WHAT IF HE COULD HAVE JUST GROWN UP SOMEWHERE ELSE?

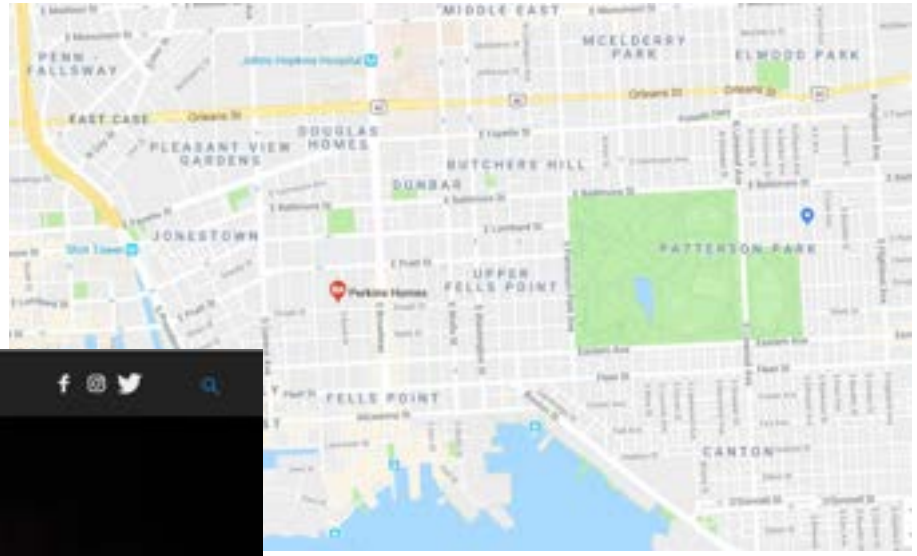
DeShawn and the Weight of Trauma

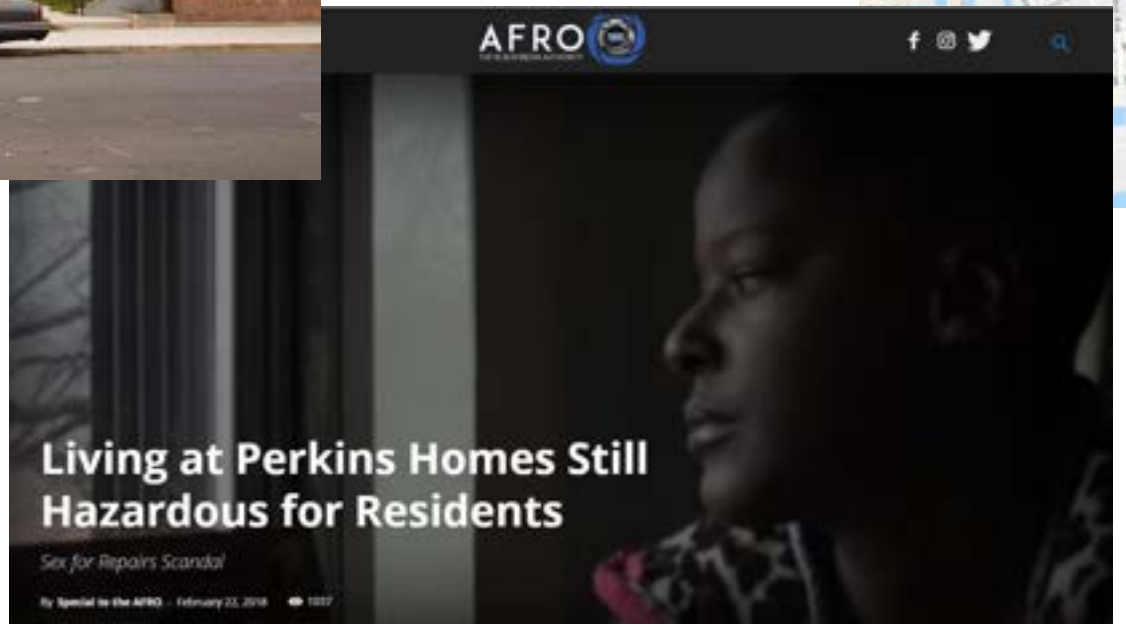
DESHAWN

17 year old HS senior presenting to treatment for the first time with depressive symptoms

- Good student, popular with peers, on the football team, but struggling during senior year
- "Textbook case" of Major Depressive Disorder
- Completely life-altering event at age 5

PERKINS HOMES





CHILDHOOD TRAUMA AND FUTURE PSYCHOPATHOLOGY

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTION

Early life adversity, genomic plasticity, and psychopathology

Gustavo Turecki, Vanessa Kiyomi Ota, Sintia Iole Belangero, Andrea Jackowski, Joan Kaufman

Childhood Abuse, Household Dy
and the Risk of Attempted Suici
Throughout
Findings From t

Robert F. Anda · Vincent J. Felitti · J
Charles Whitfield · Bruce D. Perry ·

The enduring effects

Article

Childhood Maltreatment Predicts Unfavorable Course of Illness and Treatment Outcome in Depression: A Meta-Analysis

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

Childhood trauma predicts antidepressant response in adults with major depression: data from the randomized international study to predict optimized treatment for depression

LM Williams[1,2,5], C Debattista[1,5], A-M Duchemin[3], AF Schatzberg[1] and CB Nemeroff[4]

'eatment and Psychopathology
'elopment During Adolescence

Meg Dennison, Ph.D., Nandita Vijayakumar, B.Sc.,
ıraf Yücel, Ph.D., Dan I. Lubman, M.B.Ch.B., Ph.D., F.R.A.N.Z.C.P.,
D., M.R.C.Psych., F.R.A.N.Z.C.P., Nicholas B. Allen, Ph.D.

DESHAWN

17 year old boy presenting to treatment for the first time with

What if he could have just grown up somewhere else?

A PROMISING START

The Gautreaux Project

DISCRIMINATION IN CHICAGO

Dorothy Gautreaux, lead plaintiff

Altgeld Gardens (aka Chicago's "Toxic Donut")

Dorothy Gautreaux v Chicago Housing Authority – 1966

- ACLU-initiated class action lawsuit alleging that CHA violated the Civil Rights Act of 1964
- Reached the Supreme Court in 1976
- Court ruled that HUD could use the entire Chicago metro area to remedy past discriminatory practices

BIRTH OF THE GAUTREAUX PROGRAM

In 1981, CHA partnered with the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities to disburse interested public housing residents

- 7,500 vouchers were created and CHA offered to place holders in housing
- Participants were given a voucher for urban neighborhoods (predominantly African American) or in suburban neighborhoods (70% white)
  - Eligible residents: no history of late rent payments, no history of damaging a rental unit, no families with four or more children, no “large debts”, and no “unacceptable housekeeping”

GAUTREAUX PROGRAM OUTCOMES

Analysis 5 years later:

Adult Outcomes

- Suburban movers were more likely to be employed (64% vs 51%) than city movers
- Suburban movers cited improved physical safety and greater job opportunities

Child Outcomes

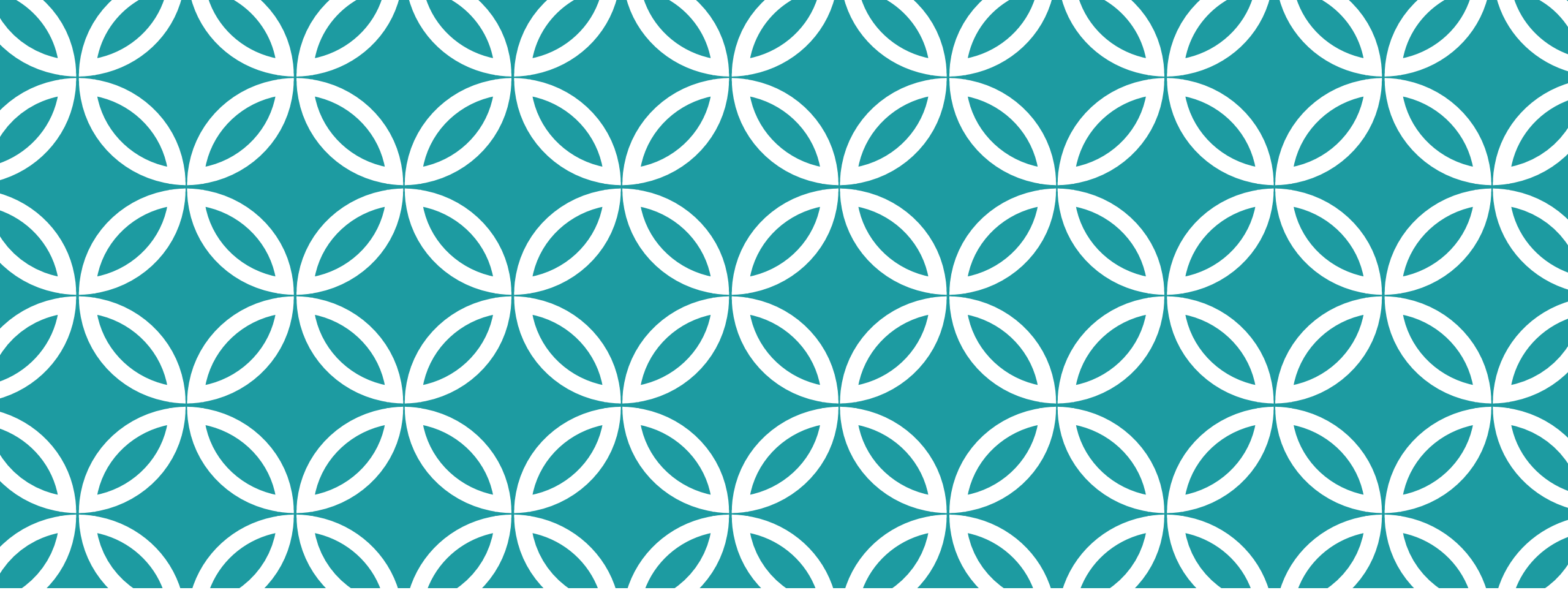
- Suburban movers went to higher quality schools by ACT scores and state tests
- Suburban movers were more likely to experience racial harassment from other students (52% vs 23%)
- No differences in in-school fighting

Table 5. **Youth Education and Job Outcomes: City-Suburban Comparison (percent)**

Outcome	City	Suburb
Dropped out of school	20	5*
College track	24	40**
Attend college	21	54***
Attend four-year college	4	27**
Employed full-time (if not in college)	41	75***
Pay under $3.50/hour	43	9***
Pay over $6.50/hour	5	21***
Job benefits	23	55***

Note: Asterisks indicate significance level of difference between city and suburban samples, by chi-square or *t* test.
* $p < 0.10$.
** $p < 0.05$.
*** $p < 0.025$.

