

# RC43 abstracts

## Institutions and Access to Housing in Brazil

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### **Institutions and Access to (Better) Housing in Brazil**

Angela Gordilho Souza, Universidade Federal da Bahia

In the Brazilian contemporary urban context there has been a constant political struggle for governmental interventions for supplying the needs of poor communities, including adequate housing, basic sanitation and energy distribution, mentioning only the main legal rights for decent housing. Presently, among the total of 202 million inhabitants in Brazil, 84% are urban population and almost half of that lives in major cities, where the slums' population ranges from 30% to 60%. Urban policies developed until then were innocuous concerning the transformation for better housing and better cities. Between 1960/80 the proposal to eradicate the slums, transferring the population to peripheral urban sets, was not socially successful, intensifying segregation. The remaining slums were densified and many others have emerged. The democratization process brought gains into the Constitution of 1988, followed by the Statute of the City in 2001, on the guarantee of social rights for land and housing. Since then, there were attempts for inclusive policies and access to housing for the low income population, with advances and setbacks. More recently, there has been an accelerated production of housing units, with huge investments in the real estate market, intensified in 2009 by the national housing program *Minha Casa Minha Vida* (My Life My House). While this social program has achieved high quantitative results (in merely five years, two million new houses were built, with the anticipation of one million more by 2015), critiques on this production have been severe, especially about urban insertion, adequate urbanized land and project quality. Additionally, public interventions in the qualification of the large number of vacant real estate properties existing in urban central areas and bettering informally occupied peripheries are not been prioritized, giving privilege to open space distant from urban centers. This is due to complex issues involving slow institutional management, political interests and lack of technical assistance. Added to this, the low education for appropriate technologies and methodologies of participatory processes are reflected in the daily issues that community associations and urban social movements have faced. Within this context, architects, city planners and engineers, professions with the function of planning and creating spaces, with the scope of the complex interdisciplinary task of imagining and creating better and more inclusive cities, feel powerless to implement the invention and use of better technologies. At the present moment, strengthened by the collective will that creeps in by the definition of other priorities, these professionals should be able to act together with communities and city managers in initiatives for necessary changes, creating possibilities for better housing. The paper to be presented brings to discussion the possibilities that are being experienced currently by the social movements towards the right to the city in Brazil. In this sense, the role of the public University is fundamental. The proposal focuses on recent experience of Professional Residency in Architecture, Urbanism and Engineering at the Federal University of Bahia and its developments ([www.residencia-aue.ufba.br](http://www.residencia-aue.ufba.br)).

### **How the economy encourages access and production of Housing: the case of Northern Coast of Pernambuco (Brazil)**

Ariadne Silva, Pernambuco Federal University

National housing policies of the past fifty years, especially the period of military dictatorship ('60s and '70s) and of the last national governments of the Workers Party - PT (starting from 2003) not only sought to meet the housing deficit of the poor and the middle class. In addition, these policies aimed to increase the civil construction industry. This incentive was from production of materials to building companies. Therefore, it was the SFH policy (Sistema Brasileiro de Habitação – Brazilian Housing System) concomitantly with the BNH (Banco Nacional de Habitação – National Housing Bank) (1964-1985). And in recent years, from 2009, with the establishment of the national housing program *Minha Casa, Minha Vida* (My House, My Life - PMCMV). However, the research carried out by UFPE and Diagonal from August to September 2014 on the Northern coast of Pernambuco, showed that there is another factor that stimulates the housing construction: the installation of new factories on that area, as well as the enlargement of the old ones in the region. It is worth noting that part of the Metropolitan Region of Recife (RMR) located in the northern coast already had an old industrial park. The objective of this article is to show in detail that dynamics that relates economics to housing production and describe the investments in housing made directly by the government which aims to income up to R\$ 1600 (US\$ 534.00) to meet the lack of local housing and the performed ones with government banks loans - within the same housing program - but built by private individuals and intended for income up to R\$ 3.100,00 (US\$ 1,034.00). These are basically driven by the implementation of the new factories on the region. After this discussion, one comes to the conclusion that a single government policy, in this case the housing, influences several other policies and also encourages various sectors of the economy and not only those provided for in its planning. As well as a government policy is also influenced by national economy time and the place in which it will be implemented.

### **From State Intervention to Urban Management Driven by the Markets.**

Flávio A. M. de Souza, Pernambuco Federal University

Ana C. R. Cavalcanti, Pernambuco Federal University

This paper is about the conflict of interests experienced by real estate investors in Brazil over the last decade and the State, especially through the examination of the renewal projects of urban land in decay in central areas. The agenda of social housing, as a right to housing, is also pursued in the context of these large scale urban projects. The entrepreneurial State has been widely touted in recent years. Therefore, this paper discusses some aspects of the rehabilitation projects of the port area of Recife, with emphasis on the New Port Project – Urban Operation Quayside – on the part of the State of Pernambuco Government, regarding the attention given to equipments that deliver collective consumption for leisure, culture and tourism as opposed to social housing. The aspects highlighted in the study are the lack of social housing alternatives offered by investors, as well as by the State, demonstrating the inadequacy of the State's role to guarantee the delivery of housing as a human right. The study points out to a stronger role on the part of the entrepreneurial State, attracting investors for the realization of profits from these investments, rather than attracting investments to social housing. Market driven urban management appears to perpetuate the neglect of options that could have been offered by both the markets and the State in meeting local demands for housing the poor. The conflicting interests between these players appear to remain rhetoric, and the renewal of serviced urban land appears to be occurring at the expenses of social housing in Recife, Pernambuco.

### **Brazilian Housing Policies During the PT Era: All the same, but different**

Márcio M. Valença, Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte, City University of New York

This paper discusses social housing policy in Brazil since 2002 by analyzing government programs' institutional arrangements. The conclusion suggests that, despite rhetoric to the contrary, all arrangements put in place have not constituted a comprehensive housing policy with the clear aim of serving to enhance housing conditions in the country. Housing 'policies' since the 1960s – as initiated by the BNH and later much enhanced during the governments of Fernando Collor de Mello, Itamar Franco, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Luis Inácio Lula da Silva and Dilma Rousseff (in the latter two cases, despite much progress towards subsidized investment programs) – have sought to consolidate financial instruments in line with global markets, restructuring the way private interests operate within the system. Housing policies have also been used as a stop-go mechanism to foster economic development. If anything, even if a pro-market approach to housing was to be adopted, this should be had as a necessary however incomplete course of action. The economic bias of housing policies has resulted in policy failure as the more fundamental social results for the poor have not yet been achieved. In particular, although a quick review of earlier schemes will be presented, the paper will focus on the two, rather opposing, main courses of action in public housing, under development, especially during the Lula (2003-06; 2007-10) and Dilma governments (2011-14; 2015-), here called the PT Era. One points at long, wished for development of a major participatory system of social housing provision, using Budget and other funds, under the Ministry of the Cities and democratic social control by multi-scale councils (the SNHIS – Sistema Nacional de Habitação de Interesse Social). This is focused on the very poor in Brazilian society and is promoted by a number of public (but also third sector private) organizations. The other points at the development of a major, top-down house-building program, using huge amounts of public investments (including subsidies), as an anti-cyclic measure to foster economic development as a response to the post 2007 international economic crisis (the PMCMV – Programa Minha Casa, Minha Vida). This is mainly promoted by private construction firms. The latter program, launched in 2009, has produced millions of housing units and has had an significant impact on the expansion of many Brazilian cities. At last, the paper will look at a particular situation in the greater metropolitan area of Natal, in the Northeast of Brazil.

## Rental Housing Trends and Policies

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### **How far is long-term private renting a problematic housing status?**

Alan Morris, University of Technology Sydney  
 Kath Hulse, Swinburne University of Technology  
 Hal Pawson University of New South Wales

In common with a number of OECD countries, Australia is seeing a rapid expansion of private rental housing in which a growing fraction of the population can expect to reside for extended periods or even in perpetuity. As in other 'liberal welfare regime' Anglophone nations, the lightly regulated nature of this housing market segment provides little in the way of rent control and affords tenants only very limited security of tenure. Thus, Australia's long-term private tenants live for extended periods of their lives exposed to the risk of a landlord-instigated move at short notice. Defined as those renting for at least 10 years, such long term renters (LTRs) already constitute about one in 12 Australian households. However, little is known about their housing conditions, experiences or aspirations.

This paper reviews debates in the international housing studies literature on two major sets of implications potentially arising from LTR status in countries with housing systems shaped according

to liberal welfare regimes. Firstly, the extent to which long term private renters in this situation are liable to experience their lack of legal security of tenure as debilitating. And, secondly, how far being a long term renter constrains an individual's capacity to 'make a house a home' and to develop a sense of 'local belonging'.

Drawing mainly on a household survey of private renters in Sydney and Melbourne, the paper contributes empirically to these debates through comparing the characteristics, experiences and views of LTRs as compared with their shorter term renter counterparts. In analysing the housing circumstances of LTRs, the analysis focuses in particular on family households and old age pensioners; subgroups for whom it might be expected that such a housing situation would be less appropriate. More broadly, it analyses the extent to which LTR status reflects constraint as opposed to choice, as well as exploring LTRs' housing expectations and aspirations and prospects.

### **Landlord-tenant policies in Hong Kong: how have they changed, and why?**

Mandy Lau, The University of Hong Kong

Over the last few years, private rental housing in Hong Kong has become increasingly unaffordable for low-income renters. Many low-income households live in sub-divided flats, which are below safety and hygiene standards, yet the rental cost per square foot can be higher than that of luxury rental apartments.

In view of these challenges, there have been vigorous debates about the pros and cons of tightening of policies governing landlord-tenant relations, especially re-introduction of rent control policies.

This paper aims to contextualise recent debates by tracing major policy changes regarding landlord-tenant relations in Hong Kong, and analysing the factors which shaped these changes. In particular, the paper will explore why deregulation was pursued in the late 1990s, and the role of various stakeholders in shaping this policy shift. The analysis will throw light on recent political struggles over rent control, and the likely outcomes of this latest round of policy development.

### **Renting in a home owning society: disaster, deviance or diversity?**

Alan Morris, University of Technology Sydney

Kath Hulse, Swinburne University of Technology

Hal Pawson, University of New South Wales

In a number of advanced economies an increasing number and percentage of households are renting their housing in the private market (Crook and Kemp 2014). Once seen as a 'rite of passage' for young people in societies where aspirations and expectations revolved around the Great Australian/American/Canadian Dream of home ownership, an increasing number of people now rent at different ages and stages of their lives. Some still rent for short periods whilst for others renting has become a long term experience.

Typically viewed as a response to problems of 'housing affordability', this paper examines in more detail why people rent privately, their experiences of renting and plans for the future. It is based on a new household survey of 600 private renters in high, moderate and low rent areas in the two largest Australian cities, Sydney and Melbourne. We investigate to what extent private renting in these areas is a manifestation of increasing inequality in household wealth and incomes or a lifestyle choice for

some people at some juncture in their lives. Do private renters see themselves as being in a dire situation locked out of home ownership and finding it difficult to make a home in their current housing circumstances? To what extent do private renters deliberately choose to rent in ways that have not been mainstream for over a century in Australia? Is increased renting a manifestation of increased diversity in lifestyles and life cycles indicative of negotiating through the fluidity and individualised risks that characterise late modernity?

The paper adds depth to our understanding of the experiences of renting particularly in relation to housing pathways and the ways in which renters in different rental markets experience not only their current tenancy but the cumulative effects of experiences in a number of tenancies. We reflect on the extent to which private renting in different rental markets is a contemporary adaptation to conditions in Australia's booming urban housing markets and/or changed aspirations in an era of globalised markets in labour and capital. Finally, we consider whether a burgeoning private rental market reflects and exacerbates greater inequality or is viewed by renters themselves as a housing tenure that maximises possibilities and participation in life in high growth global cities.

