, et al. 2012).

Most respondents we surveyed in 2011 reported drastically improved neighborhood conditions relative to where they lived in 2001 or 2007. These CHA relocatees perceive their neighborhoods as substantially safer with less physical disorder (trash in streets, graffiti, and vacant apartments or houses) than their original neighborhoods. Still, these neighborhoods are far from ideal; about a quarter of our respondents indicate that groups just hanging out, people selling and using drugs, and shootings and violence are still big problems. In fact, in some neighborhoods (like Englewood, where a large number of sample members relocated), crime increased slightly between 2009 and 2011; during this same period, some sample members experienced small increases in exposure to violence (Buron et al. 2013). And, while not as distressed as the communities they came from, most of these neighborhoods are still high poverty and hypersegregated; on average, our respondents live in communities where about 41 percent of the residents have incomes below the poverty level and 87 percent are African American (figure 1).

Complicated Childhoods in Distressed Neighborhoods

Although their current neighborhoods are considerably better than the public housing developments where they lived at the outset of the Plan for Transformation, the families in our sample continue to live in chronically disadvantaged neighborhoods (Sampson 2012). The short- and long-term effects of childhood exposure to violence and victimization—common in these types of environments—are well documented. In the short term, youth exposed to high levels of violence often become the victims or even perpetrators of violence, exhibiting the same psychological

Figure 1. Current Neighborhoods of Long-Term Outcomes Study Households with Children

Legend
- • Households with children
- ▭ The Loop
- ▮ Madden/Wells
- ▮ Dearborn
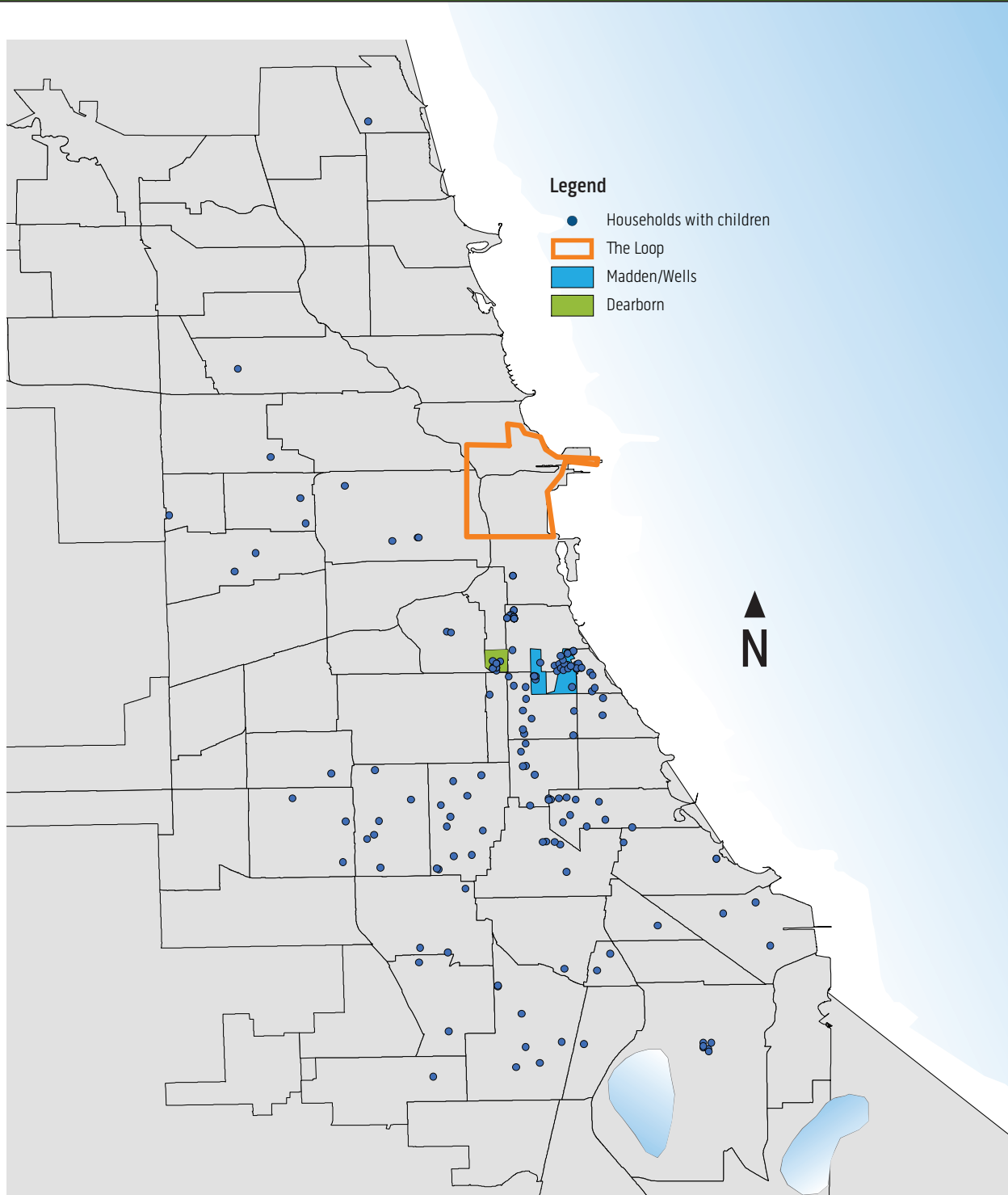
Sources: Long Term Outcomes Study (2011); Chicago Housing Authority (2011).