Rosenbaum, J. E. (1995). Changing the geography of opportunity by expanding residential choice: Lessons from the Gautreaux program. Housing Policy Debate, 6(1), 231-269.



MOVING TO OPPORTUNITY

Replicating Gautreaux on a large scale

PUSHING FOR RELOCATION

In 1988, Republican HUD secretary Jack Kemp supported a similar program, with several modifications:

- Race would be removed from all aspects of the program
- Focus would be entirely on finding low-poverty neighborhoods, sold as having "high job potential" and called "opportunity areas"
- Would have a fully "experimental" design, with consultation from academics

1992, Congress authorized $70 million for housing vouchers and program evaluation

Jack Kemp, HUD Secretary under George H.W. Bush

MOVING TO OPPORTUNITY

Five demonstration cities were chosen: Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York

Program eligibility

- Must be living in public or other government subsidized project-based housing in a census tract with more than 40% poverty rate
- Families must have a child under age 18
- Families must agree to participate in the experimental design and randomization to one of three conditions

MOVING TO OPPORTUNITY

Section 8

- Families were given standard "Section 8" housing voucher for use anywhere it is accepted
- Vouchers require families pay 30% of their income for rent and the voucher covers the rest, as long as it is 40th or 50th percentile for the metropolitan region

Experimental (MTO) Voucher

- Families were given vouchers only for use in census tracts with 1990 poverty rates below 10% and given guidance to find these homes by local nonprofit organizations
- After one year, families could use their voucher to relocate wherever they want

Control Group

- Received no certificates or vouchers, but could be eligible for subsequent services
- No requirement that these participants stay in public housing

PARTICIPANTS

	Experimental Group	Section 8 Group	Control Group	All Groups
Participating adults/kids	1,819/2,417	884/1,873	1,439/2,018	**4,142/6,308**
African American	61%	61%	63%	**61%**
Latinx	31%	32%	30%	**31%**
Household income	$12,900	$12,700	$12,800	**$12,800**
SNAP	81%	81%	80%	**81%**
Female head of household	91%	91%	92%	**91%**
% of people in poverty in the census tract	52%	52%	53%	**52%**
% of POC in the census tract	91%	91%	91%	**91%**

Sanbonmatsu, L., Katz, L. F., Ludwig, J., Gennetian, L. A., Duncan, G. J., Kessler, R. C., ... & Lindau, S. T. (2011). Moving to opportunity for fair housing demonstration program: Final impacts evaluation.

MTO MOTIVATIONS

Current neighborhood characteristics

	Experimental Group	Section 8 Group	Control Group	All Groups
Streets feel unsafe at night	49%	50%	50%	**50%**
Household member was a crime victim in the last 6 months	43%	43%	42%	**43%**
Lived in neighborhood for 5 or more years	60%	62%	61%	**61%**

Baltimore Sun, May 9, 1993

Primary or secondary motivation for signing up:

	Experimental Group	Section 8 Group	Control Group	All Groups
To get away from drugs and gangs	77%	76%	78%	**77%**
Better schools	49%	52%	47%	**49%**
Better housing	45%	45%	46%	**45%**

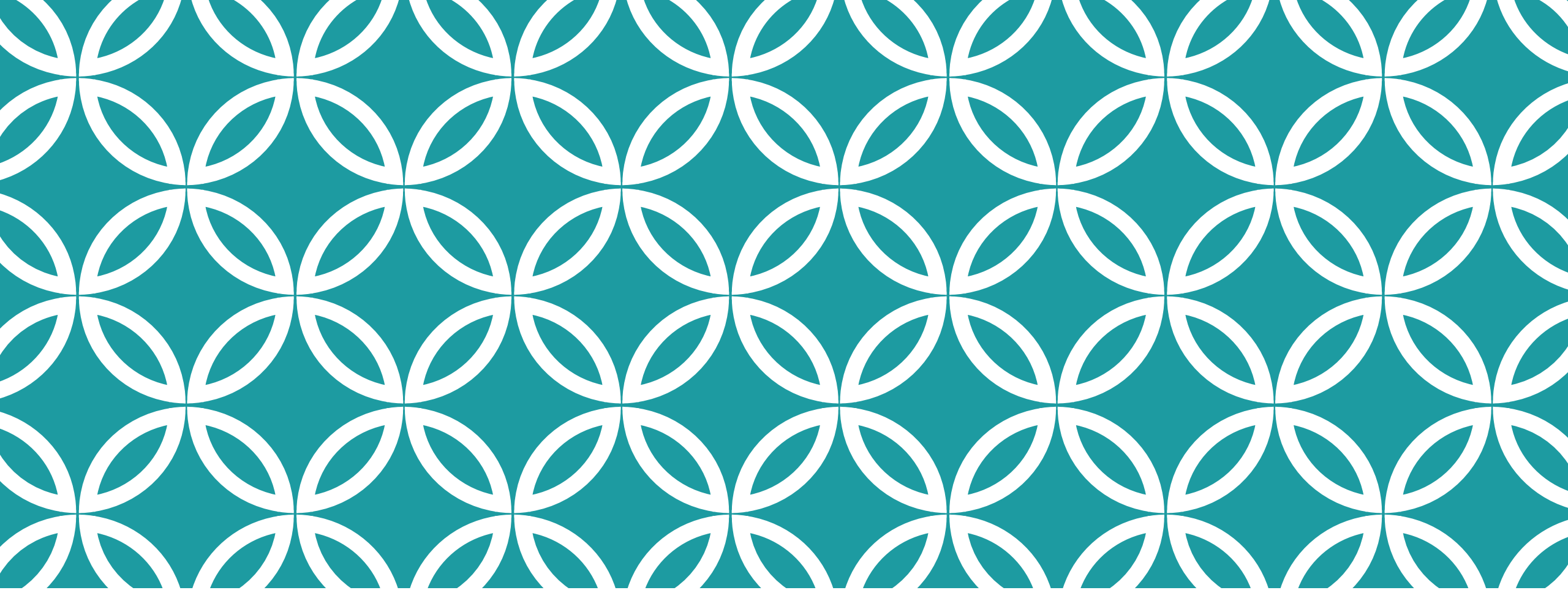
Sanbonmatsu, L., Katz, L. F., Ludwig, J., Gennetian, L. A., Duncan, G. J., Kessler, R. C., ... & Lindau, S. T. (2011). Moving to opportunity for fair housing demonstration program: Final impacts evaluation.

IN THEIR WORDS

One applicant, describing her previous experiences living in Boston public housing, reported that, "Every time I looked out my window, there was dead bodies. So I didn't want my kids to grow up in that atmosphere…. They would see the dead bodies. And if they didn't die on the scene, they would see the blood."

"They don't care. They don't have no respect for females at all. They beat up females over here and all that, throw them out of windows. These projects are crazy."

From de Souza Briggs, X., Popkin, S. J., & Goering, J. (2010). *Moving to opportunity: The story of an American experiment to fight ghetto poverty*. Oxford University Press.



SO WHAT HAPPENED NEXT?

Impact of MTO 4-7 years and 10-15 years later on adults and kids

SOME PROMISING EARLY RESULTS

Moving to Opportunity: an Experimental Study of Neighborhood Effects on Mental Health

Tama Leventhal, PhD, and Jeanne Brooks-Gunn, PhD

Objectives. The health consequences of neighborhood poverty are a public health problem. Data were obtained to examine links between neighborhood residence and mental health outcomes.

Methods. Moving to Opportunity was a randomized, controlled trial in which families from public housing in high-poverty neighborhoods were moved into private housing in near-poor or nonpoor neighborhoods, with a subset remaining in public housing. At the 3-year follow-up of the New York site, 550 families were reinterviewed.

Results. Parents who moved to low-poverty neighborhoods reported significantly less distress than parents who remained in high-poverty neighborhoods. Boys who moved to less poor neighborhoods reported significantly fewer anxious/depressive and dependency problems than did boys who stayed in public housing.