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## The Neoliberal Turn in Housing Social Housing Provision

### **Neoliberal Housing Policy in an Era of Fiscal Austerity: Policy Convergence, Divergence, and Transfer in the United Kingdom and United States**

Corianne Payton Scally, The Urban Institute, Metropolitan Housing and Communities Policy Center  
Kenneth Gibb, University of Glasgow

Neoliberalism has promoted a series of affordable rental housing policy shifts in the United Kingdom (UK) and United States (US). We characterize this policy path in terms of multiple attributes with which we use to analyse housing policy in both countries: *privatization* of the provision of low-cost housing, *devolution* to nonprofit agents, *decentralization* of policy and administration to lower scales of government, and *conditionalities* on tenant eligibility. We consider areas of policy convergence and divergence between these two countries in order to assess the potential for policy transfer within an era of reduced government social spending. In addition to key policy convergences – including loss of supply through privatization, a growing role for nonprofit organizations (US) and housing associations (UK), and increasing conditionalities on housing assistance – we find notable divergences in the extent to which each neoliberal tenet has been implemented. For example, privatization within the US has advanced further through a history of reliance on and incentives for affordable housing provision through the private-rented sector, including the use of tax credits to generate private investment. Despite the unique past trajectories of these countries, we find several areas where policy transfer from the US to the UK may be possible: increased reliance on the private-rented sector to provide affordable housing, the raising of private capital investment to both substitute for depleted public funds and encourage new forms of partnership, and the redesign of personal housing subsidies. We discuss the likely challenges to such transfer in terms of housing transactions and outcomes.

### **Subsidized low-income housing in a neoliberal era: A critical review through the lens of vulnerability production and environmental justice**

Shakil Bin Kashem, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

In urbanizing environments, poverty and access to stable, affordable housing are key determinants of a household's ability to withstand socio-economic stresses. But in recent decades, the provisions for affordable housing in US cities have undergone significant policy changes. A good number of public housing projects have been dismantled since the early 1970s and replaced with market-oriented solutions such as Section 8 rental assistance vouchers and HOPE VI housing renewal projects. However, these market-oriented programs have suffered funding deficits from their inception and subsequent reductions in federal housing spending have exacerbated unmet housing needs (Malpass, 2003; Popkin et al., 2004). A significant segment of low-income households, especially inner-city minorities, remained trapped in substandard, overcrowded, and over-priced housing (HUD 2007). Prior research has considered whether programs for low-income housing succeeded in deconcentrating poverty (Goetz, 2005; Massey & Denton, 1993) or provided any improvement to participating household or communities (Freeman, 2003; Van Zandt & Mhatre, 2009), but very few studies have explored the extent to which these housing provisions have increased or decreased the hazard exposure of vulnerable populations (e.g. Cutter et al. 2001; Houston et al. 2013). This paper evaluates subsidized low-income housing within the framing of vulnerability production and environmental justice. It shows that while some of the housing programs, like the Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC), consider neighborhood socio-economic conditions, none of them explicitly require the housing units to be located away from natural or technological hazards. As these locational characteristics are considered significant factors in the traditional housing market, ignoring them for affordable housing programs may place more vulnerable populations in more hazardous areas over time. Within this broad framing, this paper critically analyzes how low income housing programs in a neoliberal era may exacerbate the hazard exposure of vulnerable populations. Based on the findings from affordable housing and housing market literature, the limitations of these programs are identified and possible policy directions are suggested.

### **Private renting as a housing career aspiration: the 'pathways' approach to housing assistance in Australia**

Michael Darcy, University of Western Sydney

The philosophy and nature of housing assistance has changed dramatically in Australia over recent years, as it has in other English speaking countries. Whereas housing agencies, faced with an increasingly residualised tenant population of multiply disadvantaged and highly vulnerable households, formerly placed significant policy and program emphasis on making tenancies 'sustainable', recently housing authorities have attempted to target assistance more tightly by measures such as limiting the period of leases to two, five, or ten years, after which tenants' need for assistance is re-assessed. Despite this, the average duration of tenancies is rising, and the number of eligible but un-housed applicants continues to grow.

Policymakers, searching for a new way of framing severe rationing of public assistance, have adopted the term '*pathways*' to emphasise the transitional nature of social housing, and its role as a stepping stone to private or market forms of tenure. Pathways describes a progressive course from failure to success, from dependency to self-reliance – in a number of policy documents public/social housing is depicted as a step on a ladder, just above homelessness which occupies the bottom rung, and below private rental and ultimately home ownership at the top.

In this way of understanding housing, security is subordinated to independence, and private transactions are viewed as inevitably superior to public assistance both morally and economically. While policy documents generally concede that not every tenant can achieve it, the default aspiration should be a move from public to private rental, even if some short term assistance is need to facilitate this.

To what extent does this ordering of values reflect the experience and the aspirations of tenants, and given the characteristics of the social housing tenant population and conditions in the private rental market, what are its chances of success? This paper discusses the pathways approach in the light of findings from a study involving tenants of a medium sized non-profit regional housing provider in NSW. Tenants were asked about their employment and housing histories and aspirations, and the barriers they perceived to working more hours or taking on training, or to moving to a form of private tenure. Most participants in the study revealed highly rational decision making about these issues and saw housing security as more important, and more controllable, than job security. Reflecting the poor tenancy protections and high rents prevalent in NSW, most perceived social housing as a superior form of tenure to private rental.

The study suggests that substantial changes to affordability and, more importantly security in the private rental sector are required for the pathways approach to have meaning for current social housing tenants.

## Understanding the Dynamics of Social-Spatial Neighborhood Change in Older Industrial Cities

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The purpose of this panel is to focus attention on the dynamics of social-spatial change in the neighborhoods of America's older industrial cities such as St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Cleveland or Detroit, often referred to as legacy cities. As demographic, social and economic forces lead to these cities' post-industrial transition, their neighborhoods are increasingly subject to a complex series of cross-pressures resulting in some cases in revitalization or (however defined) gentrification, and in many others to accelerated social and economic decline. The panel will look at this issue through four papers, two of which, by Swanstrom and Mallach, look at the broad trajectory of neighborhood change in St Louis and Milwaukee respectively and the implications of that trajectory; and two of which, by Theodos and Deitrick, look at key factors that may affect the course of change in urban neighborhoods, one having to do with the social dynamics of neighborhoods and the other with interventions to foster neighborhood change.

In proposing this panel, though, we aim to go beyond simply presenting research on the dynamics of neighborhood social-spatial change by using the panel as an opportunity to start a broader conversation about neighborhood research and the importance of looking at neighborhood change in an integrated, comprehensive fashion, rather than solely through the analysis of the impact of isolated variables outside of a larger social-spatial context. Without subscribing to the deterministic approach that colored much earlier research on neighborhood change, we believe that the efforts that began with the Chicago School to capture neighborhood dynamics in an integrated fashion continue to be critically important, and – with the notable exception of Sampson's *Great American City* – have received far too little attention in recent years. We propose, therefore, to devote the bulk of the second hour of the panel to a conversation among the panelists, and between the panelists and the audience, on this subject.

## **Housing Unit Turnover and Neighborhood Change in Urban America**

Brett Theodos, Urban Institute

Claudia Coulton, Case Western Reserve University

Rob Pitingolo, Urban Institute

Neighborhood environments have consequences for families' well-being. Similarly, moving is known to be one of the most significant decisions in a family's life. This article explores the intersection of these two dynamics—the role that turnover plays in shaping neighborhoods. While most research on neighborhood change relies on stock data, these snapshots have left unanswered the question of how housing unit turnover shapes neighborhood socio-economic mix.

This article takes an in-depth look at a unique panel study of housing units from 2002-2010 in 70 neighborhoods in 10 cities. The article first pinpoints the housing unit, occupant, and neighborhood characteristics predictive of turnover, and second, explores the influence that such factors have on the next occupants' poverty statuses.

We find that poor households replace poor households with high frequency. Previous occupant characteristics matter in predicting poverty of the next occupant: tenure, voucher status, race/ethnicity, and older age householders. Housing unit characteristics were demonstrated to matter as well. We examined a fairly robust, though not exhaustive, set of housing unit variables, and found home value and average housing unit population (a proxy for housing unit size) to be meaningful predictors of newcomer poverty status. Building structure (single versus multifamily) and damage appear to matter modestly as well. We examined several neighborhood factors for their influence on newcomer poverty. High poverty neighborhoods, highly black neighborhoods, and neighborhood expectations mattered in predicting newcomer poverty.

## **Neighborhood Trajectories in Older Industrial Cities: The Case of St. Louis**

Todd Swanstrom, University of Missouri-St Louis

This paper examines neighborhood trajectories in St. Louis, an older industrial or “weak market” metropolitan area. To examine neighborhood change, we have constructed a data set with normalized census tract boundaries from 1970 to 2012 (ACS 2008-2012) for the older parts of the region – the urbanized area as of 1950. Using a three-part index based on per capita income, rents and housing prices, we divide all census tracts into ascending, descending, and stable categories. We find that even in St. Louis, where the older parts of the metropolitan area have suffered massive population losses, some neighborhoods are moving up. This has prompted some observers to warn about gentrification and the possibility that long time low-income and minority residents will be forced out of their communities. We find some evidence of upward pressure on rents and displacement of African Americans but, overall, ascending neighborhoods are the most economically and racially diverse neighborhoods in the region. At the same time, we find that it is very difficult for majority African American neighborhoods to ascend, especially those surrounded by other majority black neighborhoods. Many more low-income and minority families are threatened by declining neighborhoods than by ascending neighborhoods. Residents of heavily African American descending neighborhoods are isolated from centers of economic opportunity and often experience calamitous losses of home equity. The paper concludes that the fates of neighborhoods are determined not only by their internal characteristics but by their histories and their places within larger metropolitan structures of neighborhoods. This does not mean that

neighborhoods are helpless in the face of structural forces. Smart public policies can help local actors shape their neighborhoods' futures.

### **Gentrification or Decline? Trajectories of Neighborhood Change in Milwaukee since 2000.**

Alan Mallach, Center for Community Progress

Milwaukee is a representative American legacy city, which has seen population decline and deindustrialization since the 1950s, but which has more recently begun to see a measure of both economic revival and renewed in-migration, particularly of well-educated younger adults, leading to widely-voiced concerns about gentrification. Using Census and ACS data on racial and income change, and data on residential sales transactions, I analyzed the pattern of neighborhood change in the city at the census tract level since 2000.

The analysis suggests that gentrification is indeed taking place in Milwaukee, but only in one small part of the city; it also found, however, that neighborhood decline, reflected in significant drops in both income and house prices, is far more widespread and affects a much larger part of the city; moreover, that that decline is disproportionately concentrated in the city's predominately African-American neighborhoods, resulting in massive loss of wealth and quality of life. While the reasons for this are complex, the data suggests that an ongoing exodus of more affluent African-American households may be one contributing factor. I conclude with some suggestions for the reasons for the far greater extent of decline than revival, and place this paper in the larger framework of the gentrification discourse, by offering some observations about the reasons for the disproportionate emphasis on gentrification rather than decline in the conversation on neighborhood change, and the effect this disproportion has on the framing of public policy.

### **Putting the People Back in the Redevelopment Process**

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#### **“I can see it in my mind”: Spatial Politics and Visions of Tenant Organizing**

James C. Fraser, Vanderbilt University

#### **Resistance to Public Housing Redevelopment in Seattle: The Case of Yesler Terrace**

Lynne Manzo, University of Washington

#### **Is it Possible to Plan Urban Renewal that Does not Cause Displacement?**

Deniz Ay, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Governments initiate urban renewal to promote various positive objectives, but these projects also usually displace existing residents. Is it possible to plan redevelopment projects that modernize cities without burdening existing residents? Why do even well-intentioned projects always seem to cause undesirable displacement? This paper explores these questions through a study of the planning process of an ambitious government-led urban redevelopment policy in Turkey. Despite the comprehensive national scale of this urban renewal program enacted under complex legislation, it formally neglects consideration of residential displacement. My objective is to explain why such a bold national urban “transformation” policy is carried out without deliberate planning for displacement. I use case study methodology and adopt a multiple-embedded case study design. My cases are three metropolitan cities; Adana, Bursa and Izmir. I build my research on a variety of data

sources including (1) semi-structured interviews with the local government officials, representatives of professional organizations, elected neighborhood representatives and neighborhood associations; (2) documentation and (3) participant observation. Preliminary findings suggest that local governments perceive residential displacement as an intrinsic component of urban redevelopment and do not recognize displacement as a downside of development. Instead, local governments often consider the prospects of displacement as a tool to integrate the marginalized communities with the rest of the city. Displacement is predominantly viewed as a threat by the low-income groups, living at subsistence level. These groups tend to organize to resist displacement prospects only if they closely know about another process of residential displacement that took place in their cities. The larger question I address in this research is how development can take place without displacement. To study this, my goal is to explain how redevelopment creates displacement and how it ignores the challenges of resettlement, even when it is ostensibly well-intentioned. The case of Turkey provides an example of a national scale redevelopment implemented in different cities. This allows me to conduct a variety of comparative cases all under the umbrella of the larger national policy. The similarities and differences among cases highlight the opportunities as well as bottlenecks for urban development that does not displace masses.