Table 1. Delinquent Behaviors for Young Children and Teenagers in 2001/2007 and 2011 (percent)

	YOUNG CHILDREN (AGE 0–12)				TEENAGERS (AGE 13–17)	
	Panel Study		Demonstration		Demonstration	
	2001	2011	2007	2011	2007	2011
Child has 2 or more negative behaviors [a]	50	59	47	48	51	49
Child exhibits 5 of 6 positive behaviors [b]	70	59	63	62	54	48
Parent contact by school for child's behavioral problems					25	40
Child has done something illegal for money					2	4
Child has gotten in trouble with the police					8	16
Child has a problem with alcohol or drugs					0	5

Sources: Chicago Panel Study (2001), Chicago Family Case Management Demonstration (2007), and Long-Term Outcomes Study (2011).

Notes: Sample size for Panel Study young children is 50 in 2001 and 28 in 2011. Sample size for Demonstration young children is 128 in 2007 and 84 in 2011, and for Demonstration teenagers is 59 in 2007 and 69 in 2011. Chicago Panel Study teenager baseline characteristics were not used in this analysis. Parents reported on children between the ages of 0 and 14 in 2001. Only 11 focal children were teenagers during the baseline survey wave.

a. Items for the negative behaviors scale are taken from the Behavior Problems Index. Heads of household were asked how often the children had trouble getting along with teachers; was disobedient at school; was disobedient at home; spent time with kids who get in trouble; was bullying or being cruel or mean; felt restless or overly active; and was unhappy, sad, or depressed. The answers ranged from "often" and "sometimes true" to "not true." We measure the proportion of children whose parents reported that they demonstrated two or more of these behaviors often or sometimes over the previous three months.

b. The positive behavior scale asks respondents to rate how closely each of the following six positive behaviors describes their child: usually in a good mood, admired and well-liked by other children, shows concern for other people's feelings, shows pride when doing something well or learning something new, easily calms down after being angry or upset, and is helpful and cooperative. Each behavior was rated on a scale from "not at all like this child" to "completely like this child." We track the proportion of children with at least five behaviors rated "a lot" or "completely like this child."

trauma as children growing up in urban war zones (Garbarino, Kostelny, and Dubrow 1991; Popkin, Leventhal, et al. 2010). In the long term, higher levels of cumulative childhood exposure to violence predict future mental health and emotional distress throughout adulthood (Hooven et al. 2012). In fact, distressed public housing developments are among the highest risk communities for children, with high concentrations of poverty and endemic social disorder, domestic violence, drug trafficking and substance abuse, and violent crime (Popkin et al. 2000; Turner, Popkin, and Rawlings 2008).

The effects of growing up in neighborhoods with these persistent "toxic stressors" are plainly evident for many of our sample youth in 2011, who exhibit high rates of negative and delinquent behaviors. Parents report that in the prior year, 19 percent of teenagers and 11 percent of young adults engaged in two or more delinquent behaviors.[4] This figure includes 35 percent of teenagers who had been suspended from school, and 20 percent of teenagers and 25 percent of young adults who had some involvement with the criminal justice system (i.e., getting in trouble with the police, being arrested, or going to jail or juvenile court). In fact, there is little difference in the reported behaviors of young children and teenagers at baseline who lived in distressed public housing and young children and teenagers in 2011 whose families relocated to rehabilitated or redeveloped public housing (traditional or mixed-income) or to the private housing market (table 1). And, since these figures are based on parents' reports, they likely underestimate the true scope of the problems facing these CHA youth.

