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Impacts of Public Housing: The American Dream or Nightmare that leads to the Dehumanizing of Residents

By

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Dedication

In honor of the memory and love I was given by both my parents
Mr. & Mrs. Lauderdale Greer
I dedicate this work to the both of them who watch me daily from above

Even thou that biddest me from afar
I long for the time when we meet again
Come thou that are mine
And taste the sweetness
of our love so divine
As we watch you so closely
From above

Acknowledgements

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I will praise thee for I am fearfully and wonderfully made in the image and likeness of my Heavenly Father: The Lord Jesus Christ. I wish to take this time to acknowledge the person (s) who not only took a chance on me, but also made it possible for me to gain confidence, and trust in myself as I reached potential I never thought possible. First and foremost, Dr. June Thomas Director of Urban and Regional Planning not only imparted a sense of greater determination in my desire to become a planner; she also exemplifies the true spirit of a planner possessing the spirit to serve. I would like to acknowledge and thank Dawn and Bets for their support and encouragement and their ability to permit me to get things off my shoulders so I could continue my studies. Tom, the Urban Planning Librarian for all the kindness he showed me and making sure I had the necessary books needed for this project. Holly, for helping me at the final hour.

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My sisters (Carol & Sharon & Netta & Joyce) and brothers (Lonnie & Michael & Kenneth & Dennis who watches me from above) and Mary Starks (mother-in-law) who loved me dearly, my brother in-law Ozell Starks, my number one cheerleader. My sister-in-laws who love me and helped with my books. Doshia Ann and Stan for being my friends of more than 36 years. Linda S. my friend for life, who trusted me one day with \$900.00 so I wouldn't have to stop my education. I am grateful for her friendship. Randall Gillespie who helped me with my books. Patricia Potter-Smith who listens for hours on the phone, Angie Hill and her family and the Lady: Mrs. Nettie Taylor for being there with words of encouragement, and Richard, who through thick and thin will remain my friend. Dr. Richard Thomas, he believed in me when I doubted it ever possible.





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Introduction

Purpose of the Study

Public housing and the role of the federal government in this particular housing market are two of the major concerns of this study. The third concern is how this relationship of government involvement has received criticism rooted in ideological objections to government providing housing. A more pragmatic concern exists as to whether government had the experience to be involved, and whether residents of public housing have been negatively affected. Few citizens realize that public housing is owned and operated by a government agency. It is also no secret that "housing policy" which has effected public housing can be defined as encompassing (1) government expenditures, (2) loans and loan guarantees for investment in structures, (3) zoning regulations, (4) land allocation and how it's used, (5) building and housing codes, (6) legal provisions concerning property rights and tax treatment of residential real property or of income from it.

All these ambient factors that surround public housing can serve as one of the purposes for the study and practice of Urban and Regional Planning. Attempts are constantly being made to change the nature of public housing, and perhaps the most dramatic efforts in six decades has now begun. Under a program known as Hope IV, authorized by Congress in 1993, the Clinton administration had started to tear down 100,000 of the nation's 1.3 million public-housing units. Even though progress had not moved at the paced hoped for in 1993, still, Michigan public housing, which is the focus of this paper had 45,000 people who lived in public housing during 1997. Of the 23,516 households located in the state of Michigan it was reported that females and a large percentage (44%) headed the majority (77%) were senior citizens age 62 years and over.

The average household size was about 2 and the average annual income was \$9,100. Only 17% of these households earned the majority of their income from wages. Slightly more than (52%) of all households indicated that their race was white, (48%) indicated that it was black, (1%) American Indian, and (1%) Asian or Pacific Islander. Two percent of all households were

Hispanic. Please see Appendix A of this research report for an extended account of Michigan Public Housing.

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The concept that public housing grew as a solution from two major housing reform movements, (1) the model tenement movement, which sought enlightened investors who would build decent housing, designed to provide adequate shelter and adequate profits. (2) The second was the effort to regulate housing by setting minimum legal standards and thereby prohibiting the worst type of housing where a large percentages of single females with 2 or more dependents and senior citizens have been the dominant occupants of public housing in the state of Michigan. The State of Michigan has a total of 140 Public Housing Authorities, from as far away as Ironwood Michigan, and as close as Lansing Michigan. See **Appendix B** for a listing of all the Public Housing Authorities in Michigan. See **Appendix D** for a map of Michigan with the locations of the Housing Authorities. Programs are constantly being implemented in the different housing authorities in Michigan to attempt deal with the disillusionment that surrounds residents who have succumbed to the environmental, structural, and economical and political conditions that plague them.

While it may appear that public housing in Michigan is on trial, I assure the reader this is not the purpose of this research. As a future planner, it is my desire to serve the public housing population the best way I have been trained. There is evidence and documentation that supports that the rise and fall of public housing has been based on the process of policy implementation. I believe in my life time as a planner, positive changes can be made at the state and federal level that could move public housing towards a more balance and stable place of residency for human beings. I also believe that as a planner I have the responsibility to help find ways to preserve the environment so there is a future for the next generations to look forward to.



Organization of Paper

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The theoretical constructs of public housing is a mammoth subject encompassing many subtopics that not only affect the role of the federal government, but, residents who occupy many different types of structures classified as public housing units. Some of the concerns expressed about public housing deal with location, environment, land, social constraints, safety and affordability. In the interest of developing an intelligent research topic that would allow me to connect my Interdepartmental studies in Urban Affairs along with Urban and Regional Development, I had to look closely at urban populations and how they get characterized by racial and ethnic minorities, large numbers of poor people and the circumstances that surround public housing.

I have narrowed my focus to issues such as a brief history of public housing, programs implemented by HUD and the implementation of housing policy and the new direction in urban housing policy. In addition, I have done personal interviews with females who dwell in public housing in order to gain insight into the assumed negative stereotyping associated with their residency in public housing.

This progressive research method was utilized to bridge theory and practical public housing issues. The paper is organized into five chapters. The first chapter looks at issues regarding the creation of public housing in the United States. Chapter two looks at implementation of two programs from a federal and local level. Chapter three reviews the influences of housing policies. The fourth chapter looks at the direction of new public housing policy.

The fifth chapter will introduce the brief research methodology used in collecting data from those interview. The fifth chapter also contains a partial "literature review" that allows me to set the

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stage for a theoretical conceptual framework. This framework is intended to illustrate if there is any evidence to support my concept that a loss of self-esteem, or isolation or black self-esteem are factors that do hinder residents of public housing from obtaining self-sufficiency. The framework will also attempt to demonstrate how policy and programs do bear a significant relationship between what residents of public housing attribute as reasons for their success or failure at achieving total independence and moving into mainstream America. The findings of this particular chapter may be used to provide a better understand of how housing policy, social and economic distribution, environment are all major factors which are embedded deeply in process of how residents not only view themselves. But it may also demonstrate how few residents understand the concepts of empowerment. Empowerment can be used as a vehicle to escape the self-defeating condition so residents can rise to a new level of sufficiency. I will explore the results of a small percentage of interviews conducted in the summer of 1997 with eight African-American females. They are residents of public housing, and their lives have been affected due to some of the findings of this brief research.

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The interviews done in this work are not meant to be an exhaustive collection of the total population of female residents of public housing. Rather, they are representative of a small group of females who allowed me the time to hear the sentiments of their heart concerning their residency in public housing. Throughout the United States public housing residents are beginning to question the role of government and how it has been a major contributor to many of the obstacles that have hinder progress. They are organizing and forming resident councils where training and education have become the central focus. I will attempt to reach a conclusion in chapter five bridging the previous chapters demonstrating how each has the potential to strength the other if one of the central issues, decent and affordable public housing, not just a dream, but a reality.

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History of Public Housing: United States

When a problem develops that affects the public welfare, it is the responsibility of the government, at some level, to do something about it. However, since there must first be a problem, any government legislation or regulations attempting to alleviate it must come afterward. Sometimes the legislation comes promptly, as during war or other crises, but usually it comes slowly, because of the normal character of the democratic process (Beyer 1965 pg. 488). This may appear to be the case in the United States concerning public housing. 1

In order to understand how public housing has operated in Michigan. I looked briefly at where public housing first started. I will look at some of the history from a broader scope (United States) and then narrow in on Michigan. In 1964 Charles Abrams introduced a work entitled, The Future of Housing. Abram's work served as an indictment of the America people for not taking the issues concerning housing and public housing more seriously. Abrams declared, "a law, any law, even a promising preamble (still fashionable in housing legislation), allays the clamor for action." "For a hundred years, housing history has repeated the same sequence, long periods of apathy were interrupted by emotional agitation for reforms for residents, soul stirring literature abounds; no program emerges that would serve residents of public housing that could afford them the opportunity to moved into mainstream America". (Abrams 1964 Pg.64) This has been one of the outcries of residents of public housing that has prompted the Clinton administration to change its present strategies nationwide. They have agreed to enter into partnerships so communities where public housing once became deteriorated, can now become revitalized with vibrant neighborhoods in our inner cities and rural areas.

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¹ with a total population according to the 1998 United States Bureau of the Census 270,002,845. Public housing serves over 44% of senior citizens and single parented homes headed by females.

• • Since its inception, the United States public housing system has been mired in controversy. President Franklin D. Roosevelt realized that United States had a social responsibility to the citizen after 1933. The government intervened into the housing program after the financial and economic diasters of the Great Depression provided the occasion for the first sustained, overt federal interventions in the housing market (Mitchell 1985 pg. 6). One of the reasons for governmental adoption of the housing policy was to alter the distribution of income. The crux of the housing problem in the United States was economic. Mitchell stressed in his work than under the ordinary law of supply and demand, it is unsolvable, as long as people need decent housing, money would be the driving force.

In our modern industrial civilization, the distribution of income is such that a substantial proportion of the population cannot pay market prices for rent, much less public housing prices, and much less a market-rate purchase price of a home fulfilling the minimum health and decency requirements. This is not a local or transitory phenomenon. It is universal and permanent to the extent, at least, that our economic system is universal and permanent. Carla Ravaioli understood these powerful and truthful words when in her work, Economist and the Environment concerning environmental sustainability which is becoming very detrimental to public housing residents who are surrounded by drug, gangs and crimes sometimes so hideous that life itself becomes unbearable, she states, "The basic meaning of sustainability is the capacity for continuance more or less indefinitely into the future. It is clear that, in aggregate, current human ways of life do not possess that capacity, either because they are destroying the environmental conditions necessary for their continuance, or because their environmental effects will cause unacceptable social disruption and damage to human health" (Ravaioli 1995 pg. 186). We see this played out

everyday in public housing environments, destruction, crime, and loss of life, loss of housing and no sustainable capacity for most of the residents to continue.

In addition, Marsden & Oakley, in their work, Evaluating Social Development Projects suggest, all people are entitled to human dignity, irrespective of economic status, ethnic origin. color, or caste. "A society has little claim to have developed where some sections can offer or abuse the human dignity of others and get away with it by virtue of their social power and position. One has not developed fully as a person, we would suggest, if one does not consider an offence to the human dignity of any person to be an offence to one's own dignity; without this basic identity with human race one is not human oneself" Marsden & Oakley 1990 pg. 48). For years residents of public housing had no advocate or voice to speak out on their behalf. They were sectioned off in many cities and cut off from main stream America, only to be reminder of their inability to function as human being. It became more evident when President Roosevelt stated, "A third of a nation is ill-housed" (Abrams 1964 pg. 12). The United States had the land, labor and materials-more than enough for housing, yet, home building lagged, housing shortages, slums, and insecurity of housing and home ownership stood out in bitter contrast to their wealth and industrial vigor in production. The emergence of the first major housing assistance program, public housing, occurred in the United States in response to the widely shared perception of an acute need for a supply of good housing for lower-income persons, although considerations of the need for construction jobs also played an important role in the developing of public housing (Hayes 1995 pg. 279). America's present physical pattern was the end product of a sequence of attitudes prevalent in separate phases of its history. During each phase physical patterns were formed. Each pattern reflected the dominant social atmosphere of its own time. If prevailing attitude favored strong state control, then housing policy would impose rigid regulation upon the private builders where housing was concern. When attitude veered toward greater economic

liberalism, the builder was given more freedom to do as he was pleased, public housing was left on the back burner (Abrams 1946 pg. 3).

In the richest country in the world-in the country which boasts the greatest know-how and the best industrial technology in the world-there exists a housing famine (Hawley 1978 pg, 3). In 1971, some 27 years ago, an estimated 13 million families in this country suffer "serious housing deprivation" (Hawley 1978 pg. 3) With this great outcry for decent public housing, the growing inadequacy of the present housing conditions throughout the United States and the entire land, have together with the efforts of legislation and the rising voice of reformers, have succeeded in making this country "housing-conscious" (Ebenstein 1940 pg. 1).

The complex history of public housing can best be understood in terms of four basic issues which were the focus of early debate and struggle between its opponents and proponents some sixty years ago as well as today. There are: site selection, the target population, financial problems, and problems of administration and project design. (Hayes 1995 pg. 92). In each of these areas, the political balance of focuses created contradictory pressures, which made it difficult for the program to meet its objectives. Today, some of these contradictions continue to affect later alternatives to public housing.

Due to the enormous amount of literature on the above-mentioned issues, time won't permit the writer to give a full account, but, briefly I would like to expound on the importance of these issues. Site selection arose as a problem very early. This was due to the fact that the precursor to the public housing program, the Housing Division of the Public Works Administration, ran a centralized program, in which the federal government itself brought and developed project sites. Because of the political appeal of decentralization and because of legal challenges to the federal government's right to use eminent domain for such a purpose, proponents of a permanent public housing program opted for local control. Local housing authorities would be created by special legislation in each state to develop and administer the federally financed projects. In addition, local governments would be given a role in site selection through a cooperation agreement between the public housing authority and the local government regarding payments in lieu of taxes for fire, police, and other public services (Hayes 1995 pg. 92). (2) The Target Population served

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was a second major problem for public housing. In other industrialized countries, publicly owned or subsidized housing serves a broad segment of the population (McGuire 1981).

In the United States, in contrast, it was assumed from the beginning that only the lowest income persons, those so desperately poor as to have no chance of obtaining housing on the private market, should be served. (3) Financial problems: In his work, The Rise and Fall of Public Housing, Eugene Meehan made the financial problems of the public housing program central to his analysis of what he considers its widespread failure. He contends that over most of its existence, the program was forced by financial starvation to provide a limited number of units and a declining quality of service, and he documents convincingly the important role played by lack of funds. Funding was used to restrict the program in several ways. The most obvious was through the appropriation of funds for construction. Congress consistently funded far fewer units than authorized. Lastly the issue of (4) Physical designs, here, too, the program was caught between conflicting pressures from liberals for improvement and from conservatives for containment. See Appendix C for pictures of public housing. The issue of public housing design touched directly on a central problem common to all such programs-what level of housing quality should be enjoyed by those whom the government assists? In some instances there have been documentation of how residents have reacted to there surroundings in such negatives ways that HUD is constantly looking for new monies and programs to help residents take back their communities.

CHAPTER 2 IMPLEMENTATION OF HOUSING PROGRAMS

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In the United States the first major subsidized housing program was not enacted until the need for better housing could be coupled with another national objective: the need to reduce unemployment resulting from the Great Depression. Section 1 of the Housing Act of 1937 made clear the dual objectives of the legislation; "to alleviate present and recurring unemployment and to remedy the unsafe, and unsanitary housing conditions and the acute shortage of decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings for families of low income" (Abrams 1946 pg. 325). Although the need to stimulate the economy was key to creation of the program, other forces determined its shapes.

The most important factor that contributed to the design of the public housing program was the extent of the opposition to it. Although the 1937 Housing Act promised jobs and apartments for the "deserving poor", there were still many dissenters. President Roosevelt himself had to be coaxed because a large-scale public housing program had not been part of the first phase of the New Deal (Friedman 1968). Organized opposition came from interest groups, such as the US Chamber of Commerce and the US Savings and Loan League. Also in the forefront of the opposition was the National Association of Real Estate Boards, whose president summarized the views of the private home-building industry as follows:

Housing should remain a matter of private enterprise and private ownership. It is contrary to the genius of the American people and the ideals they have established that government becomes landlord to its citizens. There is sound logic in the continuance of the practice under which those who have initiative and the will to save acquire better living facilities and yield their former quarters at modest rents to the group below (Keith 1973).

Congress conservative members labeled public housing a socialist program and opposed it on the grounds that it would put the government in competition with private property (Friedmann 1968 and Keith 1973). Michael Stone disagrees with Congress, in his work, Shelter Poverty: New Ideas on Housing Affordability, he states, "I think its possible, first, for the United States to have a social movement behind housing like that of the women's rights or civil rights. In this country,

there must be a major impetus to get a movement underway and at present time, I believe America has lost her values and morals when it comes to caring about her own. We no longer hold the truths to be self-evident, support for decent public housing is not there. This movement would need a framework for analysis, a developed vision of an alternative model of housing provisions and the willingness and ability to connect peoples direct experience in an effective way to forcefully propound the dominant cultural institutions (Stone 1990 pg. 278).

Largely as a concession to the private housing industry, the public housing legislation included an "equivalent elimination" provision requiring local authorities to eliminate a substandard or unsafe dwelling unit for each new unit of public housing built. Public housing could replace inadequate units, but it was not to increase the overall supply of housing, since doing so could drive down rents in the private market. The argument that public housing should not interfere with the private market logically led to the view that public housing should be clearly differentiated. This had important implications for its physical design. Public housing, with its austere appearance, is usually easily distinguished from the overall housing stock. World War II soon interrupted the short lived public housing program.

World War II interrupted all non-war war related programs, and public housing construction fell victim to the defense needs. Thousands of units were "pipelined" before the war, but it was not until 1944 that production virtually stopped. Prior to reactivation by the 1940 Housing Act, the real estate lobby launched as all-out attack on public housing. The familiar cry of socialism and the warning that public housing in the United States would destroy the private building industry were heard again.

President Truman, a supporter of the program, responded with this pointed counterattack: "I have been shocked in recent days at the extraordinary propaganda campaign that has been unleashed against this bill (Housing Act of 1949) by the real estate lobby. I do not recall even having witnessed a more deliberate campaign of misrepresentation and distortion against

legislation of such crucial importance to the public welfare. The propaganda of the real estate lobby consistently distorts the facts of the housing situation in the country" (Keith 1973).

Ultimately, proponents of public housing prevailed, but the legislative intent was clear: public housing was only to serve those who could not compete for housing in the private market. Private interest groups were willing to tolerate public housing as long as it was explicitly serving a different consumer. Yet not all low-income people were eligible for a public housing unit.

From the program's inception, it was aimed at providing housing only for the deserving, temporarily poor-the "submerged middle class" (Friedman 1968). The program therefore targeted those who could not find decent, affordable housing on the private market, but not the so-called unworthy poor and those with no means to pay rent. The exception that tenants should pay their own way expressed itself in the formula the federal government devised for financing public housing. Tenant's rents were to cover all operating expenses, exclusive of debt service. Only the federal government through annual contribution contracts paid the principal and interest on bonds, which floated by the local authorities to construct the buildings. Thus, the federal government covered the long term debt financing while ownership and management were vested in local public agencies. This arrangement worked well during the early years of the program.

After World War II, public housing expanded adding nearly 200,000 units of worker housing that was needed near factories or military bases. After the war, as the pent-up demand from the depression and war years was about to produce a suburban housing boom, the powerful real estate industry did not want to compete with public housing. Their claim centered around the issues of public housing was opening the wedge of socialism, the industry was able to convince Congress in 1949 to limit public housing to the very poor. Soon not only did the country's demographic picture began to shift, but the realities of public housing changed radically, with the

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income of residents falling from 57% of the median income in 1950 to about 20% in 1988, and the percentage of minorities rising from 26% in 1944 to more than 75% today.

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These changes affected public housing in at least two ways. First, it meant that rent covered less and less of the operating costs, especially when Congress in 1969 (in response to protests by residents) required that residents pay only 25% of their monomial incomes for rent. This led to the need for larger and larger "operating subsides", which was money that could not be spent on rebuilding deteriorating developments or building new public housing. Second, this change meant that those who live in public housing became increasingly isolated, both in terms of income and race. This fact made it easier for governments, politicians and businesses to ignore public housing. It also made it harder for residents to become part of mainstream economy, and so did the population served by public housing. As Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and Veterans Administration (VA) mortgages insurance and guarantee programs became available to vast numbers of new home buyers, the interstate highway system took form and most of the submerged middle-class residents of public housing surfaced to assume full-fledged suburban middle-class status.

As further concession to the private construction industry, the 1949 Housing Act limited public housing to very-low-income people by requiring that the highest rents be 20% lower than the lowest prevailing rents for decent housing in the private market and authorized the eviction of above-income families (United States Department of Housing and Urban Development 1979).

Publicly provided housing was now to be available only to the very poor. Once public housing was reactivated and could no longer claim to be a depression-stimulated support for the temporarily poor, it became clearly defined as a permanent housing for people who were separated from society's mainstream. There is no question that public housing has made a considerable contribution to addressing the low-income housing problem in this country. Millions

of low-income families have been provided with decent, affordable housing with units with which the great majority of tenants appear to be satisfied. Moreover, the majority of the public housing developments have been reported to be in good condition. But still, public housing in the United States has also been a disappointment. It has not promoted racial integration, often designs of the building have been bleak, accessibility has been poor and management has been problematic. Yet, many of public housing's failings have been due to opposition by private-sector critic's attempts to kill the program. While public housing cannot and should not be "let off the hook" (with regards to racial integration and management) these problems are correctable and do not reflect inherent flaws in the basic concept of the public housing program. In view of the real achievements of public housing, why do completely negative stereotypes persists? First, some of the most problem-laden projects clustered in large cities and are readily observable to many people. The vast numbers of successful projects are more dispersed and are often in small cities and towns. The reality that a handful of projects are in serious difficulty may have created the myth that all public housing has failed. Second, the notion that public housing has been a failure is certainly what interest groups want to believe and propound. Thirdly, generally speaking, the poor have not been political activists. This inevitably lessens the thrust of such program public housing and blacks are much more likely than whites to be poor. Their average income is considerably lower and non-whites, especially Negroes, are discriminated against.