### **Moving from a Place-centric to a People-centric approach in slum redevelopment**

Jerry Anthony, University of Iowa

Shailaja Nair, College of Engineering Trivandrum

Slums and dilapidated areas are becoming an increasing presence in developing countries and in the US. Past strategies to deal with such areas have used a place-based approach to redevelopment that had many shortcomings. In the past decade, a novel experiment was tried out in a slum in Kerala, India. The people-centric approach used in redeveloping this slum is receiving critical acclaim among planners and policy makers in India. In this paper, we compare and contrast experiences in slum and area redevelopment across space and time – in the US and other developing countries over the last 30 years. We then present the distinguishing features of the Karimadom model of slum redevelopment that have made it so noteworthy. Finally, we discuss the potential for replication of the Karimadom model in other developing countries and in the US.

### **Background**

For well over 100 years, cities across the globe have “intervened” in slums. The earliest form of these interventions involved demolition of dilapidated buildings in certain areas of cities and forced evictions of people that lived and worked in those areas. In the US, this approach characterized the “Urban Renewal” movement of the 1950s, 60s and 70s. When slums in developing countries became a major focus of government intervention, Western aid agencies exported the urban renewal approach to those nations as well. These interventions met with little success, both in the US and in developing countries; in particular, they had little positive impact on the lives of low-income populations that bore the brunt of the demolitions and evictions.

In the late 1980s, the paths to slum and area redevelopment in the US and the developing world began to diverge. Cities in developing countries started experimenting with a less disruptive and lower cost approach than demolition-and-eviction -- slum “improvement”. This became the new paradigm wherein dilapidated neighborhoods were provided publicly-funded infrastructure upgrades. Demolitions and evictions were forsaken. However, this approach, did very little to

directly improve the quality of individual homes or increase access to job opportunities for adults or education opportunities for the youth living in these areas.

The 1990s marked a divergence from past area redevelopment approaches in the US also. A new federal program – HOPE VI – provided money for demolition of dilapidated public housing projects with redevelopment and resettlement of the evictees. The objective of this new approach was to improve places and integrate the evictees into revitalized places that had a mix of people from different income levels and socio-economic backgrounds. Evidence from US cities that implemented HOPE VI projects clearly show that places certainly became better as dilapidated high-rise structures made way for low-rise walk-up apartments and condominiums complexes, and retail and commercial buildings. The evidence tend to indicate that former residents of these places are not better off than there were before.

Thus in both the US and developing countries, experiments in trying to improve dilapidated areas spanning several decades have produced results that are well short of satisfactory.

*A glimmer of hope – the Karimadom model.* Karimadom was a slum in the downtown Trivandrum in the state of Kerala, India. Formed in the 1970s, residents of this slum worked in downtown retail and commercial establishments. The slum occupied about 20 acres of land on either side of an open sewer and in close proximity to a sewage treatment plant. In 2007, a local non-profit, COSTFORD (Center of Science & Technology for Rural Development) was asked to prepare a plan to improve the slum while addressing the physical, social, cultural needs of each resident family. COSTFORD used a people-centric plan to redevelop the area without any displacement of existing residents. The plan carried out over the next few years, transformed Karimadom, creating much better housing, economic and health environments for the residents. Key elements of this transformation were: the integration of development of people and place; the involvement of people in all stages of the redevelopment process; and empowerment of the beneficiaries to sustain the transformation.

## Relevance

India's urban population is exploding. Currently it is 285 million or about 27.8% of India's total population. Projections indicate that by 2025, about 40% of India's population will be urban. And slum population growth will outpace growth rates of urban India. India needs to be adequately prepared to respond to this enormous challenge. Other developing countries are facing challenges that are similar in scope though lesser in scale.

In the US, the total number of vacant housing units increased 44% (or over 4.5 million units) from 2000 to 2010. Boarded houses, abandoned factories and apartment buildings, and vacant storefronts are now a common part of the landscape in large, older industrial cities like Detroit, Buffalo, and Philadelphia. Many areas with vacant and dilapidated buildings will need to be redeveloped in the next decade. If these redevelopment efforts are inspired by people-centric strategies then the outcomes could be much more positive than if place-centric strategies are employed.

Thus the findings present in this paper could inform urban policy debates in the US and in many developing countries.

## Methodology

The study reported in this paper uses a detailed case study approach, focused on one site, to draw lessons that could have broad applicability.

## Restructuring Social Housing Schemes: Can the Market Help?

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### **My Home My Life Program: An assessment from the quasi-market theory**

Thêmis Amorim Aragão, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro and Universität Hamburg

Since 2009, the “My House My Life” program [PMCMV, in Portuguese] has had a central role in the policy for provision of social housing in Brazil. The program is conducted according to different modes of credit for consumption as well as for production, boosting the real estate. Similar models of market-based housing policies have been systematically adopted since the 70’s in developed countries<sup>1</sup> and the diffusion of them is closely linked to the expansion of the neoliberal ideal of the 80’s and 90’s, which postulated the reduction of economical intervention of State in fields thought of as solely of the private market. Regarding social policies, the conception of quasi-markets has a central role in the transformations that have been occurring in the last decades concerning the provision of public goods. The definition of this concept has supported changes in the access to basic services, by the privatization of urban services and by the promotion of consumption.

Academic studies (KEMENY, 1995; STEPHENS, BURNS & MACKAY, 2003) indicate that by establishing consumption as a basis for a social program, the creation of a paradox can be observed between the results achieved by this type of policy and the guarantees provided by social rights. For the purposes of this paper, it is important to question which mechanisms are necessary in order to ensure the Right to Housing and Right to the City, considering the use of a quasi-market model. If the conventional market acts in a selective manner, why is this selectivity not reproduced in a social program based on consumption? Is it possible for the market to fulfill housing needs, in its most subjective aspects, without State intervention?

Considering this questions, this study attempts to analyze the instruments of (re)production of inequalities inserted in the structure of the “My House My Life” program, as well as presenting its territorial repercussions. As an empirical experiment, the production and spatial distribution of the housing units of the PMCMV (My Home My Life program) in the State of Rio de Janeiro will be analyzed.

In the first part of this chapter, the fundamental elements of social policies based on quasi-markets will be discussed by reviewing the theoretical framework. The second part will present an analysis of the “My House My Life” program from demand perspective. The following section will show an analysis of the supply of social housing, discussing the distortions relative to the functioning of the quasi-market created by the very foundation of the policy. The fourth section presents observations on the territorial effects, taking into account regional and urban scales. Lastly, the debate will be concluded by pointing out the deficiencies in the model chosen by the Brazilian government.

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<sup>1</sup> In the case of Latin-American nation, Chile and Mexico are the most similar to Brazil’s case.

## **A panacea or a myth? Market-based provision of affordable rental housing in Mumbai, India**

Faizan Jawed Siddiqi, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Since the publication of the “Housing: Enabling Markets to Work” report by the World Bank in 1993, many developing country governments have turned to market-based schemes to deliver affordable housing. India is no exception. As part of the broader on-going economic reforms, in the housing sector, the Indian government has been developing market-based affordable housing schemes. Two important assumptions underpinning these schemes are that private developers know where the demand is and that they will respond with housing supply to meet the demand fairly quickly. The validity of these assumptions gains critical importance especially when a large number of urban poor are to be housed through these housing schemes.

Given the relative newness of this approach, literature on the working of such schemes in India is thin. This paper presents the first detailed case study of the working of a large-scale market-based affordable housing scheme in Mumbai, India. This scheme uses Floor Area Ratio (FAR) incentives to attract private developers in the Mumbai region to develop housing projects, part of which the state requires be handed to the city planning authority for use as affordable rental housing units.

The main findings of this paper are that while the scheme has been able to attract large private developers to build housing, much of it has come up in far-flung, peripheral areas that presented opportunities for developers to make windfall gains. Many of these locations currently do not have basic infrastructure provision. Developers are confident that middle class buyers will buy these apartments as investment. For the poor, however, the rental units are not livable because of missing infrastructure like transportation, water and sanitation. Further, the rental housing unit size stipulated under the scheme has created such high housing densities that local city governments declared it impossible to provide infrastructure. As a result, the maximum FAR increase was lowered by the government. This change reduced the profitability of projects under this scheme and has made the developers lose interest.

More fundamentally, this case shows that the critical assumptions underpinning a market-based scheme do not hold true in some markets (like Mumbai). Developers do not necessarily look for short-term gains, which is a problem when the government is interested in immediately housing the poor. The government will have to undertake a stronger regulatory role. Making location decisions for development of affordable housing is one parameter that needs to be strongly regulated.

## **Restructuring housing subsidies in Scotland**

Mark Stephens, Heriot Watt University

Kenneth Gibb, University of Glasgow

Since the 1970s housing subsidies in Scotland have shifted from being predominantly supply-sided to demand-sided. Demand-sided subsidies take the form of Housing Benefit, a means-tested housing allowance paid to low income tenants. There is a strong case for rebalancing housing subsidies towards the supply-side. However, the Scottish Government is in the position whereby it is responsible for housing policy, but the UK Government controls Housing Benefit. In the context of agreed proposals for greater powers for the Scottish Parliament following the 2014 Independence

Referendum, this paper argues that for substantial changes to housing subsidies to be enacted, much greater powers over both social security and the tax base would need to be devolved.

## Inequalities and Diversities in Confrontation: Demand and Housing Supply Systems

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This Panel Session Proposal aims to explicit differences and transversalities in housing provision systems, its players and its demand process definition, that is, families that compose the target audiences of the programs. In particular, it seeks to identify and recognize the impact of the programs on relationships and social dynamics, when there are visible processes of exclusion, discrimination and segregation. For this, we contemplate the cases of Argentina, Brazil and France, which have been described and analyzed in researches, completed or in progress, which emphasized concrete examples of public housing programs in different national contexts.

In Brazil, we analyze the "Minha Casa, Minha Vida" program in its two modalities: the first destined to construction companies and the second focused on popular associations. In the first mode, that is the immense majority, the selection of beneficiaries occurs from the municipal register of families that make up the housing deficit. In the second, the entities indicate the groups to be included. In both, there are loopholes and exceptionalities that compromise the equal treatment of assignments.

The Argentine case focuses on the effects on access and use of urban space in a series of programs and housing decisions - and urban policy in general – target to popular sectors in the city of Córdoba. They include both public policies to eradicate slums in new housing complexes, as well as government measures that push the expulsion of popular sectors to city's areas of lower value of urban land.

In the French case, there is a diversity of populations in the social housing programs (in terms of social class, family structures, or cultural background) that impose a set of procedures and quite consolidated criteria. But, some of them are accused of reinforcing discrimination depending on the origins of populations.

Our common question is to understand the specificities of national housing programs and to verify the common existence of demand setting procedures that may ultimately reinforce social discrimination and spatial and urban segregation, depending on income families - in the Brazilian and Argentine cases - and depending on the ethnic origins of the population, in the French case. Our question, then, concerns to the very complex relationships between social housing policies and forms of discrimination and socio-spatial segregation. The focus of the analysis is placed here on how these policies naturalize and legitimize not only differential forms of appropriation of the city, but also various forms of violence, implicit and explicit.

### **The Selection of Beneficiaries in My House, My Life Housing Program: Loopholes and Exceptionalities**

Lucia Shimbo, University of São Paulo

## **Neither Colorblind nor Discriminating: The French Allocation Policy of Public Housing Units Through Lyon's Metropolis Case**

Fabrice Bardet, University of Lyon

## **The Housing Policy as a Business: From the Housing Deficit to Manufacturing Demand**

Cibele Rizek, University of São Paulo

## The Future of Housing Finance and Governance

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### **Reconfiguring the Scales and Spaces of US Housing Finance and its Legal-Regulatory Governance**

Philip Ashton, University of Illinois at Chicago

Brett Christophers, Uppsala University

Christopher Niedt, Hofstra University

This paper examines the socio-spatial transformation of post-crisis US housing markets specifically from the perspective of housing finance. In what ways, and with what consequences, is such finance – and the markets for its creation and circulation – undergoing transformation? In approaching this question the paper centers on ongoing legal-regulatory negotiation of housing finance and its critical socio-spatial dimensions. Two such dimensions are emphasized: the jurisdictional scale (local, state, federal) at which legal-regulatory power is invoked and enacted (and contested), and the question of how that scalar legal-regulatory power treats or configures the locality of the underlying housing commodity and of the financial assets and obligations attached to it. The paper explores and illuminates these geographies by considering key recent developments and debates in US housing-finance regulation (eg Dodd Frank, the future of Fannie and Freddie, etc) and law (eg mortgage electronic registration systems, eminent domain mortgage seizures).