In addition to the high rates of reported delinquency and behavior problems, these youth are struggling academically. According to their parents, just under half of young children and two-thirds of teenagers are not highly engaged in school.[5] Further, more than 1 in 10 young children and 1 in 3 teens are not educationally on track—that is, their age is not appropriate for their grade. In addition, a third of young adults are, according to parent reports, disconnected from school and work, which can limit their prospects for success later in adulthood (see Edelman, Holzer, and Offner 2006). Among the young adults in our

study who have not graduated from high school, the most cited reasons for not attending school are disliking school, not wanting to attend school, and wanting or needing to work or earn money.

Coping with Chronic Neighborhood Violence

The youth and young adults in our sample remain in communities with concentrated disadvantage—high rates of poverty and crime—and in many cases exhibit the signs of growing up and living in distressed neighborhoods (Sampson 2012; Popkin and McDaniel forthcoming). In summer 2011, parents and youth described the stresses of living in these challenging neighborhoods and how they protect themselves from neighborhood violence. Our earlier work documented young people's fears and stresses (Gallagher 2010; Getsinger and Popkin 2010). In 2011, we heard for the first time that fear and violence were bigger problems for youth whose families had relocated with vouchers than for those living in traditional CHA developments. Some voucher holders live in very troubled communities like Englewood (Buron et al. 2013). The remaining CHA developments are generally in less-distressed areas, have on-site security and property management, and are generally less chaotic than some private-market communities with high concentrations of voucher holders (Popkin et al. 2013).

In the summer 2011 interviews, parents and youth mentioned taking a number of preventive actions to protect themselves from the violence. Many parents allowed their children to play only in their own house or on their own street. One voucher holder explained that neighborhood children play on houses' roofs to escape the drug-related turmoil that plagued her street. Even after taking this level of precaution, parents like Adriane, a mother living with her husband and six children (ages 0 to 16) in a private

rental with a voucher, still found their children in traumatic situations:

> There was an incident with the kids, they were playing in the water hydrant, and there was a shooting. They [the perpetrators] shot up in the air, and they were jumping on a guy, and they were stomping him, you know, really violent about it. And the kids were so traumatized by it. They were crying, they were scared. You know, they were like, "Mommy, he's not breathing," "Mommy, they hit him with a bat."

This example of violence is not an isolated case for these CHA families. A teenager explained that being victimized or exposed to violence is often unavoidable and a matter of happenstance:

> I was at the wrong place [at] the wrong time….Next thing you know… they came through the gangway out of somebody else yard and shot this dude. He was on his way upstairs… He was at the wrong place at the wrong time, shot him and his cousin….that was the first time I saw somebody get killed….Like literally got killed… That like scared me like, come on now. And then I see blood… That's [why], I pray to God I don't get shot.

Our 2011 follow-up survey revealed that families would uproot their households to find refuge from violence. A quarter of residents with vouchers who had moved in the past two years indicated that improved safety or fewer problems with gangs or drugs was their main motivation for choosing a neighborhood. During interviews, respondents confided that they felt trapped by the violence of the city and believed that moving away from Chicago was the only way to escape the turmoil. Key events that occurred that summer may have made families feel more vulnerable to random

acts of violence; these included the fatal shootings of a sleeping 6-year-old girl through her grandmother's window in Englewood and a 13-year-old boy playing basketball at a Bronzeville park near the Dearborn Homes. This fear, in some cases, eclipsed other family housing needs. Adriane explained that she was unsure about where to go:

> The whole city is crazy right now.
> There's violence everywhere, the violence is even starting to stretch over into the suburbs…. I'll try to work it over here because there's a little safety here….I'll probably go real far west... But I don't know, they'll probably be just as violent… I pretty much don't know where to go, that's the honest answer right there.
> I don't know where to go for safety. It's like if you find a safe place, stay there.

