

# **HOLLMAN v. CISNEROS**

*Deconcentrating Poverty in Minneapolis*

**Report No. 5:  
Relocation of Residents from  
North Side Public Housing**

by Edward G. Goetz

Center for Urban and Regional Affairs  
University of Minnesota



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## INTRODUCTION

The consent decree in *Hollman v. Cisneros*, signed in 1995, committed the Minneapolis Public Housing Authority, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, and their co-defendants to a series of dramatic policy changes. First, four north side public housing projects and dozens of scattered-site public housing units would be reviewed for possible demolition or disposition. Second, the defendants would create up to 770 units of replacement public housing in nonimpacted areas of the city and suburbs. Third, the displaced residents of the demolished scattered-site and north side public housing were to be relocated with public assistance. Fourth, the 73-acre north side site was to be redeveloped. Fifth, hundreds of tenant-based housing subsidies would be made available to Minneapolis public housing residents to enable them to move out of areas of race and poverty concentration. Sixth, changes in the operation of the Minneapolis Section 8 program would occur to make it easier for participants to exercise geographic choice. Finally, an affordable housing clearing-house would be created to provide low-income families a centralized source of information about housing options in the metropolitan area.

The Center for Urban and Regional Affairs (CURA) at the University of Minnesota was contracted by the Family Housing Fund of Minneapolis–St. Paul and by the State of Minnesota in 1998 to conduct an evaluation of the implementation of the consent decree. This is the fifth in a series of eight reports generated by the consent decree.

This report presents an analysis of the relocation of public housing residents from the four north side public housing projects demolished pursuant to the *Hollman v. Cisneros* consent decree. The report considers residents' relocation preferences, outcomes of the relocation process, preference matching in the relocation process, conditions in the relocation neighborhoods, and the issue of reconcentration as a result of the process. Information on relocatees' preferences for resettlement and their actual relocation outcomes was taken from the files kept on each family by the agencies that managed the relocation process.

# RELOCATION OF RESIDENTS FROM NORTH SIDE PUBLIC HOUSING

This report presents an analysis of the relocation of public housing residents from the four north side projects demolished by the Minneapolis Public Housing Authority (MPHA) pursuant to the consent decree. The report is divided into several parts. The first part describes the relocation process and the assistance provided to the displaced families. The main objective of this report, however, is to examine the relocation outcomes for the families of the north side projects. The outcomes were measured in a number of ways; the first was based on the stated preferences of relocatees related to the type of housing they wished to occupy and the location of the community in which they wanted to resettle. These preferences were also matched against the actual outcomes for relocatees. What percentage of households was able to meet their preferences for housing type and location? Were certain types of households more successful in meeting their preferences than other types? In addition, this report examines the types of neighborhoods to which families relocated. Were relocatees able to locate housing in nonconcentrated neighborhoods? What is the neighborhood profile for the average relocated family? The spatial outcomes of the relocation process were also considered. How far away did relocatees move from their previous home on the north side of Minneapolis? Each of these analyses focuses on the degree to which demolition and forced relocation of families was likely to result in deconcentration of poverty or improvement in neighborhood conditions.

## DATA

Several data sources were used in this report. First, interviews were conducted with relocation counselors during 1998 and 1999 to gather information on their practices and on the relocation process in general. The relocation of families from the Sumner Field and Olson projects was completed prior to the beginning of this research. The relocation of these families was managed by the Sumner Olson Residents Council (SORC). During the study period, the demolition of units and the relocation of families from the Glenwood and Lyndale site took place. The relocation was managed by the W. D. Schock Company. Interviews and observations were limited to the relocation of families conducted by the Schock Company.

A summary of a study conducted in 1996 by the Urban Coalition is also included, filling a gap in CURA's study by summarizing residents' views of the relocation process. These views were collected through interviews with relocatees. Although CURA conducted interviews with relocatees as well, those data are reported in *Report No. 6: The Experiences of Dispersed Families*.

The primary data used for this report were the relocation files of the Minneapolis Public Housing Authority (MPHA). Relocation counselors maintained a file for each family relocated from the north side projects. The files provided basic demographic information on the families, as well as information on preferences and ultimate relocation outcomes. This information was combined with census data to create profiles of the neighborhoods that the relocatees had previously occupied (the 73-acre north side site encompassed two census tracts) and the neighborhoods to which the families were relocated.

## THE RELOCATION PROCESS

The first public housing projects demolished pursuant to the consent decree were those located on the north side of Olson Memorial Highway, namely the Olson Townhomes and the Sumner Field Townhomes. The relocation of these families began in August 1995 and was substantially completed one year later. Ninety percent of the relocations from these two projects had occurred by August 15, 1996. Relocation of families from the Glenwood and Lyndale projects began in August 1998 and continued until May 2000.



## **Hollman v. Cisneros**

Families at all four sites were provided access to the same set of benefits and supports during the relocation process. The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) provided MPHA with \$1.75 million to fund mobility counseling for 1,750 households. This number included the displaced families from the north side as well as families using the “mobility certificates” made available by HUD pursuant to the decree (see *Report No. 7: Mobility Certificates*).

The Metropolitan Council added \$100,000 and the Minneapolis Community Development Agency provided \$175,000 to fund the costs of mobility and relocation counseling. Families were provided with \$750 for actual moving expenses. Those families that wanted to purchase homes were eligible to receive \$5,250 toward closing costs and down payments.

In addition to the financial resources made available to relocatees, the relocation agencies provided counseling assistance. The agencies, SORC and Schock, met with residents at the beginning of and throughout the process to provide them with information, give them leads on potential units, and assist families in seeing the units and signing leases. The relocation agencies did not meet with all families, however. The Urban Coalition survey indicated that just under two-thirds of the respondents met with SORC staff during the relocation process. This percentage does not include less formal contact between SORC staff and residents, and thus underestimates the actual amount of contact (Urban Coalition 1997). Schock used public meetings, mailings, and door-knocking to contact as many residents as possible in the Glenwood and Lyndale projects. By their records, they opened files and met with 193 of 212 resident households living at the two projects when the agency began its work.

In conducting the relocation from the north side projects, SORC and W. D. Schock provided a range of support to the north side families. The agencies helped some residents prepare to meet prospective landlords, paid for rental application fees for people using Section 8 vouchers to relocate, “secured the key for [residents’] new housing, told them what day to move, [and] advised them about what to take to their new housing, or completed paper work involved in the move” (Urban Coalition 1997, p. 25).

The relocation agencies also arranged childcare, transportation, and translation assistance. Six percent of displaced families with children interviewed by the Urban Coalition took advantage of the childcare assistance, although one-third of the respondents with children reported that they were unaware that such assistance was available. Almost two-thirds of the Urban Coalition survey respondents reported that they received transportation to view housing units.

## **The Process of Relocation at Glenwood and Lyndale**

By 10:30 AM on August 19, 1998, 92 people had already been into the relocation office of W. D. Schock to sign up for relocation counseling meetings. The office was located in a vacant public housing unit on the edge of the Glenwood project, at the corner of Girard Terrace and Fifth Avenue North. In addition to the 92 people who had walked to the office, there were numerous calls by tenants who could not make the sign-up session. The line had formed by 7:30 AM, and at one point it went around the corner of the block. Schock counselors had conducted orientation meetings the previous week. Most of the families present had brought in their children for translation purposes.

There were 212 families in these two projects originally. As many as 161 attended the open house sessions, while 6 other families requested and were mailed information because they could not attend the open house. An additional 22 families were hand-delivered information by Schock because they did not attend the open house or contact Schock on their own. In the end, Schock assisted in the relocation of 193 families. Of the 212 families that originally lived in the two projects, 13 were not eligible for relocation, 12 having violated their lease agreement with MPHA and one person having died prior to relocation. Three families were assisted in their relocation by MPHA prior to the time that Schock began working at the site.

According to the relocation counselors, those families that did not sign up immediately for a counseling session fit into one of three categories. The first was a group of people who were simply not interested in moving. Although Schock personnel indicated during the study that these were primarily people who had lived in public housing for many years, the data indicate no such relationship. Those beginning the process later were, however, slightly more likely to be Southeast Asian residents, compared to all other groups. The second group of people who did not attend the sign-up sessions, according to Schock counselors, consisted of those who did not have a preference for when they wanted to relocate. Finally, there was a group of families that simply preferred being among the last to be relocated because their children were about to start school and they did not want to go through this transition process during the school year. Even this, however, was not a universal phenomenon because the data show no relationship between having children and the date of intake into the relocation process.

By 10:30 AM on August 19, 1998, Schock was telling people that their first interview would be about two or three months away because of the backlog that had accumulated already. The company's first four cases were families that were already in the process of buying homes, and that had started that process before learning of the opportunity for relocation assistance. Interviews with the rest of the residents began the week of August 26.

Some families were told that they had to reduce their expectations about how quickly the relocation could be completed. Schock counselors told families that even if they found a house or apartment on their own, it could take 30 to 60 days to complete the paperwork and get the inspection done. Inspections were performed on all units to which relocatees resettled.

MPHA held aside larger units in their inventory as they became available and gave priority to the relocatees from the Glenwood and Lyndale projects. There were 29 families among the Glenwood/Lyndale relocatees that had more than eight people and thus required four- and five-bedroom units. In the end, however, these larger families were no more likely to go to public housing than others, although they were two-and-a-half times more likely (35% to 14%) to become homeowners. Understandably, none of these families moved into Section 8 housing.

## **At the Initial Counseling Session**

The initial counseling sessions were used to explain the process to residents and to determine their preferences and their needs related to the relocation. Schock counselors were guided by the principle of finding "comparable" housing for each family. Comparability was defined in terms of affordability, size, and quality (for instance, the number of bathrooms, number of bedrooms, finished square footage, and other amenities like washer, dryer, and dishwasher).

Families that expressed an interest in purchasing a home were referred to Thompson and Associates, a firm that specializes in assisting low-income families with homeownership. Schock counselors worked with Thompson and Associates to help residents resolve credit issues and access lenders with experience in the low end of the market.

## **RELOCATION OUTCOMES**

This section presents a summary of the Urban Coalition study of Sumner relocatees, followed by an analysis of the data taken from the relocation files for each family assisted by SORC and W. D. Schock.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Thanks goes to the Minneapolis Public Housing Authority and W. D. Schock Company for their cooperation in making these data available, and for answering questions related to them.

## **Perceptions of the Relocation Process: The Urban Coalition Study**

The Urban Coalition study was based on in-person interviews with 50 former residents of the Sumner Field project who underwent relocation in 1996. The sample included 25 Hmong, 20 African American, and 5 Laotian residents. The study focused on relocatees' perceptions of the relocation process itself, their new homes and neighborhoods, and the relocation services they received from the Sumner Olson Residents Council. This report summarizes the residents' views of the relocation process and the relocation services they received. A summary of the residents' views of their new homes and neighborhoods will be incorporated into *Report No. 6: The Experiences of Displaced Families*.

The Urban Coalition interviewers found that "initial feelings about having to move from Sumner Field were equally split between positive replies and negative replies" (1997, p. ii). Most of the African American families reported wanting to move, while many of the Southeast Asian families did not want to move. There was some confusion about the relocation process, according to the families interviewed. One-sixth reported that they did not know why they had to move from Sumner Field, and nearly one in four reported that they were not given enough time to move out of their units. All of those who felt rushed in the process were Southeast Asian families. Southeast Asian families also reported greater difficulty in finding new homes than did African American respondents. Most families, however, reported that they were given enough time, and that they understood the process.

Most respondents found the relocation services provided by SORC to be helpful. Three in four respondents reported that SORC staff were helpful, almost two-thirds said they received the information they needed to search for new housing, and three-fourths reported that SORC staff provided them with clear explanations. Those who were dissatisfied with the process tended to be Southeast Asian (in particular, Hmong) families.

Many families received assistance with transportation, interpreting, and childcare during the relocation process. However, a sizable number of respondents also reported that they were unaware that such services were available, and that they would have taken advantage of them had they known.

In all, the report shows a process that seemed to work for most people. However, there were families—generally Hmong—for whom the process did not work as well. These families felt rushed, worried about their future, and were dissatisfied with the information and services they received from SORC.