### **Macroprudential Policies, Bank Lending and Housing market: the Case of Korea**

Jihwan Kim, University of Illinois at Chicago

This paper aims to examine how ill-designed macroprudential policies can result in banks' moral hazard and increase vulnerabilities of housing market. Macroprudential policies, such as Loan-to-Value (LTV) and Debt-to-Income (DTI), have been broadly deployed to control potential overheating in the housing market and related financial vulnerabilities that could translate into systemic risk. However, in particular, the strict LTV prudential limit could lead to moral hazard in the banking sector since this ill-designed policy makes the problem of asymmetric information less critical to banks. Hence, a bank tends to increase its mortgage lending unless a borrower fails to secure her or his down payment. Thus, under this condition, mortgage borrowing can be a supplementary means for a borrower to make a decision to purchase a house. On the other hand, the ways how to structure her or his down payment can be more critical to make a decision to purchase a house. The empirical analysis, using a panel threshold regression model, rebuts a common belief that macroprudential policies have effectively worked in Korea. Instead, the results show that a low LTV regime can mitigate financial vulnerabilities by transferring the risks of financial market into space market – in particular, tenants in space market.

## **The regulation of housing finance in the neoliberal era: how did the financialization of home transform the law in Brazil?**

Aline Viotto, University of São Paulo

This paper analyses how the financialization of home transformed the role of law during the construction of a mortgage-backed securities system in Brazil, and discusses the effects of these changes for the law of housing finance – the set of institutions, concepts and procedures that regulates housing finance.

Until 1997, the law of housing finance in Brazil was almost exclusively regulated by the Housing Financial System (SFH), created in 1964. As this financial system was formulated during the developmental state, it was guided by the idea that government should interfere and strongly regulate housing finance. SFH provided funds for low income and middle class families since its inception. During the 1980's and 1990's, the SFH lost its capacity to finance housing. The creation of a financial system that connects housing market to financial market started to be discussed as an alternative to the SFH. As a result, in 1997 the Financing System for the Real Estate (SFI) was created. The SFI was inspired by the US mortgage-backed securities model, as a promise to increase the flow of funds to the real estate sector and to provide access to housing for the population. However, besides the creation of the SFI, the SFH wasn't extinct and both financial systems operate simultaneously since then.

One of the main factors for the development of a successful mortgage securities system, as it has been sustained by the neoliberal agenda, would be a proper legal and regulatory framework that provides protection and safety for private property. In this way, the SFI introduced new mechanisms to legal system that improved investment protection and law enforcement. In the comparison of the periods prior to and after the SFI, I analyze the disruptions and continuities on the regulatory framework of housing finance and try to discover: (a) what sorts of rights are protected, and (b) whose interests are protected.

The paper's main hypothesis is that the structuring of this model is paralleled by a transformation on the regulatory pattern that limits the guarantee of social rights – notably housing rights – while extends property rights and the protection to market agents. In this process, the SFI didn't entirely replace the SFH, but incorporated some elements and gave new meaning for others. In doing so, the law of housing finance was subsumed into another rationality, and hence another regulatory pattern emerged, one that I define as the law of real estate finance.

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## Emerging Trends in U.S. Public Housing

### **Mixed-Income Housing and HOPE VI: Which Mix with What Hope?**

Lawrence Vale, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Shomon Shamsuddin

Since the 1980s, politicians, government officials, and real estate developers have popularized the strategy of creating mixed-income communities to replace troubled public housing projects in the United States. Although the term is used to describe a growing number of housing developments, “mixed-income” has never been officially or consistently defined. Drawing upon a newly-

constructed database of more than 250 public housing redevelopment projects initiated under the HOPE VI program since 1993, this paper investigates the overall pattern of income mixing that was proposed--and the pattern of income mixing that has actually been reported by HUD to have been implemented--under this \$8 billion program. This analysis shows that the 'mixed income' label is applied to a wide range of income mix allocations, from projects that try to minimize the presence of low-income housing (less than 1/3 of total units), to projects that attempt to preserve a substantial majority of units for low-income households, to projects that rely heavily on a middle tier of "affordable" housing linked to Low Income Housing Tax Credits. In addition to wide variation in the relative allocation of public housing, "affordable" housing and market-rate housing, HOPE VI redevelopment projects also vary in terms of housing tenure (rental versus ownership balance), rental subsidy duration (time-limits built into the housing finance program) and spatial distribution of units (on-site housing versus off-site).

By analyzing the overall pattern of HOPE VI projects, it becomes possible to categorize the types of income mixes and to use the implementation of a national program to provide some structure to the as-built reality of an inchoate concept. At the same time, because the data set provides a way to contrast the income-mix that was proposed in an initial application with the income-mix that was actually implemented, the paper opens up questions about what kinds of local factors-- housing market conditions, developer preferences, political will, cost and availability of financing, and back room deals--have combined to alter what proved possible to build. Ultimately, both the divergent types of income mixing and the divergent practices of mixed-income implementation reflect divergent ideological positions about both the physical and social place that low-income people should have in mixed-income communities. By extension, this reveals the changing role of public housing in American society. Although mixed-income developments can be a useful way to insert affordable housing into tight housing markets, analysis of the HOPE VI program data about demolition and tenant relocation also shows that many of these developments have been used to displace many households from formerly all low-income communities.

### **Navigating the core tensions of public housing transformation: Implications of the Atlanta, Chicago and San Francisco models**

Mark Joseph, Case Western Reserve University

Rachel Kleit, The Ohio State University

Mark Joseph, Case Western Reserve University

Nancy Latham, Learning for Action, LLC

Steven LaFrance, Learning for Action LLC

By the 1980s, the future of troubled public housing was a national policy concern in earnest. The Final Report of the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing (1992) outlined four broad goals: (1) address the needs of residents, (2) address the physical conditions, (3) address management needs, and (4) other strategies, including private-sector involvement and the tracking of service needs for residents. Even in these initial goals, the move toward a neoliberal, market-based approach to public housing reform was evident. Over the subsequent 25 years, the federal government unrolled various generations of the HOPE VI program and a few cities undertook city-wide public housing transformation. In 2010, HOPE VI was sunsetted and replaced with the Choice Neighborhoods Initiative Program. Throughout this period, and indeed well before this modern phase of public housing redevelopment, there have been core tensions between the social goals and the market goals of these public-private initiatives. This paper explicates these core tensions and

compares and contrasts how three cities, Atlanta, Chicago and San Francisco have navigated them. We then consider implications for the ongoing public housing transformation in those cities and future efforts across the country.

### **Totally RAD: Rental Assistance Demonstration and the New Public Housing Finance**

Matthew Gebhardt, Portland State University

Public housing authorities (PHA) in the US have struggled for decades to maintain and preserve their public housing stock. Declining and unpredictable federal funding and limited flexibility to spend these funds and access alternative financing have created a \$26 billion backlog of unmet capital need. In 2011, HUD introduced the Rental Assistance Demonstration (RAD) as a new tool available to PHAs to finance rehabilitation and preservation. At its most basic, this program converts federal assistance for existing public housing units to Section 8 project-based vouchers, allowing PHAs to leverage private financing for capital investments. In December 2014, RAD was significantly expanded, signaling HUDs commitment to this new program.

This paper begins by explaining the RAD program and placing it in the context of other HUD programs including HOPE VI and the Choice Neighborhoods Initiative and the ongoing shift in public and affordable housing finance toward mixed-financing. It then presents the case of Home Forward (formerly the Portland Housing Authority) which is undertaking an aggressive strategy of pursuing RAD (as well as Section 18 Dispositions) to convert their entire stock of public housing. Drawing on documents, interviews, and participant observation, this case is used to illustrate the potential benefits of a more stable funding source and access to additional financing. Potential challenges are explored as well, including: developing expertise and familiarity with mixed-financing, attracting and coordinating private financing, negotiating ownership and control of projects, crafting and communicating a clear mission, and protecting and serving very low income households. The paper concludes by discussing implications of RAD for the future of US public housing.

### **A New Era for Public Housing in America? The Implications and Implementation of the Rental Assistance Demonstration Program**

Alex Schwartz, The New School

One of the most significant but least conspicuous housing initiatives of the Obama Administration is the Rental Assistance Demonstration Program (RAD). The program, which started in 2013, transfers selected public housing development to the project-based Section 8 program, thereby making the housing eligible for bank- or bond-financing of essential capital improvements. Instead of remaining at the mercy of Congressional appropriations for capital improvements, appropriations that cover a small portion of the public housing's capital improvement needs, RAD enables a development to secure financing to cover all of its capital improvement needs at once. However the program is not without risks. In particular, the introduction of private financing raising questions about security of public housing and its residents in the event of default or foreclosure.

In this paper I provide an overview of the RAD program, discuss the need for new sources of financing in the face of a \$21 billion backlog of capital needs and a hostile political climate. I also

review the early implementation of the program, and assess the program's broader implications for public housing in the United States.

## Restructuring Suburbs and Metropolitan Areas

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### **Changes in attractiveness of the older suburban areas in the metropolitan region of Amsterdam 1966-2014.**

Hester Booi, City of Amsterdam

Jeroen Slot, City of Amsterdam

Like many other metropolitan regions Amsterdam experienced a suburbanization wave starting in the mid-sixties. The newly build suburbs were seen as very attractive, especially compared to the inner-city at the time, which contained a dilapidated housing stock and had high levels of crime. The population in Amsterdam declined and the population in suburbs increased sharply. But since 1986 the city grows again and since 2008, the start of the economic crisis in The Netherlands, the increase in population size is very high (+10.000 people per year, 1.5%). The outflow to certain suburbs was already declining, but after 2008 this decline is stronger. From 2014 the housing market seems to recover and people are buying houses and are moving again. But the city has changed in the recent years: more families stay in the city and the crash of the housing market has facilitated this even more. Moving from the city to the suburbs isn't the dominant preference of families anymore. It is uncertain what will happen to these suburbs when the inflow from the city stops.

To get more insight in what will happen to the suburbs it is relevant to know the causes of this decrease in outflow to the suburbs. This decrease could be caused by a structural decrease in attractiveness for all types of households, or because of a compositional effect. The city has a growing higher educated population and higher educated household tend to have a more urban preference for housing than lower educated households. The pool of suburban oriented households is getting smaller. The hypothesis is that the crisis had a short-term structural effect (no one moved at all), but that the main effect is compositional.

The quality of the housing stock in the city has improved in the last decades and the share of owner-occupied housing has increased. This was partly a result of municipal policy but also a result of the growing attractiveness of the city. In the suburbs the housing stock ages and this may be partly a cause of the declining attractiveness. Insight in the structural and compositional effect of changes in the outflow to the suburbs helps to formulate policy to counter this process of declining attractiveness.

In this paper the focus is on moving behavior in the period 1966 – 2014 between municipalities of the Metropolitan region of Amsterdam. Not only the number of movers but also demographic characteristics will be taken into account. To gain insight in the effect of the economic crisis on moving behavior between the city and the suburb a closer look will be taken on the period after the start of the economic crisis (2013/2014), compared to the period before the crisis (2007/2008). Has the group who moves to the suburbs changed in demographic or socio-economic characteristics? For this analysis unique data is used from Statistics Netherlands on actual moving behavior of all movers. These data are enriched with register-data on household composition, age, income and education-level.

### **Those who live and those who stay. Intra-urban residential mobility in the Metropolitan area of Mexico City.**

Maria Alejandra Nuñez Villalobos, El Colegio de México

This research aimed to investigate the factors that a family takes into account in the process of residential location, but focusing in those who decided not to move. In the process to decide a new residential location not only economic aspects have an impact, but also the social and cultural aspects too.

The municipality of Nezahualcoyotl (Neza) is one that has more than a million inhabitants in the metropolitan area of Mexico City (MAMC) “since 1990. Neza is a territory that was consolidated with irregular settlements. Today Neza has a higher population density of all municipalities that shape MAMC.

In Neza only around 8% are residents who arrived at neighborhoods between 2005 and 2010. The spatial distribution of mobility rate shows that residential location in the municipality, follow the same trends towards differentiation and stratification in residential location: north, the families with a major economic resources and higher rates of intra-urban residential mobility (IRM), and in the center of municipality families living in overcrowded conditions and with lower rates of IRM.