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The United States Civil Rights Commission declared in its 1959 report that "housing...seems to be the one commodity in the American market that is not freely available on equal terms to everyone who can afford to pay" (Freedman 1968 pg. 134). Nonwhites are charged more than whites for equivalent housing even at the public housing level. "The dollar in a dark hand", said the Commission, does not "have the same purchasing power as a dollar in a white hand", and much of the housing market is closed to blacks at any price (Freedman 1996 pg. 134).

Public ownership of housing is still not a popular concept, and a successful program that bypasses the private home-building industry would be just as unwelcome among the private sector today as it was when the program was enacted. And the final reason for the negative public housing stereotypes is that the media tends to cover the failures within the public housing community to a far greater degree than they have the success. Something happen in the United States in the early sixties to change the position the Federal Government played in providing opportunities for individuals of public housing status to participate in programs that would successfully bridge their economic, social and environmental status.

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The creation of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) by Congress in 1966 marked the first Cabinet position that sought to administer directly to urban problems.

Urban programs that supported health, education and employment training were funded by HUD, but by far the largest increment in spending was on programs associated with community development and housing (Judd 167) Public housing was now finally on its way for a change in how the social development of residents could change due to programs that would offer accessibility to funds, education, better health and documentation that Congress wanted to be involved. In their work, Evaluating Social Development Projects, Marsden & Oakley state that "If some form of social development is to become the objective of an particular development program or project, then it is reasonable to assume that, at some stage in the project's. Evolution, we may wish to evaluate its outcome or impact" (Marsden & Oakley 1990 pg. 27).

The United States Department of Housing and Urban Development initiated Project self-sufficiency as a national demonstration in late 1984. Project self-sufficiency used Section 8 Existing Housing certificates as an incentive for communities to develop public-private partnerships that would provide a comprehensive program of housing, child care, transportation, personal and career counseling, education, job training, and job placement assistance to help

families break the cycle of poverty. Project self-sufficiency was designed to encourage communities to take the initiative in planning and implementing their local programs and to be creative in testing a variety of approaches.

Both of the programs implemented by HUD (Operation Bootstrap & Project self-sufficiency) lapsed. HUD then mandated that all Public Housing Authorities (PHA) implement the Family self-sufficiency Program in November of 1990 to promote the development of strategies to coordinate Federal Public Housing, Indian Housing and Section 8 Rental assistance with public and private supportive services that would enable lower-income families to achieve economic

independence and self-sufficiency. Participation in the Family self-sufficiency (Family Self-Sufficiency) program was strictly voluntary and HUD discovered reasons behind the low participation rates of families. Some families opt not to participate in the program for "fear of governmental contracts, fear of failure and low self-esteem" (Covel March 20, 1997). The program (FSS) have been evaluated for the success and weakness and duration of participation of residents and their ability to change their economic, social, and educational goals as a result of participating in these programs.

America's public housing system had embarked on a period of fundamental change. Some of the most dangerous and dilapidated urban public housing projects are being replaced. The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has always intervened to improve the operation of chronically mismanaged Public Housing Authorities (PHAs). Regulations that govern public housing are being overhauled and streamlined to provide a new flexibility for Public Housing Authorities and new opportunities for residents. Public Housing Authorities (PHAs) must find ways to help residents re-enter the economic mainstream if they are to remain viable as providers of affordable low-income housing. The primary goal of these reforms is to ensure that

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public housing will no longer be a permanent residence, but a platform for families and individuals to achieve Self-Sufficiency.

Achieving the social and economic objectives of self-sufficiency programs will be no easy task due to the characteristics of the public housing population. Many face multiple and serious barriers to employment and independence. Public housing families are among the poorest residents of America's poorest urban neighborhoods. Household income in public housing averages seventeen percent of the area median. In many of the nation's larger housing authorities, a single female with heads more than eighty percent of non-elderly families children. A growing share of public housing residents has a long history of dependency (although the median length of public housing residence is four years) and twenty-nine percent of public housing residents remain for ten years or more. See Appendix A

Perhaps most serious, however, is that public housing is located disproportionately in areas of concentrated poverty which are frequently plagued by social ills such as crime, drugs, teenage pregnancy, high dropout rates, and chronic unemployment. Numerous factors have made reduced dependency on public assistance both a political and practical necessity. Provisions of recently enacted Federal welfare reform impose work requirements on able-bodied adults and time limits on welfare benefits will affect most public housing families.

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And now, under President Clinton and former Secretary Cuomo, the major emphasis of the Department of Housing and Urban Development is building home ownership zones to revitalize depressed communities. In a speech to the White House Conference on Community Empowerment, President Clinton made the following commitment, "If we really want all of our communities to be revitalized again we not only have to create opportunities for poor people, we have to make the environment so that middle-class people will want to live in them again, and that poor and the middle-class will live side by side, as they did in the neighborhoods when I

grew up. We have to do that. We have to be committed to helping all Americans achieve this large part of the American dream known as home ownership" (United States Department of Housing and Urban Development 1996).

The Department of Housing and Urban Development is a strong supporter of low income families and to ensure that homeowners will be created from those now on public assistance, HUD mandated that all Public Housing Authorities (PHA) implement a Family Self Sufficiency (FSS) programs. The Family Self-Sufficiency (FSS) program was established by the National Affordable Housing Act (P.L. 101-625), November 28, 1990), and was amended in October 1992 by the Housing and Community Development Act of 1992 (P.L. 102-550). The program's purpose is to promote the development of local strategies to coordinate federal housing assistance with public and private resources in order to enable lower-income families to achieve and maintain economic independence and self-sufficiency. Michigan's Family self-sufficiency Programs flourished when first implemented. Participation in the Family self-sufficiency Program required residents to meet with a family service coordinator. The coordinator then had the responsibility of working with the participant to generate an action plan. The purpose of this action plan was to serve as a gauge where the resident would decide if he/she wanted to enter into a plan that could last up to five years.

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The coordinator assists in outlining the steps participants should follow, the resources they could utilize and they set target dates for completion of the program. Next, the participant would sign a five-year contract with the federal government agreeing to adhere to the federally mandated guidelines for Family self-sufficiency. See **Appendix E** for a example of what a contract contains.

Many who participated became socially and economically independent of public welfare institutions, many were able to save enough funds to purchase a home and move out of public housing. Some entered into institutions of higher learning and advance their

educational status. Recently due to the lack of participation on the part of the residents the program has come under attack from the HUD Administration. Lack of communication and trust was said to be some of the key factors that hinder residents from participating in the program. Recently efforts have resorted in many Public Housing Authorities to using income-mixing strategy to include the development of families reaching economic self-sufficiency and becoming less dependent on federal subsidies.

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CHAPTER 3 PUBLIC HOUSING POLICIE'S INFLUENCE

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Harvard University's Joint Center for Housing Studies 1995 Report lists, among its "unmet needs", housing for the ill-housed (primarily the poor, although not only the poor) has never been the central feature of United States housing policy, not even of public housing policy. Historically, public housing has always been the tail of some other dog. The study provides eight different key issues that support the finding. First, of the effort to create jobs, in the original United States Housing Act of 1937; (2) the need for war production, during World War II; (3) the demands of returning veterans for decent housing after the war ended; (4) the relocation and slum clearance requirements of urban redevelopment and urban renewal; programs; (5) the anti-poverty program and attempts to still the racial unrest in the ghettos; (6) the ideologically driven effort to extricate the government from housing for the poor, in production, management, and ownership; (7) the pressure to reduce social expenditures by decentralization and the passing of responsibilities so far as feasible to nonprofits and residents; (8) the general drive for privatization of governmental functions and the reduction of "big movement".

The following chapter will discuss how public policies simultaneously help and hindered progress toward economic independence and self-sufficiency for a number of programs initiated in the public housing sector. The sustainability of housing policies have always been dependent on the role the federal government adopts as financial and economic distress continue to develop, it appears that housing policies implemented today might not serve the public housing population in altering the distribution of income. They first must have an income that affords them the same opportunities as they compete with mainstream.

In a article by George Sternlieb and James W. Hughes they state an important and realistic fact concerning housing. "Housing is not merely a refuge from elements; it is an essential tool

• binding together an America of enormously varied humanity, housing and homeownership glues people to the system, and the United States is in the process of dismantling the very apparatus that has woven together our social and political fabric since the Great Depression"(1997 pg. 143). It is said that "Housing policy" is a similarly ambiguous term. Housing policy can influence the number and kind of new structures built and the maintenance, conversion, and removal of old structures. In a larger sense it can influence housing services-the quality of the housing stock and of the individual units and the cost of housing services (Mitchell 1985 pg. 21).

The study of "policy" and the study of "power" are closely related. Power is usually operationally defined in terms of policy outcomes-that is, as the ability of a political actor to influence the behavior of others in such a way to gain a preferred outcome. Mary K. Nenno, the author of Ending The Stalemate, focuses her attention on the process of urban and housing development and how it played a major role in shaping the lives of the American poor and low income. Nenno's work presents evidence and documentation that indicates how these problems continue to grow and face opposition in maintaining housing. Nenno also address the social and economic stability for occupants of public housing. Nenno's works investigates several ineffective systems implemented that have failed to develop strategies. They have failed to encourage state and local government and private interests to help implement national goals, so housing and urban development needs of the nation could be recognized an integral and continuing component of national well being (Nenno 1995 Pg. 14). Nenno work examines how the role of the Federal Government has helped in the past five decades implement/alter or even reduce policies where housing is concern. Nenno has been quite accurate as she points out the different repercussion the housing legislation has encountered during the different administrations, many times causing the debate surrounding the issues to pass from one administration to another. Nenno suggest that until a national urban policy is created that can meet the needs of housing and urban development,

this cycle of frustration and missed opportunities will continue to rob this nation. Nenno focuses on the Cabinet-Level Department and its History to the Framework of a National Policy, towards the end of her work she takes a shift in how she perceives that it is necessary for a National Urban Policy should be an International Policy.

In addressing the concerns raised by Nenno's work, I looked briefly at several of the issues raised by Nenno that has effected residents of public housing, starting with the Johnson's administration that was geared at stabilizing the housing issues, (Model Cities & Metropolitan Development Act of 1966) and the (Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968) bringing the government into the front, and how Johnson saw these as important features that could help change the direction for urban America. Nenno points out that it was this administration that proposed and got accepted by the Congress an approved cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), with high aspirations and a broad mission to bring new direction and resources to the demands of urban change (Nenno 1995 pg. 3).

The creation of HUD came a secretary (Weaver) who recognized the need to consolidate the constituent units of the HHFA, which had often operated as separate entities (Nenno 1995 pg.6). Weaver set out to also combine the financing function in the same Cabinet department with an expanded

capacity to integrate physical and social planning and housing rehabilitation, increase the production of housing, and develop a policy of land purchase authority to facilitate future urban development. Nenno looks at the different administrations and failure of the HUD structure. First, a number of past and current HUD assisted housing policies ran counter to the goal of achieving sound and livable housing developments. (Nenno 1995 pg. 213). These included, first, a well intentioned but failed policy to concentrate assistance on the poorest households, which made it difficult to locate assisted housing developments with this concentratrated occupancy in many

communities. Management of housing developments with concentrations of very-low-income residents is particularly difficult in large cities with an inventory of large public housing developments located in areas that are severely distressed. Secondly, HUD housing policy that needs new attention is an explicit effort to encourage housing settings and structural designs that respond to diverse household needs. This kind of approach has not been encouraged by federal policy, Nenno believes, except in the case of developments for the elderly, and to a lesser extent, for the disabled or homeless persons. Thirdly, Nenno suggest that HUD policy needs new attention in an expanded effort to make housing developments place opportunity for residents to achieve maximum independence. (Nenno 1995 pg. 212)

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Throughout her work, Nenno uses two terms that should be embedded in any policy regarding housing and urban development (linkage and empowerment). She illustrates that there is strong evidence of a lack of systematic linkage between the different administrations that failed to comprehend the urgency for political support and implementation of housing policies to stay foremost at the front of the housing mission statement. If there is no direct linkage between the role of the federal government and housing/urban development, the cycle will continue to repeat itself. Empowerment acts as a catalyst, and Nenno's work brings to the forefront I believe several instruments of power held in the hands of the government that could turn the situation in housing around, promoting the necessary changes needed for the restructuring of many housing conditions that should change.

One of the key factors needed to promote this was resources and strong political leadership. These two forces were brought to a halt during the Johnson's administration due to the United States involvement in Vietnam War, never to surface at the level Johnson had demonstrated possible. Nenno's work points out that it took some twenty-five years, along with scandal, mismanagement for HUD to attempt to return to the former mission statement of providing

affordable home for low and moderate income families. In her attempts to demonstrate the role of the government, Nenno never points the finger at them, she only gives strong answers as to the solutions they could have used to bridge other programs that were in force during these times. Nenno's work submit that the national housing and urban development initiatives had been only piecemeal, raising and falling with the emergence and decline of national crises and changes in political leadership. The only way for housing and community development to get the full support of whatever administration that is in action, Nenno believes that there should be a National Urban Policy.

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In addition to the work on housing policy documented by Mary K. Nenno, I would like to introduce some of the concepts concerning housing policies written by R. Allen Hays. Some of his concerns parallel along the same lines as Nenno. Hays' work concerning some of the factors, which describe the role of federal government and urban housing, is very innovative and informative. Hays believes that since the Great Depression, and even more since World War II, the federal government has assumed the responsibility of deliberate macro economics intervention, in order to minimize the peaks and valleys of prosperity and recession to which the market system is subject. Other new issues such as welfare reform and the position HUD has taken in the last several years will affect not only the standard of housing for residents of public project type housing and section 8 type housing, but the funds allocated to provide sites for additional housing.

Hays's work implies also that power and policy are closely related, so much so that one (power) is usually operationally defined in terms of policy outcomes- that is, as the ability of a political actor to influence the behavior of others in such a way to gain a preferred outcome. While Hays's work offers an important contribution to the concepts of power and policy-making where the Conservative and Liberals intervene, he does argue later that the viewpoints are not accurate reflections of their actual operational values. It is clear he states that these two terms

symbolize distinct interpretation of a common ideology, "democratic capitalism", which dictate different solutions to common problems. He also suggests another area, Liberals/Conservative split, emerges over the scope and direction of community development, a area where government plays a powerful role. Policy concerning community development have been dominated by two distinct, but interrelated sets of issues that are so closely related that they appear confusing at times, they are, the role of local government vis-à-vis and the private sector in the control of economic growth and physical development. The other issue relates to the changing distribution of power between federal, state, and local governments as they have assumed differing roles in the local community development process. At one time the prevailing paradigm among political scientist was the pluralist model. In this model, power is not controlled by a single ruling elite, but by fragmented elite groups, which are divided both geographically and functionally. Based on these findings, as a planner, I would then argue that if ideology is the main driving force behind political behavior, what factors change the actors in making decisions that change the behavior of the individual that policy-making decisions will affect the greatest, public housing residents).

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The key words "power and policy" become one of the guiding forces that help stimulate the outcome of issues that surround housing, community development and the plight of public policy. Hays outlines the role of several key political entities that shape policy-making among people of power. There has to be a structure set it places for power to operate. At one time this was seen as the pluralist model (one who holds more than one office) the prevailing paradigm among political scientist. In this model, power is not controlled by a single ruling elite, but by fragmented elite groups, which are divided both geographically and functionally. One of the most important areas of concern that Hays emphasizes is the relationship of government involvement in urban housing policy over the last fifty years. I believe like Hays that the role of government has been

that of a "catalyst". Always there in some way building or breaking up what should have been a foundation solid enough to bridge the gap from the inception of the first housing act till the present. Private enterprise throughout its history, turned to government for financial and legal support, business interests have not hesitated to manipulate public power for private purposes. Numerous industry groups demand government intervention to stabilize or enhance their economic position. While sometimes Hays find inconsistisces in the position taken by both Liberals and Conservatives, they both play off each other in some ways.

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Liberals favor an increased government role in all areas of social and economic life, while conservatives favor holding the line or decreasing governmental activity. Sometimes Hays' work on policy gives readers the impression that without the backbone of governmental involvement, policies influenced such as housing, social welfare needed government intervention. The great depression was an even greater catalyst for increased government activity. I look at the federal government involvement in community development programs and issues related to urban renewal and model cities, gradually reduced federal administrative role in housing and community development signaled the beginning of a long-term reduction in federal involvement in these problems.

Hays's work provided a close up witness of different Presidential Administrations involvement in housing programs. Nixon took the lead in criticizing them. Ronald Reagan proposed he would "turn the country around", and he did just that. His proposals for economic stimulus followed the supply philosophy in calling for deep tax cuts targeted mainly investors accompanied by substantial reductions in domestic spending, amounting to approximately \$40 billion in FY 1982. In achieving such cuts, the Reagan Administration utilized its political resources skillfully to influence Congress. Housing programs were the primary target cuts. Housing efforts carried out under Community Development Block Grants were also affected, though they proved somewhat

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less vulnerable. These actions by Reagan's Administration supports Hays' concept of "Ideology" and how it is a set of interrelated assertions about the world which guides the behavior of individuals and group.

Presently, the Clinton Administration has not been attracted to the issue that surrounds housing policy enough to make a significant difference. The outcome does not match the concept of "democratic capitalism" seeing how housing is allowed \$35 billion to guarantee decent housing with a commitment in a \$5 trillion economy. It would appear that many of the actors in the school of "ideology" play only when it's safe and convenient. I would agure as a planner just as Hays, that if housing is to be considered a physical resource and housing policy decisions are influenced by environment, why then is it so difficult to implement policy that should counteract the potential detrimental impact this country continues to face regarding issues such as these.

The Ford Administration continued Nixon basic approach, and the Carter Administration followed. Hays suggest that a period that began with an active and relatively well-funded federal role in urban areas also encompassed a slow, "strategic" withdrawal from that role. I underline strategic because I think it was well planned and demonstrated throughout the past administration as well as the one we are presently involved in. As a future planner I would also agree with Hays when he states, "underlying changes in the values and perspectives of those public officials in key national decision-making roles, and changing economic conditions help to produce a changing climate of opinion, particularly among political elite's". (pg. xi).

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Hays' suggests that policy and the study of power are closely related. Hays suggest also that political actors have influence and the ability to change the behaviors of others in such a way as to gain a preferred out come. Hays focuses on the concept of "ideology", a set of interrelated assertions about the world, which guides the behavior of individuals and groups. Hays work

manages to link his definition of ideology to the position the Liberals and Conservatives take towards housing policies. Although there seems to be some inconsistencies where both parties give support to how they view public housing. Hays stress that both have had other influences that shape their views of capitalism. Some he feels have incorporated socialist's ideals, while many conservatives adhere to notions of government enforcement. Whatever the case, housing from the first inception of government involving has numerous attempts at changing the social and economic stability of low-income residents of public as well as private sectors.

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Hays does provide an account of the role government has played in implementing policies that have changed the way housing programs such as FHA, HUD, CDBG, and other community development programs have been funded. Presently, Hays suggest, we are still surrounded by neighborhoods with families that don't possess substantial housing or funds to obtain housing. We have passed through five presidential Administrations and still housing policies remain the center of attention. Reagan's overall economic and budgetary goals may have been instrumental in setting in motion much of what has continue to this present era. The responsibility of housing and the policies that shape the outcome still lay with the powers that be. Hays's key words are "ideology" and "power" and "policy", which should influence and change the behavior of individuals and group. Hays suggested that most people associated with housing in some form or another are just merely waiting for the government to back down and provide funds that will allow housing policies to change. I realize there are many more scholars who have documented work on housing policies. I selected Hays and Nenno's work due to the large amount of housing programs they were able to expound on regarding public housing and public housing policies.

I was able to secure some information regarding federal housing policy from the National Center for Housing Policy Analysis. Policy makers contend that they will avoid the failures of the past by building townhouse type units, rather than high-rises, and locate them in higher-income

areas. They suggest that from a federal spending budget these are some of the issues regarding public housing policy that plague their center. (1) They are attempting not to repeat the past failures, federal public housing policy consists of mixing voucher subsidies, which allow some families to select where they want to live, with construction of new public housing units, even as old edifices are being torn down. The old projects had become havens for drug sellers and users, as well as monuments to crime, joblessness and hopelessness. (2) Nationwide, more than a million families now live in housing constructed at government expense. (3) The new policy would allow more working poor families into public housing projects, which have become predominately occupied by very poor welfare families.