## **Population Characteristics**

Because of vacancies and the fact that some families had moved away prior to the official relocation, the data on relocation outcomes reported here include 440 households relocated by MPHA. In 1996, the Sumner Field and Olson public housing projects were demolished and 247 households relocated. Between 1998 and 2000, MPHA relocated an additional 193 families from the Glenwood and Lyndale projects. Relocation of all families was completed in May 2000.

Residents who qualified for relocation assistance by MPHA could choose to receive a Section 8 subsidy in their new apartment, to relocate into other public housing, or to receive down-payment assistance for the purchase of a home. Relocatees were not restricted geographically (other than the market restrictions related to the availability of suitable replacement housing).

The average household size for families relocated from the north side was 4.1. Overall, 34% were one- or two-person households, 34% were households with three or four persons, and 32% were households of five or more. Just more than one-half (51%) of the households were single-parent families. The average age of the head of household was 42.5, with 22% being older than 55. Only 22% of the household heads were employed at the time of resettlement, and the average monthly income was \$932. The average family moved into their north side unit in May 1991, although one family had lived there since 1951.

When the *Hollman* lawsuit was first filed in 1992, African Americans comprised the majority of residents in the north side projects. The lawsuit itself was a response to decades-long discrimination that Blacks have suffered in U.S. housing policy and housing markets. By the time of the settlement, however, Southeast Asian refugees had become the predominant ethnic group. When the MPHA proceeded with demolition of Sumner Field and Olson, the Asian community protested bitterly, complaining that the demolition would disrupt networks of social support (see *Report No. 2: Planning for North Side Redevelopment*). By the time of relocation, Southeast Asian residents were by far the most numerous ethnic group on the north side site. The racial breakdown of families at the time of relocation was 4% White, 39% Black, 57% Southeast Asian, and less than 1% American Indian.

## **Preferences**

Housing choices and outcomes varied depending on several factors, according to the relocation file data. One set of factors is demographic status, including household size, whether the family had a single parent, age of the head of household, and race or ethnic group. A second set of factors such as employment status and income represents resources that households either have or lack that could impact their relocation experience. In addition, the data measured the length of time the household resided in the north side public housing, testing the hypothesis that longer term residents may have become more dependent upon public housing assistance over time, and therefore less able to adjust to the relocation process. For this purpose, the report distinguishes between those relocatees who had occupied their north side unit for more than 10 years, and those who had lived there for less than 10 years.

### **Location Preferences**

Relocation counselors recorded up to three locational preferences for each relocatee household. Typically, the preferences identified specific communities such as “north Minneapolis” or “Brooklyn Park” (an inner-ring suburb to the north of Minneapolis), although a small number included more general references such as “Minneapolis” or “the suburbs.” Table 1 lists the preferences of relocatees by area. Because relocatees could identify more than one preferred location, the number of responses listed in the table exceeds the number of relocatees. By far the most common relocation preference was a desire to stay in north Minneapolis (43.7% of all preferences). Another 5% of the responses were for northeast Minneapolis, while 22% were for south Minneapolis. Taken together, 71% of the desired locations for resettlement were within the Minneapolis city limits. Preferences that were not within Minneapolis tended to be for northern inner-ring suburbs such as Brooklyn Park, Brooklyn Center, Robbinsdale, and New Hope. A smaller number of responses indicated other suburban areas as desired locations.

There were some significant differences in preferred location by ethnic group. North Minneapolis accounted for half of the responses by Southeast Asian relocatees, compared to just more than one-third of African American responses and 29% of the responses from White families. On the other hand, Southeast Asian relocatees were slightly less likely to indicate northeast Minneapolis and south Minneapolis as preferred locations, compared to White and Black respondents.

Table 1 also breaks down the data by whether or not the household was led by a single parent, and whether the head of household was less than 55 years of age or 55 and older. Size of the household was also considered. There were very small differences in preferred location by single-parent households. A slightly smaller percentage of the responses from single parents identified north Minneapolis as the desired resettlement location (41% to 46%). “Senior” (aged 55 and older) households, however, were slightly more likely to name north Minneapolis as a desired location than other households. Only 8% of their responses named the northern inner-ring suburbs, compared to 15% of the responses of “non-senior” (less than 55 years of age) households. Finally, larger families were more likely to indicate north Minneapolis as a desired resettlement location.

## Hollman v. Cisneros

**Table 1.** Preferred Location of North Side Relocates by Selected Household Characteristics

Preferred location	Total	White	Black	SE Asian	Non-single parent	Single parent	Under age 55	Age 55 or older	Small household (1-2)	Medium household (3-4)	Large household (5 or more)
N. Minneapolis	247 (43.7)	7 (29.2)	72 (34.4)	167 (50.9)	129 (46.1)	114 (41.3)	185 (41.9)	52 (50.5)	74 (41.1)	76 (40.0)	97 (50.0)
NE Minneapolis	27 (4.8)	2 (8.3)	14 (6.7)	10 (3.0)	15 (5.4)	12 (4.3)	22 (5.0)	5 (4.9)	9 (5.0)	9 (4.7)	9 (4.6)
S. Minneapolis	125 (22.1)	8 (33.3)	56 (26.8)	59 (18.0)	64 (22.9)	58 (21.0)	100 (22.5)	21 (20.4)	38 (21.1)	42 (22.1)	45 (23.2)
St. Paul	13 (2.3)	—	4 (1.9)	9 (2.7)	7 (2.5)	5 (1.8)	11 (2.5)	2 (1.9)	5 (2.8)	2 (1.1)	6 (3.1)
N. inner ring	76 (13.5)	4 (16.7)	28 (13.4)	44 (13.4)	35 (12.5)	41 (14.9)	65 (14.6)	8 (7.8)	23 (12.8)	33 (17.4)	20 (10.3)
W. inner ring	17 (3.0)	—	9 (4.3)	8 (2.4)	7 (2.5)	10 (3.6)	16 (3.6)	1 (1.0)	5 (2.8)	8 (4.2)	4 (2.1)
SW suburbs	19 (3.4)	1 (4.2)	10 (4.8)	8 (2.4)	7 (2.5)	12 (4.3)	15 (3.4)	3 (2.9)	9 (5.0)	6 (3.2)	4 (2.1)
NW suburbs	9 (1.6)	—	1 (0.5)	8 (2.4)	5 (1.8)	4 (1.4)	9 (2.0)	—	1 (0.6)	4 (2.1)	4 (2.1)
Suburbs	5 (0.9)	—	4 (1.9)	1 (0.3)	1 (0.4)	4 (1.4)	3 (0.7)	2 (1.9)	2 (1.1)	3 (1.6)	2 (1.0)
Out of metro area	9 (1.6)	—	7 (3.3)	2 (0.6)	2 (0.7)	6 (2.2)	7 (1.6)	2 (1.9)	4 (2.2)	3 (1.6)	2 (1.0)
None	18 (3.2)	2 (8.3)	4 (1.9)	12 (3.7)	8 (2.9)	10 (3.6)	11 (2.5)	7 (6.8)	10 (5.6)	4 (2.1)	3 (1.5)
TOTAL	565	24	209	328	280	276	444	103	180	190	194

Note: Figures in parentheses are column percentages. Columns may not add to 100% due to rounding.

Table 2 aggregates the preferred locations listed in Table 1 into three categories: central city (Minneapolis or St. Paul), inner-ring suburbs, or outside the inner ring (including out of the metropolitan area). Some of the patterns across household type are easier to see in this table. Most of the preferred locations identified by relocatees were in the central cities (76%), while only 7% indicated a preference for anything outside of the central city or inner-ring suburbs. Using these three categories, however, there was very little difference across ethnic groups. Indeed, collapsing the preferred locations into these categories obscures the greater preference for the north side among Southeast Asian relocatees. There was a significantly greater predisposition among senior households to prefer the central city to the suburbs (85% to just 74% of non-senior households). Larger households were also more likely to express a preference for the central city as a resettlement location (82%, compared to 70% of mid-sized families, and 75% of smaller families). Generally speaking, however, there were few very significant differences across any of the groups analyzed.

Tables 3 and 4 show the preferred locations of relocatees broken down by other categories. Household monthly income did not seem to drive location preference in a significant way. A slightly higher percentage of the highest income relocatees (49%) identified the north side as the desired resettlement location compared to the lowest income group (40%). The lowest income group was less likely to mention the inner-ring suburbs than members of the higher income group (12% to 20%—Table 3). Somewhat paradoxically, however, the lowest income group was more likely to

**Table 2.** Preferred Location (by Ring) by Selected Household Characteristics

Preferred location	Total	White	Black	SE Asian	Non-single parent	Single parent	Under age 55	Age 55 or older	Small household (1-2)	Medium household (3-4)	Large household (5 or more)
Central city	412 (76.0)	17 (77.3)	146 (72.6)	245 (77.8)	215 (79.3)	189 (72.1)	318 (74.0)	80 (85.1)	126 (75.0)	129 (70.5)	157 (82.2)
Inner-ring suburbs	93 (17.1)	4 (18.2)	27 (18.4)	52 (16.5)	42 (15.5)	51 (19.5)	81 (18.8)	9 (9.6)	28 (16.7)	41 (22.4)	24 (12.6)
Outside the inner ring	37 (6.8)	1 (4.5)	18 (9.0)	18 (5.7)	14 (5.2)	22 (8.4)	31 (7.2)	5 (5.3)	14 (8.3)	13 (7.1)	10 (5.2)
TOTAL	542	22	201	315	271	262	430	94	168	183	191

Note: Figures in parentheses are column percentages.

**Table 3.** Preferred Location by Selected Resource Characteristics

Preferred location	Monthly income			Employment status		Long-term public housing resident	
	< \$600	\$600 to \$1,200	> \$1,200	Not employed	Employed	< 10 years	> 10 years
N. Minneapolis	65 (40.1)	110 (44.5)	61 (48.8)	190 (45.9)	45 (39.5)	192 (42.5)	41 (51.9)
NE Minneapolis	11 (6.8)	13 (5.3)	2 (1.6)	19 (4.6)	6 (5.3)	21 (4.6)	5 (6.3)
S. Minneapolis	39 (24.1)	50 (20.2)	27 (21.6)	89 (21.5)	25 (21.9)	102 (22.6)	16 (20.3)
St. Paul	4 (2.5)	7 (2.8)	2 (1.6)	9 (2.2)	4 (3.5)	12 (2.7)	1 (1.3)
N. inner ring	16 (9.9)	37 (15.0)	20 (16.0)	51 (12.3)	20 (17.5)	66 (14.6)	8 (10.1)
W. inner ring	3 (1.9)	8 (3.2)	5 (4.0)	13 (3.7)	4 (3.5)	14 (3.1)	—
SW suburbs	10 (6.2)	7 (2.8)	1 (0.8)	17 (4.1)	1 (0.9)	16 (3.5)	2 (2.5)
NW suburbs	3 (1.9)	2 (0.8)	4 (3.2)	5 (1.2)	4 (3.5)	9 (2.0)	—
Suburbs	1 (0.6)	2 (0.8)	—	2 (0.5)	1 (0.9)	2 (0.4)	2 (2.5)
Out of metro area	3 (1.9)	5 (2.0)	1 (0.8)	9 (2.2)	—	8 (1.8)	—
None	7 (4.3)	6 (2.4)	2 (1.6)	10 (2.4)	4 (3.5)	10 (2.2)	4 (5.1)
TOTAL	162	247	125	414	114	452	79

Note: Figures in parentheses are column percentages.

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**Table 4.** Preferred Location (by Ring) by Selected Resource Characteristics

Preferred location	Monthly income			Employment status		Long-term public housing resident	
	< \$600	\$600 to \$1,200	> \$1,200	Not employed	Employed	< 10 years	> 10 years
Central city	119 (77.3)	180 (75.3)	92 (74.8)	307 (76.4)	80 (73.4)	327 (74.3)	63 (86.3)
Inner-ring suburbs	19 (12.3)	45 (18.8)	25 (20.3)	64 (15.9)	24 (22.0)	80 (18.2)	8 (11.0)
Outside the inner ring	16 (10.4)	14 (5.9)	6 (4.9)	31 (7.7)	5 (4.6)	33 (7.5)	2 (2.7)
TOTAL	154	239	123	402	109	440	73

Note: Figures in parentheses are column percentages.

mention a preferred destination outside of the central city and inner-ring suburbs than the highest income group (10% to 5%—Table 4).