The results of the fieldwork showed that the inhabitants create a number of strategies to continue living as close as possible to their family (parents). In this way, it is through the family that is accessed labor and housing markets, which allows children to continue under a system of family loyalties. Family organization is a "great family" consists of three generations (grandparents, children and grandchildren), a large family that has a strong influence in residential location decision and hence in the perpetuation of lifestyles.

### **Suburban Transformation: A Typology Inner-ring Suburban Neighborhoods**

Suzanne Lanyi Charles, Cornell University

Once thought to be the sole domain of a white, middle-class population, we now understand that suburban neighborhoods are far from homogeneous, spanning a wide variety of socio-economic characteristics and physical form (Anacker, 2015; Hanlon, 2009, 2010; Vicino, 2008; Vicino, Hanlon, & Short, 2011). Moreover, physical redevelopment and the socio-economic changes associated with it, once thought to be the domain of central cities, has crossed the city borders into older inner ring suburbs (Charles, 2013, 2014; Pinnegar, Freestone, & Randolph, 2010; Randolph & Freestone, 2012; Wiesel, Freestone, & Randolph, 2013). With a focus on the older inner-ring suburbs of Chicago, this paper examines the differentiation among inner-ring suburban neighborhoods that have experienced redevelopment of and reinvestment in the single-family housing stock between 2000 and 2010. I create a typology of suburban neighborhoods undergoing physical reinvestment based upon social, economic, and physical characteristics in 2000, at the start of a period of intense reinvestment in the suburban built environment. I use principal components analysis (PCA) followed by cluster analysis to identify five different types of suburban neighborhoods that experienced physical redevelopment of the housing stock. Findings reveal the diversity and characteristics of suburban municipalities that experienced redevelopment in terms of housing characteristics, class, and race. Findings provide insight into the physical and socio-economic transformation currently taking place in American inner-ring suburbs.

## Housing Peripheral Communities - Inclusion and Exclusion

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### **Social housing at the periphery of European Union: the neo-liberal genealogy of Roma/Gypsy ghettos**

Sorin Gog, Babes-Bolyai University

My paper deals with the issues of housing, marginality and the neo-liberal politics of exclusion embedded in the European Union. The main argument of my paper is that the extreme forms of marginality emerging within the Roma communities in Central and Eastern Europe have to be related to the institutionalization of neo-liberal reforms and retrenchment of the welfare state throughout the region. My aim is to show that the EU *communitarian acquis* has generated structural market reforms and a European neoliberal governance leading to a dramatic peripheralization of poverty in most Eastern European countries and to the formations of something that did not exist during the communist period, namely **ethnic ghettos**.

Drawing on several sociological surveys in the region and statistical and demographical data, I try to show that the post-communist restructuring of the economy, extensive privatization and the high unemployment that followed has affected the Roma the most. When we analyze income patterns, housing, unemployment rates we come to a very grim picture: Roma are increasingly and systematically excluded from the economic, educational and social structures of opportunities in most of the CEE countries. We can see in this region the formation of bio-political governmentalization policies and the institutionalization of a neo-liberal ideology centered on the mantra of self-initiative, free market economy and individual responsibility which is generating increasingly segments of marginality among the Roma communities.

My paper focuses on how these changes have impacted the social housing policies in post-communist Romania and the specific mechanisms that have led to the formation of Roma/Gypsy ghettos in post-industrial cities. This is not something new for neo-liberal regimes: as Wacquant has shown in the case of US ghettos, at the very center of contemporary 'democracies' lays a cluster of devices that correlate the market reforms with the erosion of welfare state and the penalization and ghettoization of poor people. Neo-liberalism has given up the liberal idea of self-regulating markets, invisible hand and cost-benefits equilibriums - it stands now more and more for an active state that employs market mechanisms and policies in forging a new type of citizenship

By analyzing the Roma ghettos from Eastern Europe, I depart from Wacquants analytical framework in two ways: First following Foucault's notion of ordo-liberalism – the German *Ordnungs-Gesellschaft* – I try to reconstruct the internal struggles related to the political architecture of EU. These struggles have culminated with the gradual victory of the ordo-liberal project advocated by the trans-national capital over the neo-mercantile and social-democratic versions of a Common European Market. Secondly, I focus on the expansion of EU towards East and the asymmetrical membership requirements imposed on these countries centered on wide-spread privatizations, economic de-regulations and labor flexibilization which have transformed the CEE countries into peripheries capable of supplying profitable resources and cheap labor force for the European trans-national capital. This means that analytically we have to move away from seeing neo-liberalism as being embedded in nation-states in favor of what Bop Jessop calls a multi-scalar European-governance. EU has led to a structural weakening of nation-states and of their political control over

both economic processes and welfare functions which has a strong impact on national social housing policies in new member states.

### **Making Space, “informal” structural extensions and the negotiation state-society boundary in residential neighbourhoods in Hanoi, Vietnam**

Ngai-ming Yip, City University of Hong Kong

“informal” extensions in old buildings in Hanoi is commonplace, not just in terms of its extensiveness but also how such extensions been done creatively. There is no doubt such acts are motivated by economic move in making space. More importantly, they are often in the fringe of being “illegal” and “authorised”. This helps to offer a window through in revealing the intense negotiation, which exists in residential neighbourhood, between the state the society in a transitional economy. This paper will examine such phenomenon with data collected from intensive visual inspection of the illegal extension, indepth interviews with residents who benefit and those who are affected by the extension. Comparison will also be made with new built residential areas in which a different governance regime is being installed. This will help to reveal the spatial implications in the changing relations in the transiting neighbourhood governance regimes

### **The Kamathipura Stories: politics of staying put or being bypassed by urban development?**

Ratoola Kundu, Tata Institute of Social Sciences Mumbai

Mumbai is a city of contradictions particularly with respect to housing. Close to sixty per cent of the city’s eighteen million residents (2011 Census) live and work in informal settlements or slums lacking basic services such as access to water and sanitation. On the other hand, every year, the number of unsold housing stock in the city (57,000 units in 2015) keeps increasing without any significant price correction to the already inflated property prices. Since the liberalization of the national economy in 1991, the state and market have together been instrumental in keeping housing out of the reach of the common man in Mumbai. The commercialisation of slum redevelopment through state government policies, the rush of global capital in the emerging real estate market and construction industry, coupled with market based planning instruments opened up land markets in Mumbai. Mumbai’s rapid transformation to a post-industrial city reflects the increasingly neoliberal visions of the city’s development spearheaded by the powerful industry elites. Massive slum evictions and wide spread displacement of poorer communities are typical of the tremendous and often violent socio-spatial transformations redrawing the housing scenario in the megacity.

However hidden amidst these urban transformations are examples of incredible and often inexplicable durability. Weinstein (2014) has examined “the precarious state of stability” of the residents of Dharavi. Dharavi has challenged numerous attempts of redevelopment by the state and private developers, questioning assumptions about the inevitability of dispossession as an outcome of sweeping globalization (Weinstein 2014).

This paper examines an old and centrally located Mumbai neighbourhood, Kamathipura which has retained its character despite multiple efforts of redevelopment by the state and the market since the eighties. Known as the red light district of the city, Kamathipura was established in the British colonial era as a self-contained neighbourhood for commercial sex workers. More importantly, the

sixteen narrow lanes also housed extremely poor migrant labourers and mill workers who could not afford housing in the rest of the city. Two hundred years later, Kamathipura continues to be a home and workplace for commercial sex workers and extremely poor migrant workers. The five thousand odd tenements in the neighbourhood are in need of dire repair and redevelopment, having deteriorated due to low rents recovered by land lords as a result of the Maharashtra Rent Control Act of 1947.

In the eighties, the state government surveyed the entire neighbourhood and put forward plans and funds for a complete redevelopment. This plan was scuttled. In early 2000, an influential real estate developer sought to redevelop the entire neighbourhood with the help of the government given that the price of land around the neighbourhood had shot up considerably in the nineties. This ambitious project also died a sudden death despite the developer having bought off a few tenements on the edge of the neighbourhood and constructed a high end mall and housing complex. In recent times, a group of local landlords and residents have also put forward their own proposals for cluster redevelopment of Kamathipura.

Why has it been impossible for the state and/ or the market to redevelop Mumbai given that the rest of the city has undergone such immense and large-scale transformations? Who is resisting, opposing, challenging or influencing redevelopment and to what end? What do the residents of Kamathipura want and aspire towards? What does the story of Kamathipura's 'stagnation' vis-a-vis the transformation of the city say with respect to theories that suggest radical urban changes and capital accumulation through dispossession? Based on ethnographic research, this paper hopes to learn through the case study of contestations in Kamathipura, the possible alternative trajectories of urban development and socio-spatial outcomes in cities of the global south by focussing on the messiness and unpredictability and often conflicting politics of its urban actors.

### **Where and why is discrimination against ethnic minorities worse in Sydney's rental housing markets?**

Heather MacDonald, University of Technology

George Galster, Wayne State University

Jacqueline Nelson, University of Technology

### **Do Housing Interventions Matter? Analyzing Impacts**

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### **Housing policies in Mexico: Making life more difficult for the urban poor**

Edith R. Jiménez Huerta, Universidad de Guadalajara

For the last 15-20 years housing policies in Mexico have regarded housing as a commodity and a financial asset. The main aim of large-scale real estate developments has been to stimulate the national economy by supporting the building sector. A secondary concern has been to reduce the national shortage of housing, of an estimated 463 thousand houses a year, and a third to improve the physical conditions of 30% of the existing housing stock in urban areas. The target of consecutive governments has been to build around half a million houses a year. However, after two decades of keeping up this pace of building, the effect has been to house a few of the "better off" urban poor, while making it increasingly difficult for a much larger proportion of the urban poor, to get access to affordable land, as they had been able to do for over half a century; due to the sharp rise of land

prices on the periphery. Only a small proportion of the poor can buy property on the new estates, as 60% of the population work in the informal economy, and those working in the formal economy cannot guarantee to keep their job for the 30 years that a mortgage now lasts. This presentation shows that “social interest” housing estates have not come anywhere near to solving the housing problems of the urban poor; on the contrary they have made the poor more vulnerable by making cities increasingly unaffordable.

### **Can Inclusionary Housing Achieve Social and Spatial Inclusion in Chinese Cities?**

Youqin Huang, State University of New York

Faced with skyrocketing housing prices and the lack of affordable housing in Chinese cities, the Chinese central government has set up ambitious quotas for low-income housing for local governments, who in turn have embraced inclusionary housing as a new strategy to achieve housing affordability and social and spatial inclusion. Yet, inclusionary housing in China is complicated by the strong role of the central government in housing policy, the state ownership of urban land and local governments' right to lease land, and a private sector that historically had little role in the provision of low income housing. This paper evaluates inclusionary housing in the Chinese context, asking: 1) Has inclusionary housing achieved social and spatial inclusion? 2) If not, how can inclusionary housing in China be reformed to achieve social and spatial inclusion? Field work in Beijing shows while inclusionary housing in China is producing a large number of new units, it does not really result in social and spatial inclusion of the poor. The government is the main beneficiary of inclusionary housing, while developers and residents have few benefits but face challenges in property management and daily life. I argue that that the inclusionary housing policy in China has to be reformed to be sustainable, with a better incentive system to encourage the active participation of private developers and a better policy design and implementation to facilitate social and spatial inclusion.

### **How to make area based interventions matter? The case of Oslo**

Maja Flåto, The Norwegian State Housing Bank

Katrine Mauseth Woll, The Norwegian State Housing Bank

Norway is considered a well-functioning welfare state, with low inequality compared to other countries. Both houses and residential areas mainly maintain a high level of quality, but you do find deprived neighbourhoods. Oslo is the fastest growing capital in Europe, and therefore the competition and the prices in the housing market is high. Deprived areas also have lower housing prices, and thereby attract low-income households.

The Norwegian Government's vision for housing policy is for everyone to live well and secure. One of the housing policy targets is homes for all in good communities. The new national strategy Housing for Welfare stresses the importance of housing as a keystone in the general welfare policies. Where there are defined a deprived/challenged neighbourhood, areabased interventions are the main tool. The tool is seen as a way to both address and prevent deprivation. The state Housing bank manage an Arealift-program, the main goal of the program is to make an area with low living conditions socially and physically sustainable. The Housing bank at the same time manage grants and loans provided to private builders, municipalities and low income household. What is the potential in seeing the use of areabased interventions in tighter interaction with these other economic tools? And to which extent is this done today? **Societal challenges seem increasingly**

deeply rooted in particular places. This creates an urgent desire and need to re-examine our area lift model systemically –both challenging our own practice and explore the interests of new partners towards driving long-term societal impact in deprived areas.