Conclusions. This study provides experimental evidence of neighborhood income effects on mental health. (*Am J Public Health.* 2003;93:1576–1582)

Examined the Behavior-Problem Index scores for New York children at 3 year follow-up

- Boys in the MTO voucher group showed fewer anxiety/depressive problems and dependency problems than those in the control group
- Similar findings for all children aged 8-13

Parents in MTO group reported less distress and fewer depressive symptoms

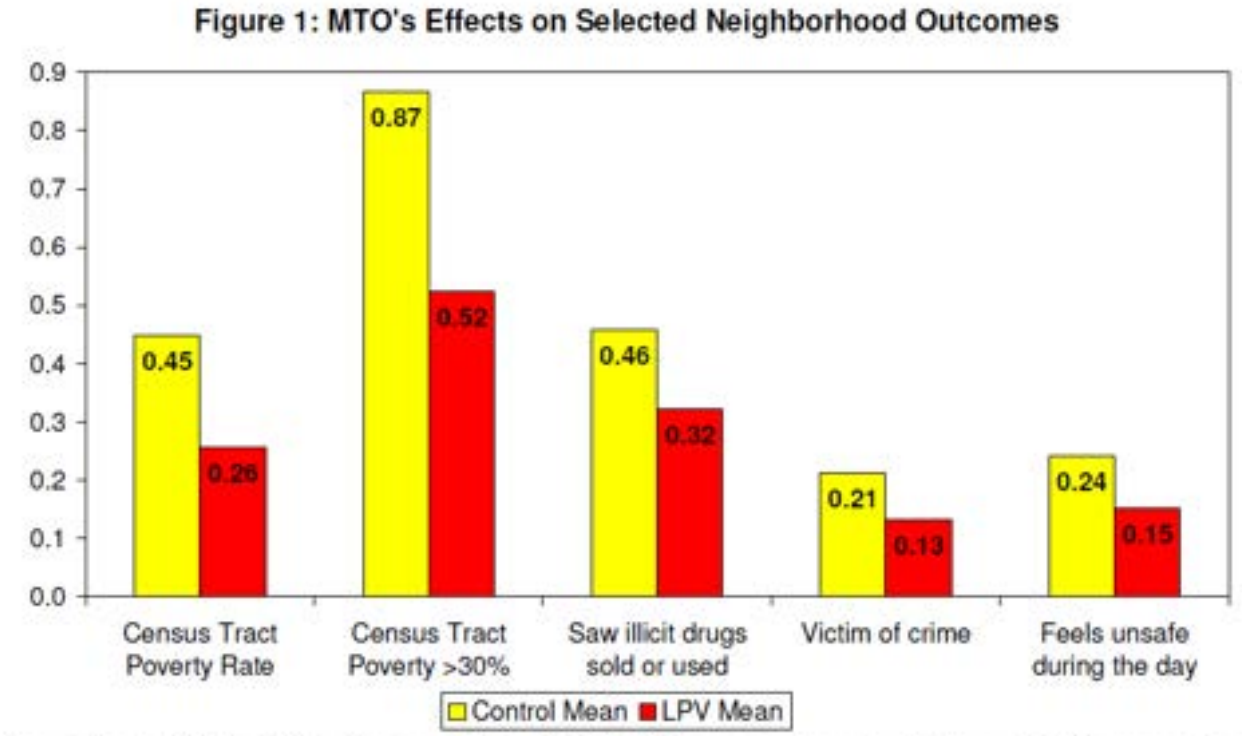
Results were statistically significant using ITT and TOT analysis

INTERIM EVALUATION NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGES

Interim evaluation was completed 4-7 years after randomization

Low-poverty voucher showed significant improvements vs control in:

- Neighborhood poverty
- Exposure to drugs and violence
- Feeling safe



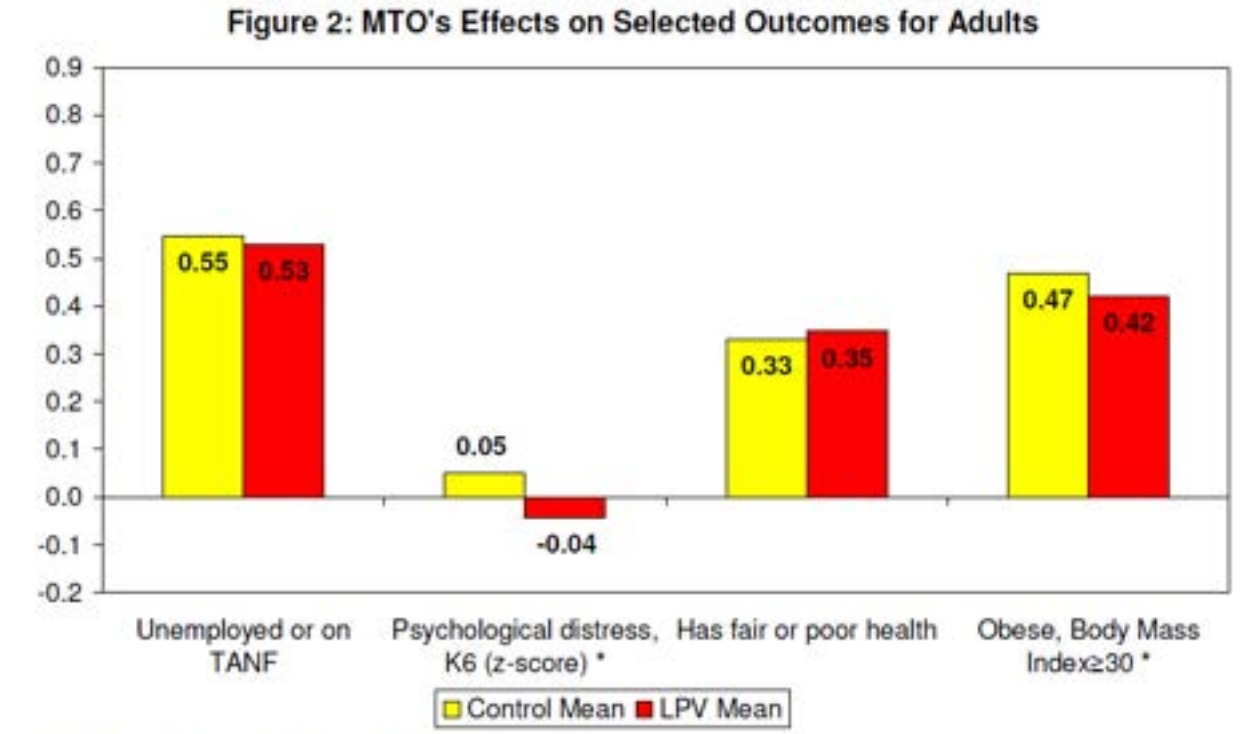
Source: Orr et al., 2003, and Kling, Liebman and Katz, 2007. All differences in outcome levels between the LPV group and the control group are statistically significant at the $p<0.05$ level.

INTERIM EVALUATION ADULT OUTCOMES

Some modest benefits for MTO adults:

- Improvement in overall psychological distress
- Reduction in past-year depression (by CIDI-SF Major Depressive Episode scale)
- Reduction in obesity

No difference found between Section 8 and Control



Source: Orr et al., 2003, and Kling, Liebman and Katz, 2007.
* Indicates that the difference in outcome levels between the LPV group and the control group are statistically significant at the p<0.05 level.

PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTRESS

Kessler-6

- Global measure of distress
- Efficient screening scale for "serious mental illness" (Kessler et al. 2003)
- Comparable to the World Health Organization Disability Assessment Schedule (WHO-DAS)

The following questions ask about how you have been feeling during the **past 30 days**. For each question, please circle the number that best describes how often you had this feeling.

Q1. During the past 30 days, about how often did you feel …	All of the time	Most of the time	Some of the time	A little of the time	None of the time
a. …nervous?	1	2	3	4	5
b. …hopeless?	1	2	3	4	5
c. …restless or fidgety?	1	2	3	4	5
d. …so depressed that nothing could cheer you up?	1	2	3	4	5
e. …that everything was an effort?	1	2	3	4	5
f. …worthless?	1	2	3	4	5

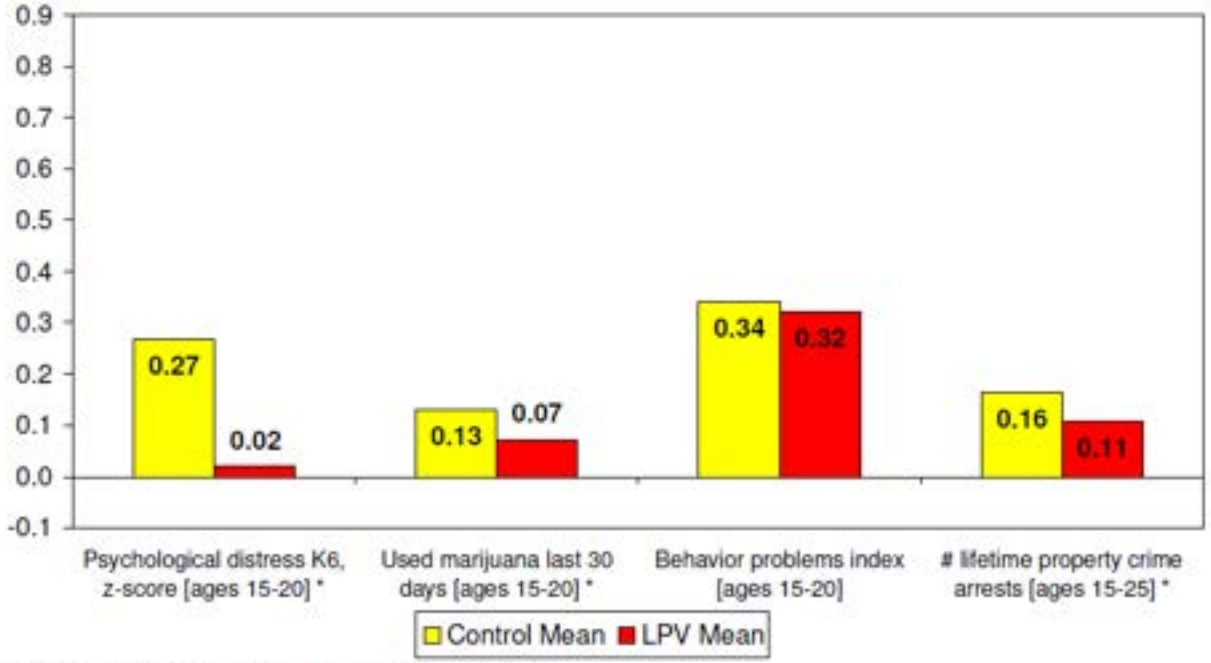
K6+ SELF-REPORT MEASURE (1 of 2)

INTERIM EVALUATION OUTCOMES FOR GIRLS

Outcomes adolescent for girls at interim evaluation:

- MTO group had improvements in psychologic distress (by K6)
- Reduction in marijuana use
- Reduction in property crime arrests
- Reduction in past year Generalized Anxiety Disorder (using scales from the National Comorbidity Survey Replication – Adolescent Supplement)

Figure 4: MTO's Effects on Outcomes for Female Youth



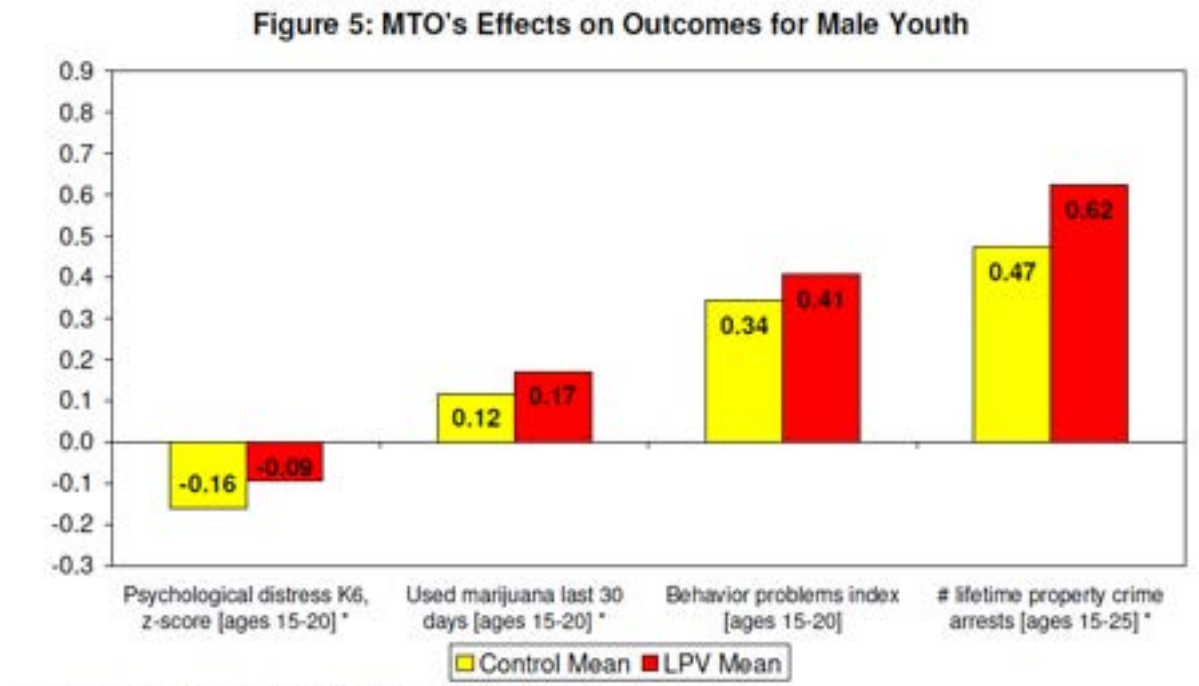
Source: Orr et al., 2003, and Kling, Liebman and Katz, 2007.

* Indicates that the difference in outcome levels between the LPV group and the control group are statistically significant at the $p<0.05$ level.

INTERIM EVALUATION OUTCOMES FOR BOYS

Outcomes for adolescent boys at interim evaluation:

- MTO group had worse scores by K6
- MTO group used more marijuana
- MTO group had higher property crime arrests



Source: Orr et al., 2003, and Kling, Liebman and Katz, 2007.

* Indicates that the difference in outcome levels between the LPV group and the control group are statistically significant at the p<0.05 level.

LONG TERM IMPACTS OF MTO ON KIDS AGES 0-8 AT TIME OF RANDOMIZATION

Original Investigation

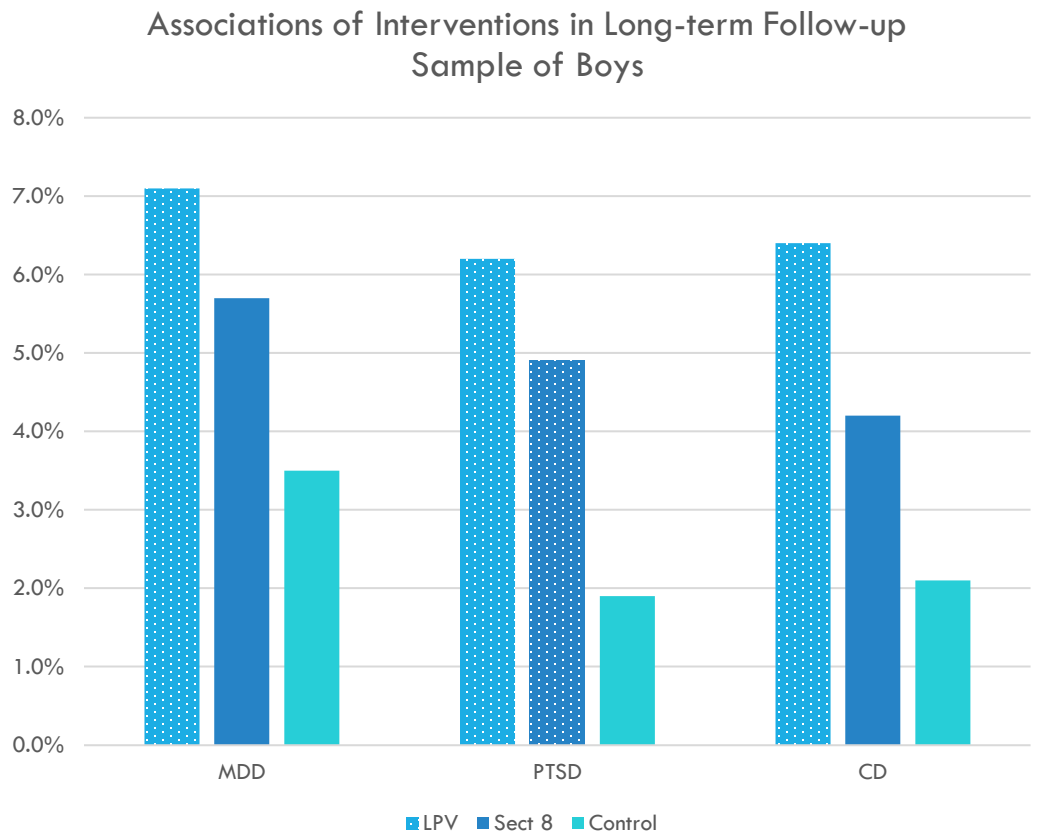
Associations of Housing Mobility Interventions for Children in High-Poverty Neighborhoods With Subsequent Mental Disorders During Adolescence

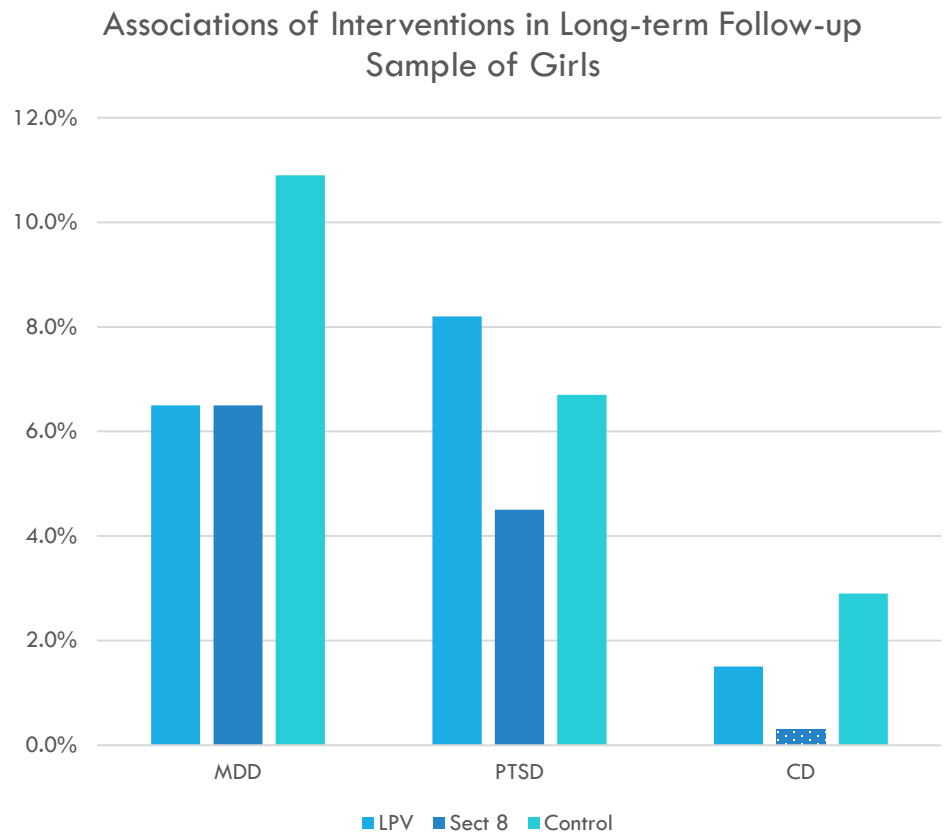
Ronald C. Kessler, PhD; Greg J. Duncan, PhD; Lisa A. Gennetian, PhD; Lawrence F. Katz, PhD; Jeffrey R. Kling, PhD; Nancy A. Sampson, BA; Lisa Sanbonmatsu, PhD; Alan M. Zaslavsky, PhD; Jens Ludwig, PhD

	Low Poverty Voucher (n = 1424)	Traditional Section 8 Voucher (n = 1074)	Control Group Reference (n = 1173)
MDD Absolute Risk	6.8% (NS)	6.1% (NS)	7.1%
Panic DO Absolute Risk	3.1% (NS)	4.1% (NS)	4.7%
PTSD Absolute Risk	**7.2% (p = .03)**	4.7% (NS)	4.2%
ODD Absolute Risk	6.2% (NS)	8.8% (NS)	8.2%
Conduct DO Absolute Risk	3.9% (NS)	2.2% (NS)	2.5%

Kessler, R. C., Duncan, G. J., Gennetian, L. A., Katz, L. F., Kling, J. R., Sampson, N. A., ... & Ludwig, J. (2014). Associations of housing mobility interventions for children in high-poverty neighborhoods with subsequent mental disorders during adolescence. *JAMA*, 311(9), 937-947.