Unemployed households were slightly more likely to mention the north side as a relocation site compared to employed households (46% to 40%), and less likely, by the same margin, to mention the inner-ring suburbs (16% to 22%). Long-term public housing residents were more likely to want to stay on the north side than shorter term residents (52% to 43%), and generally expressed a greater preference for the central city than for suburban sites (86% to 74%).

### Program Preferences

Relocates were also asked to indicate their preference for type of housing. This analysis examines three different types: homeownership, public housing (either scattered-site, highrise, or townhouse development), or Section 8. Homeownership was the preferred housing type for 22.4% of respondents, while public housing (overwhelmingly scattered-site) was preferred by 32.1%, and Section 8 by 38.8% of the relocating families (7% stated no preference).

As Tables 5 and 6 show, a number of household and resource characteristics were associated with different program preferences. One-fourth of Southeast Asian relocates indicated a preference for homeownership, compared to 20% of Black and 19% of White relocates. Southeast Asian residents

**Table 5.** Preferred Program by Selected Household Characteristics

Preferred program	Total	White	Black	SE Asian	Non-single parent	Single parent	Under age 55	Age 55 or older	Small household (1–2)	Medium household (3–4)	Large household (5 or more)
Homeownership	90 (22.4)	3 (18.8)	31 (20.3)	56 (24.2)	49 (24.5)	41 (20.8)	79 (25.7)	11 (13.3)	23 (17.6)	21 (15.3)	45 (33.8)
Public housing	129 (32.1)	4 (25.0)	47 (30.7)	76 (32.9)	66 (33.0)	62 (31.5)	97 (31.6)	24 (28.9)	35 (26.7)	46 (33.6)	48 (36.1)
Section 8	156 (38.8)	7 (43.8)	65 (42.5)	84 (36.4)	72 (36.0)	82 (41.6)	112 (36.5)	41 (49.4)	63 (48.1)	59 (43.1)	34 (25.6)
None	27 (6.7)	2 (12.5)	10 (6.5)	15 (6.5)	13 (6.5)	12 (6.1)	19 (6.2)	7 (8.4)	10 (7.6)	11 (8.0)	6 (4.5)
TOTAL	402	16	153	231	200	197	307	83	131	137	133

Note: Figures in parentheses are column percentages.

**Table 6.** Preferred Program by Selected Resource Characteristics

Preferred program	Monthly income			Employment status		Long-term public housing resident	
	< \$600	\$600 to \$1,200	> \$1,200	Not employed	Employed	< 10 years	> 10 years
Homeownership	7 (5.9)	31 (18.2)	45 (50.0)	36 (12.5)	48 (57.1)	79 (25.4)	8 (12.1)
Public housing	39 (33.1)	59 (34.7)	24 (26.7)	99 (34.3)	17 (20.2)	88 (28.3)	37 (56.1)
Section 8	60 (50.8)	70 (41.2)	17 (18.9)	133 (46.0)	15 (17.9)	123 (39.5)	17 (25.8)
None	12 (10.2)	10 (5.9)	4 (4.4)	21 (7.3)	4 (4.8)	21 (6.8)	4 (6.1)
TOTAL	118	170	90	289	84	311	66

Note: Figures in parentheses are column percentages.

were the least likely to indicate a preference for Section 8 housing. Single parents also were less likely to prefer homeownership than non-single parents (21% to 25%), and were more likely to identify Section 8 as their preferred housing type (42% to 36%). As might be expected, senior families were less likely to prefer homeownership than other families (13% to 26%), and were significantly more likely to identify Section 8 as a preference (49% to 37%). Thirty-four percent of larger households indicated a preference for homeownership, compared to 15% of mid-sized and 18% of smaller households. On the other hand, larger families were least likely to prefer Section 8 when compared to smaller families (26% to 48%). This, too, is understandable given the scarcity of larger rental units in the marketplace, and the difficulty for large families to successfully use a Section 8 voucher.

Program preference varied significantly by income and employment status (see Table 6). Respondents in the highest income category preferred homeownership to public housing and Section 8 by 50%, 27%, and 19% respectively. On the other hand, more than half of the lowest income households preferred Section 8, while 33% preferred public housing, and 6% preferred homeownership. Similarly, 57% of the employed households expressed a preference for homeownership (compared to 20% for public housing and 18% for Section 8), while the largest group of unemployed households (46%) favored Section 8.

The longer a family resided in the north side projects, the more likely they were to prefer to remain in public housing. More than half (56%) of families that had lived in the north side public housing for more than 10 years preferred to stay in public housing, compared to only 28% of relocatees who had lived in the projects for less than 10 years.

Table 7 reveals that the agency that facilitated the relocation of the families had a significant impact on the expressed preferences of the relocatees. More than one-half of the families relocated from the Glenwood and Lyndale

**Table 7.** Preferred Program by Relocation Agency

Preferred program	SORC	Schock
Homeownership	40 (18.9)	51 (26.6)
Public housing	30 (14.2)	99 (51.6)
Section 8	121 (57.1)	35 (18.2)
None	21 (9.9)	7 (3.6)
TOTAL	212	192

Note: Figures in parentheses are column percentages.



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projects by W. D. Schock expressed a preference for public housing, compared to only 14% of the families relocated from the Sumner-Olson projects by SORC. Well more than half of the families relocated by SORC were interested in Section 8 housing. These differences reflect the roles of the agencies in suggesting alternatives to the families, as well as variations in the housing market at the time. The relocation from Glenwood and Lyndale took place during 1999 and 2000, when the Twin Cities housing market was extremely tight and vacancy rates were below 2%. As is widely known by professionals in the field, Section 8 certificates and vouchers are extremely difficult to use in that type of market. Consequently, Schock officials admitted that they tried to steer people into public housing units rather than utilize the Section 8 program. These severe market conditions did not exist when SORC managed the relocation of families from Sumner Field and Olson in 1995 and 1996. Instead, the agency made a strong effort to achieve deconcentration by using the Section 8 program whenever possible. In any case, the data show the extent to which people's mobility preferences were highly constrained by market conditions, program characteristics, and even the assistance they received in making their choices.

## Outcomes

### Program Outcomes

Table 8 shows that overall, 16% of the relocated families opted for homeownership, 41.3% chose different public housing (mostly scattered-site housing), and 35.8% used the Section 8 program. Seven percent of relocated families moved without housing assistance and did not choose any of the above. Program outcomes were strongly related to demographic differences. Southeast Asian families were most likely to purchase a home (25%, compared to 4% of Black relocatees and 6% of White families), while African Americans were more likely to use the Section 8 program (43.4%, compared to 30.5% of Southeast Asian respondents and 35.3% of White respondents).

Single parents were significantly less likely than non-single parents to become homeowners (10.1% to 22.3%), as were senior (aged 55 and older) households compared to younger families (8.8% to 17.9%). Larger families, on the other hand, were three times more likely to select homeownership than mid-sized households, and almost five times more likely to do so than smaller households. Larger families were also significantly less likely to participate in the Section 8 program (only 18%, compared to more than 50% of smaller households)—a reflection of the difficulty in finding large apartments in a very tight housing market.

**Table 8.** Selected Program by Selected Household Characteristics

Selected program	Total	White	Black	SE Asian	Non-single parent	Single parent	Under age 55	Age 55 or older	Small household (1-2)	Medium household (3-4)	Large household (5 or more)
Homeownership	66 (15.9)	1 (5.9)	6 (3.8)	59 (25.0)	45 (22.3)	21 (10.1)	58 (17.9)	7 (8.8)	9 (6.6)	14 (10.1)	43 (30.7)
Public housing	172 (41.3)	9 (52.9)	74 (46.5)	88 (37.3)	81 (40.1)	88 (42.5)	135 (41.7)	30 (37.5)	42 (30.9)	60 (43.5)	70 (50.0)
Section 8	149 (35.8)	6 (35.3)	69 (43.4)	72 (30.5)	66 (32.7)	81 (39.1)	113 (34.9)	33 (41.3)	72 (52.9)	52 (37.7)	25 (17.9)
None	29 (7.0)	1 (5.9)	10 (6.3)	17 (7.2)	10 (5.0)	17 (8.2)	18 (5.6)	10 (12.5)	13 (9.6)	12 (8.7)	2 (1.4)
TOTAL	416	17	159	236	202	207	324	80	136	138	140

Note: Figures in parentheses are column percentages.

**Table 9.** Selected Program by Selected Resource Characteristics

Selected program	Monthly income			Employment status		Long-term public housing resident		Relocation agency	
	< \$600	\$600 to \$1,200	> \$1,200	Not employed	Employed	< 10 years	> 10 years	SORC	Schock
Homeownership	4 (3.3)	22 (12.5)	38 (40.0)	31 (10.2)	33 (39.3)	53 (16.3)	9 (14.3)	34 (14.7)	32 (17.4)
Public housing	38 (31.4)	84 (47.7)	38 (40.0)	120 (39.6)	33 (39.3)	126 (38.8)	39 (61.9)	50 (21.6)	122 (66.3)
Section 8	65 (53.7)	60 (34.1)	16 (16.8)	131 (43.2)	13 (15.5)	125 (38.5)	12 (19.0)	126 (54.3)	23 (12.5)
None	14 (11.6)	10 (5.7)	3 (3.2)	21 (6.6)	5 (6.0)	21 (6.5)	3 (4.8)	22 (9.5)	7 (3.8)
TOTAL	121	176	95	303	84	325	63	232	184

Note: Figures in parentheses are column percentages.

Income and employment were also highly correlated with program outcomes (see Table 9). For instance, 39% of employed families became homeowners, compared to only 10% of unemployed families. Unemployed families were almost three times as likely, however, to use the Section 8 program as employed households (43.2% to 15.5%). This same pattern emerges across income categories as well. Relocates with the highest incomes moved to homeownership at a rate of 40%, compared to only 3% of the lowest income families and 12.5% of the households with monthly incomes in the middle category (\$600 to \$1,200). The lowest income families were most likely to end up with Section 8 housing (53.7%, compared to 34.1% of the middle-income families and 16.8% of the families in the highest income category). What is most surprising, perhaps, is that the lowest income families were twice as likely to end up with no housing assistance as were the middle-income families, and four times more likely to do so than the highest income group (11.6%, 5.7%, and 3.2% respectively).

Long-term public housing residents overwhelmingly preferred to remain in public housing compared to other choices (62% remained in public housing, 19% moved to Section 8 units, and 14% purchased a home). There was also a significant difference in the program outcomes for those relocated by SORC and those relocated by W. D. Schock. Two-thirds of the families relocated by Schock went to other public housing, compared to only 21.6% of those relocated by SORC. SORC relocates were most likely to go to Section 8 housing (54.3%, compared to only 12.5% for Schock relocates).

**Multivariate Analysis** By combining all of the factors analyzed above into a single multivariate model, it is possible to assess which individual characteristics of relocates are most significantly associated with a particular programmatic choice while simultaneously controlling for all factors. A logistic regression analysis shows that households with higher incomes were more likely to state a preference for homeownership, as were employed households. Unemployed households were significantly more likely to prefer public housing or Section 8. Long-term public housing residents were also more likely to express a preference for public housing over the other two options. Finally, families that were relocated by SORC tended to express a greater preference for Section 8, and were significantly less likely to prefer public housing than Schock relocates. The effect of the relocation agencies was limited to the steering of people into either Section 8 or public housing. The relocation agency did not seem to matter in households that expressed preference for homeownership.

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When taking into account program preferences and the actual housing type accessed by families, other patterns emerge. Net of all other factors, Southeast Asian families were more likely to purchase homes compared to African American relocatees. Employed households were also more likely to purchase homes than other relocatees. In addition, those who expressed a preference for ownership were more likely than others to end up purchasing homes. Among those who ended up in public housing, White families were slightly more likely than African American families to choose this option, while Southeast Asian families were significantly less likely to do so. The larger the household size, the greater the odds that a family ended up in public housing. In addition, SORC relocatees were significantly less likely than Schock relocatees to go to other public housing. Finally, predictably enough, those expressing a preference for public housing were more likely than others to get into public housing. Families that ended up in Section 8 housing typically were smaller households, Schock relocatees, and those that expressed a preference for Section 8. White families were slightly less likely than African American families to become Section 8 participants.