Literature, based on research, describing areabased interventions underline the need to make structural changes in addition to areabased interventions if the goal is to obtain a real change (often social mix) in the society. The areabased interventions are not enough in themselves. The main goal of the Norwegian program, social and physical sustainability, means something more than lifting the individual, an effect of areabased interventions you can see for example in Denmark. Lifting the individual in most cases means that they will move from the targeted area, as seen in several effect studies, and this does not contribute to a positive development of an area.

The Housing bank has a unique opportunity to influence the general housing development, building and renovating, in the same areas that has the need for areabased interventions, and thereby change the housing structure in the deprived areas. When analyzing the statistics of grants and loans, we find few examples of use of these financial tools in areas where the Arealift-program is applied. The paper will discuss possible explanations of this, and provide examples of how this can be done more systematically in the future. By this we hope to contribute to the discussion of how to make areabased interventions matter,-to more than the individual.

### **From PAR to MCMV: a neoliberal agenda to housing production in Fortaleza, Brazil**

Clarissa Sampaio Freitas, Universidade Federal do Ceará

Beatriz Rufino, Universidade de São Paulo

This paper investigates the socio-spatial consequences of a significant transition in Brazilian social housing policies during the 2000s comprised by the substitution of the Programa de Arrendamento Residencial (PAR) by the Programa Minha Casa, Minha Vida (MCMV), both targeting the middle/low strata (3 to 10 minimum wages). Rather than a clear rupture, this shift represents an intensification of privatization of housing policies, aligned with the neoliberal agenda. If, on the one hand, it relates to the structural crisis of capitalism, on the other hand it imposes changes in the quantity and quality of housing production for low/middle income population interfering with the socio-spatial organization of the metropolis. In order to illustrate such arguments, the paper conducts a theoretical review situating the recent developments in Brazilian housing policy with the global context, illustrating such discussion with the case of the Metropolitan Region of Fortaleza. The case study is based on a Geographic Information System using the databank of the housing estates produced by both programs, as well as quantitative data analysis and field visits to representative estates. It finds that, despite an increase in the supply of low-income housing on the formal housing market, there is a clear peripherization of such developments, a significant rise in real estate prices and a greater adoption of mass housing developments located on unserved portions of the city. This process was also marked by the arrival of large national real estate companies in the local development market. Such findings not only help us in understanding Brazilian housing and urban development challenges, but they also contribute to the discussion on the effect of neoliberal agenda on cities of the global south characterized by extreme conditions of inequalities and informal urbanization.

## Sustainable Neighborhood Change - Drivers and Outcomes

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### **Welcoming Foreign-Born Residents to Revitalize Neighborhoods in Shrinking Cities: Land Bank Strategies in Dayton, Cleveland and Detroit**

Stacy Harwood, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Immigrants have always played an important role in the growth and development of American cities and towns. In early American history, the federal government encouraged immigrants (and others) to settle land in the west through the homesteading legislation. Similarly, most states allowed foreign-born to vote in local, state and federal elections; thus attracting the foreign born to purchase land and settle as well. While early homesteading efforts focused on expansion, today's efforts are about repopulating and reusing urban spaces. Most commonly we hear urban homesteading used for urban agriculture and sustainable living practices, urban homesteading is also a way to deal with the abundance of abandoned and tax delinquent properties in shrinking cities.

The foreign-born population (immigrants and refugee) is reemerging as an important part of repopulation strategies. Despite anti-immigrant sentiment across the nation, local politicians, business leaders, and government officials from rust belts cities openly welcome the foreign-born because of the potential to reverse decades of population decline and revitalize the local economy. While these cities are perusing a plethora of strategies to attract and retain the foreign-born, this paper focuses the ways cities are using land banks to attract and retain foreign-born populations.

This paper will draw from fieldwork in three cities: Dayton, Cleveland and Detroit, including interviews with city officials, resettlement agencies, land banks and immigrant leaders; site visits in neighborhoods with a concentration of property development driven by foreign-born residents; content analysis of city documents and website; content analysis of media sources such as newspaper, videos, and other materials covering the growth stimulated by the foreign-born population.

### **Comparative Social Changes in Two Formerly Declining Cleveland Neighborhoods**

Dennis Keating, Cleveland State University

Cleveland, Ohio is a shrinking U.S. city, with many of its neighborhoods in decline. In recognition of this long standing pattern, beginning in the late 1970s community development corporations (CDCs) emerged to combat decline and to promote revitalization. From this have emerged some of the strongest CDC networks in the United States: the Cleveland Housing Network and Cleveland Neighborhood Progress. While much progress was made, many of these same neighborhoods were hard hit during the past 15 years by the foreclosure crisis and the resulting abandoned, vacant housing. Currently, there are 16,000 of these abandoned homes in Cleveland, half of which are condemned for demolition when funding is available. The city of Cleveland's Land Bank holds 13,000 vacant lots where buildings once stood before they were demolished. Cleveland is second only to Detroit in its high poverty rate among large U.S. cities.

Despite this, some of these very neighborhoods have begun to make a comeback. The West Side neighborhoods of Tremont and Detroit Shoreway were both formerly homes to many immigrants attracted by jobs in nearby manufacturing. Tremont, famous for its many churches founded by

immigrant groups like Russians, Slovaks, Poles, and more recently Puerto Ricans, is one of the city's oldest neighborhoods. It borders on Cleveland's Flats, once an industrial powerhouse. Detroit Shoreway was the home of Italian, German, Irish, and Romanian immigrants attracted by many factories located there. Both neighborhoods peaked in population decades ago and suffered from the loss of manufacturing employment and the resultant blight.

However, in the past 15-20 years both have undergone considerable revitalization attributable in part to the efforts of CDCs: the Tremont West Development Corporation (TWDC) and the Detroit Shoreway Community Development Organization (DSCDO). Both have used the arts as a catalyst for redevelopment. In Tremont a monthly Art Walk was pioneered in the 1990s, followed by annual cultural events like the Arts in August festival. Tremont also enjoyed a wave of restaurants, including that of nationally renowned chef Michael Symon. This has spurred the building of expensive homes on the vacant lots that once dotted Tremont. Detroit Shoreway has also promoted the arts through the Gordon Square Arts District, now home to two performing theaters and a restored vaudeville movie theater. It also has seen the arrival of popular restaurants and expensive new housing.

While promoting this revitalization, both CDCs have attempted to protect lower income residents from possible displacement from gentrification. Given the amount of vacant land to be developed, this has not occurred yet but looms as a possible future problem. This paper will explore to what extent these CDCs have succeeded in this effort by sponsoring affordable housing for lower income residents.

### **The Housing Crisis in a “Hedge” City: A Case of Vancouver, Canada**

Penny Gurstein, University of British Columbia

Berry (2014) and others note that the 2008 global financial crisis provided an opportunity to re-conceptualize progressive urban debates. Civic and local politics can establish the political base for interventions that address inequality, and, more specifically, issues of inadequate provision of affordable housing and urban infrastructure” (Werbner and Yuval-Davis, 1999:3). This paper uses the case of Vancouver, Canada as a frame to discuss the consequences of the housing crisis on a city that is considered to be a “hedge city”; a safe place for the international elite to park money in real estate. The erosion of public sector involvement in housing provision since the mid-1990s has occurred at the same time as housing prices have risen faster than income, creating a housing affordability crisis for those who are low to moderate income. The rise in homelessness is significantly linked to incomes growing slower than the cost of living, resulting in inability to afford housing. This much discussed “affordability gap” is characterized by an increasingly disenfranchised population over-extended financially, and inadequately housed. The combination of high housing costs and low average incomes makes Vancouver particularly unaffordable. Vancouver residents’ average income is one of the lowest in Canada. For several years the City of Vancouver has ranked as the 2nd worst in the world for homeownership affordability. The result of this situation is that Vancouver has an acute homelessness and housing insecurity problem.

This paper takes up the challenge of reimagining citizen involvement and empowerment in the context of local responses to progressive reform of the urban environment using housing policies as the focus. The paper will outline the dilemmas in the delivery of housing, and the attempts to address the crisis. Densification, diversity, and access (as expressions of commitments to social and environmental sustainability) catalyze resistance at the community level. As a counterpoint,

Vancouver has had a history of the public, non-profit and private sectors working together in the delivery of housing. This paper theorizes an approach to engagement on housing policies that seeks strategies for social change in the context of contested urban space and resource distribution.

## Housing, Wellbeing, and Neighborhood Context

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### **Residential characteristics and neighborhood context, their relationship with and effect on adolescents' well-being.**

Hans Christian Sandlie, The Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences  
Patrick Lie Andersen

To what extent the context in which individuals live their life from day to day matters for their quality of life is a reoccurring question in the sociology of housing and environment. Our purpose in this paper is to examine the relationship between housing characteristics (type of dwelling, tenure) and adolescents' well-being (general well-being in neighbourhood, depressive symptoms and educational performance). In addition, we also analyse the relationship between neighbourhood qualities and adolescents' well-being. The important question in the analysis is whether it is likely that there is a causal effect of housing condition and neighbourhood context on young people's educational performance and general well-being. The study applies regression analysis and utilises the large-scale survey "Young in Oslo" from 2015. The survey was carried out among students from all public lower and upper secondary schools in Oslo (14-19 years old), as well as respondents from nearly all the private schools, and the number of respondents is approximately 25500. The data include a wide array of background characteristics, such as immigrant status, neighbourhood area, type of dwelling, number of household members and parents' characteristics (e.g. education, economic situation, land of origin, employment relations, occupation and marital status). The dataset also contain a wide array of "soft" variables like subjective well-being in neighbourhood, school and in general, depressive symptoms and information on personal relationships that shed light on our research question. The preliminary analysis reveal a systematic variation between residential characteristics and adolescents' well-being. When we control for relevant social background characteristics, residents living in multi-dwelling houses report a somewhat lower well-being compared to those in detached houses or terraced houses. We also find a clear relationship between the status of the neighbourhood and well-being, where those in low status areas report the lowest well-being levels. Preliminary results from propensity score matching analyses show small but significant causal effects of residential characteristics and neighbourhood context on well-being.

### **Caught in the Intersection: Black Mothers Subject to a Public Housing Work Requirement**

Kirstin Frescoln, University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill

As part of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's (HUD) Moving to Work demonstration, eight local housing authorities have instituted a work requirement as a condition of continued tenancy for some or all of their work-able residents (Webb, MD, Frescoln, KP, & Rohe, WM, 2015). These controversial policies disproportionately affect African-American women and their dependent children. In January 2014, the Charlotte (NC) Housing Authority (CHA) implemented a work requirement where the population is 90% Black/African-American, 85% extremely low income, and 46% are female-headed households with children (CHA, 2013).

Caught in the intersection of race, gender and class, these women must navigate: welfare policies that “punish” them for beginning work (e.g. reductions in food stamps and Medicaid, and increases in their share of public housing rent); jobs that are often inconsistent and inadequate to meeting the family’s financial needs; and care for their children (e.g. supervision and care for young children and responding to school demands for older children). This analysis uses an intersectional lens and a longitudinal dataset of interviews, surveys and administrative data on wages, work outcomes and case management interventions, to explore the impact of the work policy on employment and wage outcomes, as well as self-reported health and parenting.

HUD calls Moving to Work “America’s Housing Policy Lab.” Innovations deemed effective will be adopted as national policy. It is critical to understand whether these work requirements are achieving their stated policy objective – to increase the economic self-sufficiency of residents – and to understand their unintended or collateral impacts.

### **Coercive Sexual Environments: Neighborhoods Influences on Sexual Health and Safety**

Reed Jordan, Urban Institute

Susan J. Popkin, Urban Institute

Jay Silverman

Janine Zweig

Chantal Hailey

In our previous studies of distressed neighborhoods, we theorize that when disadvantage and violence are high and collective efficacy and social control are low, a gender-specific neighborhood mechanism can emerge that has differential effects on male and female youth. We argue that some communities develop a coercive sexual environment (CSE) where harassment, domestic violence, and sexual exploitation of women and girls are normalized and result in a climate of fear of both intimate partner violence and sexual assault victimization.