The idea, the center believes is that working families can be role models for their neighbors, help stabilize projects and pay higher rents to help housing authorities financially. The center has faced opposition from Secretary (Andrew M. Cuomo) of Housing and Urban Development regarding this plan. He thinks its revolutionary" because the poorest tenants tend to be black and Hispanic while more of the working poor are white. Ideally, he says, every building should reflect the racial makeup of each city's public housing system. (Source: Randy Kennedy, "Mixing up the Projects," New York Times, November 15, 1998) This new concept has raised the eyes of critics who suggest that this approach will distance tenants from supportive family members. Also the stress the costs would increase to build a house much more than provide a poor family with vouchers. Units being constructed in Dallas and Michigan, for example, will cost \$60,000 to \$82,000 each. For roughly the same amount of money it cost to build 75 units, the Dallas Housing Authority could have provided 200 families with \$5,000 a year in housing vouchers for six years.

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Regardless of the language that surrounds this new effort to change the situation for public housing residents, federal housing policy will have to take the lead in the initial implementation process.

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Chapter Four: New Direction in Urban Public Housing

For those of us who believe we are guided by a supreme being, I borrow a few of his wisdom words from the book of Proverbs. God declares to King Solomon, "Better is the end of a thing than the beginning there of". (King James Verison Proverbs)

As a nation we are fast approaching the Millennium and people are busy gathering supplies and seeking places of shelter and safety. Public housing has been around a brief time, sixty-one years. What direction will urban policy take if all the rhetoric we hear about the millennium is in fact correct. Lawrence J. Vale's work, Public Housing Redevelopment, injects a powerful statement from the work of a fellow writer of housing policy, "he declares that much of the research and writing about public housing in the United States has stressed the intractability of its problems, yet has frequently focused on the search for a solution that emphasizes the transformative power of a single factor. (Bauman 1994). For some of the actors involved it has been the architectural design, some it has been management reform, service provision and family self-sufficiency programs, drug prevention, resident satisfaction or public policy initiatives and home ownership.

Clearly, as the needs of public housing residents and public housing authorities have expanded, more and more specialists have been called in for consultation (Vale 1992 pg. 142) For example, many of the past designs and location had been developed in such a manner that public housing was always separate from the surrounding neighborhoods. Isolating the residents as their environment became plagued with criminal activity, including frequent thefts and muggings. These conditions only reinforced the problems associated with this type of distressed housing. It is commonly recognized that the problems of severely distressed housing-often thought of as a matter of ill-conceived and deteriorating buildings-are also fully entwined with the socioeconomic problems of severely distressed public housing residents (Vale 1992) It's not enough to realize that eighty percent of the non-elderly public housing population lives below the poverty line, and a majority of households in big city public housing developments are headed by

unemployed single parents and report incomes below 20 percent of the local median. The question that should be asked of planners, policy-makers and those who have the capacity to build a stronger housing legislation should ask, where do we go from here as a country with the power to change legislation concerning public housing policy?

Judy A. England-Joseph, Director, Housing and Community Development Issues spoke before the Housing and Community Opportunity Subcommittee regarding federal housing programs. I would like to incorporate **part** of her testimony in this research and illustrate just how significant policy implementation is related to residents. "Current federal housing programs are seen as overly regulated and leaning to warehousing of the poor, and Congress is asking state and local governments to assume a larger role in defining how the program works', she states "Congress is now reconsidering the most basic aspects of public housing policy—whom it will house, the resources devoted to it, the amount of existing housing stock that will be retained, and the rules under which it will operate".

These statements provide GAO's views on legislation pending before Congress—S.1260 and H.R. 2406—which would overhaul federal housing policy. GAO testified that the two bills contain provisions that will likely improve the long-term viability of public housing, such as allowing mixed incomes in public housing and conversions of some public housing to housing vouchers or

tenant based assistance when that makes the most sense.GAO also supports provisions to significantly beef up the Department of Housing and Urban Development's (HUD) authority to intervene in the management of troubled housing authorities, but GAO cautions that questions remain about the reliability of the oversight system that HUD uses to designate these agencies as "troubled". So where does public housing go from here? I would like to look at what has been

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done in the past to change the direction of public housing and also look to the future and see if there are any programs implemented that can change the direction of public housing.

David P. Varady & Wolfgang F.E. Preiser and Francis P. Russell, in their work, New Direction in Urban Public Housing suggest several critical components needed in our nation and our housing market for every community to benefit. (1). Private for-profit organizations, (2). Private nonprofit entities, and (3). Public agencies. They believe that in most cases each of these entities focuses on serving the needs of a particular part of the population in the community (pg. 238).

At any given point in time, the effectiveness of each sector is shaped by the financing available to it, (both public and private), the subsidy dollars available to it (direct or through the tax code). and the leadership of the organizations in that sector. When one of these sectors "fails", it is important that there be other alternatives that can take over where there is a vacuum. (pg. 238). They suggest that if there is no longer a public agency that can manage housing units, then the community has lost one-third of its ability to respond to certain housing needs. And certainty, its no secret that many Public Housing Authorities have failed residents in the past. Many residents have been left homeless due to the lack of intervention on the part of person(s) in position of power stepping beyond the traditional role and reshaping the focus of the community. The image public housing has provided has sometimes had unconscionably bad environments for its residents. Between intolerable physical conditions, woefully inadequate services, and very real dangers to life and limb, these properties could reasonably be considered by all decent people to be disaster. Because of the image issue, the federal mandates regarding who is to be admitted, the local politics which also shape admissions policy, and other factors, the population of public housing has become increasingly poor, increasingly dominated by single-parent-headed households and families of racial ethnic minorities, and increasingly troubled (pg.242). In the current political and social climate in this

nation, such families have fewer and fewer advocates and allies. Social facts like these do not make public housing worse, but they make it less popular. These factors make it easier for politicians and bureaucrats to ignore this constituency.

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Public housing has suffered from financial starvation because federal funds for public housing have always been less than adequate. In a number of cases over the past decade, Congress has not even appropriated the funding levels "guaranteed" by the Performance Funding System, a formula which was created to determine how much money PHA's should receive to conduct their normal property management operations (pg.242). Coupled with residents who have lost their sense of identity and feel isolated, this constant underfunding has meant that needed repairs have been postponed, hard choices have been required, and frequently this has led to more low-maintenance, capital improvements have been, and still are, severely underfunded. As documented in many studies throughout the United States, the package incentives that emerge from regulations surrounding programs for public housing that serve the poor Americans such as welfare, food stamps, Medicaid, and public housing, tends to drive these families away from the economic mainstream rather than toward it.

I realize lot of negative issues have been shared concerning public housing. I would like to briefly share what James G. Stockard suggest are the <u>Ten Points on Which to Build Public Housing Over the Next Sixty Years.</u> Mr. Stockard believes these points can help guide policymakers and administrators as the programs of public housing are reshaped. Point (1) Housing is especially important to children in shaping their view of the world and their ability to control their future. This research provided data regarding the number of children who reside in public housing. Mr. Stockard further explains that policymakers sometimes lose track of that very fact, the affects the surroundings and environment contribute to the livelihood of the next generation, our children. Point (2) Poor people cannot afford to pay the legitimate costs of decent housing. In most cities of any size and many rural areas, a substantial portion of the population (as much as 20% in many locations) (Joint Center for Housing Studies 1996,

Tables A-1 and A-12) simply does not earn enough money to pay for the fair costs of housing (land, materials, labor, financing and operations) produced by the marketplace. The third point is that the marketplace will not sort out housing needs and provide appropriate housing for everybody. The fourth point is if people do not have decent housing, other bad things happen in their lives as they find way in coping with these problems, society incurs other costs-mental health,crime, divorce, family abuse, fire's, and so on. Because housing is so important, people almost always find some way to cope with meeting their needs. They double up with some relative or friend; they live in very inadequate and unsafe housing; they move to a remote location where no jobs are accessible; they "live" in shelters with their children. The fifth point is it is better for people to live in the midst of economically and demographically diverse communities than to live in isolated developments of only a single category of residents. He feels that if people live in mixed developments they would be less likely susceptible to stigma, less likely to be isolated and underserve, and easier to integrate into normal fabric of the community.

The six point is that none of the three basic forms of organizations (private for-profits, private nonprofits, public agencies) has a record of total success or total failure at developing and managing housing, especially for those who cannot afford to pay the full costs of that housing. The seventh point is that resident-based subsidies are a good idea, but they will not work for everybody, and they are often more costly than site-based subsides, especially over the long haul. The eighth point is over the long term, decent housing for low-and moderate-income people will thrive only if it develops a broader constituency. I would like to expand Mr. Stockard's points on this particular issue. He suggest that programs that serve only poor people or other marginalized constituencies will always be fragile in our society, a primary reason for this is that some of the individuals in these categories are not the ones who are naturally seen as "deserving" by the public at large.

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In addition, poor families and individuals are a minority of our population, and they typically do not vote in high numbers. For this reason, it is an easy population to write off, both electoral and financially. The ninth point suggest that the biggest single problem in the implementation of affordable housing programs over the past sixty years has been the lack of consequences for failure (to anybody except the residents). If the public is to support housing for those who cannot afford to pay for it, someone must be accountable to ensure that success in providing this form of housing is rewarded and failure is punished. He goes on to address how unconscionable it is that a housing authority such as the Department of Public and Assisted Housing in Washington, D.C., could remained on the "Troubled Housing Authority" list for more than seventeen years with no significant sanctions. Neither the city nor HUD was willing to take the actions necessary to preserve the rights of the 12,000 households who deserved better. I'm not aware of any studies done to investigate how this must have effected the self-esteem of those resident, or the self-esteem of those who were small children that have now become adults. The tenth and final point suggest that the important goal is maximum affordablehousing-unit-months over the long term-not the preservation of any particular institution, program, or financial structure. Given these ten points by Mr. Stockard, what do I do as a future planner to help develop strategies that would help public housing residents as well as public housing practitioners, policymakers, community based organizations. The first thing, I accept the responsibility that comes along with being a planner, Accountability and Integrity. These are two most valuable characteristics I can possess. If we do survive the rhetoric surrounding the millennium, God is not going to reproduce any more land. I would like to share some of the ideas I think could help change the situation where public housing is concern. (1) HUD and Congress need to sit at the same table and come up with a plan where money that has been allocated for housing is not reduced. (2) Planners need to find ways to preserve the land we have to work with by becoming involved in the planning process of zoning, development and other areas. (3) Planners need to see residents of public housing as human beings that

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don't need to be isolated from mainstream America. (4) Develop new ideas where housing that is built can mix lower income housing into higher incomes housing, everybody needs the opportunity to be account for and involved. (5) Work with community based organizations as they implement programs that can help residents reach self-sufficiency. (6). Seek employment where you can make the greatest difference.

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The previous four chapters have helped create the backbone for the fifth chapter. I strongly believe that the eight females in this brief case study who shared their experiences of living in public housing with this research have helped me develop a framework in which I can have a better understanding how closely related policy and power go hand in hand. This framework will demonstrate how the loss of self-esteem due to isolation or treatment received by living in conditions described in this work can be changed if all the actors mentioned are at the table. The whole purpose of this research was to seek ways to examine all the issues that surround public housing and see if there is a solution that could help change the perceptions residents have regarding self-esteem.

C H A P T E R F E



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Theoretical Conceptional Framework

Introduction:

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According to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, millions of members of ethnic and racial minority groups have suffered, and continue to suffer, from deprivation and injustice in America due to low self-esteem and isolation. Many factors contribute to this situation. Among those noted by the commission were: historical development, economic and physical conditions, technical and population trends, long-established institutional structures and practices, political forces, social and personal customs, attitudes, and racism (United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1970).

It is important to study racial attitudes in community, school and other social areas because of its importance in relationship to those institutions touching the lives of practically all Americans. The Commission on Civil Rights defines racism in operational terms. "Racism" may be viewed as "...any attitude, action, or institutional structure which subordinates a person or group because of his or their color" (pg. 5). Even though "race" and "color" are not the same, in America it is the visibility of skin color and of other physical traits associated with particular colors or groups that marks individuals as "targets" for subordination by members of society. These actions many times lead to feelings of low self-esteem and worthlessness.

Self-Esteem:

Gergen (1971) viewed the development of the self-structure as occurring through the learning and weighting of "concepts". Erickson (1959) likewise theorized that a "learned need" to categorize leads the person to develop a set of concepts of self. Although the person may learn a variety of ways to view self, certain views are learned more thoroughly than others (Gergen, 1971 p. 31). One such learning is the evaluative weighting of a concept. If behavior (as applied to a concept brings pleasure, that concept will become positively weighted (Gergen 1971 pg. 34). The person thus learns the evaluative significance of concepts from experience with the surrounding culture.

Evaluative weighting thus learned "forms an integral part of the person's self-esteem" (pg. Gergen 1971 36). "Self-esteem can be thought of as the evaluative component of self-concept" (Gergen 1971 pg. 37). It is a "person's perceptions of his worth.... (Which are) assumed to derive from ...self-other comparisons" (Long & Henderson & Sillier 1970, pg. 10). Wily (1974) referred to this idea as "positive self regard." She contended that "self-esteem congruence between self and ideal self means being proud of one's attributes highly". Like wise, Rosenberg (1956) contended that self-other appraisal is very important to the specific nature of social influences upon self-esteem. Gergen (1971) contended that if one is viewed in negative ways by the society one may come to accept these concept learning, and to view one's self in terms of negative evaluative weightings. Some researchers have also advanced the hypothesis that if groups of persons are differentially esteemed by the broader culture, the individual group members who internalize this value system may judge themselves accordingly (Brown, 1967; Clark & Clark, 1947; Garza, 1977; Healey, 1974; Kardiner & Oversey, 1951; Lewin, 1948; Rosenberg, 1965; & Stevenson & Stewart, 1958). Mead (1934) saw the self as a social phenomenon made possible through communication of language. The use of language allows the person to reflect upon him as an object. The persons look upon him as an object much as he looks upon other objects. The development of self is possible through generalizing the expectations of the "significant others" in society.

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Rosenberg (1965) contended "that different social groups are likely to be exposed to characteristic reactions from others which may be decisive in the formation of self-esteem" (Rosenberg, 1965, p. 15). Many studies have shown that different races, nationalities, social classes, and religious group differ in self-esteem has been shown to be related to the prestige rank of the group. Cartwright (1950) expressed this position. The groups to which a person belongs serve as primacy determiners of his self-esteem. To a considerable extent, personal feelings of worth depend on the social evaluation of the

groups with which a person is identified. Self-hatred and feelings of worthlessness tend to arise from membership in underprivileged or outcast group's (p. 440).

Rosenberg (1965) noted that when an individual is faced with some major decision, and that decision is most likely to depend upon his own view of what he is like, then his self-image is likely to be at the forefront of his attention. Rosenberg saw this self-image as an attitude. Direction of the attitude is one of its features. How favorably or unfavorably does he feel about himself?

The origins and development of self-esteem are thus a matter of attitude formation developing from the interaction of the personality of the individual and his social experiences. U'Ren (1971) noted that social behaviors resulting from self-esteem are influential in development of personality and social effectiveness. The level of self- esteem is correlated to the person's behavior in social situations. Mossman and Ziller (1968) made the point that self-esteem is the component of individual self-system most closely associated with consistency of self-response. According to Brisset (1972), self-esteem encompasses the two sociopsychological processes of self-worth and self-evaluation.

Black Self-Esteem

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In 1903, W.E. Burghardt DuBois published his monumental work on the "Negro Problem" in American society - Souls of Black Folk. Like contemporary scholars, DuBois focused a great deal of attention to the Black's difficulty in attempting to gain a positive sense of self in a race conscious social milieu. DuBois, himself a Black, related how as a child at school one day "it dawned upon me with a certain suddenness that I was different from others; or like, mayhap, in heart and life and longing, but shut out from their world by a vast veil" (DuBois 1903 pg.16). DuBois' contention is that the major problem that the Black must solve is to reconcile his double-consciousness... One ever feels the twoness-an American, a Negro, two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings..." (DuBois 1903 pg. 17).

The difficulty, as DuBois saw it, was that the individual's identity is tied to the "problem of the color line." Dai (1953) documented the accuracy of DuBois' assessment. The color of one's skin becomes an issue of primary importance, and often creates difficulty for the personality development of the child. This colorcast system is tied up with the "white is good, black is bad" concept which is flashed to the child by most of the socializing symbols of his world (Grambs, 1965, pp. 13-17). However, in recent years there has been a growing current of thought among Black's groups as to the need to awaken a felling of ethnic identity and pride. This trend first noted in the great expansion of the Black Nationalists in the middle 1950's and the Black Power" movement in the early 1960's. It is found today in the "Black is Beautiful" appeal. Gordon (1974) concluded that the "Black is Beautiful" movement had been influential in changing some dimensions of self-concept among Blacks, especially color preference. However, he also concluded that Black American is likely to be plagued by low self-esteem. This is due to the reality that in most interactions with Whites, the Black is engaged in activities, which require abilities or experiences more likely to be possessed by the Whites than Blacks.

Many investigators have examined the effects of segregation and self-esteem in Black children. Brunner (1965) summarized the effects of segregation as having "serious damage to the self image on the part of both individuals and groups." Ausubel and Ausubel (1963) contended that Black children have lower self-esteem because of their status and caste position in society. Dai (1961) described the particular difficulties the Black child experiences in developing consistency during adolescence. Poussaint and Atkinson (1968) contended that the generalized other presents a judgement for the Black child that says he is inferior. This produces negative self-esteem because the child's contact with symbols of social inferiority, such as segregated school settings, neighborhoods, and inferior jobs. McCandless (1960) found society organized in such a way as to lead the Black child to devalue, and perhaps even reject his own ethnic group (McCandless 1960 pg. 38). Clark (1963) contended that

Black children in segregated settings react with feelings of inferiority. This conflict leads to self-hatred and thus to a negative self-esteem and self-evaluation.

According to Rosenberg (1979), self-esteem is defined as self-respect; that is, how one feels about oneself as a person of worth. Self-esteem is alo characterized as a sense of personal competence by which people tend toward accomplishment (Wells and Marwell, 1976). In addition, the construct of internal-external control is considered to associate with self-esteem (Fitch, 1970). How one's ability is evaluated relies on mastery of environment and control over reward contingencies. Then, home and workplace are the two primary social contexts where we spend most of our time of our life. Favorable conditions at workplace or home such as great autonomy, self-direction on the job, and control over marriage are considered to have positive effects on self-esteem through the main processes of self-concept formation. These conditions enable more favorable reflected appraisals and social comparisons, as well as positive self-attributions (Gecas and Schwalbe, 1983; Gecas and Seff, 1989; Rosenberg and Pearlin, 1978). From this theoretical position, we would expect strong positive relationships between home control and self-esteem, and between job control and self-esteem.

Some research emphasizes that age is a critical variable to self-esteem (Demo, 1992; Demo and Savin-Williams, 1983; Rosenberg and Pearlin, 1978; Wiltfang and Scarbecz, 1990), and problem-solving in real life (Denney and Palmer, 1981), job involvement and job satisfaction. Adulthood is a major concern. Basically, adulthood is divided into three periods; early adulthood (during ages 18-40), middle adulthood (during ages 40-65), and late adulthood (during ages 65 and older) (Demo, 1992). People in different adulthood periods have different levels of self-esteem.

The transition into early adulthood coincides with enhanced problems-solving and peek intellectual abilities. These new skills and abilities enable stronger feelings of self-worth and more complex self-definition. A number of studies report increasing self-esteem during important transitions into early adulthood (Bachman and Kanouse 1980; O'malley & Bachman, 1983). During middle adulthood,

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Individuals' job involvement and job satisfaction are found to be highest (Bray & Howard, 1993). Herzog (1982) report that age-related improvements at work, housing, and community are important in explaining increasing levels of subjective well-being with age. Other studies report increasing self-esteem for a competence, and coping skills through the middle adult years. In addition, Morganti (1988) compare different age groups and find the older the group, the higher the level of self-esteem. Gender differences in self-esteem in another concern. The differences in self-esteem can result from the following reasons (Schwalbe & Staples, 1991, p. 161): Gender socialization may shape personality needs and facilitate development of particular esteem-enhancing skills; culture prescribes different criteria for self-evaluation for men and women; and the role into which men and women are channeled may offer unequal opportunities for deriving self-esteem from various sources. Research evidence has shown that females have lower levels of self-esteem than males (Dukes & Martinez, 1994; Feingold, 1994; O'Brien, 1991; Raymore, 1994). Generally, research on gender and self-esteem has overlooked the operation of home control and job control. The pattern of control over job and home between men and women may different due to various gender role exceptions.

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Traditionally, men are expected to be occupational, agents, and instrumental, while women are expected to be domestic, communal, and expressive (Bakan, 1966; Parsons, 1955). Although role behavior is not strictly classified in families, society still expects men to give priority to occupational goals, and women to familial goals (Cross and Rokoff, 1971). In addition, males have more prestige, power, and freedom than females. In Vaughter's terms (1976; 128), "the theme that masculinity of men is more highly valued than femininity of women is one of the most consistent themes to be found in current research data." Consequently, the levels of home control, those of job control, and those self-esteem can be different between men and women. The writer of this case study chose to look at females of African-American race, located in the state of Michigan for this brief work. When this research was first done these numbers reflect the amount of residents. Numbers have changed for

1997-1998; the new numbers have been included in the report. Public housing in Michigan during a 15-month period in 1995-96 approximately provided units for 54,000 residents. Of that number, 45% were of African-American descent, with an average annual income between \$7,000 and \$14,000, household size ranged from 2-4 persons.