### **Location Outcome**

Fifty-four percent of the public housing families relocated from the north side projects moved to other housing on the north side. Another 27% relocated to south side Minneapolis neighborhoods. Combining the number of families that relocated to northeast Minneapolis and to the city of St. Paul shows that seven out of every eight displaced families found a new home in the central cities. Another 10% relocated to inner-ring suburbs to the north and west of Minneapolis. Thus, only 3% of the families relocated to communities beyond the central city and the immediate northern and western inner-ring suburbs.

There were slight differences in location outcomes by ethnicity (see Tables 10 and 11). Southeast Asian families were more likely to stay in north Minneapolis compared to Black and White families (62%, 45%, and 50% respectively), but less likely to go to south Minneapolis (22%, 34%, and 33% respectively). African Americans were most likely of all three ethnic groups to leave both the central city and inner-ring suburbs (7%, compared to 1% of Southeast Asian families and none of the White relocatees).

Other demographic variables were related to location outcomes. Single-parent families were more likely to locate outside the central city than other families (18% to 9%). Families with older heads of household were somewhat more likely than younger families to stay on the north side (63% to 52%) and in the central cities (92% to 85%). Finally, larger families were more likely to remain on the north side and in the central cities than smaller families.

Few relationships seem to exist between the resource variables and the actual locational outcomes of relocatees (see Tables 12 and 13). There was a tendency for the highest income relocatees to resettle on the north side (63.5%, compared to only 45.4% of the lowest income families—Table 12). On the other hand, the lowest income relocatees were more likely to resettle on the city's south side (33.8%, compared to just 22.9% of the highest income families). Aggregating locational categories in Table 13 masks the differences between the income categories. There were essentially no differences between the income categories with respect to whether households relocated in or out of the central cities.

Unemployed households were more likely to resettle in south Minneapolis than were employed families, but there was little difference between these two groups in their tendency to move out of the central city. There were no differences between long-term public housing residents and shorter term residents in the actual resettlement location.

Given the previous findings on the differences in program preference between families relocated by SORC and W. D. Schock, differences in locational outcomes were examined across these two groups of families. Families relocated by Schock were less likely to resettle on the north side of Minneapolis and more likely to go to the south side. Overall, however, there were no differences between the groups in the degree to which they left the central cities.

**Table 10.** Location Outcome by Selected Household Characteristics

Location outcome	Total	White	Black	SE Asian	Non-single parent	Single parent	Under age 55	Age 55 or older	Small household (1-2)	Medium household (3-4)	Large household (5 or more)
N. Minneapolis	235 (54.4)	9 (50.0)	74 (44.8)	152 (62.0)	121 (57.3)	112 (52.3)	174 (52.3)	54 (62.8)	80 (54.8)	69 (47.9)	86 (61.0)
NE Minneapolis	11 (2.5)	1 (5.6)	5 (3.0)	3 (1.2)	3 (1.4)	6 (2.8)	8 (2.4)	3 (3.5)	4 (2.7)	4 (2.8)	2 (1.4)
S. Minneapolis	118 (27.3)	6 (33.3)	56 (33.9)	54 (22.0)	64 (30.3)	53 (24.8)	97 (29.1)	17 (19.8)	33 (22.6)	45 (31.3)	40 (28.4)
St. Paul	10 (2.3)	1 (5.6)	2 (1.2)	7 (2.9)	4 (1.9)	5 (2.3)	5 (1.5)	5 (5.8)	6 (4.1)	3 (2.1)	1 (0.7)
N. inner ring	33 (7.6)	1 (5.6)	11 (6.7)	21 (8.6)	12 (5.7)	21 (9.8)	28 (8.4)	4 (4.7)	13 (8.9)	11 (7.6)	9 (6.4)
W. inner ring	10 (2.3)	—	5 (3.0)	5 (2.0)	3 (1.4)	7 (3.3)	9 (2.7)	—	2 (1.4)	6 (4.2)	2 (1.4)
SW suburbs	6 (1.4)	—	6 (3.6)	—	2 (0.9)	4 (1.9)	5 (1.5)	1 (1.2)	3 (2.1)	3 (2.1)	—
NW suburbs	3 (0.7)	—	2 (1.2)	1 (0.4)	1 (0.5)	2 (0.9)	3 (0.9)	—	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)
Suburbs	1 (0.2)	—	—	1 (0.4)	—	1 (0.5)	1 (0.3)	—	—	1 (0.7)	—
Out of metro area	5 (1.2)	—	4 (2.4)	1 (0.4)	1 (0.5)	3 (1.4)	3 (0.9)	2 (2.3)	4 (2.7)	1 (0.7)	—
TOTAL	432	18	165	245	211	214	333	86	146	144	141

Note: Figures in parentheses are column percentages.

**Table 11.** Location Outcome (by Ring) by Selected Household Characteristics

Location outcome	Total	White	Black	SE Asian	Non-single parent	Single parent	Under age 55	Age 55 or older	Small household (1-2)	Medium household (3-4)	Large household (5 or more)
Central city	374 (86.6)	17 (94.4)	136 (82.9)	216 (88.2)	191 (91.0)	176 (82.2)	283 (85.2)	79 (91.9)	123 (84.2)	120 (83.9)	129 (91.5)
Inner-ring suburbs	44 (10.2)	1 (5.6)	17 (10.4)	26 (10.6)	15 (7.1)	29 (13.6)	38 (11.4)	4 (4.7)	16 (11.0)	17 (11.9)	11 (7.8)
Outside the inner ring	14 (3.2)	—	11 (6.7)	3 (1.2)	4 (1.9)	9 (4.2)	11 (3.3)	3 (3.5)	7 (4.8)	6 (4.2)	1 (0.7)
TOTAL	432	18	164	245	210	219	332	86	146	143	141

Note: Figures in parentheses are column percentages.

**Multivariate Analysis** For the purposes of a logistic regression analysis, location was aggregated into central city versus all other locations. The data indicate that holding all the variables constant, having a head of household over the age of 55 significantly increased the odds of a family ending up in the central city. In addition, families that became homeowners were less likely to end up in the central city compared to all other families, and households that moved to public

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**Table 12.** Location Outcome by Selected Resource Characteristics

Location outcome	Monthly income			Employment status		Long-term public housing resident		Relocation agency	
	< \$600	\$600 to \$1,200	> \$1,200	Not employed	Employed	< 10 years	> 10 years	SORC	Schock
N. Minneapolis	59 (45.4)	105 (57.7)	61 (63.5)	175 (55.6)	49 (55.7)	180 (53.7)	38 (55.9)	146 (60.6)	89 (46.6)
NE Minneapolis	3 (2.3)	6 (3.3)	1 (1.0)	4 (1.3)	4 (4.5)	7 (2.1)	2 (2.9)	—	11 (5.8)
S. Minneapolis	44 (33.8)	43 (23.6)	22 (22.9)	90 (28.6)	18 (20.5)	95 (28.4)	18 (26.5)	56 (23.2)	62 (32.5)
St. Paul	4 (3.1)	3 (1.6)	1 (1.0)	6 (1.9)	6 (2.3)	7 (2.1)	1 (1.5)	5 (2.1)	5 (2.6)
N. inner ring	12 (9.2)	11 (6.0)	9 (9.4)	21 (6.7)	10 (11.4)	24 (7.2)	8 (11.8)	16 (6.6)	17 (18.9)
W. inner ring	2 (1.5)	8 (4.4)	—	9 (2.9)	1 (1.1)	10 (3.0)	—	7 (2.9)	3 (1.6)
SW suburbs	1 (0.8)	3 (1.6)	1 (1.0)	2 (0.6)	3 (3.4)	4 (1.2)	1 (2.5)	3 (1.2)	3 (1.6)
NW suburbs	1 (0.8)	1 (0.5)	1 (1.0)	2 (0.6)	1 (1.1)	3 (0.9)	—	2 (0.8)	1 (0.5)
Suburbs	1 (0.8)	—	—	1 (0.3)	—	1 (0.3)	—	1 (0.4)	—
Out of metro area	3 (2.3)	2 (1.1)	—	5 (1.6)	—	4 (1.2)	—	5 (2.1)	—
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>182</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>335</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>241</b>	<b>191</b>

Note: Figures in parentheses are column percentages.

**Table 13.** Location Outcome (by Ring) by Selected Resource Characteristics

Location outcome	Monthly income			Employment status		Long-term public housing resident		Relocation agency	
	< \$600	\$600 to \$1,200	> \$1,200	Not employed	Employed	< 10 years	> 10 years	SORC	Schock
Central city	110 (84.6)	156 (86.2)	85 (88.5)	275 (87.3)	72 (82.8)	288 (86.2)	59 (86.8)	207 (85.9)	166 (87.4)
Inner-ring suburbs	15 (11.5)	19 (10.5)	9 (9.4)	31 (9.8)	11 (12.6)	35 (10.5)	8 (11.8)	23 (9.5)	21 (11.1)
Outside the inner ring	5 (3.8)	6 (3.3)	2 (2.1)	9 (2.9)	4 (4.6)	11 (3.3)	1 (1.5)	11 (4.6)	3 (1.6)
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>181</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>334</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>241</b>	<b>190</b>

Note: Figures in parentheses are column percentages.

housing were more likely to end up in the central city compared to all other households. All other demographic and income characteristics of households were not significantly related to the odds of locating in the central city when all factors were controlled.

**Spatial Distribution of Relocates** Figure 1 indicates the relocation of families throughout the metropolitan region (not shown, of course, are the five families that relocated to other regions or states). In this figure, locational outcomes are indicated by census tract, with larger dots indicating a greater number of relocatees within the tract. The most obvious pattern is the high concentration of relocatees within the city of Minneapolis, and very little scattering of families into other communities in the region. In fact, spatial analysis shows that 20% relocated to an address within a one-mile radius of the center of the north side public housing site, 39% relocated within a two-mile radius, and 58% relocated within three miles. Figure 2 shows the location of relocatees within a three-mile radius of the center of the north side project. Most families moved to other areas of the north side and the near south side of Minneapolis—in other words, to other inner-city neighborhoods. The socio-economic characteristics of these neighborhoods are examined in one of the sections below.