Although families perceive mobility as a tool to improve their quality of life, research links high mobility to adverse child outcomes, including low academic performance (i.e., grade retention and high school graduation) and social functioning (Briggs et al. 2010; Scanlon and Devine 2001). In some interviews, parents and young people said that moving to new neighborhoods sometimes put them at risk for being both the victims and perpetrators of negative and delinquent behaviors, as they left their established and protective networks and disrupted social networks in the new neighborhoods. Teenage boys and young men whose mobility was documented as part of MTO expressed similar pressures as they relocated from public housing developments to new neighborhoods with housing vouchers (Briggs et al. 2010). Some of our most recent work on CHA's Plan for Transformation suggests that CHA public housing relocatees are more likely than other residents to be arrested and to commit crimes in their new communities.

Tonya, an 18-year-old whose family made a CHA-opportunity move to a more affluent

neighborhood on the north side of the city (see Buron et al. 2013), also felt victimized and vulnerable. She felt the loss of the protective network available to her in her old neighborhood and sometimes preferred Madden/Wells' persistent violence to her current sense of defenselessness:

> My neighborhood … I ain't going to say it's like every other neighborhood because when I think of …like the South Side area, I know that area is more…dangerous….[But] it's real dangerous around here as far as violence with gang members and stuff like that… like sometimes, when I walk down the streets with my friends, we like just going to the movies one day, and then, like, these [gang members], they just came out and like they just started chasing us down the street…they bringing fear to somebody else's neighborhood, and it's like they don't even live up here.

> So sometimes I feel like I want to go back to living to living on the South Side because I had the type of community where everybody knew me, you know what I'm saying…. I would get into it with a lot of people out there and fights and stuff, but at the same time, I know there was like still some type of protection because everybody knew everybody.

Teenagers may not fully integrate into a new neighborhood and acquire the protection needed to survive unless they can "prove" themselves to their peers through risky or violent acts. A teenage girl described this phenomenon during her interview: to make friends in her neighborhood, teenagers had to "make an example out of people." In her case, she incurred serious head injuries during a fight that was part of her assimilation.

Some parents and youth choose to isolate themselves rather than risking victimization

(Gallagher 2010). One teenage boy said he was "a ghost" in his neighborhood, avoiding interaction with the other guys to circumvent verbal and physical altercations. Parents, like voucher holder Sandra, encouraged this social isolation to prevent their children from being targeted by gangs.

> **Q:** Have any of your kids been hassled by gangs?…

> **A:** No, because they don't really go outside. They don't really like socialize. They like off to theyself… just got one boy that like to be hanging with the boys and say we're bored. But I tell him that ain't good, because when [they] start hanging with the boys, and they all do get together and start going to do silly things… they not in [a gang]… little kids. He rides the bike and everything …. Play basketball. But I still say it's not a good thing when you start getting in groups, groups of boys.

> **Q:** …the groups are bad?

> **A:** Because [gangs] may think it's a bad group.

Youth Seeking Safe and Interesting Activities

Some youth that we spoke with participated in programs offered by the city, the housing authority, or the school district to avoid trouble. The CHA partnered with local agencies to develop and provide programming for youth in many of their public housing developments throughout the school year. In addition, public housing residents' case managers also coordinated with families to connect youth to summer recreational and employment opportunities. One teenager described her public housing development as "a good community" because of the after-school recreational and tutoring services accessible in her development's community center.

John's Story

Sixteen-year-old John moved from Wells to his current South Side Chicago neighborhood with a voucher. When he first arrived, other teens in the community saw him as an outsider. Although he was not active in a gang and was involved in both athletics and church activities, the local gang targeted him because some of his relatives in Wells had been involved in gang activity.

Q: So when you first moved over there they would fight you a lot?

A: No, they tried to fight me…. I wasn't going [to allow them], but, yeah, they just try and fight me….I don't know. Because I was the new kid on the block, I guess, and the girls liked me. They was jealous… like, we walk past a block with our shirts off and stuff, but we would be coming from the church. And like grown people that tried to, the grown [gang members], they tried tell us we couldn't walk past, and we ignored them…. I got into big trouble with the [gang]… because some dude supposed to put a hit out on me or something… It seems like every summer they do that….They going to fight me and I'll be beating them up, and I don't play that…. [I have] to show them, like, man you all got the wrong one this time.
…
Q: So you feel like you have to fight in the neighborhood so that people don't mess with you?

A: No, I just have to defend myself. I can't show them I'm no punk. Because if you show them you're a punk, they're going to try to take your lunch money. Yeah, it's like that…. like when I said they tried to put a hit on me last time, they supposed to try and kill me or something. Every time they see me, beat me up or something.