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It is intended this study will shed some light and a topic that could change the lives of hundreds of residents and the outcome will create significance and an awareness of the severity of the effects those residents in public housing face as the deal with labeling and stereotyping assigned to residents. Due to the exploratory nature of this preliminary study 8 females were selected based on their geographical location and accessibility. The following criteria were used in determining how these women selected also (age income, education and income). Between the 8 females who responded, we have a total of 170 years of residency in public housing. Our ages ranged from 24 years to 72 years. We were able to have 2 sets of second and third generation mother and daughter public housing residents. Each female was asked her perception about self-esteem, self-identify and what it has been like living in public housing. The writer of this work relayed the <u>actual words</u> of each female not to defame or humiliate any one, but I wanted to keep the actual text. This made it so real for the writer.

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Case Studies

Age

Gender

Income

Education

Length of stay in public housing

In order to gain better insight into how the self-esteem of eight female residents of public housing were being affected due to low self-esteem, a telephone questionnaire was designed and conducted in the summer of 1997 at the River Rouge Public Housing Authority, River Rouge, Michigan and Lansing, Michigan to collect the relevant data. The interview schedule included questions, which are used to measure the independent variables: age, gender, income, education and length of stay in public housing. The dependent variable is self-esteem.

A questionnaire/telephone survey interview is the research method used to collect the data. The population of interest selected is public housing residents of African-American descent. Females, living on fixed incomes in Lansing, Michigan and the surrounding area. The females were selected randomly from a list that contained women who met the criteria.

May listed several types of interviewing methods applicable to this research. There are four types of interviews used in social research, although May states that these characterizations appear to be strictly to demarcate one method from another, research may not simply be the one following, but a mixture of two or more types (May 1993 pg. 92). The four types are (1) Structured interviews, these are associated with survey research and the method used most often.

(2) The semi-structured interview, this type is said to be in between the focused and structured

method, and it utilizes techniques from both. Questions are normally specified, but the interviewer is more free to probe beyond the answers in a manner, which often seems prejudicial to the aims of standardization and comparability. (3) The focused interview; this one is said to provide it with an ability to challenge the preconception of the researcher. Some might regard this is a license for the interviewee to simply talk about an issue in any way they feel like. (4) Group interviews. These interviews constitute a valuable tool of investigation, allowing the researcher to focus upon group norms and dynamics around issues, which they wish to investigate. (May1993 pg.94.)

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The extent of the control of a group discussion will determine the nature of the data produced by this method (May1993 pg. 94). Gebremedhin and Tweeten in "Research Methods" state, "The scientific methods is a way of thinking about problems and solving them, it helps to explain the problem and its alternative solutions in an orderly way," it focuses research, it provides common ground for inquire by those attempting to understand reality (May 1993 pg. 35).

Gebremedhim and Tweeten suggest scientific method has at least six major checkpoints:

(1) stating the problem; (2) formulating the hypotheses, or, alternatively, stating the analysis; (3) developing the method of analysis; (4) data collection and analysis; (5) interpreting results; and (6) drawing conclusions (p.).

Shaffir, Stebbins and Turowetz reported that "fieldwork experience is said to sometimes cause feelings of uncertainty and anxiety (Schaffir fieldwork 1985 pg. 3). Researchers' fieldwork accounts typically deal with such matters as how the hurdles blocking entry were successfully overcome and the emergent relationships cultivated and maintained during the course of the research; the emotional pains of this work are rarely mentioned. From another perspective, the desire to do fieldwork is founded on motives that drive few other kinds of scientific investigation.

To be sure, field researchers share with other scientists the goal of collecting valid, impartial data about some natural phenomenon. In addition, they gain satisfaction, perhaps better stated as a sense of accomplishment from successfully managing the social side of their projects, which are more problematic than any other form of inquiry (Spector 1981 pg. 5).

Spector's work examines the basic principles of experimental and non-experimental design in the social sciences. He looks at the meaning of such elementary concepts as variables, control randomization, and confounding variables (Spector 1981 pg. 5). Again, the <u>actual words</u> of each female who participated in this case study were used. This was done not to defame or humiliate any of those females, but I wanted to keep the actual text. This provided much insight into the frustrations and pains each resident experiences.



Female # 1

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69 year old female. 9th grade education, lived in public housing in the state of Alabama before relocating to Michigan. Was a resident of public housing for 30 years. Raised 8 children. Had only a 10th grade education, self-employed beautician for 45 years. Lived in project style housing for 26 years, finally moved to single unit-scattered site, lost it after 4 years due to change of income. Had to relocate and live with daughter and son-in-law until able to secure local senior citizens apartment through subsided program.

Her comments about public housing are as follows. "I was bound by fear and thoughts of my not being able to survive outside of public housing. I had 8 kids and my income was dependent upon other women getting their hair done. There was no where else I could live and pay the amount of rent I had to pay. I felt like a slave because the management could do what ever they wanted to do. When I would speak out, there was fear of being removed, I had to report everything that surrounded me and my kids. I wanted to paint once, and because I didn't get permission, they sent me a letter of intent to evict me. For 30 years off and on, I convinced myself that I was stuck and couldn't do any better, I wasn't ever going to accomplish anything worthwhile, my surrounding made sure of that. I lost my scattered site home, after years of waiting on the list for section eight because one of my sons moved back home, that changed my income and because of rules I was asked to give up my home. I was forced to leave according to the rules, I'm now 69 years old and for the first time in years I have peace and I can begin to see that I lost my self in public housing. I still do hair from time to time, I miss my nice spacious home, but I enjoy not having to live in fear".

Female # 2

65 year old female, 9th grade education has lived in public housing for twenty-eight years. Became a widow at the age of thirty. Left to raise seven kids. Area lived in before public housing was blighted and crime and drugs had began to take over. She now lives in a two-story single scattered site. Her comments are as follows:

"Even though my home was run down, it was mine, before my husband died, we managed, after his death, I couldn't provide for all my kids, so public housing provided us with a place. I thought at first this was the best thing that could have happen to us, but after living her all these years, there is no where else for me to go. I have gotten used to the way they treat me, and sometimes I don't let it get me down, but then I have those days when I wish I could just get up and leave, but my age and my level of education keeps me bound right here. I once had shade tress on the side of my home, management had them removed, and I had to get permission to plant a small garden on the side of my home. I'm to old to fight management, so most of the time, I keep my door close and stay to myself".

Female #3

46-year-old female, has lived in public housing for past twenty-three years. Raised four kids. Received BA degree from local university. Moved to what is now public housing during the phase of Urban Renewal. Homes were built for residents of that program, later taken over by housing authority. Lives in scattered site, source of income social security due to illness.

Her comments, "They almost beat me down when I first took sick, I was bedridden for a whole year, had to seek help from department of social services. I now receive social security, my only son left at home receives benefits from the system because he has been labeled learning disabled. I received food stamps for a while, but I don't anymore. When I begin to speak out at the way residents were being treated, I was served an eviction notice, I'm always in trouble for speaking out,

monies have been set aside for these units and yet, the resident manager uses fear and scare tactics. They treat us like cattle, moving us from unit to unit whenever they get ready. I'm thankful to have this home, but I refuse to be treated like this anymore. I have been trying to get the residents to organize, but many of them are scared. It took me along time to believe in myself again, and I don't want to lose what I have worked so hard to get, but I'm prepared to fight until management hears us and begins to treat us like human beings".

Female #4

54 year old, has lived in public housing for 27 years, raised 4 kids and now is raising grandkids. 9th grade education, receives help from FIA and baby-sits on the side.

Her comments are as follows: "I thought the best thing that could happen to a women with my income and education was public housing, I try my best to never give them problems, I don't like the rules, if I want to have people come over and stay for a while, I have to get permission if its going to be more than three days. I never complain, there is nowhere else for me to live for the amount of income I have, the one thing I must say that hurts me is, if you violate the rules, you get evicted. My younger son is not allowed to even step foot on this property, he got his self in trouble and made the newspaper, now management won't allow him to even spend the night with me. I have lived in several of the units, and the least ones I liked were the projects, I really lost freedom living there we were to close to each other, you could here what went on in the next unit. I don't like the idea that management can just come in anytime they like, but I guess when this is the best you can do you just accept and make the best of each day. I used to go to meetings at the local office, they made us so many promises and I have yet to see them come true. I did have a fire and they came in and painted at this stage of my life, not too much is going to change, I've been here so long, I know no where else to live".

Female #5

24 year old. 10th grade education, raising 2 kids, just moved to public housing over two years ago. Presently working at one of the local grocery stores.

Her comments about public housing, "Because I wouldn't listen to the advice of my mom, I ended up right back in these projects. I dropped out of school after having my first child. I hate living here and I hate feeling like a nobody. I just recently got off social services and working trying to change some things in my life. I don't like the way management talks to me when I call just to ask questions. I keep my kids in the house most of the time or at my mom's house, it's not safe here and right now, I have no choice. They start programs and never follow through, I would like to finish high school, but I have to work. Sometimes I just wish management could be on the other side and see what it feels like to be treated the way they treat us residents, sometimes I want to speak out, but they know just like I do, I have no where else to live right now, so I make the best of what I can. I'm not dumb, I just made some bad choices".

Female # 6

46 year old. 9th grade education. Presently living on medical disability. Lived in same project unit for 25 years. Raised one son. Now lives in senior unit due to disabilities.

Her comments about public housing, " If I have been here this long that should tell you something about me, I have nowhere else to go, I'm not able to work, they put this bag on me about 15 years ago, it goes everywhere I go. I stopped dreaming after the first ten years of living here. The projects is not the place to be if you have dreams, they get killed here, the name of the game is not letting management take the little you have. Everything has to be reported, even in these projects you are not treated with respect. Just a few weeks ago I had my rent check stolen out of the box, when I reported it, they assumed I was not telling the truth, I have lived here a long time and it gets no better. The wall are to thin and repairs take so long to get fixed. I wish I had done things different. I used to try and have meetings so the residents could get together, management stopped that right away, you have no rights or no money living in the projects, we are crowded in like animals just roaming around with no place to go".

Female #7

52 year old. Lived in public housing for 25 years. Raised 4 kids. Source of income was ADC and babysitting. 9th grade education. Just recently lost 3-bedroom brand new single unit scattered site because of sons involvement in

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Her comments, "After I had that massive stroke, my whole life changed, I was capable of protecting myself and some of the residents from losing there units. I went up against management regarding some unfair treatment, but since they told me I had to leave my home that took me years of waiting to get, I lost my desire to even hope of things changing. They did help me fine another unit is a senior citizens complex, but its not the same. I try not to cause trouble, my son is not permitted to come on these grounds, I do miss him, he get involved with the wrong crowd and after my stroke, I just couldn't keep up with him, so now I just pretty much do what they tell me. I follow the rules and most of the times I just don't care. I'm thankful that they didn't send me to one of those project units".

Female #8

72 year old female. Lived in project housing last 10 years due to decrease in income. Raised 4 kids. 9th grade education. Source of income social security.

Her comments, "When you have been treated like I have down through the years, you get used to it and you learn when to speak up. My daughter does most of my fighten now. I think they enjoy treating us like were are nothing. My daughter is always trying to change things, she done almost lost her place twice because she speaks out, I don't know much about a lot of things, but I do you I was treated better than this down South, but at my age, I ain't got to many places I can call home, I mind my own business".

CONCLUSION:

This preliminary case study is just one Phase of what the writer of this papers hopes to one day develop into a more intense study for a more in depth look at how resident of public housing can move up to the American dream from public housing. Preparations are being developed that would permit the writer to explore how this same case study could be used to determine if there has been a seemlying "Dehumanization" effect on White and Hispanic residents of public housing units. For the past three years the writer has been deeply involved in working with female residents of public housing. I have witnessed regular battles these female encounter as they deal with crime, drugs, teen pregnancy and the effect it has had on the community where they reside. I was surprised at the number of senior citizens who have obtained residencies in public housing because of the fixed income they now receive. Many of the seniors have had an active voice in participating in many organization, they have stared resident councils, they have participated in demonstrations in Washington, D.C. voicing their concerns to HUD, and their local representatives, but do to the fear of losing their public housing residency, they shut down. I was limited in the range of younger females made available to participate in this case study due to the fear that many of them experience when the attempt to speak out on the injustices they face.

I had the opportunity to attend several meetings where residents expressed concerns about organizing, yet, they never have been able to make the needed commitment to follow through. Some of the languages of the federal policies that are passed become difficult for many of the residents to understand. This presents problems when it puts the residents at a disadvantage when you start out not understanding. I witnessed some of the repercussions faced by residents who did attempt to speak out. I would like to briefly share some of the experiences of those residents who have been able to successfully organize. One housing development of residents were able to come together and stop the demolishing of their development by gathering the necessary amount of signatures to get a petition to secure a court injection. Today, that development stands. Computer training centers have been placed on many housing sites, funds have been secured from HUD to provide technical assistance's so residents can have the opportunity to find employment and some reach self-sufficiency.

It is the desire of the writer to demonstrate in more detail, with the add of several of the case studies listed in the bibliography that there are indicators that will help determined low-self esteem and high self-esteem in each case study presented in this phase of the work, so that race is not the critical issue for this case study. Although, African-American residents of public housing institutions appear to suffer to a greater degree. The writer, in Phase two of this study will examine labeling and stereotyping and its effect on a larger number of residents. In closing this study regarding dreams and hopes of those eight females who permitted me time and space into their lives briefly, I will always be grateful and to Urban Affairs for the time to prepare this work.

Past research demonstrates that this is a common plight of most public housing residents. This happens to most people of public housing. Once labeling has been assigned and stereotyping sets in, they lose their ability to dream the dream like the raisin dries up and the feelings of worthlessness. Inferiority and obscure identities set in, yielding residents as participates unable to move into main stream America because the constraints of economic and social and historical entities are more powerful than the dream. I would like to leave with the audiencesome of the lastfew powerful words of Langston Hughes. It expresses some of concerns that the women shared with me regarding what happens when their dreams disappear

What happens to a dream deferred?

Does it dry up?
Like a Raisin in the Sun?
Or fester like a soreAnd then Run?
Does it stink like rotten meat?
Or crust and sugar overLike a syrupy Sweet?

Maybe it just sags Like a heavy load. Or does it explode?

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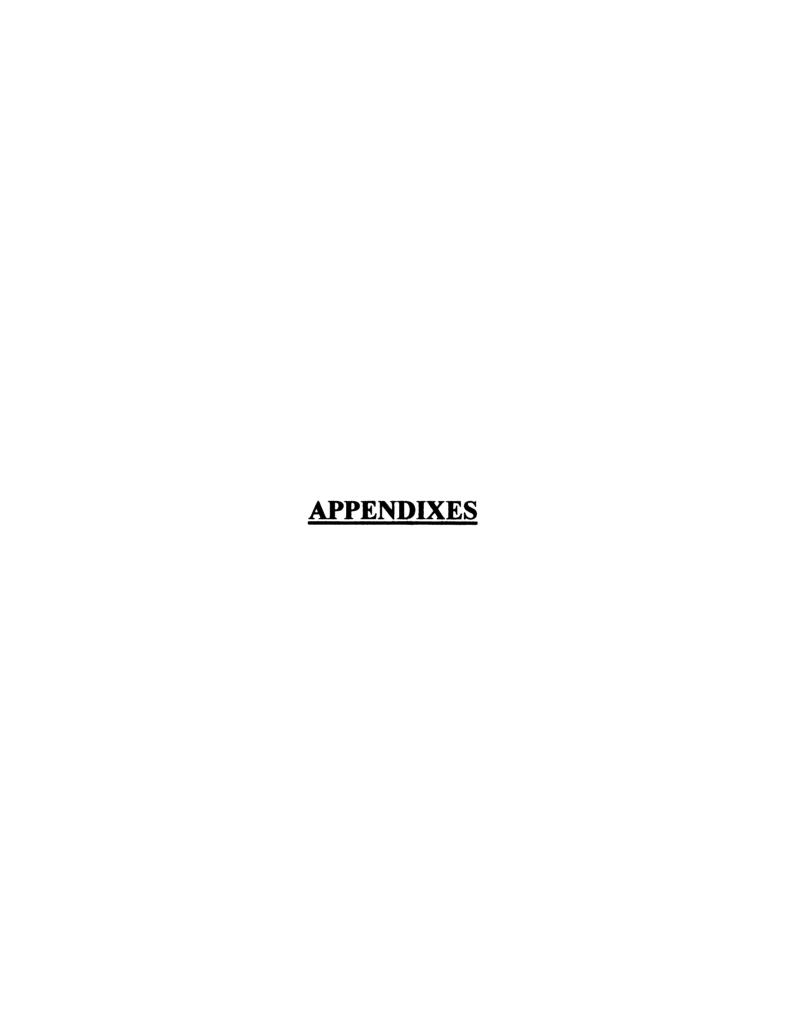
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APPENDIX A PUBLIC HOUSING IN MICHIGAN

Public Housing in Michigan

During 1997 approximately 45,000 people lived in Michigan public housing. Of the 23,516 households, the majority (77%) were headed by a female and a large percentage (44%) were senior citizens aged 62 years and over. The average household size was about 2 and the average annual income was \$9,100. Only 17% of these households earned the majority of their income from wages. Slightly more than half (52%) of all households indicated that their race was white, 48% indicated that it was black, 1% American Indian, and 1% Asian or Pacific Islander. Two percent of all households were Hispanic.

Michigan Public Housing—1997 Demographic Information						
	Number	<u>Percent</u>				
Residents	44,680	100				
Households Average Household Size: 1.9	23,516	100				
Distribution by Age of Household						
Age 25 and under	1,646	7				
> Age 25 and < Age 62	11,523	49				
Age 62 and over	10,347	44	9 .			
Distribution by Family Status			>			
Both Spouses and 1 or more Dependents	941	4	•			
One Spouse and 1 or more Dependents	6,820	29				
Female Headed	18,107	77				
Distribution by Race and Ethnicity						
White	12,228	52				
Black	11,288	48				
Hispanic	470	2				
American Indian	235	1				
Asian/ Pacific Islander ·	235	1				
Average Household Income: \$9,1001			•			
Distribution by Major Source of Income ²						
Wages	3,998	17				
Welfare	3,527	15				
Distribution by Age and Disability Status						
Disabled and less than age 62	4,214	18				
Disabled and greater than age 62	1,552	7				

^{*} Source: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research, 1997 Public Housing Data State Summary (www.huduser.org/data/statedata97/index.html)

By comparison, Michigan median household income was \$38,364 in 1996 (U.S. Bureau of the Census).

Major source is defined as 50% or more of total income coming from either wages or welfare; other major income sources, such as pensions and Social Security, were not available.

Prepared by Janet Owens, Returned Peace Corps Fellow, Community and Economic Development Program, Michigan State University Center for Urban Affairs, 1801 West Main Street, Lansing, MI 48915-1097. Phone: 517-353-9555 Fax: 517-484-0068, May 1998, with partial support from a statewide Tenant Opportunities Grant from the US Department of Housing and Urban Development.