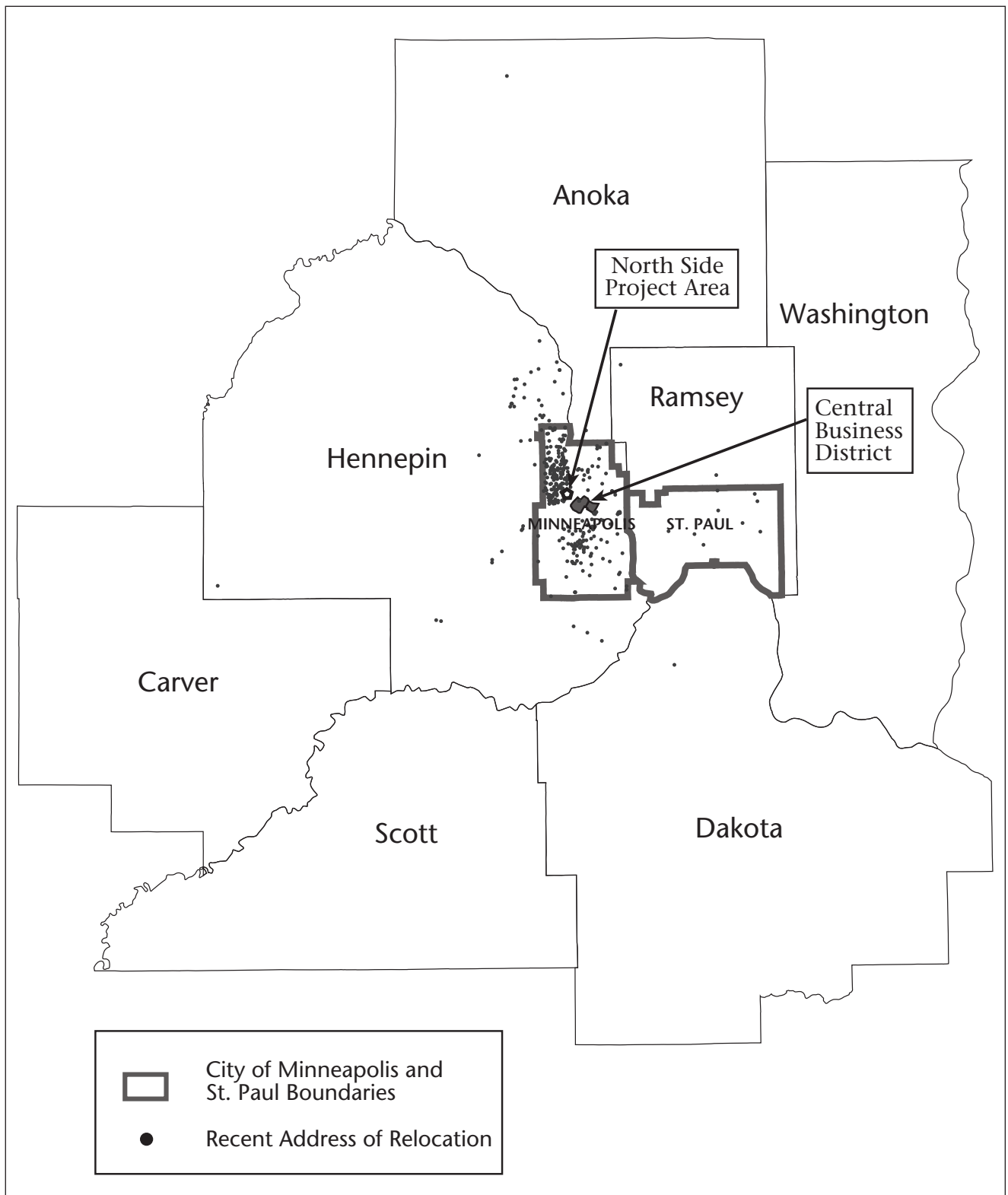
## Preference Matching

Up to now, this report has examined the preferences and outcomes for families relocated from the north side public housing projects. This section focuses on the degree to which families were able to obtain their locational and programmatic preferences. Did families relocate to the places they chose? Did they move into the type of housing they preferred? Tables 14 and 15 present data on the ability of relocated families to match their preferences in both housing program and location. Families that matched their preference for housing program ended up in the type of housing they chose—either homeownership, public housing, or Section 8. Location matching was analyzed for both the initial relocation move and, because several families had subsequently moved at the time of data collection, the “current” location of their house or apartment (according to the most up-to-date data available).

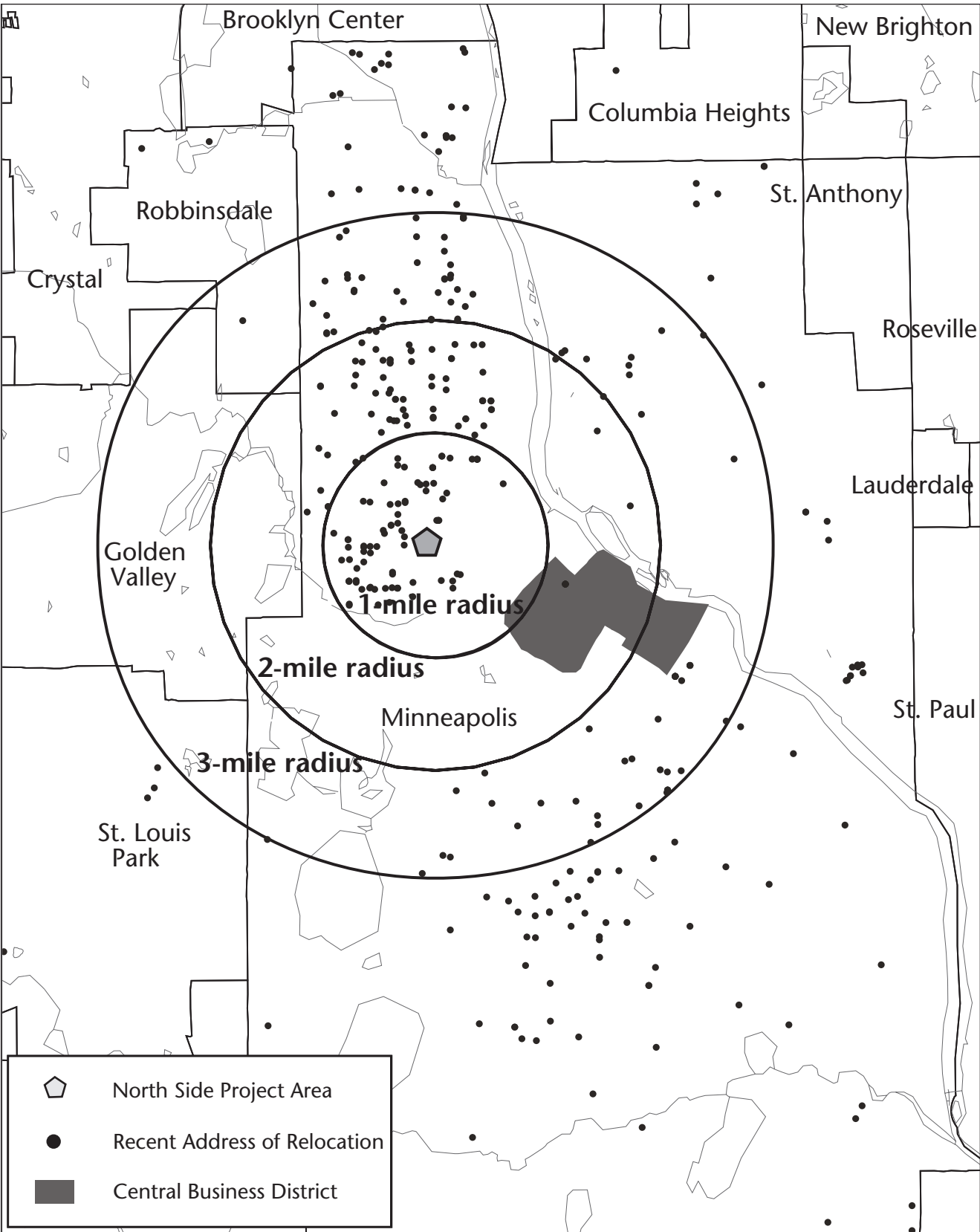
The locational categories in Table 15 were used to determine if a locational match occurred; that is, if a family indicated that it wanted to relocate to the north side of Minneapolis, and it did so, then a locational match occurred. Table 15 also includes grouped categories such as northern inner-ring suburb. Thus, if a family indicated a desire to relocate to Brooklyn Park and ended up in Brooklyn Center, Robbinsdale, or New Hope, this too was coded as a locational match because the family had voiced a preference for a northern inner-ring suburb and had indeed located to such a suburb (although not necessarily the same one). This is clearly a generous definition of “locational match,” and should lead to a high rate of matching among relocatees. Another factor that should increase the rate of locational matching as measured here is the fact that relocatees had the opportunity to identify more than one locational preference. If their actual outcome matched any of the preferences they stated, then a locational match is said to have occurred. On the whole, then, a high rate of locational matching is anticipated to have occurred among relocatees.

## Program Matching

Table 14 indicates that 71.2% of the participants ended up in the type of housing they preferred. Program matching was slightly greater among Southeast Asian families than among White families (72.7% to 64.3%). Similarly, non-single parents matched their program preferences in three of four cases, compared to single parents who matched their preferences in only two of three cases. There was very little difference between senior and non-senior households in their abilities to obtain the type of housing they wanted (68% to 71%). There was also little difference across household sizes (71% of the largest families and 69% of the smallest matched their program preferences).



**Figure 1.** Recent Address of Relocation within the Twin Cities Metropolitan Region of Families Affected by the *Hollman* Consent Decree



**Figure 2.** Recent Address of Relocation within a Three-Mile Radius of the North Side Site of Families Affected by the *Hollman* Consent Decree



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Table 15 breaks down preference matching by income, employment, long-term residency, and relocation agency. Surprisingly, the lowest income relocatees were most likely to match their preferences for housing type (78.2%, compared to 70.5% of the highest income group and 67% of the middle-income group). Similarly, longer term residents of public housing matched their housing preference 75% of the time, while 69.7% of other relocatees matched their program preferences. Families relocated by the W. D. Schock agency matched their program preferences 75.4% of the time, compared to 66.7% for the SORC relocatees.

It is possible that some programs were easier to obtain, and therefore those who stated a preference for that program were more likely to match their preference. This is, in fact, the case as 88% of the households that stated a preference for public housing were able to match that preference, compared to only 70% of those that preferred Section 8 and only 55% of those that preferred homeownership.

### Location Matching

The data in Tables 14 and 15 also break down both the initial relocation match and the current location match for the usual categories of households. The data show that two-thirds of the families were able to relocate to a community of their choice and, despite a fair amount of mobility after the original resettlement, two-thirds of the families for whom there was current (at the time of data collection) location data resided in a community of their choice. Whether this is a high or a low number depends upon one's perspective. As explained above, the manner in which the location match variables were coded constitutes a generous measurement of the concept. Families were said to have made a match if they relocated to the same category of community as listed in Table 1. Furthermore, families stated multiple locational preferences, and they were said to have matched their locational preferences if they moved to any of the community types they had listed. Given this definition of locational matching, it is not unreasonable to expect a higher number of families to have matched their preferences. On the other hand, for most of the relocation period, the Twin Cities housing market was extremely tight, with rental vacancy rates near or below 2%. This would have made the relocation process much more difficult and reduced the likelihood of families finding a house or apartment in exactly the type of community they had preferred.

The data show that as with program preferences, the Southeast Asian relocatees were more likely to match their locational preferences than were White or Black relocatees. This tendency was even more pronounced when current location was analyzed. Non-single parents were also more likely to match their locational preferences than were single parents. There was no difference between senior and non-senior location matching for the initial relocation, but families with heads of household aged 55 and older tended to match their locational preference more often than those with heads of household under age 55 when current location was examined. Household size was also related to location matching. Surprisingly, however, the larger the household the more likely the family was to have

**Table 14.** Preference Matching by Selected Household Characteristics

Preference matching	Total	White	Black	SE Asian	Non-single parent	Single parent	Under age 55	Age 55 or older	Small household (1-2)	Medium household (3-4)	Large household (5 or more)
Program match	272 (71.2)	9 (64.3)	101 (69.7)	160 (72.7)	143 (75.7)	125 (66.5)	210 (70.7)	51 (68.0)	84 (68.9)	95 (73.1)	92 (70.8)
Initial location match	284 (67.6)	12 (66.7)	98 (62.0)	171 (71.0)	148 (72.5)	131 (62.4)	218 (66.9)	55 (67.9)	85 (60.3)	94 (67.1)	105 (75.5)
Central location match	276 (66.3)	10 (55.6)	91 (58.3)	172 (72.0)	149 (73.8)	122 (58.7)	208 (64.4)	57 (71.3)	80 (57.6)	90 (65.2)	106 (76.3)

Note: Figures in parentheses are column percentages.

**Table 15.** Preference Matching by Selected Resource Characteristics

Preference matching	Monthly income			Employment status		Long-term public housing resident		Relocation agency	
	< \$600	\$600 to \$1,200	> \$1,200	Not employed	Employed	< 10 years	> 10 years	SORC	Schock
Program match	86 (78.2)	108 (66.7)	62 (70.5)	196 (71.3)	54 (67.5)	209 (69.7)	45 (75.0)	134 (66.7)	138 (75.4)
Initial location match	83 (65.9)	114 (64.0)	73 (77.7)	212 (69.1)	54 (62.8)	215 (65.7)	51 (77.3)	150 (64.4)	134 (71.7)
Current location match	80 (64.5)	110 (62.5)	72 (76.6)	204 (67.3)	54 (62.8)	207 (64.1)	51 (77.3)	143 (62.4)	133 (71.1)

Note: Figures in parentheses are column percentages.

matched their locational preferences. The opposite outcome would have been expected—that the scarcity of larger units in the market would have made it more difficult for larger families to move where they wanted to. On the other hand, this finding may reflect the fact that most larger families expressed a preference for public housing and a central-city location, both of which were relatively easy to achieve.