LONG TERM IMPACTS OF MTO ON KIDS AGES 0-8 AT TIME OF RANDOMIZATION



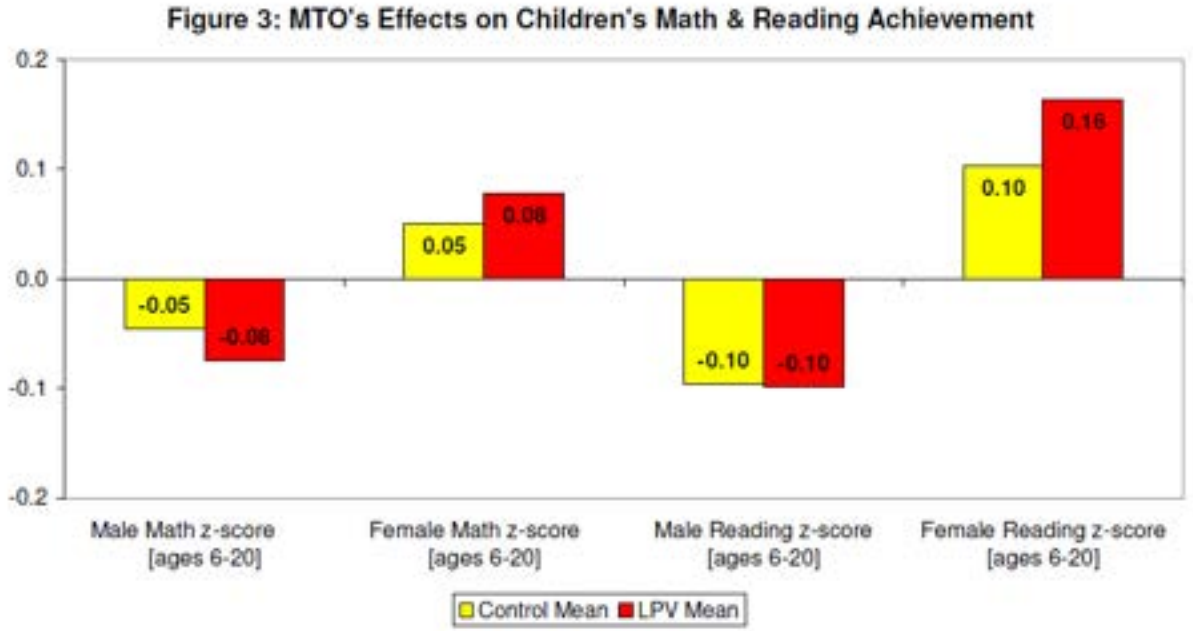


Kessler, R. C., Duncan, G. J., Gennetian, L. A., Katz, L. F., Kling, J. R., Sampson, N. A., ... & Ludwig, J. (2014). Associations of housing mobility interventions for children in high-poverty neighborhoods with subsequent mental disorders during adolescence. *JAMA*, 311(9), 937-947.

INTERIM EVALUATION SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT

Educational outcomes at 4-7 years after randomization:

- No differences in aptitude and achievement tests between experimental group and control
- In the MTO group, school quality only improved from 15th percentile statewide to 24th percentile statewide

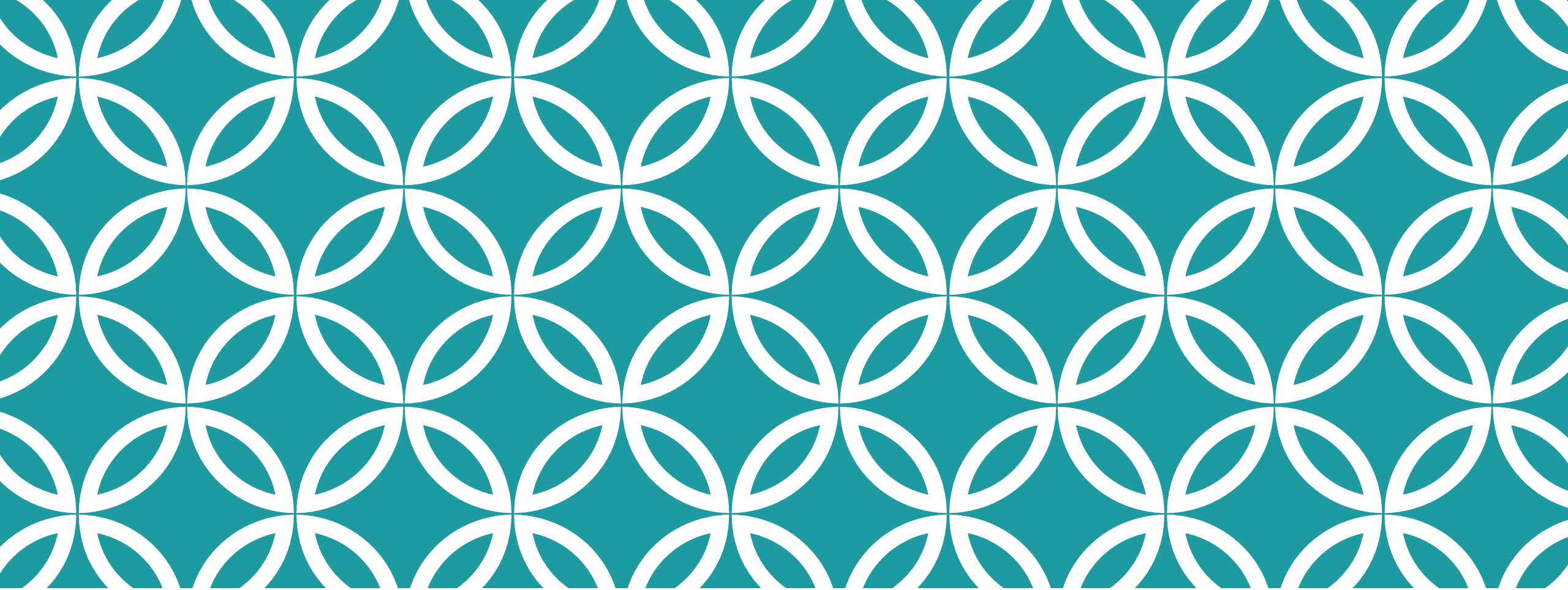


Figures reflect Woodcock-Johnson Revised (WJ-R) Scale Scores. Performance on the WJ-R can be reported using several different metrics. We use the WJ-R's "W" scale as our underlying metric because these scores reflect an absolute measure of performance and have the attractive property of being equalinterval. To facilitate interpretation of results, we transform the W scores to z-scores that have a mean of zero and standard deviation of one for the control group.

WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

MTO moved adults and their children to neighborhoods that were safer and wealthier, but:

- Girls seemed to benefit modestly
  - 4-7 years out: less marijuana use, less psychological distress, less GAD
  - 10-15 years out: no significant differences in MDD, PTSD, or CD (though $p = 0.06$ for difference with depression)
- Boys seemed to get worse
  - 4-7 years out: more distress, more marijuana, more arrests
  - 10-15 years out: significantly more MDD, PTSD, and CD
- Neither group had improved educational outcomes



QUALITATIVE INTERVIEW DATA

GENDER DIFFERENCES – SPENDING FREE TIME

Boys

Tended to hang out outdoors at parks, alleys, courtyards, and in front of stores

Played sports in disorganized groups, with little supervision, occasionally nearby drug selling

Described quieter neighborhoods negatively

Most likely to describe being hassled by police in their new neighborhoods, especially those that are racially integrated

Girls

Spent time indoors or in front of stoops with smaller groups of friends

More likely to spend time in close proximity to adults

Described quieter neighborhoods positively

MTO group girls noted experiencing much less sexual harassment in their neighborhoods

Clampet-Lundquist, S., Edin, K., Kling, J. R., & Duncan, G. J. (2011). Moving teenagers out of high-risk neighborhoods: How girls fare better than boys. American Journal of Sociology, 116(4), 1154-89.

GENDER DIFFERENCES – ADJUSTING TO RELOCATION

Boys

Many MTO boys lost access to older male relatives and role models

Control boys knew their neighborhoods better and could more easily avoid trouble.

MTO boys were less familiar with their new environments if they moved back to low-income neighborhoods

Girls

Girls showed more discernment in which peers they associated with and were less likely to have friends who got in serious trouble

WHAT MAKES A DESIRABLE SCHOOL?