APPENDIX B

PUBLIC HOUSING AUTHORITIES IN MICHIGAN

PUBLIC HOUSING COMMISSIONS

PHA NAME AND ADDRESS		TELEPHONE NO.	EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Albion Housing Commission P. O. Box 630 Albion, MI 49224	Fax	(517) 629-2511 (517) 629-6004	Mr. James D. Arnett
Algonac Housing Commission 1205 St. Clair River Drive Algonac, MI 48001	Fax	(810) 794-9369 (810) 794-9488	Mr. Nelson Stinger
Allen Park Housing Commission 17000 Champaign Allen Park, MI 48101	Fax	(313) 928-5970 (313) 928-3830	Mr. James A. Hinds
Alma Housing Commission 400 E. Warwick Dr. Alma, MI 48801	Fax	(517) 463-4200 (517) 463-1448	Ms. Marcia Zimmerman
Alpena Housing Commission 2340 South 4 th Street Alpena, MI 49707	Fax	(517) 354-4144 (517) 356-2177	Mr. James J. Stosik
Ann Arbor Housing Commission 727 Miller Avenue Ann Arbor, MI 48103	Fax	(734) 994-2828 (734) 994-0781	Ms. Elizabeth Lindsley
Baldwin Housing Commission P. O. Box 337 Baldwin, MI 49304-0337	Fax	(616) 745-7411 (616) 745-8583	Ms. Sylvia Calas
Bangor Housing Commission 820 Second Street Bangor, MI 49013	Fax	(616) 427-5535 (616) 427-8876	Mr. Dave Markel
Baraga Housing Commission 416 Michigan Avenue Baraga, MI 49008	Fax	(906) 353-6432 (906) 353-7637	Mr. Michael T. Wadaga
Bath Charter Township Hsg. Comm. 14379 Webster Road Bath, MI 48808	Fax	(517) 641-6244 (517) 641-4474	Ms. Ann Schoals
Battle Creek Housing Commission 250 Champion St. Battle Creek, MI 49017	Fax	(616) 965-0591 (616) 965-8847	Mr. Kenneth Dey
Bay City Housing Commission 1200 North Madison Bay City, MI 48708	Fax	(517) 892-9581 (517) 892-5818	Mr. Philip E. Lopez

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Bay County Housing Commission 798 North Pine Road Essexville, MI 48732	Fax	(517) 895-8191 (517) 895-7419	Mr. Robert Shimkus
Bedford Housing Commission 8745 Lewis Avenue Temperance, MI 48182	Fax	(734) 847-3950 (734) 847-1832	Ms. Susan Soda
Belding Housing Commission 41 Belhaven Belding, MI 48809	Fax	(616) 794-1740 (616) 794-4811	Ms. Sharon Carlson
Benton Harbor Housing Commission 925 Buss Avenue Benton Harbor, MI 49022	ı Fax	(616) 927-3544 (616) 927-6112	Mrs. Danethel Whitfield
Benton Township Hsg. Comm. 1216 Blossom Lane Benton Harbor, MI 49022	Fax	(616) 927-3541 (616) 927-3567	Mr. Sammie Smith
Bessemer Housing Commission P. O. Box 46 Bessemer, MI 49911-0033	Fax	(906) 667-0288 (906) 667-0696	Ms. Deanna Beaudette
Big Rapids Housing Commission 9 Parkview Village Big Rapids, MI 49307	Fax	(616) 796-8689 (616) 796-8696	Mr. Mark Sochocki
Boyne Housing Commission 829 S. Park Boyne City, MI 49712	Fax	(616) 582-6203 (616) 582-3797	Mr. Todd Sorenson
Bronson Housing Commission P. O. Box 33 Bronson, MI 49028	Fax	(517) 369-6265 (517) 369-8315	Ms. Mary Puthoff
Cadillac Housing Commission 111 S. Simon Street Cadillac, MI 49601	Fax	(616) 775-9491 (616) 775-0722	Mr. Dan Peterson
Caseville Housing Commission 6925 N. Caseville Rd., Box 1128 Caseville, MI 48725	Fax	(517) 856-3323 (517) 856-2552	Ms. Barbara Novack
Calumet Housing Commission One Park Avenue Calumet, MI 49913	Fax	(906) 337-0005 (906) 337-3740	Ms. Gail Perala
Charlevoix Housing Commission 210 W. Garfield St. Charlevoix, MI 49720	Fax	(616) 547-5451 (616) 547-9686	Mr. Edwin Gregory

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Cheboygan Housing Commission		(616) 627-7189	Mr. Dorene Stempky
P. O. Box 5069	Fax	(616) 627-5772	
Cheboygan, MI 49721			
Clinton Township Hsg. Commission		(810) 791-7000	Mrs. Alice Shell
34947 Village Road	Fax	(810) 791-7000	1VII 3. 7 Mee Silen
Clinton Township, MI 48035	Iux	(010) 172 0733	
Cunton Township, Ind 40055			
Coldwater Housing Commission		(517) 278-2660	Ms. Nancy Rockwood
60 S. Clay	Fax	(517) 279-9499	•
Coldwater, MI 49036			
Covert Housing Commission		(616) 764-8881	Ms. Irma Gregory
P. O. Box 66	Fax	(616) 764-8881	
Covery, MI 49034-0035			
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Dearhorn Housing Commission	_	(313) 943-2390	Mr. Floyd Addison, Jr.
13615 Michigan Avenue	Fax	(313) 943-3042	
Dearborn, MI 48126	TDD	(313) 943-3021	
Dearborn Heights Hsg. Commission		(313) 277-7844	Mr. Carmine C. Oliverio
26155 Richardson	Fax	(313) 274-3850	iva. caminio c. caveno
Dearborn Heights, MI 48127	Iux	(313) 27 (3030	
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Detroit Housing Commission		(313) 877-8639	Ms. Irene Hannah
2211 Orleans	Fax	(313) 877-8805	
Detroit, MI 48207	S8	(313) 877-8670	
Low F	Rent	(313) 877-8670	
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Dowagiac Housing Commission		(616) 782-3786	Ms. Wanda Pritchard
100 Chestnut St.	Fax	(616) 782-2809	
Dowagiac, MI 49047			
Dundee Housing Commission		(734) 5292828	Ms. Patricia J. Sabo
501 Rawson Road			
Dundee, MI 48131			
Foot Jordon Housing Commission		(616) 536-2051	Ms. Jean Pardee
East Jordan Housing Commission 451 Water St.	Fax	(616) 536-2051	ivis. Joan I aluce
East Jordan, MI 49727	rax	(010) 330-2031	
Last Jordan, Mr 49727			
Eastpointe Housing Commission		(810) 445-5099	Ms. Jody Lynn Ray
15701 E. Nine Mile Road	Fax	(810) 445-8097	,,,,
Eastpointe, MI 48021			
East Tawas Housing Commission		(517) 362-4963	Ms. Janell Reed
304 W. Bay Street	Fax	(517) 362-0225	
East Tawas, MI 48730			
Ecorse Housing Commission		(313) 381-9393	Ms. Thomasine King
266 Hyacinth	Fax	(313) 381-1508	
Ecorse, MI 48229			
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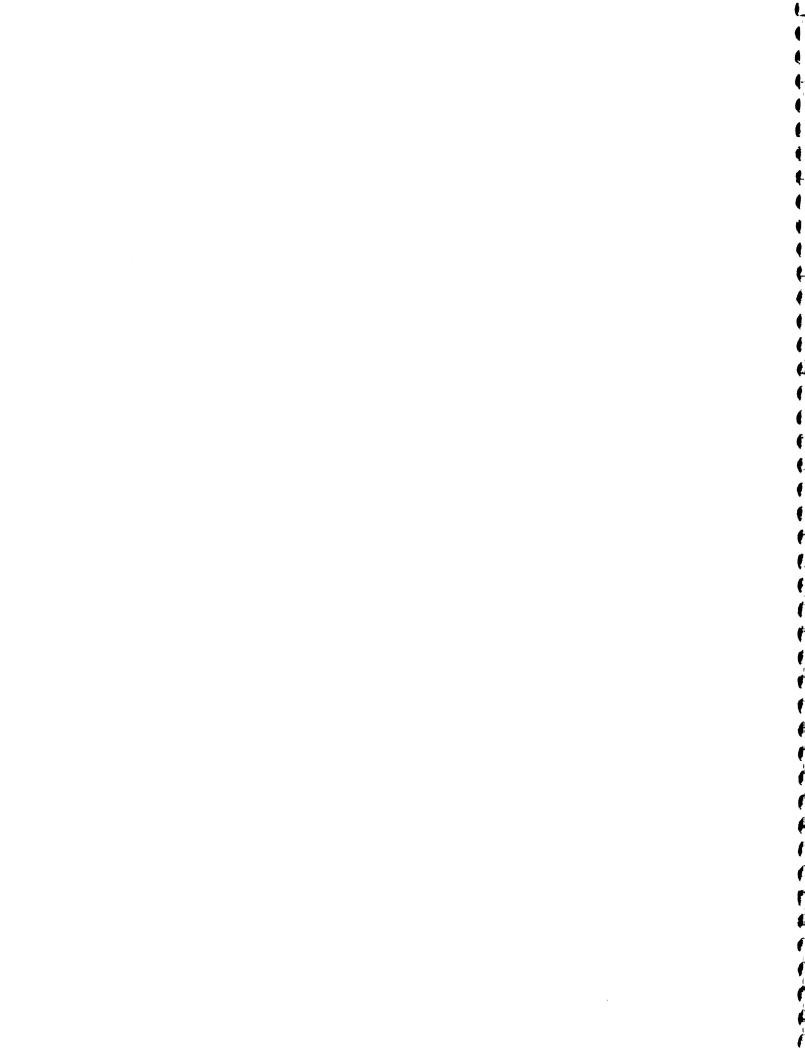
Elk Rapids Housing Commission 701 Chippewa St. Elk Rapids, MI 49529	Fax	(616) 264-5831 (616) 264-0810	Ms. Barbara George
Escanaba Housing Commission 110 S. Fifth St. Escanaba, MI 49829	Fax	(906) 786-6229 (906) 786-9411	Ms. Mary Lynn Sweeney
Evart Housing Commission 601 W. First St. Evart, MI 49631	Fax	(616) 734-3301 (616) 734-6454	Ms. Laurie Derevage
Ferndale Housing Commission 415 Withington Ferndale, MI 48220	Fax	(248) 547-9500 (248) 547-1137	Ms. Deborah Wilson
Flint Housing Commission 3820 Richfield Road Flint, MI 48506	Fax	(810) 736-3050 (810) 736-0158	Mr. Reginald Richardson
Gladstone Housing Commission 217 Dakota Avenue Gladstone, MI 49837	Fax	(906) 428-2215 (906) 428-1677	Mr. Robert Mineau
Gladwin Housing Commission 215 South Antler Gladwin, MI 48624	Fax	(517) 426-5721 (517) 426-6944	Ms. Sheila M. Hall
Grand Ledge Housing Commission 200 East Jefferson Grand Ledge, MI 48837	Fax	(517) 627-2149 (517) 627-9796	Ms. Janice Jones
Grand Rapids Housing Commission 1420 Fuller Avenue, S. E. Grand Rapids, MI 49507	Fax	(616) 235-2600 (616) 235-2660	Mr. Carlos Sanchez
Grayling Housing Commission P. O. Box 450 Grayling, MI 49738	Fax	(517) 348-9314 (517) 348-3225	Mr. Guy Quigley
Greenville Housing Commission 308 East Oak Street Greenville, MI 48838	Fax	(616) 754-7179 (616) 754-1393	Ms. Lorri J. Spencer
Hamtramck Housing Commission 12025 Dequindre Hamtramck, MI 48212	Fax	(313) 868-7445 (313) 868-0521	Mr. Renard Slomka
Hancock Housing Commission 1401 Quincy St. Hancock, MI 49930	Fax	(906) 482-3252 (906) 482-2450	Ms. Marie Gagnon

Hermansville Housing Commission W5577 129 W. Third Hermansville, MI 49847-0129	Fax	(906) 498-2141 (906) 498-2377	Ms. Mary Talbert
Highland Park Housing Commission 13725 John R. Avenue Highland Park, MI 48203	Fax	(313) 868-4500 (313) 868-5727	Mr. William C. Flanagain
Hillsdale Housing Commission 45 N. West St. Hillsdale, MI 49242	Fax	(517) 439-1210 (517) 439-9577	Mr. Alton D. Cousino, II
Houghton Housing Commission 401 E. Montezuma Avenue Houghton, MI 49931	Fax	(906) 482-0334 (906) 487-5936	Ms. Virginia Monroe
Ingham County Housing Commission 3882 Dobie Rd. Okemos, MI 48864	n Fax	(517) 349-1643 (517) 349-1697	Mr. Bruce Johnson
Inkster Housing Commission 1500 Inkster Road Inkster, MI 48141	Fax	(313) 561-2600 (313) 561-2893	Mr. Floyd B. Simmons
Ionia Housing Commission 667 N. Union St. Ionia, MI 48846	Fax	(616) 527-9060 (616) 527-3383	Ms. Brenda Hoover
Iron County Housing Commission 210 N. Third St. Crystal Falls, MI 49920	Fax	(906) 875-6060 (906) 875-3430	Mr. Steve Gagne
Iron Mountain Housing Commission 401 East "D" Street Iron Mountain, MI 49801	Fax	(906) 774-2685 (906) 774-6261	Ms. Jeanne K. Allard
Iron River Housing Commission 236 Third Avenue Iron River, MI 49935	Fax	(906) 265-4398 (906) 265-4398	Ms. Francis Wills
Ironwood Housing Commission 515 East Vaughn Street Ironwood, MI 49938	Fax	(906) 932-3341 (906) 932-0322	Ms. Bonnie Pelto
Jackson Housing Commission 301 Steward Avenue Jackson, MI 49201-1132	Fax	(517) 787-9241 (517) 787-6143	Mr. Phillip Fracker
Kent County Housing Commission 741 East Beltline Avenue Grand Rapids, MI 49505-6045	Fax	(616) 336-4200 (616) 336-4205	Mr. Ronald G. Stonehouse

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Kingsford Housing Commission 1025 Woodard Avenue Kingsford, MI 49801	Fax	(906) 774-2771 (906) 774-4553	Ms. Cynthia M. Carlson
L'Anse Housing Commission 110 S. Sixth St. L'Anse, MI 49946	Fax	(906) 524-6311 (906) 524-4311	Ms. Ruth Hoopengarner
Lake Linden Housing Commission 210 Calumet St. Lake Linden, MI 49945	Fax	(906) 296-0713 (906) 296-0780	Ms. Sandra Goodell
Lansing Housing Commission 310 Seymour Avenue Lansing, MI 48933	Fax	(517) 487-6550 (517) 487-6977	Mr. Chris Stuchell
Lapeer Housing Commission 576 Liberty Lapeer, MI 48446	Fax	(810) 664-5231 (810) 664-2610	Mr. Matthew Modrack
Laurium Housing Commission 125 Lake Linden Avenue Laurium, MI 49913	Fax	(906) 337-2306 (906) 337-2944	Ms. Marion Ingersoll
Lincoln Park Housing Commission 1356 Electric Lincoln Park, MI 48146	Fax	(313) 388-4660 (313) 388-7458	Ms. Patricia Bragenzer
Livonia Housing Commission 19300 Purlingbrook Livonia, MI 48152-1902	Fax TDD	(248) 477-7086 (248) 477-0172 (248) 477-5494	Mr. James M. Inglis
Luce County Housing Commission P. O. Box 54 Newberry, MI 49868	Fax	(906) 293-5988 (906) 293-8810	Ms. Jean Foley
Luna Pier Housing Commission 10885 Ellen Street Luna Pier, MI 48157	Fax	(734) 848-2355 (734) 848-2714	Mr. Kenneth A. Derbeck
Madison Heights Housing Commissi 300 Thirteen Mile Road Madison Heights, MI 48071	on Fax	(248) 583-0843 (248) 588-4143	Mr. Herbert Herriman
Mackinac County Housing Commiss P. O. Box 150 Curtis, MI 49820-0163	sion Fax	(906) 586-3414 (906) 586-3414	Mr. George Martindale
Manistique Housing Commission 400 E. Lakeshore Drive Manistique, MI 49854	Fax	(906) 341-5451 (906) 341-2768	Ms. Kathy Schuetter

Manistee Housing Commission 273 Sixth Avenue	Fax	(616) 723-6201 (616) 723-7177	Mr. Jay Wisniewski
Manistee, MI 49660			
Marquette Housing Commission		(906) 226-7559	Ms. Joan Mason
316 Pine Street	Fax	(906) 226-8633	Wis. Joan Wason
Marquette, MI 49855	1 ax	(700) 220-0033	
Marysville Housing Commission		(810) 364-4020	Mr. Wayne Pyden
1100 New York Avenue	Fax	(810) 364-3940	•
Marysville, MI 48040			
Militar to Translas Gassatalian		(212) 201 0012	No. The deal Advanta
Melvindale Housing Commission	г	(313) 381-0012	Ms. Elizabeth A. Longley
3501 Oakwood Blvd.	Fax	(313) 383-7872	
Melvindale, MI 48122			
Menominee Housing Commission		(906) 863-8717	Ms. Bonnie Ruleau
1801 Eighth Avenue	Fax	(906) 863-8081	1VIS. Donnie Ruicau
Menominee, MI 49859-0414	1 uz	(700) 003 0001	
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Midddleville Housing Commission		(616) 795-7715	Ms. Lisa Finkbeiner
500 Lincoln Street	Fax	(616) 795-0082	
Middleville, MI 49333		•	
Montcalm County Housing Commiss		(616) 937-4241	Ms. Arlene Cook
P. O. Box 249	Fax	(616) 937-4657	
Howard City, MI 49329-0249			
Monroe Housing Commission		(734) 242-5880	Mr. Paul Wickenheiser
20 North Roessler Street	Fax	(734) 242-3562	
Monroe, MI 48161			
,			
MSHDA		(517) 373-9184	Mr. James E. Logue
401 S. Washington Square - 4th floor	Fax	(517) 373-4627	
Lansing, MI 48909		(517) 373-9344	
MSHDA		(517) 272 7527	Ma Tarm Valencia
MSHDA 401 S. Washington Square, Box 3004	14 East	(517) 373-7537	Mr. Larry Valencic
Lansing, MI 48909	14 rax	(311) 333-4191	
Labelle, Wil 40505			
Mt. Clemens Housing Commission		(810) 468-1434	Mr. Robert Fox
•	Fax	(810) 468-6282	
Mt. Clemens, MI 48043			
Mt. Pleasant Housing Commission	_	(517) 773-3784	Ms. Judith M. Green
One Mosher St.	Fax	(517) 772-3987	
Mt. Pleasant, MI 48858			
A Aunising Housing Commission		(906) 398-4084	Mr. John Oas
Munising Housing Commission 200 City Park Drive	Fax	(906) 398-4084	IVII. JUIII Vas
Munising, MI 49862	1 ax	(200) 320-4004	
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Muskegon Housing Commission 1823 Commerce Street Muskegon, MI 49441	Fax	(616) 722-2647 (616) 722-9503	Mr. McKinley Copeland
Muskegon Heights Housing Commi 615 East Hovey Avenue Muskegon Heights, MI 49444	ssion Fax	(616) 733-2033 (616) 733-3206	Mr. Joe L. Mattox
Negaunee Housing Commission 98 Croix Street Negaunee, MI 49866	Fax	(906) 475-9107 (906) 475-6225	Ms. Marcia Waters
New Haven Housing Commission 30100 John Rivers Drive New Haven, MI 48048	Fax	(810) 749-6570 (810) 749-9037	Ms. Lorraine White
Niles Housing Commission 251 Cass Street Niles, MI 49120	Fax	(616) 683-6235 (616) 683-7435	Mr. Leon J. Smith
Northville Housing Commission 401 A High Street Northville, MI 48167-1271	Fax	(734) 349-8030 (734) 349-0259	Ms. Frances R. Hopp
Ontonagon Housing Commission 100 Cane Ct. Ontonagon, MI 49953	Fax	(906) 884-2258 (906) 884-2204	Ms. Sally Jarvey
Paw Paw Housing Commission 205 Miller Ct. Paw Paw, MI 49079	Fax	(616) 657-4776 (616) 697-7925	Mr. Harvey Hop
Plymouth Housing Commission 1160 Sheridan Plymouth, MI 48170	Fax	(734) 455-3670 (734) 455-2429	Ms. Sharon L. Thomas
Pontiac Housing Commission 132 Franklin Blvd. Pontiac, MI 48341	Fax	(248) 338-4551 (248) 338-7996	Mr. Walter Norris
Port Huron Housing Commission 905 Seventh St. Port Huron, MI 48060	Fax	(810) 984-6416 (810) 984-6430	Mr. Gerald E. Schock
Potterville Housing Commission 210 E. Main St. Potterville, MI 48876	Fax	(517) 645-7076 (517) 645-7330	Ms. Jean Robinson
Rapid River Housing Commission 10570 N. Main Rapid River, MI 49878	Fax	(906) 474-9370 (906)	Mr. David Goymerac

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Redford Township Hsg. Commission	n	(313) 387-2785	Ms. Rochelle Katz
12121 Hemingway	Fax	(313) 387-2776	
Redford, MI 48239		` '	
Reed City Housing Commission		(616) 832-2762	Ms. Mona Y. Perry
802 S. Mill St.	Fax	(616) 832-2830	
Reed City, MI 49677	2	(010) 002 0000	
Rood City, MI 45077			
River Rouge Housing Commission		(313) 382-1414	Mr. Michael J. Sloan
180 Visger P. O. Box 18174	Fax	(313) 382-0228	Will Wildlack J. Global
River Rouge, MI 48218	1 ax	(313) 302-0220	
Idver Rouge, IVII 40210			
Rockford Housing Commission		(616) 866-0371	Ms. Karen Harig
59 S. Main Street	Fax	(616) 866-7183	1715. Italon Italig
Rockford, MI 49341	1 ax	(010) 800-7183	
Rockfold, IVII 49541			
Package of Hausing Commission		(734) 370 0700	Me Isaat D Dallania
Rockwood Housing Commission	T	(734) 379-9700	Ms. Janet D. Dallwig
32409 Fort Street	Fax	(734) 379-9270	
Rockwood, MI 48173			
		(F15) 50 4 50 00	24 2 4 4 4
Rogers City Housing Commission	_	(517) 734-7303	Mr. Peter Ardini
643 West Erie Avenue	Fax	(517) 734-	
Rogers City, MI 48779			
Romulus Housing Commission		(734) 729-5389	Ms. Christine Anderson
34200 Beverly Road	Fax	(734) 729-0005	
Romulus, MI 48174			
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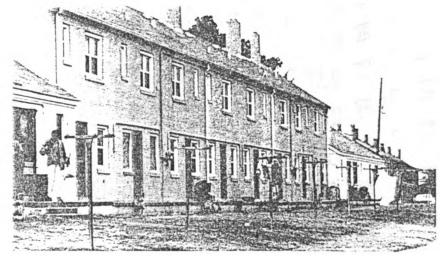
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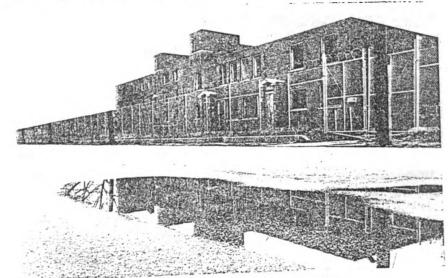
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APPENDIX C

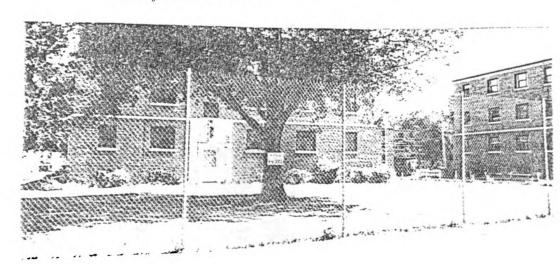
PICTURES OF PUBLIC HOUSING THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES

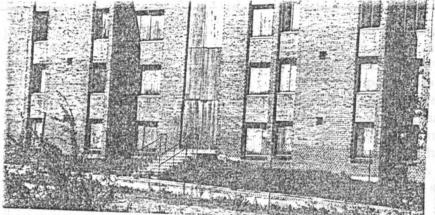


To avoid competing with the private housing industry, Congress in effect required public housing to look dismal.