Income was related to location matching in the direction expected: the highest income group matched their location preferences at a higher rate than did the other two income groups. There were smaller differences between employed and unemployed households, and these were in an unexpected direction. Unemployed households matched their locational preferences 69% of the time in the initial relocation, compared to only 62.8% of the employed families. Long-term residents and Schock relocatees also matched their locational preferences more often than their comparison groups. Some of these patterns reinforce the notion that, as with program preferences, the degree to which families matched their locational preferences depended upon what those preferences were.

Of those who identified north Minneapolis as a preferred location, 84% matched their preference. For south Minneapolis, the figure was 80%. But for those who preferred the northern inner-ring suburbs, only 59% matched their preference in the initial relocation, only 41% matched their preference for western inner-ring suburbs, and one-third or fewer matched their preferences for the various categories of developing suburbs. A strong pattern develops when household preferences are categorized into central city, inner-ring suburbs, or non-inner-ring locations. Of those who identified the central city as a preferred location, 80% were able to match that preference. For households that identified the inner-ring suburbs, only 56% actually ended up there upon being relocated. For families that identified a location outside the central city and the inner-ring suburbs, only 32% matched that preference. The pattern is even more extreme when subsequent moves are taken into account. Using the current (at the time of data collection) location of households as the reference, 80% of those that preferred the central city matched that preference, only 50% of those that preferred the inner-ring suburbs matched their preference, and just 30% of those that preferred a location other than the central cities or inner-ring suburbs satisfied that preference. These data indicate that the relocation process did not serve as well those families who desired a move out of the central cities.

**Multivariate Analysis** The task here was to determine which of the various demographic and resource variables were most important in analyzing whether a family was able to match its program and locational preferences in the relocation process. Table 16 shows the results of three logistic regression models. The dependent variables in the models were, respectively, whether or not families matched their program preferences, matched their location preferences with the initial move, and matched their location preferences in their current locations. The explanatory variables included

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the standard demographic and resource variables utilized throughout this analysis of the relocation process. The actual preferences for program and location were also included in the models as explanatory variables.

The data in Table 16 confirm that it was the preferences voiced by households, rather than any particular characteristic of the household, that most determined whether preferences were matched in the relocation process. In the model for program matching, a family's preference for public housing or homeownership dominated. Those that preferred public housing were significantly more likely to match that preference than were families preferring Section 8, and households preferring homeownership were significantly less likely than other families to match their program preferences. None of the other variables, except for *single parent*, approaches statistical significance. The model as a whole correctly predicts 72.4% of the cases. The second model, predicting locational match based on the initial resettlement location, was also dominated by the preferences of individuals. Those who preferred the inner ring or beyond the inner ring were much less likely than those who preferred the central city (the reference category in the model) to have achieved their preferences. Income was also associated with location matching, as were employment status (unemployed more likely to match preferences) and relocation agency (SORC relocatees less likely). Finally, in the model predicting location match based on relocatees' current location, the two choice variables were strongly predictive. In addition, the model indicates that relocatees who had been longer term residents of public housing were also marginally more able to match their locational preferences (coefficient significant at .099).

**Table 16.** Logistic Regression Models for Program and Locational Matching

	Program initial match		Location match		Current location match	
	$\beta$	Sig.	$\beta$	Sig.	$\beta$	Sig.
Constant	-.83		5.10		5.38	
Afr-Am	.47		-1.06		-.29	
SE Asian	.44		-.89		.11	
SingleP	-.57	*	-.14		-.20	
Age	-.01		.01		.02	
HHSIZE	-.06		.07		.06	
Income	.00		.00	**	.00	
Employed	.23		-.79	*	-.25	
PHDate <sup>†</sup>	.00		.00		-.00	*
SORC	-.31		-.52	*	-.48	
PrefPH <sup>‡</sup>	.62	***				
PrefHO <sup>§</sup>	-.76	**				
PrefIR <sup>#</sup>			-.82	**	-1.08	**
PrefNIR <sup>††</sup>			-2.94	***	-2.93	***
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	.10		.17		.21	
Pct. Correct	72.4		74.9		74.9	
<i>n</i>	315		336		331	

Note: Figures in parentheses are column percentages.

\*  $p < .10$     \*\*  $p < .05$     \*\*\*  $p < .01$

<sup>†</sup>Long-term public housing

<sup>‡</sup>Preferred public housing

<sup>§</sup>Preferred homeownership

<sup>#</sup>Preferred inner-ring suburb

<sup>††</sup>Preferred non-inner-ring suburb

## NEIGHBORHOOD ANALYSIS

The basis of the *Hollman* lawsuit was the contention that neighborhood environment is critical in determining quality of life, and that the practices of HUD and MPHA had confined public housing residents to neighborhoods with the greatest number of problems and the fewest social, political, and economic resources. Thus, an analysis of the neighborhood characteristics of relocation neighborhoods is an important part of any assessment of the housing outcomes of relocatees. The four public housing projects from which these residents were displaced were located within two census tracts on the north side of Minneapolis. These housing projects constituted the majority of the housing stock in both of the tracts, although one included a mixture of nonpublic housing. This section examines a range of neighborhood characteristics of the north side site and compares these to the characteristics of the neighborhoods to which the public housing families were relocated. This was accomplished by calculating several socioeconomic neighborhood characteristics of the “average” relocatee family. In addition, the study determined whether the new homes occupied by relocatees were located in race- or poverty-concentrated neighborhoods. The *Hollman* consent decree was designed to facilitate the deconcentration of public housing residents, but displaced families were allowed to relocate to any neighborhood they wanted, provided that comparable housing could be found. Thus, the study examined the extent to which displaced families were able to relocate out of race- or poverty-concentrated areas. For the purposes of the consent decree, and therefore this analysis, *race concentration* is defined as a census tract with more than 28.7% Black residents, and *poverty concentration* is defined as a tract with (for Minneapolis) more than 33.5% of residents below the poverty level (31.7% or more for census tracts in St. Paul, and 12.2% or more for suburban areas of the region).

## Neighborhood Characteristics

### **Average Neighborhood Conditions**

Consistent and significant differences were found between the social, economic, and demographic characteristics of the north side neighborhood and the neighborhoods to which families relocated (see Table 17). The average neighborhoods to which the families moved (what is called the relocation neighborhoods) had significantly fewer African American and Asian residents compared to the north side site. The percentage of Black residents fell by half, and the Asian population in relocation neighborhoods was, on average, one-eighth that of the north side site. The fourth column indicates that these differences are statistically significant. The remaining columns allow a comparison of the relocation neighborhood with the overall figures for the city of Minneapolis, Hennepin County, and the entire seven-county region. Thus, even though the minority populations of the relocation neighborhoods were significantly smaller than the north side census tracts in which the public housing was located, they were still greater than the citywide, countywide, and regional figures.

In the north side neighborhood from which families were relocated, 75% of the households had incomes of less than \$15,000 in 1990, compared to one-third (33.2%) of residents in the average relocation neighborhood. The percentage figure for the relocation neighborhoods exceeded the citywide figure of 29.6% by 3.6 percentage points. The median income of the average relocation neighborhood was just more than three times that of the north side neighborhoods (\$23,863 to \$7,810). The average median income was very close to the median for the city, but well below that of the county and the region.

Residents of the average relocation neighborhood were much more likely to have an income than were residents of the north side site (75.2% to 40.9%). Although 60.5% of the north side residents received public assistance, only 17.1% of the residents of the average relocation neighborhood did so. The 17.1% figure for relocation neighborhoods was almost twice the citywide figure and about three times the figures for the county and region. The degree of poverty in the average relocation neighborhood was significantly lower than in the north side sites. The average relocatee came from a

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**Table 17.** Neighborhood Characteristics of North Side Public Housing Site Compared to Relocation Neighborhood (N = 426)

	(a) Northside	(b) Relocation neighborhood	Sig. (a-b)	City of Minneapolis	County	Region
Pct. White	5.8	64.5	***	78.4	89.3	92.1
Pct. Black	45.6	23.2	***	13.0	5.8	3.6
Pct. Asian	47.2	6.4	***	4.3	2.9	2.6
Pct. college graduates	5.3	25.3	***	30.3	31.6	27.1
Pct. very low income <sup>†</sup>	75.1	33.2	***	29.6	18.1	16.6
Median household income	\$7,810	\$23,863	***	\$25,324	\$35,659	\$36,565
Pct. with income	40.9	75.2	***	79.2	84.2	85.5
Pct. receiving public assistance	60.5	17.1	***	10.5	6.1	5.5
Pct. children in poverty	79.7	35.3	***	30.6	13.5	11.2
Pct. population in poverty	72.8	25.1	***	18.5	9.2	8.1
Pct. households with female head	29.1	13.7	***	26.3	16.3	14.4
Pct. labor force employed	34.7	69.3	***	69.1	73.6	74.3
Pct. homeowners	3.8	51.0	***	49.7	63.4	68.7
Pct. housing units built before 1939	14.1	46.4	***	53.2	24.0	20.5
Pct. housing units with 3+ bedrooms	14.5	40.4	***	35.1	48.8	54.0
Pct. low-rent units <sup>‡</sup>	79.9	19.3	***	20.4	13.6	13.8
Pct. low-value homes <sup>§</sup>	100	73.3	***	63.6	35.9	39.0
Median value of housing units	\$49,326	\$63,852	***	\$71,500	\$89,700	\$87,400

\*\*\* p < .01

<sup>†</sup>Income less than \$15,000

<sup>‡</sup>Rents below \$300

<sup>§</sup>Values below \$75,000

neighborhood with 79.7% of the children and 72.8% of the entire population below the poverty level, and moved into a neighborhood in which 35.3% of the children and 25.1% of the entire population was in poverty. The relocation neighborhoods, nevertheless, had poverty rates twice those of the city, county, and the region as a whole. The average relocation neighborhood also had fewer female-headed households and a greater percentage of the labor force employed than did the north side site. As with all of the other indicators, rates of female-headed households and unemployment were still higher than those of the city and the rest of the region.

The housing stock of the average relocation neighborhood also differed significantly from that in the north side site. More than half (51%) of the housing stock was owner-occupied in the average relocation neighborhood, compared to only 4% in the north side sites. Interestingly, the average relocation neighborhood had a higher homeownership rate than did the city as a whole, although not by much. The average relocation neighborhood also had a larger percentage of older structures (46% built prior to 1939) compared to the public housing site (14.5%). The housing stock in the relocation neighborhoods had more large units, significantly fewer units that rented for less than \$300 month, and fewer ownership units valued at less than \$75,000 than did the north side site.

The following analysis examines whether any household-level characteristics were associated with moving to “better” neighborhoods based on the neighborhood characteristics listed in Table 18. For example, did Southeast Asian residents, or non-single parents, or long-term public housing residents

relocate to neighborhoods with higher median incomes than other groups? The data in Table 18 show a range of differences across the demographic dimensions. Southeast Asian relocatees, for example, moved to neighborhoods with a higher average percentage of female-headed households, a lower percentage of employed persons, a higher percentage of homeowners, but also a higher percentage of lower valued homes than did African American relocatees. There were no differences between these two groups on the average income or racial profile of the neighborhoods to which they relocated.

Single parents moved to neighborhoods that had, on average, a lower minority population and higher income than did non-single parents. The housing stock in the average neighborhood to which single parents relocated was also more highly valued (with fewer low-rent units) than the neighborhoods to which non-single parents relocated. Senior relocatees tended to relocate to neighborhoods with higher average distress indicators, such as the percentage of very low income persons, persons in poverty, unemployed persons, and low-rent units. The median household income in the average neighborhood to which seniors relocated was almost \$4,000 less than that of the average relocation neighborhood of non-senior households.

The only differences that showed up by household size relate to the housing stock characteristics of relocation neighborhoods. The largest households, on average, relocated to neighborhoods with more homeowners, fewer low-rent units, but more low-value homes than did the smallest households.