The communities where voucher holders live often lack these amenities. A young adult explained that he began his path into delinquency because his neighborhood was underserved by youth activities.

A: But [Englewood] just changed maybe like after the third year.... It just got even worse, you know, like no activities.... You know, like the older guys used to buy the flags for us to play flag football, something like that.... I liked those activities, something to do for the kids and everything…. And I ended up started selling drugs at the age of 12 or 13 years old, so.

Q: Why did you start?

A: Just in the environment I was in.… you know, just something to do.

Policy Implications

CHA's Plan for Transformation has successfully relocated families from some of the most distressed and violent public housing communities in America to neighborhoods that are less poor and less violent. However, families still find themselves in high-poverty, hypersegregated neighborhoods with substantial problems with violence. To manage their exposure to violence, some socially isolate themselves in their new neighborhoods or continue to move to find refuge. Still, some children are the witnesses, victims, and perpetrators of violence as they leave their protective networks and enter new communities.

The youth and young adults in our sample exhibit the short-term effects of growing up with high exposure to violence, including high rates of criminal and delinquent behaviors and school disengagement (Garbarino et al. 1991; Popkin et al. 2000). They are in dire need of support as they manage their exposure to violence in their new neighborhoods. In the longer term, their elevated exposure to chronic stressors could lead to mental health

issues and emotional distress in adulthood and a continued cycle of generational violence (Hooven et al. 2012; Scanlon and Devine 2001).

Policymakers must acknowledge the profound adjustments that vulnerable youth have to make in the context of public housing transformation and provide opportunities for them to address their biggest problems so these youth can create stable relationships and thrive in their new homes and communities. Finding effective strategies to mitigate the effects of exposure to violence is essential—both to improve the life chances of individual children and youth and to promote the health and safety of their communities. Research has identified some effective tactics:

Develop healthy, developmentally appropriate activities in communities to reduce exposure to chronic violence. Youth programming aimed at mitigating the effects of exposure to violence may reduce externalizing symptoms, including delinquency and carrying weapons (Vorhies, Guterman, and Haj-Yahia 2012). In fact, the mere presence of youth programming may protect youth from the violence in their communities; youth report less exposure to violence in communities with a wider array of youth centers, recreation programs, after-school programs, and mentoring/counseling programs (Gardner and Brooks-Gunn 2009; Gibson, Morris, and Beaver 2009).

Provide youth who have been exposed to chronic violence with intensive case management, counseling, and other services. Targeting youth for case management, mentoring, and counseling through programs such as Big Brother and Big Sister of America can improve their well-being—through engagement in school and avoidance of illegal drugs, conflict, and delinquent behaviors (Grossman and Tierney 1998; Grossman and Garry 1997; Mihalic et al. 2001). The Chicago Family Case Management Demonstration provided intensive case management to parents living in public housing and showed a number of encouraging results for adults (Popkin and Davies 2013). Because the benefits of the

Demonstration did not translate to their children, the Urban Institute is conducting a multisite demonstration of the two-generation Housing Opportunity and Services Together (HOST) Demonstration to target the most vulnerable families with intensive, wraparound services for both parents and children (Popkin, Scott, et al. 2013; Popkin and McDaniel forthcoming). The CHA's Altgeld Gardens is a HOST site.

Address chronic violence head on, in addition to preventing or treating exposure one youth at a time. Because of the extreme problems with gang activity and violence, it is important for housing authorities and police departments to continue to develop effective anti-crime and youth violence interventions. For example, the CHA and Chicago Police Department have substantially improved some housing developments by including closed-circuit television cameras throughout, providing youth programs, and including community gardens that provide summer jobs. Even with these efforts, violent crime remains a serious concern, underscoring the severity of the problem.

Mobility programs to "service-rich" communities may still be the best option for some families. The Moving to Opportunity experiment showed that girls who moved from distressed public housing developments had improved mental health outcomes, but that boys did not benefit from these moves and may in fact have suffered from them (Sanbonmatsu et al. 2011). Thus, a powerful lesson from the body of research on HOPE VI and MTO is that many families who had endured the worst of distressed public housing had extremely complex problems (see Popkin 2006; Popkin, Levy, and Buron 2009; and Briggs et al. 2010). Youth receiving mobility programs' full benefits rely on the breadth of youth services accessible in their new communities and housing authorities intentionally connecting youth to these supports. In addition, solutions and supports for families with boys and families with girls may differ. ▪

Notes

1. See CHA's FY2012 Moving to Work Annual Report for a description of its investment in rehabilitation and security measures in its Traditional Public Housing portfolio (http://www.thecha.org/filebin/procurements/CHA_Amended_FY2012_Annual_Plan_HUD_Approved_3.28.12_final.pdf).