Our Housing Opportunity and Services Together (HOST) Demonstration has offered us a unique platform for developing robust measures and testing the relationship between neighborhood concentrated disadvantage, the development of coercive sexual environments and negative outcomes for youth. HOST tests two-generation place-based strategies to improve outcomes for vulnerable families living in public and assisted housing. Our Washington, DC site incorporates a focus on teens and sexual health and safety. The HOST baseline survey uses new indicators based on our previous research and our qualitative work in DC intended to measure both CSE and sexual harassment (SH).

Using the baseline survey, we developed CSE and sexual harassment scales for adults and youth. We find that both the CSE and SH scales behave like other key measures of neighborhood health like social disorder, violence, and collective efficacy. Adults and youth who report higher levels of violence and social disorder also perceive higher levels of CSE and report experiencing more sexual harassment. Further, we find that both adult and youth respondents reporting higher levels of CSE and harassment also report higher levels of depression and anxiety.

We hope other scholars will incorporate these measures into larger, multi-neighborhood surveys to test their validity as community measures of a mechanism that affects outcomes for children and youth in distressed neighborhoods.

## Assessing Housing Prices and Affordability

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### **Rent Burden and the Great Recession**

Gregg Colburn, University of Minnesota

Ryan Allen, University of Minnesota

While the effects of the Great Recession on the owner-occupied housing market have been well-documented, the rental market has received far less attention. A combination of declining real incomes, limited affordable housing supply, and increased demand for rental housing has created a quiet crisis for renters in the form of more households experiencing rent burden (paying more than 30 percent of household income in rent). For example, according to the Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University, the number of rent burdened households increased from roughly 15 million in 2002 to over 20 million in 2012. Rent burden may create financial stress and frequent household responses include to work additional hours, move to cheaper housing, join another household (double up), or reduce other consumption.

In order to improve the understanding of recent dynamics in rent burden, we use data from the U.S. Census Bureau's Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP) to analyze the rate of exit from rent burdened status, the duration of rent burden spells, changes in household composition in response to rent burden, and racial and gender disparities in rent burdened status for households prior to and after the Great Recession. The findings of this study will be relevant for scholars and practitioners who seek to develop solutions to this growing housing problem.

### **The renter-owner household in Australia: Exploring a pattern of living and investing in residential property in response to broad social, economic and demographic changes**

Ailsa McPherson, Swinburne University

While owner occupation remains the norm for the majority of Australian households, there is growing recognition of the increasing range and diversity of the patterning of the housing arrangements of households in response to broad social, economic and demographic changes.

To respond to the overarching research question '*How are Australian households adopting patterns of living and investing in residential property in response to broad economic and social changes?*', this research explores the phenomenon of the renter-owner household in Australia, defined as those who live day to day in private rental while owning residential property they do not live in.

Taking a mixed methods approach, the quantitative phase of this research found that three percent of all households are renter-owner households, meaning around one in nine renter households own property they don't live in. Separating renter-owner households from renter households demonstrates increasing wealth polarisation between households who do not own property and those that do, irrespective of tenure status. The qualitative phase involved semi-structured interviews

with 26 renter-owners to explore their housing pathway and conceptualisation of risk; the meaning of the relationships they hold with their dwellings; and their future housing plans. The conclusion drawn is that the renter-owner household phenomenon is a pattern of living and investing in residential property that enables households to meet their life goals; facilitate labour mobility and create wealth through investing in housing, while operating within the institutional framework that structures the Australian housing market. Over the long term all renter-owner households plan to become, or return to, owner occupiers, usually following a major life event like (re)marriage or retirement.

The results of this research open up discussion about previously drawn conclusions regarding the relationship between housing tenure status and the distribution of housing and associated risk, including class divisions or more recently, social cleavages; alongside wealth creation through property ownership; as well as more recent sociological debates concerning housing, risk, security and lifestyle.

### **Asian American Housing Burden in High-Performance School Districts**

C. Aujean Lee, University of California Los Angeles

Planners need to understand what impacts housing choice because these decisions affect access to various opportunities. As Tiebout (1956) theorized, neighborhoods offer a bundle of public goods (e.g., access to public transportation, parks, police); people move to neighborhoods that match not only their preferred public goods, but also the taxes that they are willing to pay.

Schools may then serve as an important factor when families decide to move. Educational opportunities are particularly important because of the geographical disparities in school quality. While schools can be considered a public good because all children attend and their attendance does not preclude others from attending, high-performance schools are partial public goods because they are typically located in neighborhoods with high housing costs. Thus, only some parents can afford to live in these districts and send their children to these schools. However, there also may be racial or ethnic differences in how much they are willing to pay for high-quality schools.

My project seeks to answer if Californian Asian American parents pay more for housing relative to their income to live in neighborhoods with high-performance schools. It builds on previous work (Ong, Patraporn, & Tran, 2013), which showed that a greater proportion of Asian Americans take on more housing burden. Also, Ogbu (1987) theorized that voluntary immigrants, of whom he including Asian Americans, connect school achievement to social mobility. I hypothesize that Asian American parents are willing to pay higher housing costs relative to their incomes to enable their children to enroll in high-performance schools. According to economic value theory, if a person prefers a particular good, the person is willing to use more of their income to obtain this good as a trade-off of other goods.

This paper uses secondary data analysis of California Department of Education Academic Performance Index (API) scores, American Community Survey, and Decennial Census data to estimate income, home value, and race/ethnic group data. Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA) data will also provide information on loans, loan performance, and racial background of borrowers by census tract. I will use ArcGIS to match census tract data with school districts. A regression

model will be used to then determine any statistically significant relationships between racial/ethnic background and housing burden in high-performance school districts.

The findings will help understand if Asian Americans on average have lower incomes and greater housing burden than other groups in high-performance school districts. The study also has implications about the greater financial risk with more housing burden. Additionally, it will show spatial differences in housing burden and riskier loans in the state by racial/ethnic group. Finally, there are implications for wealth, as housing is the largest source of wealth for most racial minority groups (Taylor et al., 2009).

## **House Prices and School Choice: Evidence from Chicago's Magnet Schools**

### **Proximity Lottery**

Esteban Lopez Ochoa, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, UIUC

L. Bonilla

D. McMillen

Studies of open school policies suggest that prices rise in areas served by low-quality schools when the students gain access to high-quality schools outside of their local district. However, excess demand may lead some students to be denied admission to high-quality schools. We take advantage of changes in admission policies to Chicago's magnet schools to test whether a higher probability of admission to high-quality schools leads to higher house prices. Chicago adopted policies that increased the probability of admission for students living within 1.5 miles of a magnet school. A comparison of house prices on either side of the 1.5-mile contour suggests that the increase in admission probabilities due to the 1997 reform increased house prices for homes within the 1.5-mile radius by as much as 7.5%, and the premium is still higher for homes in areas near multiple magnet schools. The 2009 reform is estimated to have produced a premium of nearly 20% for homes within the 1.5-mile radius by allowing homes near magnet schools to avoid some of the dramatic drop in house prices that at the end of 2007.

## **Mixing it Up: The Politics of Neighborhood Change and Integration**

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### **Does Socially-Mixed Housing Redevelopment "Work"? Learning from Toronto's Regent Park**

James Dunn, McMaster University

Daniel Rowe, University of Toronto

There are many examples of socially-mixed public housing redevelopment in the United States, the UK and Australia and much debate about whether such redevelopment "works". In this paper, I examine the standards that have been applied in previous research to assess whether public housing development "worked", arguing that the benchmarks previously applied were inappropriate. One of the most disputed aspects of public housing redevelopment is whether 'mixing' actually occurs. In the second part of this paper, we present data from a study in Toronto's Regent Park, where we used time-location sampling to survey users of public spaces created by the redevelopment (a retail street corner, a public aquatic center and an arts & cultural center) about their experiences and attitudes towards social mix in the newly-redeveloped areas of Regent Park. We interpret the data through the lens of de-stigmatization strategies and the porousness of symbolic and spatial boundaries. We find

that social mix is a much more subtle experience than imagined by both the proponents and opponents of socially-mixed redevelopment.

### **From home doors to neighborhood gates: Shared spaces in high-density housing enclaves**

Fang Xu, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC)

In newly industrializing countries, fast urbanization often manifests itself in surging medium- to high-density condominium developments. Combining individual ownership of the homes and shared title to the land and common facilities, these growing urban housing estates introduce collectively owned and controlled spaces in diverse formats, implicating local social and spatial realities.

Through investigation in archival materials and in the field, this paper presents and discusses the shared spaces cultivated in proliferating high-rise gated developments in Shanghai, China after the 1990s. These spaces encompass both interior and exterior elements affording various uses (e.g., residential building lobbies, landscaped gardens, private streets, and clubhouses). They mediate the private domestic realm secured behind home doors and the public urban space lying beyond neighborhood gates and walls.

Focusing on the multidimensional nature of shared spaces in these high-rise enclaves, this paper illustrates this intriguing segment of urban residential environment and exposes their complicated and inconsistent social and spatial attributes. It reviews the historical evolution of space-sharing patterns in local housing and explores the social and behavioral “publicness” and “privateness” of the shared spaces found in high-density gated developments. It also illuminates the political and social conditions of these shared spaces through a historical perspective and analyzes their environmental psychological interpretations by the relevant residents.

This paper argues that (1) shared spaces in high-rise gated developments are resulted from locally and historically contingent societal and political development processes whereby bureaucratic power, public ethos, and security discourse in the local context have played far more predominant roles than the private market and neoliberal values, which are commonly considered important contributors to the global spread of gated communities; (2) Implicit cognitive structure (such as conceptual boundaries of the home) of these shared spaces their explicit spatial and institutional structure (physical demarcations and administrative and judicial definitions) are often in significant disjuncture with each other, therefore interrelations between the material, social, political, legal, and conceptual dimensions of shared spaces should not be oversimplified.

This paper demonstrates that shared spaces in high-rise gated developments in Shanghai are contested territories where concurrent social, behavioral, and psychological processes intersect and intervene with one another. They represent an exotic urban landscape that possesses wrinkles of inconsistency and defies theoretical simplification. To archive a sophisticated understanding of the design and use of them, an interdisciplinary methodology is necessary to overcome the piecemeal study of either the spatial or human aspects of these spaces.

## **From High-Rise Towers to Commercial Ventures: Contested Land Ownership and the Acceleration of Chicago's Privatization Reforms**

Amy Khare, University of Chicago

When the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) launched reforms in 2000, the agency committed to creating mixed-income housing on land where public housing communities stood. Changes in the broader context led to significant stalls in housing development. With original plans no longer viable, an overhaul of policy priorities sought to advance a new reform agenda. Over 400 acres of public land faced uncertain futures: Would land now be developed for alternative non-housing purposes, would it continue to lay barren, or would affordable rental housing be built?

The movement to privatize public housing and land does not just happen *to* neighborhoods, at the direction of state actors who force policies or capitalists who seek economically generative uses. Rather, empirical studies show how community organizations and elite actors *within* neighborhoods influence the extent to which marginalized populations access resources necessary for both physical and socio-political integration (Castells, 1983; Fisher 1994; Hyra 2008; Pattillo 2007; Marwell, 2007; Sites 2003, Suttles, 1972). These studies, along with theories of political economy of place, lead to these research questions: How do actors within neighborhoods undergoing public housing reforms influence decisions about redevelopment, and for whose benefit?

A comparative case study investigation of three Chicago neighborhoods finds that community actors shaped the extent to which affordable housing and neighborhood amenities were developed for the benefit of more marginalized populations. Differences in the trajectories of development can be explained by how community representatives interpreted the most marketable use of land based on their conceptions of neighborhood contexts relative to the broader Chicago region. Community representatives contested mixed-income housing since it started to be associated with subsidized housing rather than with market-rate housing. Grocery stores, urban farms, tennis courts, arts centers, and other amenities began to be developed as land swaps led way to the creation of these non-housing related resources, which were publically framed as creating inclusivity among all residents.

My central argument based on these findings is that community representatives' critiques against Chicago's structural spatial inequality directly influenced their desire to organize against mixed-income housing. Rather, conceptions of how to transcend what they framed as the problems of concentrated poverty focused on altering market investment in urban areas through land redevelopment for non-housing purposes associated with exchange value. Lacking progressive strategies, most political action centered on physical development rather than social movement mobilization.