Table 19 presents additional data on the average profile of relocation neighborhoods. The data show that the highest income relocatees moved to neighborhoods that had, on average, fewer very low income residents, higher median household incomes, fewer persons in poverty, higher percent-

**Table 18.** Relocation Neighborhood Characteristics by Relocatee Characteristics

Relocation neighborhood characteristics	Total	White	Black	SE Asian	Non-single parent	Single parent	Under age 55	Age 55 or older	Small household (1–2)	Medium household (3–4)	Large household (5 or more)
Pct. non-White	35.4	24.9	33.6	37.9	38.9	31.9 **	65.9	60.0	66.4	64.4	62.5
Pct. college graduates	25.3	28.3	28.4	22.9 ***	24.6	25.9	25.8	23.0 *	25.2	26.0	24.6
Pct. very low income	33.2	33.3	33.3	33.2	34.9	31.2 *	31.9	37.9 **	33.7	33.7	32.1
Median household income	\$23,863	\$24,100	\$23,663	\$23,916	\$22,913	\$24,888 *	\$24,658	\$20,918 **	\$23,092	\$24,105	\$24,418
Pct. with public assistance	17.1	16.1	15.7	18.2	18.8	15.3 **	16.5	19.4	16.7	17.3	17.4
Pct. in poverty	25.1	21.9	25.1	25.5	26.5	23.4	24.1	28.9 *	24.6	26.1	24.5
Pct. female-headed households	13.7	11.1	11.9	15.5 ***	14.4	13.3	13.5	15.6	13.3	13.3	15.0
Pct. employed	69.3	70.5	71.2	67.8 **	68.1	70.6 *	70.3	65.5 ***	68.8	69.5	69.6
Pct. homeowners	51.0	48.1	47.6	53.4 *	49.7	52.8	52.3	46.6	48.3	50.2	54.6 *
Pct. low-rent units	19.3	22.2	19.4	19.2	21.9	16.3 **	17.5	26.2 ***	21.4	19.2	17.3 *
Pct. low-value homes	73.3	71.5	66.5	78.1 ***	74.9	71.7	72.1	77.4	71.0	69.9	78.9 *
Median house value	\$63,852	\$66,847	\$66,708	\$61,664 *	\$61,698	\$65,958 *	\$64,514	\$62,739	\$65,637	\$63,183	\$62,830
<i>n</i>	426	18	161	244	210	211	84	330	142	143	141

Note: For race, the t-test compared the means for Black and Asian. For household size, the t-test compared the means for the largest households against those of the smallest households.

\* p < .10    \*\* p < .05    \*\*\* p < .01

**Table 19.** Relocation Neighborhood Characteristics by Relocatee Characteristics

Relocation neighborhood characteristics	Monthly income			Employment status		Long-term public housing resident		Relocation agency	
	< \$600	\$600 to \$1,200	> \$1,200	Not employed	Employed	< 10 years	> 10 years	SORC	Schock
Pct. non-White	35.7	37.1	34.2	38.1	30.2 *	34.3	41.1	35.5	35.4
Pct. college graduates	26.9	24.5	24.3	24.8	25.9	25.6	24.0	23.4	27.6 ***
Pct. very low income	36.0	33.9	28.5 ***	35.2	27.6 ***	32.8	35.7	33.1	33.2
Median household income	\$21,970	\$23,654	\$26,579 ***	\$22,597	\$27,537 ***	\$24,053	\$22,464	\$23,137	\$24,761
Pct. with public assistance	17.8	18.1	15.4	18.5	14.2 **	16.8	19.3	16.9	17.4
Pct. in poverty	26.9	26.7	20.5 **	27.0	20.1 **	24.9	26.9	24.6	25.6
Pct. female-headed households	13.1	14.9	13.9	14.6	12.8	13.9	13.9	14.2	13.4
Pct. employed	68.2	68.5	71.6 *	68.2	71.9 **	69.4	68.2	68.8	69.8
Pct. homeowners	43.9	51.1	59.3 ***	47.9	59.4 ***	51.0	49.0	50.8	51.4
Pct. low-rent units	24.0	18.4	15.0 ***	20.6	15.1 *	18.4	24.6 *	19.0	19.6
Pct. low-value homes	65.2	77.7	76.6 **	74.1	72.0	72.8	73.5	78.0	67.5 ***
Median house value	\$65,019	\$63,114	\$64,289	\$62,288	\$68,417 *	\$63,481	\$64,814	\$62,767	\$65,175
<i>n</i>	127	180	96	310	88	331	68	236	191

Note: For income, the t-test compared the means for the highest and the lowest income categories.

\*  $p < .10$     \*\*  $p < .05$     \*\*\*  $p < .01$

ages of employed residents, more homeowners, and fewer low-rent units. These data consistently support the conclusion that the highest income relocatees moved to neighborhoods with less distress as measured by income and housing stock characteristics. The only exception to this pattern was that the highest income groups moved to neighborhoods that had on average a higher percentage of low-valued homes (76.6%) than did the lowest income relocatees (65.2%).

The pattern for income was essentially matched for employment status. Employed relocatees resettled in neighborhoods with fewer non-Whites (30.2% to 38.1%), fewer very low income residents, higher median household income, and fewer residents in poverty and on public assistance. Employed relocatees also moved to neighborhoods with more employed residents, more homeowners, fewer low-rent units, and higher median house values.

The data show virtually no differences in the profile of the average relocation neighborhood for long- and short-term public housing residents. The only statistically significant difference is that longtime public housing residents relocated to neighborhoods that had, on average, more low-rent units (24.6%) than did shorter term public housing residents (18.4%).

Although the earlier analysis showed significant differences in the relocation outcomes of SORC and Schock relocatees, the profiles of the average relocation neighborhood for these groups were virtually identical. Schock relocatees moved to neighborhoods with a higher average percentage of college graduates, and a lower average percentage of low-valued homes. Otherwise, there were no statistically significant differences between the relocation neighborhoods of families resettled by these two agencies.

Locational choice and housing program choice, however, were strongly associated with different neighborhood outcomes (see Table 20). Those relocating to the central cities inhabited neighbor-

**Table 20.** Relocation Neighborhood Characteristics by Relocation Community and Housing Type

Relocation neighborhood characteristics	Central cities	Inner-ring suburbs	Other	Homeownership	Public housing	Section 8
Pct. non-White	29.3 ***	9.3	5.6	75.8 **	62.6	62.1 ***
Pct. college graduates	24.1 ***	32.2	40.0	21.2 **	27.4	24.7 ***
Pct. very low income	36.0 ***	13.4	10.4	24.4 ***	35.0	34.1 **
Median household income	\$22,017 ***	\$36,158	\$41,913	\$29,200 ***	\$23,085	\$22,726 ***
Pct. with public assistance	18.8 ***	5.7	4.1	12.1 **	18.1	17.8 ***
Pct. in poverty	27.6 ***	7.7	5.4	15.9 **	26.9	26.3 **
Pct. female-headed households	14.8 ***	8.3	5.8	11.4	14.1	14.1 *
Pct. employed	67.4 ***	82.3	84.0	72.6 **	68.1	69.8
Pct. homeowners	49.7 **	61.2	64.0	68.7 ***	50.1	45.5 ***
Pct. low-rent units	21.3 ***	3.7	7.1	12.7 **	22.5	17.4 *
Pct. low-value homes	79.0 ***	38.1	20.7	75.1	73.8	71.2
Median house value	\$60,499 ***	\$83,405	\$113,200	\$64,161	\$67,095	\$60,441
<i>n</i>	373	44	9	66	172	145

Note: The t-test compared the means for central cities against those of the inner-ring suburbs, and the means for homeowner and Section 8 compared to public housing.

\*  $p < .10$     \*\*  $p < .05$     \*\*\*  $p < .01$

hoods that, on average, had much higher levels of distress indicators (low education, low income, low employment status, and high poverty) compared to those relocating to non-central-city areas. The average central-city relocation neighborhood was 29.3% residents of color (over the court’s definition of “minority concentrated”), 36% very low income, 18.8% on public assistance, and 27.6% of residents below the poverty level. In all but one case, these numbers were more than three times the corresponding figures for the average inner-ring suburban relocation neighborhood, and more than four times greater than the average non-inner-ring, non-central-city relocation destination. The central-city relocation neighborhoods also had, on average, many more female-headed households, unemployed residents, low-rent units, and low-value homes than the relocation neighborhoods outside of the central cities. The median household income of the city relocation neighborhoods was less than two-thirds that of the average inner-ring suburban destination of relocatees, and just more than one-half that of the outlying suburban destinations (see Table 20).

Similarly, relocatees inhabited different neighborhoods based on the type of housing into which they resettled. Here, however, the differences in neighborhood profiles were not so dramatic. On average, relocatees in public housing and Section 8 relocated to neighborhoods that had higher minority populations, more very low income residents, lower median incomes, more persons on public assistance and below the poverty level, and more persons unemployed than did relocatees who opted for homeownership.

### **Relocation to Concentrated Neighborhoods**

A second way of evaluating the neighborhoods to which north side families were relocated is to characterize the neighborhood according to the consent decree’s definition of race and poverty concentration. Households displaced from the north side units could use relocation assistance to go to any neighborhood; they were not restricted to nonconcentrated areas. Tables 21 and 22 describe relocation outcomes by whether families moved to nonconcentrated neighborhoods, poverty-concentrated areas, race-concentrated areas, or both race- and poverty-concentrated neighborhoods. The data show that just under one-half of the households (49.6%) moved to nonconcentrated census



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tracts. One-third of the families (32.6%) moved to neighborhoods that were both race and poverty concentrated. In all, more than half of the families moved to neighborhoods that were concentrated in one way or another.

White relocatees were most likely to move to nonconcentrated neighborhoods, while Southeast Asian relocatees were most likely to move to neighborhoods that were both race and poverty concentrated. Single parents were more likely than non-single parents to move to nonconcentrated neighborhoods (53.6% to 45.7%). Senior households were significantly more likely to end up in poverty- and race-concentrated neighborhoods than non-senior families (44% to 30%).

Income and employment had a strong influence on the concentration status of relocatees' new neighborhoods. For example, 58% of the highest income relocatees moved to nonconcentrated neighborhoods, compared to 44% of the lowest income families. Nearly two-thirds of the employed families (63.6%) moved to nonconcentrated neighborhoods, compared to well less than half (43.9%) of the unemployed households. Long-term residents of public housing were almost twice as likely as short-term residents to relocate to race-concentrated neighborhoods (19.1% to 10.6%). There were only small differences between the families relocated by the two different agencies.

As with the other measures of location outcomes, whether or not a family moved to a concentrated neighborhood was highly correlated with whether they moved out of the central city and with what type of housing they chose. Thirty-seven percent of families that stayed within the central cities moved to neighborhoods that were both race and poverty concentrated, compared to none of those that moved out of the central cities. Fifteen percent of families that moved within the central cities moved to neighborhoods that were race concentrated, compared to none of those that moved out of the central cities. On the other hand, only 45% of relocatees who moved within the central cities relocated to a neighborhood that was not race or poverty concentrated, as opposed to 75% of those who moved to the inner ring, and 100% of those who moved beyond the inner ring.

The pattern is, again, only slightly less dramatic according to the type of housing into which the relocatees settled. For instance, 36% of those who moved into public housing and Section 8 and 42% of those who did not move into any form of assisted housing resettled into neighborhoods of both race and poverty concentration, compared to only 14% of new homeowners. More than three-quarters (76%) of the relocatees who purchased a home moved to nonconcentrated neighborhoods, compared to less than half of the families who moved to other public housing or into Section 8 apartments.

**Table 21.** Location Outcome (by Concentration Status) by Selected Household Characteristics

Location outcome	Total	White	Black	SE Asian	Non-single parent	Single parent	Under age 55	Age 55 or older	Small household (1-2)	Medium household (3-4)	Large household (5 or more)
Nonconcentrated	212 (49.6)	12 (66.7)	74 (46.0)	122 (50.0)	96 (45.7)	113 (53.6)	170 (51.5)	36 (42.9)	72 (50.7)	67 (46.9)	72 (51.1)
Poverty concentrated	21 (4.9)	1 (5.6)	16 (9.9)	4 (1.6)	5 (2.4)	16 (7.6)	19 (5.8)	2 (2.4)	7 (4.9)	10 (7.0)	4 (2.8)
Race concentrated	55 (12.9)	1 (5.6)	24 (14.9)	30 (12.3)	33 (15.7)	22 (10.4)	42 (12.7)	9 (10.7)	18 (12.7)	15 (10.5)	22 (15.6)
Poverty and race concentrated	139 (32.6)	4 (22.2)	47 (29.2)	88 (36.1)	76 (36.2)	60 (28.4)	99 (30.0)	37 (44.0)	45 (31.7)	51 (35.7)	43 (30.5)
TOTAL	427	18	161	244	210	211	330	84	142	143	141

Note: Figures in parentheses are column percentages.