2. See also Thomas D. Boston, "Public Housing Transformation and Family Self-Sufficiency: A Case Study of Chicago and Atlanta Housing Authorities," 2009 draft.

3. See Orr et al. (2003); Sanbonmatsu et al. (2011); Gallagher (2010); Popkin, Leventhal, and Weismann (2010); Briggs, Popkin, and Goering (2010); Gallagher and Bajaj (2007); and Leventhal et al. (2009).

4. Respondents were asked if over the previous year their children had been involved in any of the following nine activities: being suspended or expelled from school, going to a juvenile court, having a problem with alcohol or drugs, getting into trouble with the police, doing something illegal for money, getting pregnant or getting someone else pregnant, being in a gang, being arrested, and being in jail or incarcerated. We measured the proportion of children involved in two or more of these behaviors.

5. Developed in 1996 by Jim Connell and Lisa J. Bridges at the Institute for Research and Reform in Education in California, this measure attempts to assess the level of child's interest and willingness to do their schoolwork. Each head of household was asked four questions about whether the child cares about doing well in school, only works on homework when forced to, does just enough homework to get by, or always does his or her homework. The answers were scored on a scale from 1 to 4, where 1 means none of the time and 4 means all the time (answers to the negative items were scored in reverse). We measured the proportion of children with a high level of school engagement, which is equivalent to a scale score of 15 or more.

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Long-Term Outcomes for CHA Residents

The Long-Term Outcomes for CHA Residents study builds on two major Urban Institute research initiatives that examined the effects of the Chicago Housing Authority's (CHA) Plan for Transformation on resident well-being:

- **The Chicago Panel Study** (The Panel Study), funded by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, was a follow-up to the five-site HOPE VI Panel Study, which examined resident outcomes from 2001 to 2005. In Chicago, the Panel Study tracked residents from the CHA's Ida B. Wells Homes/Wells Extension and Madden Park Homes who relocated between 2001 and 2008. Researchers surveyed a random sample of 198 resident heads of household in 2001; follow-up waves were conducted with 174 residents in 2003, 165 residents in 2005, and 136 residents in 2009. A high mortality rate contributed to the sizable attrition between 2001 and 2009. The Urban Institute conducted in-depth, qualitative interviews with select residents to better understand the lives and challenges of these individuals and families.

- **The Chicago Family Case Management Demonstration Evaluation** (The Demonstration)—a partnership between the Urban Institute, the CHA, Heartland Human Care Services, and Housing Choice Partners—tested the feasibility of providing intensive case-management services, transitional jobs, financial literacy training, and relocation counseling to vulnerable public housing families. The demonstration ran from March 2007 to March 2010 and targeted approximately 475 households from the CHA's Dearborn Homes and Madden/Wells developments. Researchers administered resident surveys to the universe population in these sites: 331 residents in 2007 (response rate 77 percent) and 287 residents in 2009. Again, mortality contributed greatly to study attrition. In-depth interviews and an analysis of CHA administrative records, case manager reports, and publicly available data helped researchers contextualize survey findings. A supplemental process study, which relied primarily on in-depth administrative interviews, weekly service implementation monitoring, and regular meetings with project partners, assessed the efficacy and cost of the Demonstration's implementation. The Demonstration was funded by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the Annie E. Casey Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Partnership for New Communities, JPMorgan Chase, and the Chicago Housing Authority.

The Long-Term Outcomes study consists of 10- and 4-year follow-up surveys, respectively, and in-depth interviews with Panel Study and Demonstration participants. In summer and fall 2011, researchers surveyed 106 Panel Study respondents and 251 Demonstration respondents; 24 respondents were represented in both samples. Researchers supplemented this work with 31 in-depth, qualitative interviews with adults and youth. Administrative data specific to clients and to their neighborhood enriched the analysis. The principal investigator for the study is Susan J. Popkin, Ph.D., director of the Urban Institute's Program on Neighborhoods and Youth Development. Funding for this research was provided by the MacArthur Foundation and the Chicago Housing Authority.