## **Segregation and the U.S. Housing Choice Voucher Program: Changing Trends, 2000 to 2013**

Molly W. Metzger, Washington University in St. Louis

Danilo Pelletiere, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development

Metropolitan areas in the United States remain highly segregated by race and by class. Framed in terms of the deconcentration of poverty, U.S. affordable housing policy has moved away from

public housing, focusing instead on private market-based programs such as the Housing Choice Voucher (HCV) program. What role do HCVs play in the economic and racial segregation of its beneficiaries? Expanding upon Metzger's (2014) analysis of the 50 most populous U.S. metropolitan areas with contemporaneous data, this paper examines changes in the spatial patterns of HCV housing from 2000 to 2013. Using special tabulations of HUD's "Picture of Subsidized Households" data, merged with tract-level Census data, we will conduct difference-in-difference estimates modeling change in HCV use vis a vis other extremely low-income renter households. Previous research suggests that HCV beneficiaries are highly segregated, even compared to income-comparable households without an HCV. Is this pattern of segregation increasing or decreasing over time?

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## Community Leadership and Governance of Affordable Housing

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### **The Determinants of City Strategies in Support of Affordable Housing**

Anaid Yerena, University of California, Irvine

Why do some cities confront their affordable housing need differently than others? The research will employ interdisciplinary theories and primary data collection methods to investigate this question. The primary research question is: "What determines the strategies adopted by localities in support of affordable housing?" This question will be explored using principal component analysis and cluster analysis to determine the combinations of regulations that distinct types of cities may adopt. These patterns will then be investigated with logistic regression models that account for competing explanations of local regulatory decisions for affordable housing. This study is distinguished by its measures of AOs capacity as one such potential influence. Data were collected through an online survey of housing staff in all U.S. cities with a population of 100,000 or more (n=165) combined with data from secondary sources.

The results from this research will have theoretical and practical implications. I propose a broader theoretical understanding of what accounts for the variation in affordable housing support across cities. The research improves our understanding of the multiple actors that contribute to shape affordable housing policy decisions. The results will also be directly translatable to stakeholders involved in the production and consumption of affordable housing (i.e., policy makers, AO leaders, and people needing affordable housing). Understanding the dynamics of public decision making, and particularly the actions and influence of AOs on city decisions about affordable housing, provides knowledge that can be used by burgeoning AOs and social movements to strengthen their efforts in support of affordable housing.

### **Community-led housing in England - The emergence of a field?**

David Mullins, University of Birmingham

Richard Lang, University of Birmingham

This paper charts the recent emergence of a community-led housing field in England comprising a diverse set of primary and umbrella organisations seeking to provide innovative and participative solutions to meeting housing need. It draws on case study research and expert interviews undertaken by the authors with emerging organisations including community land trusts, co-housing groups, community self-build and empty homes self-help groups (Lang and Mullins 2015). It interprets

evidence with reference to theories of organisational fields. Classical institutional theories of fields (Di Maggio and Powell 1983, Scott 1995) are used to map the emerging fields and to consider the extent to which observations ‘constitute recognized areas of institutional life... that produce similar services or products’ (Di Maggio and Powell 1983, p. 148). Processes of field formation such as normative isomorphism and institutional logics are tested in relation to the evidence. More recent theories of strategic action fields (Fligstein and McAdam 2011, 2012) are used to relate observations to notions of stability and disturbance, considering the relevance of ideas of ‘emergent fields’, ‘incumbents and challengers’ and ‘socially skilled actors’. Links between sub-fields involving replication and borrowing of successful models and relationships with more established actors such as housing co-operatives, commercial house-builders and large housing associations are explored. Finally, the role of the state is considered as a potential stimulus and ‘form or certification’ (Fligstein and McAdam 2011, p. 14) for new forms of organisation. This leads to a conclusion reflecting on the relationship between self-organised fields and public policies.

## Foreclosed? Evolving Risk and Impacts

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### **Who Buys Foreclosed Homes? How Neighborhood Characteristics Influence of REO Home Sales to Investors and Households**

Andrew McMillan, The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Arnab Chakraborty

Since the onset of the foreclosure crisis in the late 2000s, numerous studies have attempted to identify and examine the extent of negative externalities related to concentrated foreclosures (Frame 2010). While foreclosure rates have steadily declined since peaking in 2010, the effects of concentrated foreclosures will likely affect neighborhoods for years to come. Just as the impact of mass foreclosures was not uniform across all neighborhoods within most metropolitan regions, it is reasonable to assume that neighborhood recovery from mass foreclosures will be similarly uneven. Planners and policymakers have recently turned their attention towards are “zombie properties.” These are often real estate-owned properties with apparently unmotivated sellers (Immergluck 2014) that sit vacant and receive little or no upkeep. An additional recent issue has been the sale of REO properties to speculators and investors, who also tend to let properties sit vacant for long periods of time. As a result, these properties contribute to neighborhood decline by reducing surrounding property values and by inviting vandalism and blight. These properties are often located in low-income communities, as well as in communities that offer the most affordable housing options. Recent studies have shown evidence of a “foreclosure discount” in REO properties, indicating that REO properties will sell for significantly less than similar properties in similar neighborhoods (Gangel, et al. 2013). Other studies have indicated that the purchase of REO properties can expand access to homeownership, leading to a more robust neighborhood recovery (Pfeiffer and Molina 2013).

This study tracks REO transfers of single-family properties in the Chicago Metropolitan Statistical Area from 2005 to 2013. Using a dataset of property transactions, this study differentiates between sales of REO properties to institutional buyers, such as banks, and households, or buyers who purchase a house with the intent to occupy it. A spatial logit model is employed that differentiates between bank- or investor-purchased homes and homeowner-purchased REO homes. Explanatory variables include the time spent on the market and the block group-level neighborhood characteristics, such as the recent foreclosure rate, as well as the housing cost and transportation

cost variables as determined by the Location Affordability Index. Pfeiffer and Molina (2013) found that households in Los Angeles purchased REO homes in neighborhoods with a relatively high potential for economic mobility. As such, it is expected that block groups that are affordable and have relatively low foreclosure rates will be popular for individual households purchasing REO properties. The results will point towards the relative affordability of neighborhoods that experience REO purchases by individuals and not institutions, and will indicate opportunities for expanding access to homeownership in neighborhoods with more affordable homes.

### **Analyzing Census Tract Foreclosure Risk Rates for Asian Subgroups in Select Metropolitan Areas in the Pacific Division**

Katrin B. Anacker, George Mason University

The national foreclosure crisis has been analyzed and discussed in regard to many aspects, for example race, ethnicity, income, education, and marital status, among others (Martin and Niedt, 2015). Interestingly, most works that focused on race did not differentiate among different racial subgroups (see Patraporn et al., 2009 for an exception). This gap is especially important for Asian subgroups as the socioeconomic differences are vast. Based in NSP 3 data, provided by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, and 2010 Census data, this paper investigates foreclosure risk rates for Census tracts (unit of observation) for the Pacific Division (geography) and the factors that have influenced them.

### **Ageing and Accessibility in Social Housing**

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#### **The Ageing society and increasing vacant housing in Japan: The structural crisis of housing market in the post-growth society**

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After the Second World War, the Japanese housing market was transformed from one tied to public welfare to one characterized by owner-occupied residences. In order to attain a social presence, people rushed into homeownership in the suburbs. As the ageing and low fertility has become serious social problems, housing market also faced several difficulties in terms of its sustainability.

Under the circumstances, the devastation of the residential environments of urban areas has progressed at a surprising speed. There are several reasons behind this trend: 1) During the urbanization, traditional housing customs, such as patriarchal familial/housing systems and a strong preferences for newly built residences, and housing policies encouraged most middle-class people to remain in their purchased houses for decades. 2) After about 30 years, these residents grew older and their children left home, which resulted in suburban neighborhoods populated by elderly couples/singles. 3) Not only suburban neighborhoods, but also inner cities have gradually turned into aged communities as elderly population ratio has gone up. 4) As many residents passed away, many abandoned empty houses became sites for crimes or threats to local residents.

This study seeks 1) to show clear vision of structural crisis which caused vacant housing problems in Japanese urban areas; 2) to explain why such vacant housing has increased in Japanese urban areas

with cases of Tokyo suburbs and Gifu city as a case of local cities; and 3) to analyze the relationship among housing policy, ageing population, and vacant housing in Japan.

### **It Was Love In All the Buildings They Tore Down”: Public Housing Transformation and the Community Question among African American Custodial Grandmothers**

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When the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) launched its *Plan for Transformation* in 1999, its goal “was to demonstrate that it was possible to convert distressed public housing into healthy communities that would provide residents opportunities for a better life (see Popkins et al, 2010).” As a result, 16,000 families have been relocated so far. The primary mechanism for this transformation has been the U.S. Department of Housing and Redevelopment’s (HUD) Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere (HOPE VI) program, which was initiated in 1992. The objectives of HOPE VI have been to improve the quality of former public-housing neighborhoods, as well as former public-housing residents’ lives by deconcentrating the poverty long associated with traditional project-based public housing. Since 1993, HUD has awarded more than \$6 billion in HOPE VI grants to 190 housing authorities across the country.

This process has not been without controversy, particularly in large cities like Chicago, which have led the way in public housing transformation. For one thing, it was federal devolution and funding cuts that resulted in rapidly deteriorating public-housing stocks. For another, CHA families faced enormous disruptions during the transformation process. Research examining the outcomes of relocated CHA families reveal a compelling contradiction: on the one hand, residents are now living in better housing in safer, less impoverished (but not low poverty) neighborhoods but on the other, these families typically move to neighborhoods that are just as racially segregated as public housing and improvements in socioeconomic quality of life are typically non-existent. In fact, research has found evidence of decreased earnings after relocation.

Using data from in-depth interviews with 20 custodial grandmothers who were relocated from public housing to subsidized private market rental housing, this paper explores one potential explanation for this contradiction—losing neighborhood-based social ties through relocation that provided families with a sense of community and needed informal community resources as well. We target this subpopulation because it has not garnered much attention in the literature. Yet this population is important because many of Chicago’s housing projects had multiple generations of the same families in residence. Often at the heart of these vertical lineages are grandmothers and aunts (fictive and biographical kin) who operate as the backbone of their families in terms of informal social support and therefore are viewed by public housing residents as pillars of the community. This raises an important question: what well-established intergenerational community support existed within the public housing environment for women charged with performing a lion’s share of the kinwork needed to ensure family stability? The grandmothers in our examination provide a unique perspective on public housing transformation, in that they offer insight into Chicago public housing from inception to demolition. In many cases, they and their mothers were among the first residents in Washington Park Homes, Cabrini Green, Stateway Gardens, Ida B. Wells Homes, and Robert Taylor Homes, and they and their descendants were among the last to leave. They also allow us to explore the mechanisms that facilitated community among intergenerational families amidst concentrated poverty, which is important given their relocations to high poverty neighborhoods and

African Americans increased likelihood of living in and near concentrated poverty, and residing in public housing compared to other racial/ethnic groups.

### **De-Marginalizing Housing Accessibility and Integration: Silo Approaches to Deinstitutionalization**

Leonor Vanik, University of Illinois at Chicago

United States welfare policy has created challenges for low-income individuals to access and maintain safe affordable, accessible, integrated housing, as well as to obtain adequate healthcare and gainful employment. For a specific sub-population, people with disabilities (PWD) face additional challenges as states and local municipalities implement neoliberal housing and healthcare policies as cost saving measures as part of a growing trend to deinstitutionalize these individuals into the community. PWD face additional challenges based not only on program implementation and environmental barriers but with state and municipal codified policies. Moreover, this is compounded by federal policies that favor institutional placements and segregated housing over independent living with appropriate support services.

This paper examines the case of individuals participating in a national demonstration program, “Money Follows the Person” at the local level in the Chicago, IL metropolitan area in their search for housing. This study discusses the complex strategies used across Illinois state agencies, social service agencies, and public housing authorities in a coordinated effort to work towards integrating PWD in accessing housing in spaces of uneven development.

A mixed-method approach was applied, using in depth interviews of key actors at the state and local agency level, focus groups with PWD, and analysis of policies, programs, and data. The results reveal PWD are not only competing with people without disabilities for community services and affordable housing, but they also face additional challenges to secure housing that is accessible and integrated. This process is complicated by the necessity of PWD to maneuver through a fragmented program and policy maze to find the appropriate services within a silo of state agencies. Class action lawsuits introduced by PWD to decrease silos afforded PWD increase access to the reintegration process and housing payment assistance. Resulting consent decrees, the expansion of housing discrimination policies actually create additional barriers for PWD to obtain housing. As a result, programs and policies continue to polarize the implementation process. This paper concludes with recommendations for future research and discussion of policy changes and practices.