**Table 22.** Location Outcome (by Concentration Status) by Selected Resource Characteristics

Location outcome	Monthly income			Employment status		Long-term public housing resident		Relocation agency	
	< \$600	\$600 to \$1,200	> \$1,200	Not employed	Employed	< 10 years	> 10 years	SORC	Schock
Nonconcentrated	56 (44.1)	86 (47.8)	56 (58.3)	136 (43.9)	56 (63.6)	171 (51.7)	28 (41.2)	115 (48.7)	97 (50.8)
Poverty concentrated	10 (7.9)	8 (4.4)	2 (2.1)	16 (5.2)	3 (3.4)	18 (5.4)	2 (2.9)	12 (5.1)	9 (4.7)
Race concentrated	15 (11.8)	23 (12.8)	15 (15.6)	46 (14.8)	7 (8.0)	35 (10.6)	13 (19.1)	36 (15.3)	19 (9.9)
Poverty and race concentrated	46 (36.2)	63 (35.0)	23 (24.0)	112 (36.1)	22 (25.0)	107 (32.3)	25 (36.8)	73 (30.9)	66 (34.6)
TOTAL	127	180	96	310	88	331	68	236	191

Note: Figures in parentheses are column percentages.

### Poverty and Race Trends in Relocation Neighborhoods

The final dimension of the study was to examine the neighborhoods to which *Hollman* families were relocated—specifically, how did they change with regard to poverty and race characteristics? Between 1980 and 1990, the city of Minneapolis saw an overall increase in poverty of 5 percentage points. The increase for Hennepin County was less than 2 percentage points, and it was 1.3 percentage points for the region. The average increase in poverty for the neighborhoods to which relocatees moved was more than 7 percentage points. Relocatees moved to neighborhoods that were increasing in poverty at a rate 50% greater than the city as a whole. In fact, 29.5% of the relocatees moved to neighborhoods that experienced more than a 10 percentage point increase in the proportion of families below the poverty level during the 1980s.

The increase in minority population for the city during the 1980s was 8.3% overall. The same increase for the county was 3.7%, and for the region as a whole, 2.3 percentage points. The neighborhoods to which relocatees moved, however, experienced on the average a 12.8 percentage point increase in minority residents during the same time period. As with poverty, the neighborhoods to which relocatees moved were gaining minority residents at a rate 50% greater than the city as a whole. One-third of relocatees moved to neighborhoods that had gained between 10% and 20% minority residents during the previous decade, and another 23% moved to neighborhoods that saw an increase of more than 20 percentage points in minority residents during the 1980s.

**Multivariate Analysis** Multiple regression analysis was undertaken to determine which demographic or resource characteristics were associated with moves away from race and poverty concentration. Dependent variables for the analysis were (1) whether or not the relocation neighborhood was nonconcentrated, (2) the percentage of the relocation neighborhood that was minority, and (3) the percentage of the relocation neighborhood population below the poverty line.

The data in Table 23 show that being White significantly reduced the odds of relocating to a concentrated neighborhood, holding all other factors constant. Families relocated by SORC were also less likely to move to concentrated neighborhoods. Families that purchased homes and families that moved into public housing were both less likely than Section 8 families to move to concentrated neighborhoods. Finally, moving within the central cities significantly increased the odds of relocating

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to a neighborhood that was race or poverty concentrated, or both.

The last two columns of Table 23 show essentially the same patterns. When examining the actual percentage of minority and poverty residents (rather than using the thresholds provided by the consent decree), it appears that White relocatees (compared to African Americans) moved to neighborhoods with fewer minority residents.

SORC relocatees moved to neighborhoods with fewer minorities and less poverty than did Schock relocatees. Families that became homeowners also moved to neighborhoods with fewer minorities and less poverty than did Section 8 participants. Families that moved to public housing relocated to neighborhoods with fewer minorities than did Section 8 participants. Finally, families that relocated within the central cities moved to neighborhoods with significantly more minority residents and poverty than did relocatees who left the central cities.

## Residential Stability

As of September 1999, 80% of the relocated families had remained in the housing unit to which they were relocated. Another 14% had moved once, and slightly more than 5% had moved more than once. Although incomplete, the data for the second move show the average length of time for families at the initial relocation address was 344 days, or just under one year. One family moved after just 23 days in their new location. Southeast Asian families were less likely to have moved again (only 25.3% had moved) compared to White and African American families (38.9% and 34% respectively). Smaller families had moved again at a higher rate than larger families, and a higher percentage of the lowest income families had moved compared to the higher income relocatees. Non-senior families had made a second move more frequently than senior relocatees. The propensity to move again was also related to where, and in what type of housing, the relocated families resettled. For example, 37% of the relocatees in Section 8 housing, and 39% of the relocatees who had moved into the private market without subsidies, had moved again as of September 1999, compared to 21% of the homeowners and 23% of those who had relocated to public housing. Finally, 41% of respondents who had moved to the inner-ring suburbs had moved again, compared to 28% of those who had moved within the central cities and 29% of those who had moved beyond the inner-ring suburbs. This pattern is accounted for by the fact that 8 of 10 families who initially moved to the western inner-ring suburbs moved again. In fact, 6 of the 7 families that moved to a single Hopkins apartment complex moved again within the time frame of this study.

**Table 23.** Regression Results

	Logistic model		OLS model		OLS model	
	Reconcentrated	Sig.	Pct. minority	Sig.	Pct. poverty	Sig.
White	-1.38	*	-.16	**	-.08	
SE Asian	-.38		.01		-.01	
Single parent	-.30		-.03		-.03	
Over 55	.33		.03		.04	
HH size	.09		.01		.01	
Income	-.01		.00		.00	
Employed	-.44		-.05		-.03	
Long term PH	.19		.04		-.01	
SORC	-.45	**	-.07	**	-.05	**
Homeowner	-1.47	***	-.15	***	-.08	***
Public housing	-.26	**	-.08	**	-.04	
Central city	1.58	***	.29	***	.19	***
Constant	-.27		.18	***	.18	***
F	—		7.722	***	7.49	***
Pct. correct	65.6		—	—	—	
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	.142 <sup>†</sup>		.194		.188	
N	337		337		337	

<sup>†</sup>Cox and Snell adjusted R-square.

An analysis of the neighborhood characteristics of these movers indicates a movement back to neighborhoods with lower incomes and greater poverty (see Table 24). T-tests comparing statistical means for the relocation neighborhood (the census tract to which families were initially relocated) and the current neighborhood (the census tract in which families lived at the time of data collection) revealed significant differences on several indicators. Current neighborhoods had slightly more very low income families on average (37.9% to 34.0%), lower median incomes (\$21,481 to \$23,076), more families receiving public assistance (20.8% to 18.4%), more children in poverty (40.9% to 36.3%), and a higher overall poverty rate (29.3% to 26.2%) than did the average relocation neighborhoods for families that moved (all t-statistics significant at  $p < .05$  or less). The current neighborhoods of families that had subsequently moved were also characterized by lower cost housing, with a larger percentage of low-rent units (22.3% to 18.7%) and lower median house values (\$59,197 to \$72,247) compared to the initial relocation neighborhoods.

### **Trends in the Current Neighborhoods of Relocates with Subsequent Moves**

Evidence shows that relocatees who had moved since first being relocated moved to neighborhoods in which the increase in poverty and minority populations were greater than that of the initial relocation neighborhoods. For these “movers,” the neighborhoods to which they moved the second time experienced increases in poverty and minority populations twice that of the city of Minneapolis. These neighborhoods attracted minority and poor residents at rates higher than the initial relocation neighborhoods.

More than one-third of the movers (34.4%) had ultimately located in a neighborhood in which the poor population had grown by more than 10% during the 1980s, while 19.2% had moved to neighborhoods with no change or a reduction in the poverty rates during those years. At the time of data collection, 60% of movers were in neighborhoods in which the minority population had grown by more than 10 percentage points during the 1980s.

One-third (or

**Table 24.** Neighborhood Characteristics of Initial Relocation Neighborhood Compared to Current Neighborhood for Relocates Who Have Moved More than Once ( $n = 180$ )

	<b>Relocation neighborhood</b>	<b>Current neighborhood</b>	<b>Sig.</b>
Pct. White	63.3	60.4	
Pct. Black	23.8	24.0	
Pct. Asian	7.0	9.3	**
Pct. high school graduates	29.1	30.3	**
Pct. college graduates	25.4	30.3	***
Pct. very low income <sup>†</sup>	34.0	37.9	***
Median household income	\$23,076	\$21,481	**
Pct. with income	75.3	72.4	***
Pct. receiving public assistance	18.4	20.8	**
Pct. children in poverty	36.3	40.9	**
Pct. population in poverty	26.2	29.3	**
Pct. homeowners	45.9	45.4	
Pct. housing units built before 1939	43.6	47.3	
Pct. housing units with 3+ bedrooms	37.6	36.5	
Pct. low-rent units <sup>‡</sup>	18.7	22.3	**
Pct. low-value homes <sup>§</sup>	73.2	77.3	
Median value of housing units	\$62,247	\$59,197	**
Pct. female-headed households	15.0	15.4	
Pct. labor force employed	68.7	66.6	

\*\*  $p < .05$     \*\*\*  $p < .01$

<sup>†</sup>Income less than \$15,000.

<sup>‡</sup>Rents below \$300.

<sup>§</sup>Values below \$75,000.

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18) of the movers had relocated to nonconcentrated neighborhoods and then subsequently moved back into neighborhoods that were either poverty or race concentrated, or both. Seven families made the opposite move, from a relocation neighborhood that was concentrated to a subsequent neighborhood that was not concentrated. On balance, therefore, mover-families were slightly more likely to be reconcentrated than the entire population of displacees.

## CONCLUSION

The data presented on the relocation of families from the north side public housing site in Minneapolis offers an opportunity to examine the potential of displacement and relocation for deconcentrating poverty in U.S. cities. This is a growing policy concern given the focus on deconcentrating poverty and recent HUD initiatives such as HOPE VI (which has resulted in a significant number of public housing units being demolished) and the “vouchering out” of federally subsidized housing projects.

The data show that most relocatees from the four Minneapolis public housing projects preferred to remain in one of the region’s two central cities. The overwhelming preference of residents was to remain in Minneapolis and more specifically on the city’s north side. Families also preferred a housing type that matched their needs. Larger families tended to prefer something other than Section 8, a rational response to the region’s very tight housing market and the lack of larger units. In fact, 87% of relocatees moved to another central-city location, and more than 55% stayed within a three-mile radius of the north side site from which they were displaced.

The neighborhoods that relocatees inhabited at the time of data collection showed significantly lower levels of distress on every category measured: less poverty, more homeownership, higher employment rates, fewer people on public assistance, and so on. This provides a great deal of support to those who see the demolition of highly concentrated public housing and the relocation of families as a means of improving the neighborhood conditions of those families.

The data suggest four caveats to that conclusion, however. First, this brief multivariate analysis shows that the choices that families make—especially the choice to move out of the central city and the choice to become homeowners—are extremely important in determining subsequent levels of neighborhood poverty and racial concentration. In this case, most families (73%) preferred the central city, which significantly increased the likelihood of their reconcentrating. Very few families (16%) had both the resources and preference to become homeowners.

Second, only half of the families that were displaced from the north side site were able to move to a neighborhood that was neither race nor poverty concentrated. Whether this figure is high or low depends upon the expectations one has for such relocation efforts.

Third, one in five families has moved again (less than two years after their initial relocation), and the moves have been to neighborhoods with higher measures of “distress” than those to which they were originally relocated. This raises the concern that families will, over time, return to the types of neighborhoods from which they have been displaced. (Although this concern is real, it should be pointed out that the very high concentration of race and poverty on the north side site in Minneapolis has no match in the entire metropolitan area.)

Fourth, the analysis shows that the neighborhoods to which relocatees were moved—although they had significantly lower levels of poverty and fewer people of color in 1990—were neighborhoods with the greatest growth in poverty and populations of color during the previous decade. That is, it seems that most families were moving to neighborhoods that were themselves moving in the direction of greater concentrations of race and poverty.

## **WORKS CITED**

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