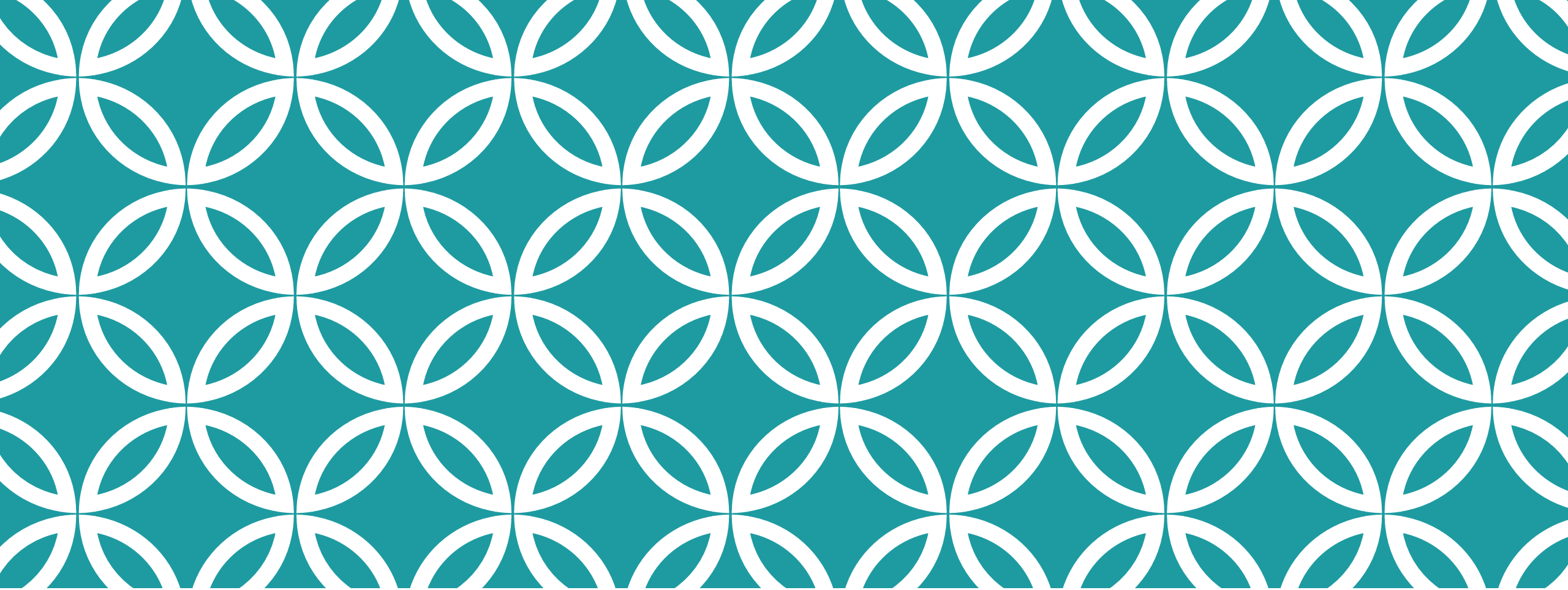
Lake Clifton school campus
(Clifton Park, Baltimore)

Some lessons from interviewing Baltimore families:

- 1/3 of parents were worried about disrupting their children's experiences in their original schools
- Logistics mattered tremendously
- Uniforms and security were seen as a plus
- Academic reputations were challenging to determine

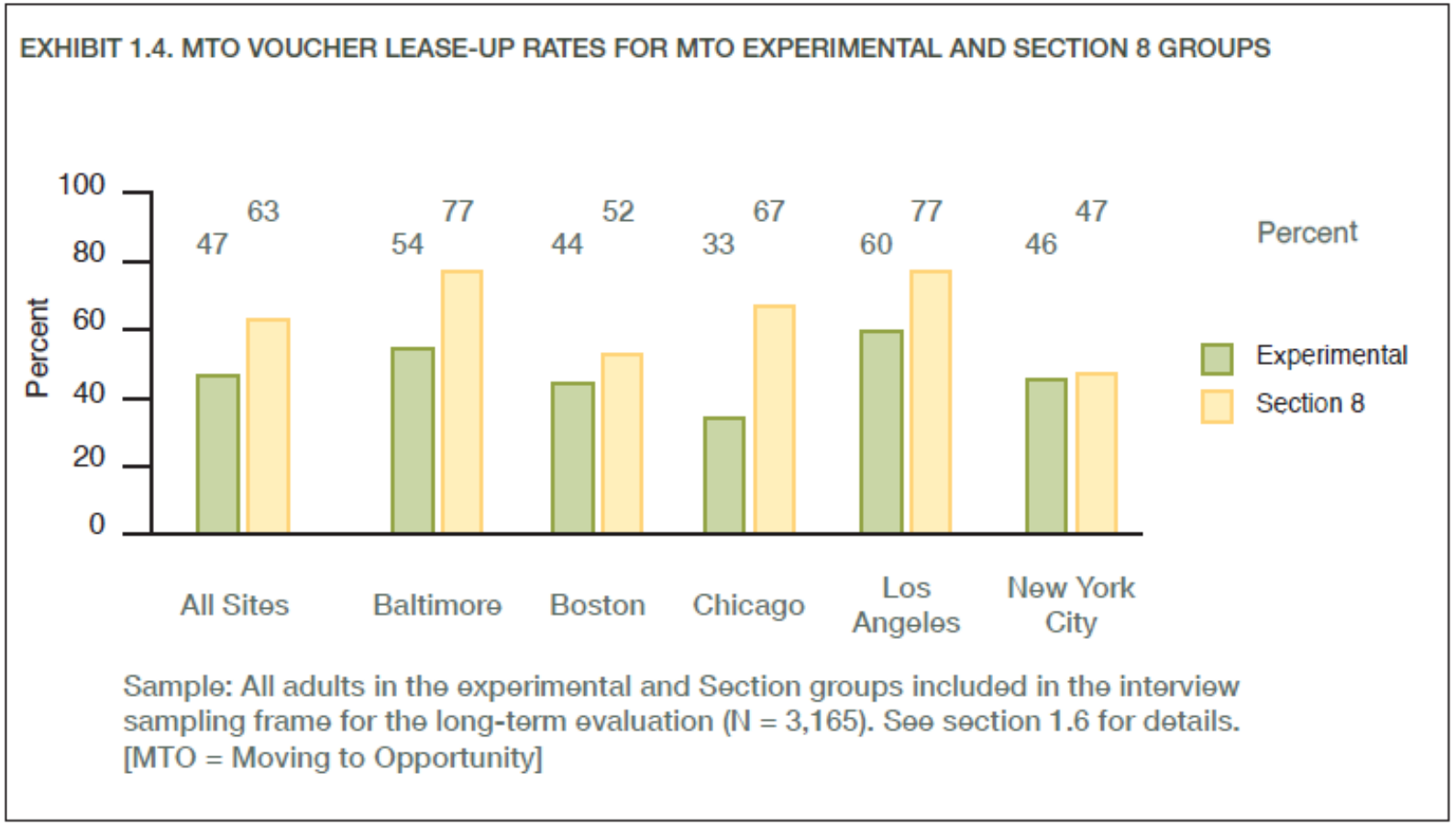
Rodgers Forge Elementary
(Towson, Maryland)

DeLuca, S., & Rosenblatt, P. (2010). Does moving to better neighborhoods lead to better schooling opportunities? Parental school choice in an experimental housing voucher program. *Teachers College Record*, *112*(5), 1443-1491.



IMPLEMENTATION CHALLENGES

LEASE-UP RATES



Sanbonmatsu, L., Katz, L. F., Ludwig, J., Gennetian, L. A., Duncan, G. J., Kessler, R. C., ... & Lindau, S. T. (2011). Moving to opportunity for fair housing demonstration program: Final impacts evaluation.

WHY WAS LEASE-UP SO LOW?

Constrained Compliance: Solving the Puzzle of MTO's Lease-Up Rates and Why Mobility Matters

Kathryn Edin
Harvard University

Stefanie DeLuca
Johns Hopkins University

Ann Owens
Harvard University

- Housing authority challenges
- Many participating cities did not have source-of-income protections that would have prevented landlords from discriminating against voucher holders
- Many eligible units ultimately did not pass Section 8 housing inspection
- Low poverty neighborhoods that were also majority-white had housing that was too expensive to qualify for Section 8 vouchers

DID IT WORK?

Experimental voucher holders **did** move to less impoverished neighborhoods

BUT

- Experimental voucher holders that did move (TOT) relocated to neighborhoods that were 62% ethnic minorities
- Rates of poverty were increasing in neighborhoods where MTO voucher-holders moved

EXHIBIT 2.3
NEIGHBORHOOD POVERTY RATE AT TIME OF FIRST LEASEUP

	LT 10%	10–15%	15–20%	20–30%	30–40%	40%+	Mean
Estimated Poverty Rate at Time of Move[a]							
Experimental Group							
Program movers (n=813)	50.7	33.8	12.2	2.3	0.6	0.4	10.8%
Section 8 Group							
Program movers (n=735)	6.9	7.9	14.9	29.3	21.2	19.9	27.8%

CHANGING NEIGHBORHOOD AT TIME OF FIRST LEASEUP?[1]

	Decreasing Poverty Rate, 1990–2000	Stable Poverty Rate, 1990–2000	Increasing Poverty Rate, 1990–2000	Total
Experimental Group				
Program movers (n=813)	1.2%	54.3%	44.6%	100%
Section 8 Group				
Program movers (n=735)	18.0%	46.3%	35.7%	100%

Source: MTO data system, 1990 and 2000 census tract-level data.

Orr, L., Feins, J., Jacob, R., Beecroft, E., Sanbonmatsu, L., Katz, L. F., ... & Kling, J. R. (2003). Moving to opportunity: Interim impacts evaluation.

INCOMPLETE ROLLOUT

Protests in white Baltimore County erupted when news of relocation program from the city was made public

- Targeted Sen Barbara Mikulski, who pressured HUD to alter the program

Second year of the rollout was canceled

Plan to relocate families from inner city fuels fears

Rumors sweep eastern Balto. Co.

By Larry Carson
and Pat Gilbert
Sun Staff Writers

For residents of eastern Baltimore County, a plan that could move poor inner-city residents to the suburbs has created a summer of rumors, uncertainty and racial politics.

"I've heard that the city is going to tear down the Lafayette and Murphy Homes high-rise projects and move the people here to Essex," says Stephen Xintos, a tavern keeper running as a Republican for the County Council in the 5th District. "And I hear residents of Hawthorne are being moved out to make room for people from the city."

A 7th District council candidate, Democratic Del. Louis L. DePazzo of Dundalk, told an angry crowd at Chesapeake High School last month that city housing project dwellers "must be to taught to bathe and how not to steal."