One of the buildings the coalition is trying to save.





Some public housing needs major repairs.



When many units are allowed to sit vacant and deteriorate—as at this development in Chester, Pa.—is an authority engaging in "de facto demolition?"



After years of struggle, a Newark coalition forced its bousing authority to build bundreds of new apartments.



The Newark Housing Coalition has forced the PHA to build replacement housing before buildings like this one artorn down.

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rinees are put to work rehabilitating cant apartments in their housing development. Funds for the programs ome out of HUD comprehensive grants. To find out more about how to get money and technical assistance to set up Step-Up program in your neighborhood, contact the Labor Relations Department, HUD, Washington, D.C.)

Summer jobs programs for youth

One way to prepare young people for adult life and keep them off drugs is to help them find summer jobs where they can learn new skills and earn their own money. Worried about the lack of local job opportunities for at-risk youth, Project HOPE convinced the mayor to call an emergency meeting, which was attended by residents, members of the city council, other city officials, the police and others. The group agreed to set up a summer youth employment program—SAY Yes.

In the program's second summer, 1993, organizers held a successful jobs fair. About 200 kids were placed in jobs with private employers or in public sector jobs. When expected federal funding for youth employment did not come through, SAY Yes was "forced to get creative," says Project HOPE coordinator Louise Garrell. "We applied for grants from both the city and the county, for \$15,000 each, and got them both." The grant from the city is to place teenagers in various city jobs.

The county money is being used to start a youth apprenticeship program. Working with volunteer craftspeople, teens are learning valuable skills such as painting, carpentry and landscaping. The county also "loaned" an abandoned house to the project. "The kids will refurbish it," says Garrell, "and turn it into a showcase for their work."

Involvement in the apprenticeship program has had a positive impact on both the 15 young participants and the adult volunteers, says Garrell. "The kids, who were all selected from Project HOPE's sports program, feel as if they're

capable of doing something more than sports—this is a real craft they can use for the rest of their lives." The response from construction companies has also been incredible, says Garrell. "We've had lots of construction workers volunteering their time to teach the kids." Home Depot, the nationwide chain of home repair stores, has offered to train young people to work in Home Depot stores or even open their own franchises.

The SAY Yes program is also about more than jobs, says Garrell. "We arrange for staff at local banks to hold workshops for the kids to teach them how to open and maintain checking and savings accounts. We also encourage them to bring their parents along for financial counseling." It all works together, says Garrell, the sports, the jobs, the counseling. "Once you get kids excited, parents get excited...it creates such momentum in the community, there's no stopping it."

Self-employment programs

Sometimes the best way to get a job is to create your own. A number of resident councils have set up self-employment programs to help tenants develop and operate businesses ranging from hairstyling, lawn maintenance and sewing to word processing and catering.

These programs can help residents get past some of the barriers that may keep them out of the job market: lack of day care, transportation and marketable "Once you get kids excited, parents get excited...it creates such momentum in the community, there's no stopping it."



In Los Angeles, classes help prepare young residents for jobs.

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By July 1979, five years after residents first sued, Judge Garrity felt he had no choice except to take control of public housing away from the BHA and place it in the hands of a court-appointed receiver. The judge told the receiver, Lewis H. Spence, to "take any and all actions necessary, desirable and appropriate" to bring the BHA's housing units into compliance with the state sanitary code and other federal, state and local housing regulations. BHA appealed the ruling, but the State Supreme Court sided with the tenants—the first time a state high court had approved a receivership.

Spence, whose experience included administering city housing authorities, had two main goals: to meet residents' needs and to "demonstrate that public housing can work We have a fundamental political battle [to] get people to understand that it's not an impossible task, that poor people can be well housed." To accomplish those goals, Spence worked on several fronts:

- ✦ He ordered repairs started on some of the vacant units, as well as other physical improvements, such as replacing faulty heating and plumbing systems.
- ◆ He made extensive changes in management personnel, upgraded training provided to managers, and decentralized some of the BHA's operation, allowing field managers to control day-to-day affairs in their developments.
- He sought to improve routine maintenance.
- ✦ He launched a series of programs to recreate a sense of "order and community among residents of our projects," which included putting more police and other security officers on patrol.
- He evicted the most troublesome residents and improved screening procedures to keep such residents from coming in.
- He backed the development of a series of programs designed to organize tenants in their individual projects, including literacy, alcoholism

and job training programs. These were programs that tenants could, with technical assistance, direct themselves.

One was the Supportive Services Program, funded by a \$1 million grant from the state. Resident task forces would use the money to hire staff to help them provide educational, employment, counseling and community organizing services.

Real progress

By the mid-1980s, real progress had been made in improving Boston's public housing. The number of vacancies had been reduced by more than 500 units—the first time BHA's vacancy rate had gone *down* in more than ten years. The authority's \$5 million budget deficit had been erased, and BHA had even managed to accumulate a small reserve. Existing resident organizations were strengthened and new organizations formed.

Since the receivership ended in 1984,

The judge told the receiver to "take any and all actions necessary" to improve Boston public housing.



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tion member. He added that the NHA "tried to stir up the residents by telling them we [the coalition] didn't represent them since some of us weren't residents of public housing."

Those tactics did not work. Residents stayed committed to the effort, the coalition and each other. "We had residents willing to sign their names to petitions and willing to take the pressure. They knew this wouldn't be a short-term effort," said Victor Deluca, chair of the coalition and former director of one of its members.

Legal victory not enough

That court victory wasn't enough, however. A year after the agreement was signed, the NHA still had not built any new housing. In late 1991, the coalition requested that HUD appoint a receiver. HUD refused, instead creating a task force made up of city, state and federal agency officials to facilitate construction.

Still nothing changed. In August 1992, the coalition returned to federal court to ask the judge to enforce the agreement. Specifically, the coalition asked for a receiver to ensure that construction began and repair and rental of vacant units occurred. The judge did not want to go that far. Instead, he held hearings—12 in about one year—and issued a series of enforcement orders. He concluded that, "I don't know anyplace that has failed more than the Newark Housing Authority" and that HUD also had failed to monitor the agreement.

So far the judge has issued three court orders. The first two lay out a schedule for new construction and require an explanation when deadlines aren't met. Finally, construction is nearing completion on three projects containing 266 units. Construction is about to begin on another two projects with 393 units.

The third court order addresses vacancy and repair issues. It requires the NHA to: comply with its Memorandum of Agreement negotiated with HUD; rent 1280 units that had been vacant; inspect all apartments to make sure they meet federal housing standards for safe and

decent housing; and make repairs within an average of 30 days and, in the case of emergencies, within 24 hours. The court also ordered NHA to spend \$30 million in 1993 of the \$78 million in modernization funds it had been sitting on and make plans for spending the remaining \$48 million. Finally, the order requires NHA to re-rent vacant units within an average of 30 days.

Stephen Finn, director of the Newark Coalition for Low-Income Housing, reports that although NHA has begun to make repairs and fill vacancies, it is way behind the schedule set by the judge.

Concerned about the continuing violations, the Coalition urged the judge to appoint a receiver to oversee NHA's vacancy reduction program. "It was important for the court to appoint someone to create the sense of urgency which was missing at the agency," said Finn. The judge agreed the authority was moving too slowly and appointed a special master to evaluate the rental program by November 1993.

Finally... change

The pressure from the Coalition and the court seems to have lit a fire under the NHA. In the past few months, the authority has: contracted for rehabilitation of 969 of 1,280 vacant apartments; increased the number of staff in the resident selection office; computerized

"Having residents accompany HUD inspectors allows them to become part of the process and makes the community an official monitor of public housing. Communities must be able to make government authorities accountable."



More of the new units being built in Newark.

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"The amount of housing— especially public housing—that sits vacant in this country while millions of families can't find decent housing they can afford is a national tragedy."

Left: Vacant public housing in Newarb

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INTRODUCTION

low to improve ublic housing

To many people, the only thing to do In public housing is admit failure and it off or demolish it. Most of these ple do not live in public housing. hose who do live there know that, many families, public housing is a resort. It may not provide a great ne for its 3.4 million residents, in ne cases it provides a terrible home, It is a home. Indeed, in most of its locations, public housing does not Il resemble its public image: a crumg, drug-infested, crime-ridden high (see page 13). Often, public housing much better place to live than nparably priced, privately-owned atments.

ost residents don't want to demolish lic housing, they want to improve it. leir development is threatened by donment and demolition, most lents focus on how to save their ses.

aking public housing a better place e—and preserving the 50,000 or so ments that are in danger of being —is the purpose of this manual.

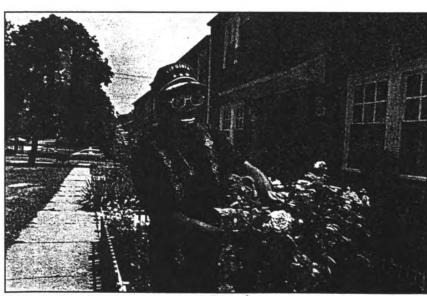
any people have ideas about how aprove public housing. Some k you should make residents the ers of their units. Some argue that ents should manage their developts. Others believe that the existing agers should be given more freedom noney, while their critics say the should be on ways to reform the agers. Still others focus on concrete that residents and managers can

do together to improve life at least a little, such as starting resident patrols or providing day care.

But whatever the exact approach to improving public housing, the key is the active involvement of residents, involvement that is encouraged with direct financial support and strong enforcement of laws requiring resident participation in decisions.

"Public housing never would have gotten into the shape it's in today if residents had more control over their environments," states U.S. Rep. Maxine Waters (D-Calif.), who has spent much time working with residents of her LA district's many public housing developments.

"Public housing never would have gotten into the shape it's in today if residents had more control over their environments."



Most public housing does not at all resemble its public image: a crumbling, drug-infested, crime-ridden high rise.

Unfortunately, HUD itself has failed to force most authorities to improve. They inspect far too seldom. They have allowed clearly failing authorities to muddle along for too long. They accept far too much of what authorities say at face value, without making sure the information is accurate. (In Philadelphia, the Inspector General discovered that HUD had been paying operating subsidies on 495 units that no longer existed!)

Who lives in public housing?

Most of those who live in public housing are extremely poor, with a median income of only \$6,539 in 1988, about a fifth the national average. Only about a quarter of public housing families rely primarily on earned income; an estimated 43 percent receive welfare, according to a survey done by three public housing trade associations.

Residents are mostly minority (56 percent African American; 20.8 percent Hispanic). Surprisingly, the average family size is only 2.2 persons. Less than a quarter of residents who head households are under 25.

Approximately one third of units are lived in by the elderly.



Only about a fifth of residents are white today compared to three quarters in 1944, but a fifth still adds up to about 500,000 people.

"In fact, meaningful HUD does not exist," states the Na Housing Law Project's 1990 demolition of public housing "rarely conducts an independ or "any in-depth analysis...." oversight is also not timely, to says. "In practice, HUD usual the process so late...that the approve abandonment is often gone conclusion."

HUD has the power to tak management of a failing hous ity, but as of 1992, it had don eight times in its history.

Unfortunately, the new address not seem to be willing a problem, emphasizing the nellocal authorities more *autono* more oversight (see page 13) seem unwilling to deal with a the problem: lack of oversigh

Which is why residents organized are so crucial. By ing a strong organization that represents most residents, by alliances with others outside thousing, resident organization have!) forced management to more accountable, and that ha in better public housing. At the time, they have forced cities to meet the needs of public housedents.

It's not easy. It can take year are no guarantees. But the rew be great. Individuals have ofter formed their lives, learning the good at doing things like build organizations and communication needs that they never thought do. Isolated residents have conknow each other and build coby working together.

And most concretely, resided accomplished things that make new or re-built homes, less lar more jobs, good day care prop faster repairs and much more.

This manual tells their inspirand explains how they did it.



Public housing development in South Central Los Angeles.

"As housing residents and tenant activists became politically isolated—and the middle class became increasingly wary of programs to help the poor—no one seemed to care that many public housing agencies became rife with waste, patronage and indifference," write Atlas and Dreier.

Interestingly, the one big city that didn't allow its public housing to become inhabited exclusively by low-income people—New York—is in better shape, with a much lower vacancy rate for example. (The average income in New York public housing—\$12,173—is nearly twice the average in other public

Only about a fifth of residents are white today compared to three quarters in 1944, but a fifth still adds up to about 500,000 people.

promoted both in the cc administration." At first g requirement seems reasc takes only a glance at me housing developments to couraging result: often the tively cheap and rundows or town you may be pass when you see public hou what it is.

"By constructing buildir compared to warehouses, stigmatized 'government h rendering it unattractive to lower middle class, who winstead on private builders American Dream," write At Dreier.

The worst buildings were high rises, which not only lethey didn't work as commun cording to Atlas and Dreier, New York public housing for biggest factor linked to high crime was not the number of welfare who lived in a build whether or not it was a high

"Wallow in your own misery"

Several other historical factimportant. In the early days, more than paid operating conducting authorities were not build up big reserves (reservexceed a half year's rent). The when the time came for big major rehabilitation, they did enough money. The energy 1970s also hit public housing greatly increasing operating to

The movement to give porminority people more rights, public housing. In the late 1 dents and legal aid lawyers pextremely strict rules enforce public housing authorities, a made many developments for like plantations. They succeed forcing the authorities to endarbitrary evictions and punish some believe these changes to the virtual anarchy that expenses to the second minimum of the second mini

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How Erie residents forced their housing authority to try their approach to drugs

The first time members of the Erie Tenants Council heard about their housing authority's plan to request HUD funding for drug elimination activities, the application was ready to go. All it needed was the residents' approval. Council officers signed off on the application, even though they had not been consulted and were unhappy with some of the PHA's plans. Their development needed the money to fight drugs.

But the council also sent a letter to the HUD field office in Pittsburgh, complaining that residents had been left out of the application process. The Pittsburgh office's Resident Initiative Coordinator, Jacqueline Thompson, reminded the PHA of the importance of resident participation in grant applications.

When it came time for the Erie housing authority to submit its annual Comprehensive Grant application, PHA staff involved Council members from the very beginning of the process, says Thelma Grady, the Council's president. Residents were invited to all planning meetings. After the initial meeting, says Grady, each resident who attended surveyed their neighbors to find out what kind of work

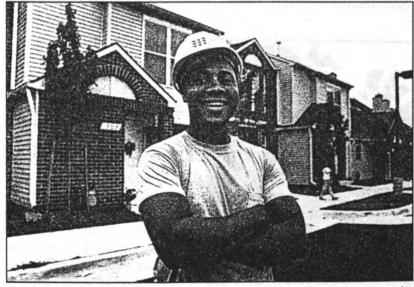
their apartments needed. Residents presented the PHA with the results those surveys at the next planning meeting.

The PHA also made every effort t involve residents the next time it applied to HUD for drug elimination funds.

The PHA is also responding to th Council's suggestions about bow dri elimination and comprehensive gran money should be spent, says Grady Although her initial recommendation that the PHA use some of the mone to create a "Step-Up" program met with resistance, Grady "kept putting on the table." Now, says Grady, the PHA takes great pride in the Step-U program, which combines hands-or training in basic maintenance and repair with classroom work to improve educational skills. Apprentice are paid while in the program. In 1992, ten men and women, recommended by the Erie Tenants Counci graduated from the program. They: now repairing vacant apartments in local housing developments.

Jacqueline Thompson of HUD's Pittsburgh field office credits the persistence and outspokenness of the Erie Tenants Council for the housin authority's renewed efforts to involve residents. "The Council let the PHA director know they wanted to work cooperatively, that they wanted to a partner," she says. Thompson also credits the public housing authority for the extent to which it has involved the stent to which it has involved the grant application process "HUD intended the grant application process to be a partnership betwee PHAs and tenants," she says.

Keep in mind that, as important the grant application process is, it's only the first step. Residents need the involved in every step—"from the moment the first word is written or the grant application until the last dollar is spent," recommends Thomson. "Ideally, residents should be juas involved in the implementation amonitoring stages of a grant as they are in planning."



Erie residents used drug grant money to start a program to train young people in housing repair and maintenance, similar to the program that trained this Alexandria resident.

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meeting to volunteer. They recognize that it's a matter of saving lives."

Most of the people who attended the meeting, says Garrell, were young (23-28) and grew up in public housing themselves. Many had had difficult childhoods, but all now have steady jobs. In Garrell's experience, mentorship programs work best when young people can identify with their mentor, i.e., someone who is young, who grew up poor and is doing okay, rather than a much older person or star athlete who has a lot of money.

Project HOPE envisions each mentor being more than a companion for the children. "They will also be an advocate for the children and help them get jobs," says Garrell. "Volunteer mentors will also be walking advertisements for the program, as they talk about the importance of mentoring to their friends and neighbors and at church."

To find out more about Project Hope's mentoring program, contact Louise Garrell, Project HOPE, 537 Maverick Circle, Spartansburg, S.C. 29302, 803-579-1635.

Recreation and sports programs

Many believe that a good way to keep young people on a positive track is to offer them opportunities to develop new skills and self esteem—and to have fun. Sports and recreation programs can combine all three elements.

In addition to its mentoring program, Project HOPE in South Carolina also operates a highly successful year-round sports program. Before the program started in 1992, Spartansburg public housing offered no organized sports activities for young people. Now kids can choose among baseball, basketball, football and track-and-field.

"When we started working with these kids," says Louise Garrell, "they had no hope; now hope has been brought back into their lives and into their parents' lives." The volunteer coaches who work with the kids really care about them, she says, and participating in the teams has

given the children the pride, sense of responsibility and self-discipline that come from developing a talent and working as part of a team.

Athletic activities are part of Project HOPE's recreation program, which is directed by two former professional athletes on a volunteer basis. Uniforms and equipment are donated by local corporations; the Spartansburg PHA pays to send the young athletes to competitions out of town.

The program is about more than sports and winning, Garrell emphasizes. It's also about developing character. "We treat these kids as if they're top notch," she says. "They know we believe in them and that helps them believe in themselves."

Project HOPE also uses sports to enrich the kids' lives. "When we take them on the road to a competition," she says, "we tour the cultural spots in whatever city we visit."

Hurst-Bush Youth Sports Program

Until 1992, the Hurst-Bush public housing developments in Williamson County, Ill., had no organized recreational or sports activities for young people. Members of Concerned Neighbors of Williamson County and Southern Counties Action Movement organized a

"We treat these kids as if they're top notch. They know we believe in them and that belps them believe in them-selves."



Many councils use most youth's interest in sports to involve them in organized programs.

ine first meeting

The most important goal at your first meeting is to give people a chance to get to know each other—and to identify common problems a resident council might be able to tackle. The more comfortable a setting you create, the more likely people will open up. Sometimes a social gathering such as a barbecue will be better than a formal meeting in somebody's apartment.

Make a list of the problems residents identify and talk about how setting up (or jump-starting) a resident council might help solve some of those problems. Tell people some success stories. Use examples included in this guide or ask your local legal services offices or housing activists for examples (see page 79).

Also at that first meeting, if you are starting a new resident council, ask everyone who supports the idea of forming a council to sign a petition, assuring them that residents have a clear right to form such a group. (Since new people will probably show up at your second and third meetings, pass the petition around at those meetings as well, to make sure you get everyone's signature and address.) Being able to show that many residents back the

"Being able to show that many residents back the council can give you clout with the PHA and other government agencies."



This resident has been organizing low-income people in Montana, helping win a law requiring residents on PHA boards.

council can give you and other governmen

Don't end the first setting up a second of who comes to tell other resident council and come to the next mean meeting ends, ask perwant to accomplish a and, if appropriate, as do before the second might include doing renames and phone nur allies in the communit attorneys, housing org telling other residents

Reach out for

By the time you hole third meeting, consider "expert" such as a lega or community housing to help you in whateve Depending on their known experience, they can of of areas:

- How to create a "mis. or overall purpose fo tion.
- ✦ How to write by-laws organizations operate become "incorporatec to), obtain "charity" ta formal recognition fro
- ♦ How to manage an or
- ♦ How to run meetings.
- ♦ How to raise money.
- ♦ What your rights are.
- How to win improvem homes.

You can also invite res from other local resident meetings to talk about the Ask legal services attorne housing organizations for resident activists. (See the section in Appendix I for contact legal services law helpful folks in your area.

Sometimes the PHA will one on staff, such as a res who can help you develo for your resident council.

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Getting people involved

Getting lots of residents involved in your council is extremely important. People are the source of your power to win changes. If one or two people complain about something, it's easy for public officials to ignore them. But it is much harder to ignore a dozen people, or 100 people.

The most successful organizations are constantly reaching out to bring in more people. They hold social events like barbecues and sports days. They sponsor educational events, such as inviting a job-training expert to talk to residents about how to prepare for the jobs of the future. They post flyers announcing their meetings and events. Their leaders take every opportunity to talk to residents one-on-one about the resident council and the problems the council is trying to overcome, as well as to ask people about their concerns. They go to local churches to reach both residents and people from the surrounding neighborhood.

And these successful organizations know how to make new people feel welcome. You don't want your organization to become such a tightly knit club that new people feel shut out. Those people are not likely to come back. New blood prevents community groups from becoming too in-grown and helps them stay strong.

"Successful organizations know how to make people feel welcome."



Among other issues, the Sonoma County Faith-Based Organizing Project helps public housing residents reduce crime and drugs. They often get hundreds to go to city council meetings.

Develop you

Once you have s short-term goals, yo strategies for reachine example, a long-term repairs done faster. On to let management k be monitoring how I respond to requests. The residents to inform you a request.

As you develop stra several things in mind be well thought out as are 1000 apartments ir ment and an average (quests each day, monit may not be realistic; pe on one or two building should be flexible and If residents aren't inform repair requests, then de strategy. Strategies shou many of your members. may be to hold a demor. protest to get media atte: members may not be rea confrontation.

Finally, try to have a reframe. If you do decide to onstration, or simply put a social event like a barbect self enough time to plan is always seem to take longe think. And try to have a se strategy over time. Often, a everything into one event, stration. But one event—or for example—will seldom rechange. Know what comes

Once residents have decigoals and strategies, write endown in an action plan. This include a list of specific task do each task, and by when, workplan not only gives you measure your accomplishment to make sure your resident contains a strended a meeting in copy.

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Working with your public housing authority

Your local public housing authority continuously makes decisions that affect your development—and you personally. It is also the source of a lot of useful information. The more you know about your PHA the better: how it works, its responsibilities to residents and the federal government, its track record on making repairs and filling vacancies.

This chapter explains how public housing authorities operate—and provides advice on how you can get more detailed information from and about your PHA.

This chapter also will serve as useful background for upcoming chapters: improving the quality of life in your development, reducing vacancies and fighting demolition. The public housing authority plays a major role in all three issues.

How closely should you work with your PHA?

Learning more about how your housing authority actually operates and who has power within the PHA will also help you make a very basic decision about your work. Is it best to work with your PHA, jointly developing needed services and improving maintenance and security? Or, because your PHA is doing such a bad job and seems very unresponsive to residents, is it better for you to play an advocate's role? This may mean pressuring your PHA to improve its performance, perhaps by telling the public and federal officials how bad conditions have become. These two options are not exclusive; the more effective resident organizations often do

There is a difference of opinion about how closely to work with your PHA.

Some housing activists feel that working with a PHA compromises a council's independence too much. They believe PHAs can easily control resident councils by giving them a little money and a little say in minor decisions while the big issues—getting repairs done on time, eliminating excess vacancies, dealing with crime, etc.—never get addressed.

Others believe that resident councils won't accomplish anything unless they develop a good relationship with their PHA—which ultimately controls nearly all the resources—and that resident councils can have a relationship without selling out.

In our view, the answer depends mostly on the nature of your PHA. Those that have allowed their developments to deteriorate for years, that do little about vacancies, that are extremely slow to make repairs—may be impossible to work with. The most valuable role you

"Some believe PHAs can easily control resident councils by giving them a little money and a little say in minor decisions."



A resident council jointly runs this day care center for public housing residents with the Alexandria (Va.) public housing authority.

play may be to bring more public attention to the PHA's failures.

For more responsive PHAs, the best role you could play may be to organize residents and help build more of a sense of community and develop programs that address specific needs (better security; recreational facilities, etc.). The key is learning as much as you can about your PHA.

All PHAs are supposed to help residents develop councils and provide assistance to councils that already exist.

Of course, housing authorities have their own agenda and it won't always coincide with yours. In some cases, PHAs have done their best to out-organize resident councils, so the councils would not — or could not — make any "trouble" for the authority.

But as long as you're aware of these different agendas and don't involve PHAs too closely in your operations, in most places, you probably have more to gain than lose in terms of access to federal resources and expertise.

Who's in charge?

Overall responsibility for building and maintaining public housing rests with the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). HUD turns over most of the responsibility for managing, maintaining and marketing public housing units to public housing authorities. Each PHA, in turn, hires a property manager(s) to handle the day-to-day operations of each housing development in its area.

HUD provides PHAs with about 95 percent of the money they need to operate public housing. Out of this "operating subsidy," the PHA is supposed to pay utilities and the salaries of maintenance and management staff. The money is also for maintaining developments' heating, water and cooling systems and for keeping individual units in good repair.

In addition to the operating funds, PHAs can apply for HUD for large "grants" to upgrade living conditions and make major repairs. (More about this later.)

Through its network of field offices, HUD is supposed to keep close watch on PHAs to make sure they are doing their jobs. Field staff are supposed to conduct regular inspections of conditions in housing developments and send reports to the closest HUD regional office (which are being abolished). They also provide technical assistance, mostly to housing authorities, but occasionally to resident associations. (Every field office is supposed to have a resident initiatives coordinator, from whom you can seek help and advice.)

To learn more...

There is a lot more information about how to organize a resident council—and organizing in general—than we have space to include here. But we have listed the names of organizing guides and information about where to get them in Appendix I. HUD itself has published a detailed guide called Community Empowerment: A Guide to Building Strong Resident Councils.

"The key is learning as much as you can about your PHA."



"Tenants must own their own association," says Eugene Williams, who has helped residents in Chester, Pa., organize. "If you're not autonomous, you'll be beholden to the authority."

got authority on your side. The PHA has signed a legal contract.

Working with your pHA's board

Attending PHA board of commissioners' meetings is one of the best ways to keep in touch with what your PHA is doing (or not doing)—and to have a say in decisions that affect the quality of life in your housing development.

These boards create the policies that govern the PHA and oversee its work. Anytime management wants to develop a new program, pass a budget or submit grant requests to HUD, it has to seek the approval of the board. Board members (usually between five and nine) are appointed by the mayor or city council and are supposed to reflect the people living in the community where the housing development is located. Some boards are more reflective of their communities than others.

Ideally, a representative of your resident council will be appointed to the board of commissioners—nothing your council does is more likely to influence decisions by the public housing authority than having a member on the board. At this point, HUD regulations recommend but do not require that residents have a seat on PHA boards, and more resident representatives are being appointed to them. Work with your city council or mayor, who choose the board members, to encourage them to appoint residents.

As we discussed in the introduction, some cities don't really want to see public housing saved and improved and don't want residents to become more active. This is why it is very important to convince the federal government to require residents on boards. Short of that, some resident groups have pushed their state government to require residents on boards. Each state has the right to decide how public housing board members are selected.

Even if your council doesn't have a seat on the board of commissioners, you can still attend meetings. They are open to the public and notices are supposed

to be posted in public places several days in advance. Most PHA boards meet about once a month.

Claudia Moore, a resident of Nickerson Gardens in Los Angeles, is a resident commissioner on the board of the Los Angeles Housing Authority. Time at each meeting is reserved for "public comment," when residents are invited to express their views. "We listen to tenants during this period," says Moore. "Then we tell the executive director of the PHA to look into the issues tenants raise and report back to us."

Whether you just plan to attend meetings or want to get a resident appointed to your PHA's board, you should find out all you can about the board first. How big is it? What are its responsibilities? Who decides who becomes a Commissioner? Start with your PHA's staff. Any information you can't get from the public housing authority you should be able to get from a local legal services attorney or housing organizer.

Is your PHA meeting HUD's standards?

It would also be useful for your resident council to find out whether your public housing authority is meeting performance standards set by HUD. Most of these standards require the public housing authority to involve or at least consult residents. If they fail to meet

"We listen to residents during this comment period, then we tell the executive director to look into the issues residents raise and report back to us."

—Resident and board member Claudia Moore (below)



Kemp. But it also reflects the fact that HUD lacks enough staff to perform inspections.

The agency has developed a new tool, the Public Housing and Management Assessment Program (PHMAP), to measure the performance of public housing authorities. PHMAP is designed to enable public housing authorities to indicate how they have done on 12 performance standards, including how much the authority has done to involve residents in its operations and management (see page 32).

After public housing authorities submit their assessments, HUD scores them, using a point system from 0 to 100.

PHAs that score under 60 are designated "troubled" and required to make improvements or risk losing some or all of their federal funds. So far, however, most housing authorities have scored in the 60 to 90 range.

The first assessments were conducted in 1992, all for housing authorities with more than 500 units. PHMAP scores are public information, so if your PHA has done the assessment, you should ask for a copy of its score.

You can find out all about PHMAP by obtaining a copy of *The Public Housing Management Assessment Program* (*PHMAP*) *Handbook*, #7460.5, published in March 1992 by HUD's Office of Public and Indian Housing. The handbook, which is free, includes the statute that established PHMAP (section 502(a) of the 1990 National Affordable Housing Act), the regulations created to implement it, and tips for understanding and using the program, including examples.

A word to the wise: the PHMAP handbook is long and contains a lot of legal jargon and officialese. If you decide to get a copy, you might want to ask for help from a local housing organization or legal services attorney in identifying and interpreting the most important sections of the handbook.

Also keep in mind that since PHMAP is brand new, it is probably too early to know whether it will be an effective way to keep public housing authorities on their toes.

Profile of a housing authority that tries to work with residents

A lot of resident councils feel shut out by their public housing authorities. But some PHAs try harder than others to involve residents in decisions that affect them.

One is the Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority (ARHA), which manages 17 public housing developments, totalling 955 units, scattered throughout this city just south of Washington, D.C. A representative of a resident council sits on the Board of Commissioners (as does a representative from the city's tenantlandlord board). At every meeting, time is devoted to discussing the concerns of the resident council, as well as issues raised by tenants at large, according to research and development director Sunia Zaterman. Notice of the monthly meetings is posted in the offices of the city government, the library and the PHA.



A resident council member sits on the authority's board.

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Make your presence known

Let drug buyers know that they are not welcome in your neighborhood. Public housing residents on New York City's East Side have strung a banner with two big eyes painted on it across the entrance to a local drug market. "We Spy" and "Don't Buy Drugs Here" the banner warns; its presence has helped discourage customers from outside the area from coming in to buy drugs, according to *Winnable War* (see appendix I).

Create resident patrols to monitor drug and criminal activity in your development and report anything suspicious to the police. Residents of Grandview Homes in Everett, Wash., had tried everything to rid their development of drugs. They had pressed for the eviction of drug dealers and increased police involvement. But it wasn't until residents of this 148-unit complex initiated a foot patrol and began walking the neighborhood on a regular basis that they began to see results.

Since the patrol was started in 1987, drug dealing and crime are both down. Far fewer calls are being logged from Grandview Homes by the local police. The neighborhood is quieter and residents report feeling safer. The city of

"In New York
City, every public
bousing building
with a resident
patrol bas less
crime and
vandalism."



Residents and community leaders in Philadelphia hold a rally against drug abuse.

Everett has named Grandview the Mos Improved Neighborhood and in 1991, Neighborhoods USA named Grandview "Neighborhood of the Year."

Members of the foot patrol received training from local people identified by the resident council's community outreach committee. The patrol works in conjunction with the public housing authority, the city council and the local police, according to *Resident Initiatives* (see appendix I).

Resident patrols in New York City

In New York City, *every* public housing building with a resident patrol has less crime and vandalism than buildings whose residents don't patrol. Residents also report a greater sense of community, neighborhood and trust.

The New York City patrols succeed just by being there. Residents sit at a table in the lobby of their buildings. They greet their neighbors and talk with them. They get to know the housing agency's roving police patrols and trade information with them. They keep an eye out for strangers who might be acting suspiciously. They check on unlocked exit doors. They help people with small problems. And when they spot what might be a big problem, they pick up their phones and alert the housing agency police.

For more information about the New York City patrols, you can contact Charle Owens, Director of Community Affairs, New York City Housing Authority, 250 Broadway, New York, NY 10007.

Asking police to live in public housing

Having police officers living in your development can help increase resident' feelings of security. In Washington, D.C. Gilbert Webster, a police officer, his wife and three children sold their suburban home to move into Potomac Gardens, once considered one of the city's most crime-plagued public housing developments.

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office, and a copy is sent to the president of the resident council.

ARHA and the resident council have developed and operate several programs. ARHA has set up a joint selection committee with the resident council to hire contractors to provide resident services, including a resident leadership program, running a day care facility in the development, and offering training in small business development. Management and residents develop a request for proposals from contractors. As the proposals come in, residents as well as management review them and then interview the contractors. The contract is signed with the housing authority, but it stipulates that both the housing authority and residents will monitor the contractor's performance. In the case of the day care center, ARHA and the resident council meet monthly with the contractor to assess progress.

Other joint programs include a community campaign for safe neighborhoods and a youth-operated radio station. Currently the authority is working with residents to develop an alternative learning center for youth and adults.

Velcome To Royal Day Care Center

An on-site day care center is among the programs begun jointly by the housing authority and the resident council.

"Even in A exist betwe manageme protesting a demolish or authority's 1

Developing a ship with your p ity, says Zaterma "way to pass info forth that's not coadds that it also a sense of cooperation both sides."

For resident lea says, "it's really in grasp of how the loperates. Start by the and executive directly you want informating goes on in the development of participate."

One thing you ca Zaterman, is ask yo ity to hold orientationew residents, as Al doing soon. At these says "housing authoodescribe how they o various departments each one does. They whom to contact to co problems, where the from and how it's species describe the role of the answer residents' que

But even in Alexan exist between residen ment. Recently, for ex in one older developm protested a plan to desapartments and move residents believe they moved because their colose to Alexandria's portion tourist area.

APPENDIX D

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MAP OF THE STATE OF MICHIGAN WITH LOCATIONS OF PUBLIC HOUSING AUTHORITIES



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U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Section 8, Public Housing and Indian Housing Programs

FAMILY SELF-SUFFICIENCY PROGRAM CONTRACT OF PARTICIPATION

Thi	s Contract of Participation for the Family Self-Sufficiency (FSS) Program is between
	Housing Agency (HA),
and	
fam	, head of the FSS family. The FSS ily includes everyone in the household, and is referred to in this contract as "family".
Тур	pe of FSS Program.
	The family is a participant in the:
	 Section 8 Rental Certificate or Rental Voucher FSS Program Public Housing FSS Program Indian Housing FSS Program
Pu	rpose of Contract
	The purpose of this contract is to state the rights and responsibilities of the family and the HA the resources and supportive services to be provided to the family, and the activities to be completed by the family.
Ter	m of Contract
	This contract will be effective on
	This contract will expire on
	The HA can extend the term of the contract up to 2 years if the family gives the HA a written request for an extension and the HA finds that good cause exists for the extension.
Res	ources and Supportive Services
•	During the term of the contract, the HA will try to provide the resources and services listed in the individual training and services plans. If the resources and services are not available, the HA will try to substitute other resources and services. However, the HA has no liability to the family if the resources and services are not provided.

FSS Escrow Account

The HA will establish an FSS escrow account for the family. A portion of the increases in the family's rent because of increases in earned income will be credited to the FSS escrow account in accordance with HUD requirements.

Listed below are the family's annual income, earned income, and family rent when the family begins the FSS program. These amounts will be used to determine the amount credited to the family's FSS escrow account because of future increases in earned income.

Annual Income	
Earned Income	
Family Rent (Total Tenant Payment or, for rental vouchers,	
30% of monthly Adjusted Income)	

The HA will invest the FSS escrow account funds in HUD-approved investments.

The HA will give the family a report on the amount in the family's FSS escrow account at least once a year.

If the family is participating in the Section 8 program and moves outside the HA's jurisdiction under Section 8 portability procedures, the HA may transfer the balance of the family's FSS escrow account to another HA.

Withdrawal of Funds from FSS Escrow Account

The HA may permit the family to withdraw funds from the FSS escrow account before completion of the contract if the family has completed specific interim goals, designated by the HA, and needs some of the FSS escrow account funds to complete the contract (example: to pay for school costs).

The HA will pay the head of the family the amount in the family's FSS escrow account, less any amount owed to the HA, when:

- (1) the HA determines that the family has completed this contract, and,
- (2) at the time of contract completion, the head of the family provides written certification to the HA that no member of the family is receiving welfare assistance. Welfare assistance means income assistance from Federal or state welfare programs including AFDC, SSI that is subject to an income eligibility test, Medicaid, food stamps, and general assistance. Welfare assistance does not include transitional Medicaid or child care for JOBs participants or SSI payments to guardians of disabled children.

If the head of the family leaves the assisted unit, the remaining family members may, after consulting the HA, name another family member to receive the FSS escrow account funds.

Loss of FSS Escrow Account

The family will not receive the funds in its FSS escrow account if:

(1) the contract of participation is terminated,

- (2) the contract of participation is declared null and void; or
- (3) the family has not met its family responsibilities within the times specified as stated in this contract.

Family Responsibilities

The head of the family must:

Seek and maintain suitable employment after completion of the job training programs listed in the individual training and services plan. The HA, after consulting with the head of the family, will determine what employment is suitable based on the skills, education, and job training of that individual and available job opportunities in the area.

The head of the family and those family members who have decided, with HA agreement, to execute an individual training and services plan, must:

Complete the activities within the dates listed in each individual training and services plan.

Provide the HA and HUD with information about the family's participation in the FSS program in order to help the HA and HUD evaluate the FSS program. This could include information regarding employment, job interviews, training, educational attendance, and other FSS services and activities.

All family members must:

Comply with the terms of the lease.

If receiving welfare assistance, become independent of welfare assistance and remain independent of welfare assistance for at least 12 consecutive months before the contract expires.

If participating in the Section 8 program, live in the jurisdiction of the HA that enrolled the family in the FSS program at least 12 months from the effective date of this contract and comply with the family obligations under the Section 8 rental certificate or rental voucher program.

Corrective Actions for Failure to meet Family Responsibilities

If any member of the family does not meet his or her responsibilities under this contract, the family will not receive the money in its FSS escrow account and the HA may:

- 1) stop supportive services for the family,
- 2) terminate the family's participation in the FSS program, and
- 3) if the family is participating in the rental certificate or rental voucher program, terminate the Section 8 assistance, when allowed by HUD requirements.

HA Responsibilities

Attempt to obtain commitments from public and private sources for supportive services for families.

Establish an FSS escrow account for the family, invest the escrow account funds, and give the family a report on the amount in the FSS escrow account at least once a year.

Determine which, if any, interim goals must be completed before any FSS escrow funds may be paid to the family; and pay a portion of the FSS escrow account to the family if the HA determines that the family has met these specific interim goals and needs the funds from the FSS escrow account to complete the contract.

Determine if the family has completed this contract.

Pay the family the amount in its FSS escrow account, if the family has completed the contract and the head of the family has provided written certification that no member of the family is receiving welfare assistance.

Completion of the Contract of Participation

Completion of the contract occurs when the HA determines that:

- (1) the family has fulfilled all of its responsibilities under the contract; or
- (2) 30 percent of the family's monthly adjusted income equals or is greater than the Fair Market Rent amount for the unit size for which the family qualifies.

Termination of the Contract of Participation

The HA may terminate this contract if:

- (1) the family and the HA agree to terminate the contract;
- (2) the HA determines that the family has not fulfilled its responsibilities under this contract;
- (3) the family withdraws from the FSS program;
- (4) an act occurs that is inconsistent with the purpose of the FSS program; or
- (5) the HA is permitted in accordance with HUD requirements.

The HA may declare this contract null and void if the resources and services necessary to complete the contract are not available.

The HA must give a notice of termination or nullification to the head of the family. The notice must state the reasons for the HA decision to terminate or nullify the contract.

If the contract is terminated or declared null and void, the family has no right to receive funds from the family's FSS escrow account. The HA must close the family's FSS escrow account and may use the funds for purposes in accordance with HUD requirements.

If the family is participating in the Section 8 program, the HA will terminate the contract if the family moves outside the HA's jurisdiction under Section 8 portability procedures and enters the FSS program of another HA.

If the family is participating in the Section 8 program, this contract is automatically terminated if the family's section 8 assistance is terminated in accordance with HUD requirements.

Conflict with the Public or Indian Housing Lease

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If part of this contract conflicts with the public or Indian housing lease, the lease will prevail.

Compliance with HUD Regulations and Requirements

The contract of participation must be interpreted and administered in accordance with HUD regulations and requirements. Terms and figures, such as the income and rent amount on page 2, are subject to correction by the HA for compliance with HUD regulations and requirements. The HA must notify the family in writing of any adjustments made to the contract.

Signatures:			
<u>Family</u>			
(0)			
(Signature of head of family)			
(Date Signed)			
Housing Agency			
			· -
Lansing Housing Commission			
Lansing Housing Commission (Name of HA)			
Lansing Housing Commission (Name of HA)	,	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
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	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		
(Name of HA) (Signature of HA Official)	,		
(Name of HA) (Signature of HA Official) Executive Director			
(Name of HA) (Signature of HA Official)			
(Name of HA) (Signature of HA Official) Executive Director			

APPENDIX F THIRTY-FOUR REASONS FOR PUBLIC HOUSING

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34 Reasons for Public Housing...

- 1. Housing is a basic need.
- 2. Public housing is an efficient way to meet government housing objectives.
- 3. Public housing is a resource to the community.
- 4. Public housing is cost effective.
- 5. Public housing can be for everyone.
- 6. Public housing builds jobs.
- 7. Public housing provides major stimulus to economic growth.
- 8. Public housing can provide security of tenure.
- 9. Public housing is an effective means of assisting people on low incomes.
- 10. Public housing can overcome problems found in private rental like discrimination.
- 11. Public housing can lower rents in the private sector through competition.
- 12. Public housing can pioneer innovations in low cost construction, design, energy efficiency.
- 13. Public housing can create jobs and enable the government to better manage the economy at large.
- 14. Public housing gives the government an immediate tool to stimulate and regulate cycles in the housing and building industries.
- 15. Public housing assists to alleviate housing related poverty.
- 16. Public housing can offer mobility and choice.
- 17. Public housing offers some control over housing though the opportunity to input into decision making process.
- 18. Public housing is affordable.
- 19. Public housing can cater to individual or local needs, i.e. design for people with disabilities.
- 20. Public housing enables management to be flexible and responsive to needs of community and environment.