The object of their anger is Moving to Opportunity (MTO), a pilot program by the federal government and Baltimore that will use Section 8 rent subsidies to move 285 poor families from inner-city neighborhoods to more prosperous areas.

Sponsors of the program say they expect about half those chosen to pick new housing in the city. How many of the rest are likely to move to Baltimore County or other metropolitan area counties is unclear.

Approved by the federal government in March, MTO is expected to place its first city residents in new homes by November.

Opponents call the program the first step in an attempt to move inner-city residents to eastern Baltimore County en masse. MTO officials say that just the opposite is true. Federal authorities say MTO

See HOUSING, 2B

INCOMPLETE ROLLOUT

TUESDAY, MARCH 28, 1995 PAGE

B10 THE NEW YORK TIMES NATIONAL TUESDAY, MARCH 28, 1995

Housing Voucher Test in Maryland Is Scuttled by a Political Firestorm

By KAREN DE WITT

BALTIMORE — The theory was elegant, the outcome anything but.

The idea was that by scattering one or two poor families in large middle-income areas, they would disappear like salt crystals in a glass of water, quietly integrating themselves into communities where they would find more jobs, better schools and safer streets.

Instead, a national program that was intended to spend $234 million over two years to move 6,200 poor families to better neighborhoods unleashed a firestorm of protest here over race and class even before any of these families were moved.

As a result, financing for the second year of the program was canceled and Federal officials were left reeling from what could serve as a case study of how failing to lay the groundwork for a program that involves race and class can undercut an experiment.

"Primarily, we learned not to offer a program like this during an election year, when people are looking for a wedge issue and are not above frightening people with questions of race," said Henry G. Cisneros, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. "Secondly, we need to put this into perspective for the community so we can get the correct information out there instead of having the picture painted incorrectly by someone else."

The opposition was started by citizens in several blue-collar towns east of Baltimore who feared that their neighborhoods would be inundated by poor blacks from the public

...

and monitoring at HUD, said it was "a sad, discouraging experience." But she still expresses some hope for the idea. "But it's important not to be diverted by short-term flare-ups," she said. "I have a strong, perhaps naive faith in the ultimate power of information."

The program, called Moving to Opportunity, was one of a number of voucher programs. Currently, 1.3 million families receive a total of $7 billion in housing vouchers and the Clinton Administration hopes to substitute this overall concept for all Federal housing programs eventually. In general the Republicans in Congress, too, favor a voucher approach, but they balked at one that involved intrusions into wealthier neighborhoods.

Moving to Opportunity is one of the sharpest departures from decades of Federal housing policy, which had isolated the poor in pockets of poverty and violence.

The program sought to use vouchers to help poor families move to

Blue-collar towns refused to welcome poor urban blacks.

middle-class neighborhoods. It was modeled on a desegregation program in Chicago, the Gautreaux pro-

...

ski calls "zip codes of pathology." Only 12 percent of poor whites live in poor neighborhoods in Maryland compared with 75 percent of the poor blacks.

Some sociologists and urban policy experts say that dispersing some poor to middle-income neighborhoods not only benefits the families, but also spreads the fiscal burden of social programs more equitably between city and suburbs. But others note that voucher programs like Moving to Opportunity cannot be the sole solution to the problems of poverty and that at some point the available housing runs out.

Officials are under some pressure to find alternatives to urban housing projects from a spate of lawsuits against HUD and local housing authorities complaining about racial segregation. The most recent one was filed here in Baltimore in January by the American Civil Liberties Union of Maryland. Court-ordered programs in Chicago, Dallas, Cincinnati, Memphis and Boston have spurred programs that have succeeded in helping low-income families escape ghettoes.

Some have started without much opposition. Karla Irvine, executive director of Housing Opportunity Made Equal, said the 11-year program, has successfully placed 900 families in the Cincinnati metropolitan area.

"People are so spread out that we've had very few racial problems," Ms. Irvine said. "We certainly haven't had any angry crowds like in Baltimore."

Here in Baltimore and in the other

...

Marty Katz for The New York Times

Robin Dudley and her children, unpacking after her move into a suburban town house near Baltimore early in March. She is in a program that moved several poor families from the inner city to wealthier areas. She says she already noticed changes in the children, Lachaye, 7, Gerrard, 9, and Latish, 4.

HUD admits that it failed to educate the public about its experiment.

nent and director of case studies in public policy at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

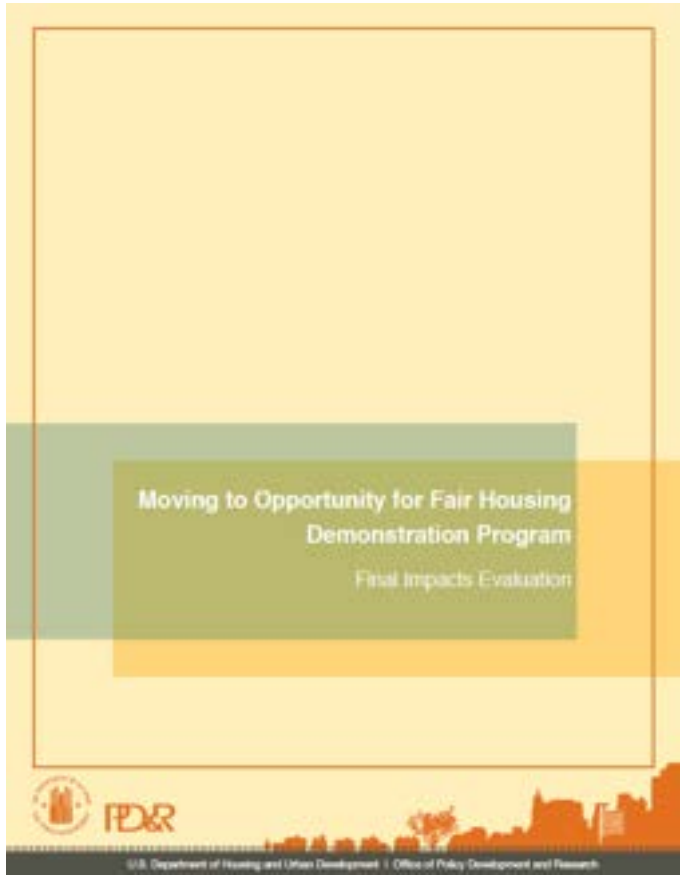
Federal officials say they failed to educate the white working-class communities near Baltimore about the program. The opposition began in blue-collar areas like Essex and Dundalk east of Baltimore.

people in public housing a hand up to move up, but make them equal right off the bat."

The program also ended up, during an election year, being a frequent topic on talk radio.

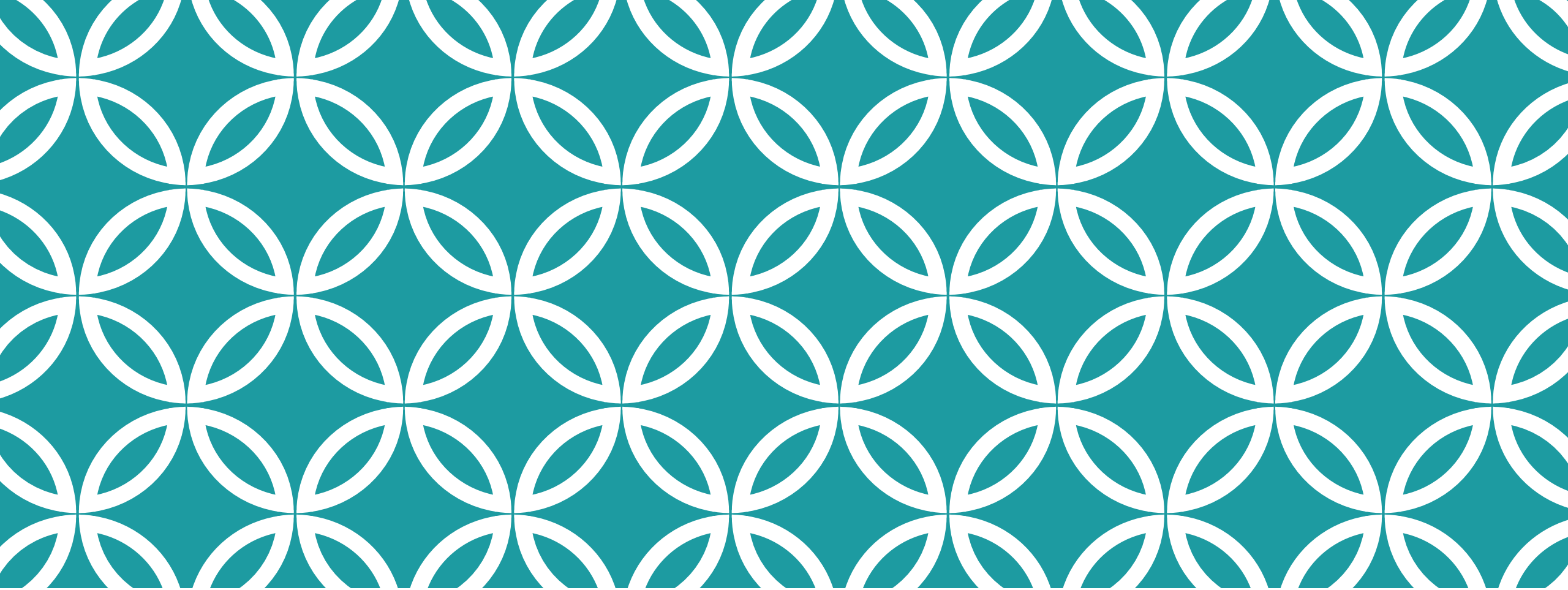
During one such program, Louis L. De Pazzo, a State Delegate from Baltimore County and at the time a Democratic candidate for the Coun-

LAST WORD FROM THE FINAL ANALYSIS



"The MTO findings do not suggest that access to health care or opportunities, or neighborhood racial segregation, are the key ways in which community environments influence health outcomes…. **More likely intervention priorities are neighborhood socioeconomic composition, informal social control as suggested by the 'collective efficacy' theory of Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls (1997)**, and, perhaps most important, the neighborhood attributes that the MTO families themselves have cared the most about since the beginning - safety."