- 21. Public housing allows tenants to have greater income disposal and therefore greater access to opportunities and assists in enhancing quality of life.
- 22. Public housing provides an important stabilising core to community housing.
- 23. Public housing can encourage investment in other to control over investment of private sector in housing.
- 24. Public housing is a viable tender.
- 25. Public housing enhances participation and involvement of public.
- 26. Public housing promotes social justice.
- 27. Public housing provides diversity.
- 28. Public housing demonstrates taxes as public assets.
- 29. Public housing adds to public wealth.
- 30. Public housing can set standards and lead the housing industry.
- 31. Public housing can influence or intervene in planning to promote a range of density in housing types (i.e. medium density) and address particular issues in inner, outer and rural areas.
- 32. Public housing provides a solution for those who are increasingly squeezed out of home buying or private rental.
- 33. Public housing can provide the type of housing needed, where it is needed.
- 34. Public education, public transport, public hospitals and public housing!





What the Federal Government plans for Public Housing

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APPENDIX G

HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS FOR HOUSING IN THE STATE OF MICHIGAN







Housing Characteristics for Michigan

. Summary
. Housing . Income . Labor . Social

[Michigan Home Page] [Search for City, Town, CDP] [Search for County] [Download Data]

1990 Census of Population and Housing Michigan	Page 1
Total housing units	3,847,926
YEAR STRUCTURE BUILT 1989 to March 1990. 1985 to 1988. 1980 to 1984. 1970 to 1979. 1960 to 1969. 1950 to 1959. 1940 to 1949. 1939 or earlier.	75,300 232,299 214,435 785,613 622,650 688,994 428,845 799,790
BEDROOMS No bedroom. 1 bedroom. 2 bedroom. 3 bedroom. 4 bedroom. 5 or more bedrooms.	51,202 414,731 1,144,196 1,640,701 496,708 100,388
SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS Lacking complete plumbing facilities	32,492 34,613 103,922
SOURCE OF WATER Public system or private company	2,711,224 1,064,011 57,055 15,636
SEWAGE DISPOSAL Public sewer	2,724,408 1,090,481 33,037
Occupied housing units	3,419,331
HOUSE HEATING FUEL Utility gas Bottled, tank, or LP gas Electricity Fuel oil, kerosene, etc. Coal or coke Wood	2,630,526 207,320 185,631 236,335 1,753 131,881

Solar energy Other fuel No fuel used	713 17,298 7,874
1990 Census of Population and Housing Michigan	Page 2
YEAR HOUSEHOLDER MOVED INTO UNIT 1989 to March 1990 1985 to 1988 1980 to 1984 1970 to 1979 1960 to 1969 1959 or earlier	620,171 949,630 463,235 690,720 343,864 351,711
TELEPHONE No telephone in unit	139,082
VEHICLES AVAILABLE Occupied housing units	3,419,331 343,826 1,132,756 1,332,965 609,784
MORTGAGE STATUS AND SELECTED MONTHLY OWNER COSTS Specified owner-occupied housing units. With a mortgage. Less than \$300. \$300 to \$499. \$500 to \$699. \$700 to \$999. \$1,000 to \$1,499. \$1,500 to \$1,999. \$2,000 or more. Median (dollars) Not mortgaged. Less than \$100. \$100 to \$199. \$200 to \$299. \$300 to \$399. \$400 or more.	1,943,809 1,235,196 35,052 302,966 362,936 312,693 155,889 41,783 23,877 651 708,613 11,604 184,951 310,745 131,686 69,627
Median (dollars). SELECTED MONTHLY OWNER COSTS AS A PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME IN Specified owner-occupied housing units. Less than 20 percent. 20 to 24 percent. 25 to 29 percent. 30 to 34 percent. 35 percent or more. Not computed 1990 Census of Population and Housing Michigan	246
GROSS RENT Specified renter-occupied housing units Less than \$200 \$200 to \$299 \$300 to \$499 \$500 to \$749 \$750 to \$999 \$1,000 or more	966,241 82,051 123,415 432,375 241,667 40,809 13,839

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No cash rent Median (dollars)	,
GROSS RENT AS A PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME IN 1989	
Specified renter-occupied housing units	966,241
Less than 20 percent	293,439
20 to 24 percent	120,208
25 to 29 percent	100,005
30 to 34 percent	68,418
35 percent or more	332,015
Not computed	52,156







Housing Characteristics for Michigan

. Summary . Housing

. Income

. Labor

. Social

[Michigan Home Page] [Search for City, Town, CDP] [Search for County] [Download Data]

Navigation to Other Databases





























General Profile for Michigan

Summary .

. Housing

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. Social

[Michigan Home Page] [Search for City, Town, CDP] [Search for County] [Download Data]

1990 Census of Population and Housing Michigan	Page 1
Total populationSEX	9,295,297
Male	4,512,781
Female	4,782,516
AGE	
Under 1 year	129,255
1 and 2 years	292,304
3 and 4 years	280,995
5 years	141,002
6 years	136,188
7 to 9 years	415,057
10 and 11 years	277,565
12 and 13 years	262,321
14 years	126,484
15 years	130,377
16 years	131,266
17 years	135,951
18 years	142,306
19 years	156,903
20 years	150,757
21 years	143,173
22 to 24 years	411,388
25 to 29 years	764,262
30 to 34 years	810,291
35 to 39 years	749,062
40 to 44 years	657,087
45 to 49 years	523,730
50 to 54 years	424,389
55 to 59 years	392,787
60 and 61 years	160,021
62 to 64 years	241,915
65 to 69 years	369,111
70 to 74 years	286,727
75 to 79 years	212,494
80 to 84 years	133,222
85 years and over	106,907
Median age	32.6
Under 18 years	2,458,765
Percent of total population	26.5
65 years and over	1,108,461
Percent of total population	11.9
HOUSEHOLDS BY TYPE	2 410 221
Total households	3,419,331
Family households (families)	2,439,171
Married-couple families	1,883,143

Percent of total households	55.1
Other family, male householder	113,789
Other family, female householder	442,239
Nonfamily households	980,160
Percent of total households	28.7
Householder living alone	809,449
Householder 65 years and over	317,659
Persons living in households	9,083,605
Persons per household	2.66
GROUP QUARTERS	
Persons living in group quarters	211,692
Institutionalized persons	112,903
Other persons in group quarters	98,789
RACE AND HISPANIC ORIGIN	
White	7,756,086
Black	1,291,706
Parameter of testal manufaction	13.9
Percent of total population	
American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut	55,638
Percent of total population	0.6
Asian or Pacific Islander	104,983
Percent of total population	1.1
Percent of total population	
Other race	86,884
Hispanic origin (of any race)	201,596
Percent of total population	2.2
1990 Census of Population and Housing	Page :
	rage .
Michigan	
Total housing units	3,847,926
OCCUPANCY AND TENURE	ورجي
Occupied housing units	3,419,331
Owner occupied	2,427,643
Percent owner occupied	71.0
Renter occupied	991,688
Vacant housing units	428,595
	222 540
For seasonal, recreational, or occasional use	223,549
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent)	1.3
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent)	1.3 7.2
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent)	1.3 7.2 2.80
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent)	1.3 7.2 2.80 2.31
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent)	1.3 7.2 2.80
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent)	1.3 7.2 2.80 2.31 90,551
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent)	1.3 7.2 2.80 2.31
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent) Rental vacancy rate (percent) Persons per owner-occupied unit Persons per renter-occupied unit Units with over 1 person per room UNITS IN STRUCTURE 1-unit, detached.	1.3 7.2 2.80 2.31 90,551 2,673,184
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent) Rental vacancy rate (percent) Persons per owner-occupied unit Persons per renter-occupied unit Units with over 1 person per room UNITS IN STRUCTURE 1-unit, detached	1.3 7.2 2.80 2.31 90,551 2,673,184 130,583
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent) Rental vacancy rate (percent) Persons per owner-occupied unit Persons per renter-occupied unit Units with over 1 person per room UNITS IN STRUCTURE 1-unit, detached. 1-unit, attached. 2 to 4 units.	1.3 7.2 2.80 2.31 90,551 2,673,184 130,583 267,767
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent) Rental vacancy rate (percent) Persons per owner-occupied unit Persons per renter-occupied unit Units with over 1 person per room UNITS IN STRUCTURE 1-unit, detached. 1-unit, attached. 2 to 4 units. 5 to 9 units.	1.3 7.2 2.80 2.31 90,551 2,673,184 130,583 267,767 150,831
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent) Rental vacancy rate (percent) Persons per owner-occupied unit Persons per renter-occupied unit Units with over 1 person per room UNITS IN STRUCTURE 1-unit, detached. 1-unit, attached. 2 to 4 units.	1.3 7.2 2.80 2.31 90,551 2,673,184 130,583 267,767 150,831 336,721
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent) Rental vacancy rate (percent) Persons per owner-occupied unit Persons per renter-occupied unit Units with over 1 person per room UNITS IN STRUCTURE 1-unit, detached. 1-unit, attached. 2 to 4 units. 5 to 9 units. 10 or more units.	1.3 7.2 2.80 2.31 90,551 2,673,184 130,583 267,767 150,831
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent) Rental vacancy rate (percent) Persons per owner-occupied unit Persons per renter-occupied unit Units with over 1 person per room. UNITS IN STRUCTURE 1-unit, detached. 1-unit, attached. 2 to 4 units. 5 to 9 units. 10 or more units. Mobile home, trailer, other.	1.3 7.2 2.80 2.31 90,551 2,673,184 130,583 267,767 150,831 336,721
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent) Rental vacancy rate (percent) Persons per owner-occupied unit Persons per renter-occupied unit Units with over 1 person per room UNITS IN STRUCTURE 1-unit, detached. 1-unit, attached. 2 to 4 units. 5 to 9 units. 10 or more units. Mobile home, trailer, other.	1.3 7.2 2.80 2.31 90,551 2,673,184 130,583 267,767 150,831 336,721 288,840
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent) Rental vacancy rate (percent) Persons per owner-occupied unit Persons per renter-occupied unit Units with over 1 person per room UNITS IN STRUCTURE 1-unit, detached. 1-unit, attached. 2 to 4 units. 5 to 9 units. 10 or more units. Mobile home, trailer, other. VALUE Specified owner-occupied units.	1.3 7.2 2.80 2.31 90,551 2,673,184 130,583 267,767 150,831 336,721 288,840 1,916,143
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent) Rental vacancy rate (percent) Persons per owner-occupied unit Persons per renter-occupied unit Units with over 1 person per room. UNITS IN STRUCTURE 1-unit, detached. 1-unit, attached. 2 to 4 units. 5 to 9 units. 10 or more units. Mobile home, trailer, other. VALUE Specified owner-occupied units. Less than \$50,000.	1.3 7.2 2.80 2.31 90,551 2,673,184 130,583 267,767 150,831 336,721 288,840 1,916,143 737,217
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent) Rental vacancy rate (percent) Persons per owner-occupied unit Persons per renter-occupied unit Units with over 1 person per room UNITS IN STRUCTURE 1-unit, detached. 1-unit, attached. 2 to 4 units. 5 to 9 units. 10 or more units. Mobile home, trailer, other. VALUE Specified owner-occupied units. Less than \$50,000. \$50,000 to \$99,000.	1.3 7.2 2.80 2.31 90,551 2,673,184 130,583 267,767 150,831 336,721 288,840 1,916,143 737,217 814,496
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent) Rental vacancy rate (percent) Persons per owner-occupied unit Persons per renter-occupied unit Units with over 1 person per room UNITS IN STRUCTURE 1-unit, detached. 1-unit, attached. 2 to 4 units. 5 to 9 units. 10 or more units. Mobile home, trailer, other. VALUE Specified owner-occupied units. Less than \$50,000. \$50,000 to \$99,000.	1.3 7.2 2.80 2.31 90,551 2,673,184 130,583 267,767 150,831 336,721 288,840 1,916,143 737,217
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent) Rental vacancy rate (percent) Persons per owner-occupied unit Persons per renter-occupied unit Units with over 1 person per room. UNITS IN STRUCTURE 1-unit, detached. 1-unit, attached. 2 to 4 units. 5 to 9 units. 10 or more units. Mobile home, trailer, other. VALUE Specified owner-occupied units Less than \$50,000. \$50,000 to \$99,000. \$100,000 to \$149,000.	1.3 7.2 2.80 2.31 90,551 2,673,184 130,583 267,767 150,831 336,721 288,840 1,916,143 737,217 814,496 219,195
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent) Rental vacancy rate (percent) Persons per owner-occupied unit Persons per renter-occupied unit Units with over 1 person per room UNITS IN STRUCTURE 1-unit, detached. 1-unit, attached. 2 to 4 units. 5 to 9 units. 10 or more units. Mobile home, trailer, other VALUE Specified owner-occupied units Less than \$50,000. \$50,000 to \$99,000. \$100,000 to \$149,000. \$150,000 to \$199,999.	1.3 7.2 2.80 2.31 90,551 2,673,184 130,583 267,767 150,831 336,721 288,840 1,916,143 737,217 814,496 219,195 79,313
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent) Rental vacancy rate (percent) Persons per owner-occupied unit. Persons per renter-occupied unit. Units with over 1 person per room. UNITS IN STRUCTURE 1-unit, detached. 1-unit, attached. 2 to 4 units. 5 to 9 units. 10 or more units. Mobile home, trailer, other. VALUE Specified owner-occupied units. Less than \$50,000. \$50,000 to \$99,000. \$100,000 to \$149,000. \$150,000 to \$199,999. \$200,000 to \$299,999.	1.3 7.2 2.80 2.31 90,551 2,673,184 130,583 267,767 150,831 336,721 288,840 1,916,143 737,217 814,496 219,195 79,313 45,953
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent) Rental vacancy rate (percent) Persons per owner-occupied unit. Persons per renter-occupied unit. Units with over 1 person per room. UNITS IN STRUCTURE 1-unit, detached. 1-unit, attached. 2 to 4 units. 5 to 9 units. 10 or more units. Mobile home, trailer, other. VALUE Specified owner-occupied units. Less than \$50,000. \$50,000 to \$99,000. \$100,000 to \$149,000. \$150,000 to \$199,999. \$200,000 to \$299,999. \$300,000 or more.	1.3 7.2 2.80 2.31 90,551 2,673,184 130,583 267,767 150,831 336,721 288,840 1,916,143 737,217 814,496 219,195 79,313 45,953 19,969
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent) Rental vacancy rate (percent) Persons per owner-occupied unit. Persons per renter-occupied unit. Units with over 1 person per room. UNITS IN STRUCTURE 1-unit, detached. 1-unit, attached. 2 to 4 units. 5 to 9 units. 10 or more units. Mobile home, trailer, other. VALUE Specified owner-occupied units. Less than \$50,000. \$50,000 to \$99,000. \$100,000 to \$149,000. \$150,000 to \$199,999. \$200,000 to \$299,999. \$300,000 or more. Median (dollars).	1.3 7.2 2.80 2.31 90,551 2,673,184 130,583 267,767 150,831 336,721 288,840 1,916,143 737,217 814,496 219,195 79,313 45,953
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent) Rental vacancy rate (percent) Persons per owner-occupied unit. Persons per renter-occupied unit. Units with over 1 person per room. UNITS IN STRUCTURE 1-unit, detached. 1-unit, attached. 2 to 4 units. 5 to 9 units. 10 or more units. Mobile home, trailer, other. VALUE Specified owner-occupied units. Less than \$50,000. \$50,000 to \$99,000. \$100,000 to \$149,000. \$150,000 to \$199,999. \$200,000 to \$299,999. \$300,000 or more. Median (dollars). CONTRACT RENT	1.3 7.2 2.80 2.31 90,551 2,673,184 130,583 267,767 150,831 336,721 288,840 1,916,143 737,217 814,496 219,195 79,313 45,953 19,969
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent) Rental vacancy rate (percent) Persons per owner-occupied unit. Persons per renter-occupied unit. Units with over 1 person per room. UNITS IN STRUCTURE 1-unit, detached. 1-unit, attached. 2 to 4 units. 5 to 9 units. 10 or more units. Mobile home, trailer, other. VALUE Specified owner-occupied units. Less than \$50,000. \$50,000 to \$99,000. \$100,000 to \$149,000. \$150,000 to \$199,999. \$200,000 to \$299,999. \$300,000 or more. Median (dollars). CONTRACT RENT	1.3 7.2 2.80 2.31 90,551 2,673,184 130,583 267,767 150,831 336,721 288,840 1,916,143 737,217 814,496 219,195 79,313 45,953 19,969 60,600
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Homeowner vacancy rate (percent) Rental vacancy rate (percent) Persons per owner-occupied unit. Persons per renter-occupied unit. Units with over 1 person per room. UNITS IN STRUCTURE 1-unit, detached. 1-unit, attached. 2 to 4 units. 5 to 9 units. 10 or more units. Mobile home, trailer, other. VALUE Specified owner-occupied units. Less than \$50,000. \$50,000 to \$99,000. \$100,000 to \$149,000. \$150,000 to \$199,999. \$200,000 to \$299,999. \$300,000 or more. Median (dollars). CONTRACT RENT Specified renter-occupied units paying cash rent Less than \$250.	1.3 7.2 2.80 2.31 90,551 2,673,184 130,583 267,767 150,831 336,721 288,840 1,916,143 737,217 814,496 219,195 79,313 45,953 19,969 60,600 925,304 232,954
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent) Rental vacancy rate (percent) Persons per owner-occupied unit Persons per renter-occupied unit Units with over 1 person per room. UNITS IN STRUCTURE 1-unit, detached. 1-unit, attached. 2 to 4 units. 5 to 9 units. 10 or more units. Mobile home, trailer, other. VALUE Specified owner-occupied units. Less than \$50,000. \$50,000 to \$99,000. \$50,000 to \$99,000. \$150,000 to \$149,000. \$150,000 to \$199,999. \$200,000 to \$299,999. \$300,000 or more. Median (dollars) CONTRACT RENT Specified renter-occupied units paying cash rent Less than \$250. \$250 to \$499.	1.3 7.2 2.80 2.31 90,551 2,673,184 130,583 267,767 150,831 336,721 288,840 1,916,143 737,217 814,496 219,195 79,313 45,953 19,969 60,600 925,304 232,954 536,905
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent) Rental vacancy rate (percent) Persons per owner-occupied unit Persons per renter-occupied unit Units with over 1 person per room. UNITS IN STRUCTURE 1-unit, detached. 1-unit, attached. 2 to 4 units. 5 to 9 units. Mobile home, trailer, other. VALUE Specified owner-occupied units Less than \$50,000. \$50,000 to \$99,000. \$100,000 to \$149,000. \$150,000 to \$199,999. \$200,000 to \$299,999. \$300,000 or more. Median (dollars) CONTRACT RENT Specified renter-occupied units paying cash rent Less than \$250. \$250 to \$499. \$500 to \$749.	1.3 7.2 2.80 2.31 90,551 2,673,184 130,583 267,767 150,831 336,721 288,840 1,916,143 737,217 814,496 219,195 79,313 45,953 19,969 60,600 925,304 232,954 536,905 128,873
Homeowner vacancy rate (percent) Rental vacancy rate (percent) Persons per owner-occupied unit Persons per renter-occupied unit. Units with over 1 person per room. UNITS IN STRUCTURE 1-unit, detached. 1-unit, attached. 2 to 4 units. 5 to 9 units. 10 or more units. Mobile home, trailer, other. VALUE Specified owner-occupied units. Less than \$50,000. \$50,000 to \$99,000. \$100,000 to \$149,000. \$150,000 to \$299,999. \$200,000 to \$299,999. \$300,000 or more. Median (dollars) CONTRACT RENT Specified renter-occupied units paying cash rent Less than \$250. \$250 to \$499. \$500 to \$749. \$750 to \$999.	1.3 7.2 2.80 2.31 90,551 2,673,184 130,583 267,767 150,831 336,721 288,840 1,916,143 737,217 814,496 219,195 79,313 45,953 19,969 60,600 925,304 232,954 536,905
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Homeowner vacancy rate (percent) Rental vacancy rate (percent) Persons per owner-occupied unit Persons per renter-occupied unit. Units with over 1 person per room. UNITS IN STRUCTURE 1-unit, detached. 1-unit, attached. 2 to 4 units. 5 to 9 units. 10 or more units. Mobile home, trailer, other. VALUE Specified owner-occupied units. Less than \$50,000. \$50,000 to \$99,000. \$100,000 to \$149,000. \$150,000 to \$299,999. \$200,000 to \$299,999. \$300,000 or more. Median (dollars). CONTRACT RENT Specified renter-occupied units paying cash rent Less than \$250. \$250 to \$499. \$500 to \$749. \$750 to \$999. \$1,000 or more.	1.3 7.2 2.80 2.31 90,551 2,673,184 130,583 267,767 150,831 336,721 288,840 1,916,143 737,217 814,496 219,195 79,313 45,953 19,969 60,600 925,304 232,954 536,905 128,873 17,827 8,745
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Occupied housing units	
White	2,907,741
Black	441,984
Percent of occupied units	12.9
American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut	17,709
Percent of occupied units	0.5
Asian or Pacific Islander	28,204
Percent of occupied units	0.8
Other race	23,693
Hispanic origin (of any race)	55,798
Percent of occupied units	1.6







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