Sanbonmatsu, L., Katz, L. F., Ludwig, J., Gennetian, L. A., Duncan, G. J., Kessler, R. C., ... & Lindau, S. T. (2011). Moving to opportunity for fair housing demonstration program: Final impacts evaluation.



“COLLECTIVE EFFICACY”

Data from the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods

PROJECT ON HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IN CHICAGO

Study aim: Why do some neighborhoods experience higher rates of violence and substance abuse while other, apparently similar neighborhoods don't?

FIRST MAJOR FINDINGS

"Concentrated disadvantage" was associated with:

- Perceived violent crime
- Violent crime victimization
- Neighborhood homicide rates

Low residential stability, high concentrated disadvantage, and high immigrant concentration accounted for 71% of a neighborhood's perceived violent crime and 56% of its homicides

COLLECTIVE EFFICACY – DEFINED

Informal Social Control – Can I count on my neighbors?

- Residents were asked about the likelihood that their neighbors would intervene if
  - Children were skipping school and hanging out on a street corner
  - Children were spray-painting graffiti on a local building
  - Children were showing disrespect to an adult
  - A fight broke out in front of their house
  - The fire station closest to their home was threatened with budget cuts.

Social Cohesion and Trust – How do residents get along?

- Respondents were asked how strongly they agreed that:
  - People around here are willing to help their neighbors
  - This is a close-knit neighborhood
  - People in this neighborhood can be trusted
  - People in this neighborhood generally don't get along with each other (reverse coded)
  - People in this neighborhood do not share the same values (reverse coded).

IMPACT OF COLLECTIVE EFFICACY

Collective efficacy contributors:

- Homeownership rates
- Residential stability
- Marriage rates

Collective efficacy appeared account for 75% of the variation in violent crime between neighborhoods

- A 2 SD elevation in collective efficacy was associated with a reduction in crime victimization by 30% and homicide rates by 40%

IMPACT OF COLLECTIVE EFFICACY

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

Neighborhood Residence and Mental Health Problems of 5- to 11-Year-Olds

Yange Xue, PhD; Tama Leventhal, PhD; Jeanne Brooks-Gunn, PhD; Felton J. Earls, MD

Child Mental Health Impacts

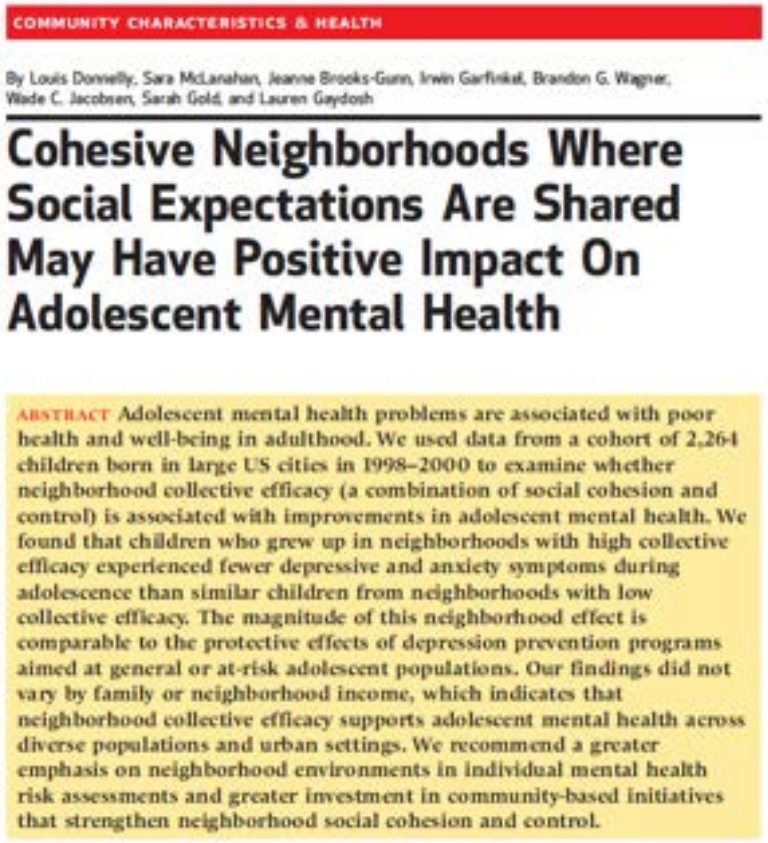
- Sampled 2,805 Chicago children between ages 5 – 11
- Used CBCL to assess internalizing symptoms

Findings

- High concentrated disadvantage were associated with worse CBCL scores
- High collective efficacy had a protective effect on young children
- Local organizational participation had a similar impact as collective efficacy

Xue, Y., Leventhal, T., Brooks-Gunn, J., & Earls, F. J. (2005). Neighborhood residence and mental health problems of 5-to 11-year-olds. *Archives of General Psychiatry*, 62(5), 554-563.

COLLECTIVE EFFICACY – A DIFFERENT COHORT



COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS & HEALTH

By Louis Donnelly, Sara McLanahan, Jeanne Brooks-Gunn, Irwin Garfinkel, Brandon G. Wagner, Wade C. Jacobsen, Sarah Gold, and Lauren Gaydosh

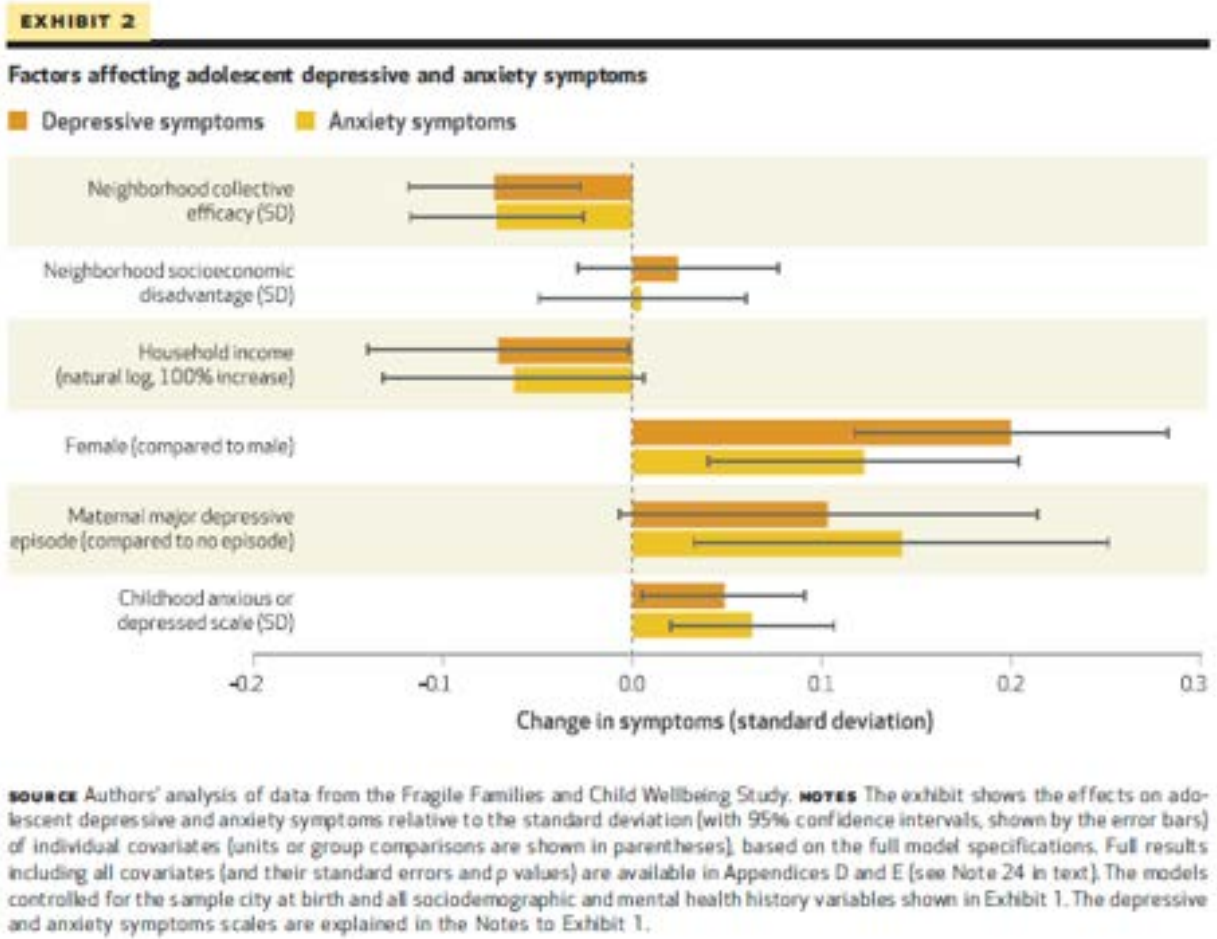
Cohesive Neighborhoods Where Social Expectations Are Shared May Have Positive Impact On Adolescent Mental Health

ABSTRACT Adolescent mental health problems are associated with poor health and well-being in adulthood. We used data from a cohort of 2,264 children born in large US cities in 1998–2000 to examine whether neighborhood collective efficacy (a combination of social cohesion and control) is associated with improvements in adolescent mental health. We found that children who grew up in neighborhoods with high collective efficacy experienced fewer depressive and anxiety symptoms during adolescence than similar children from neighborhoods with low collective efficacy. The magnitude of this neighborhood effect is comparable to the protective effects of depression prevention programs aimed at general or at-risk adolescent populations. Our findings did not vary by family or neighborhood income, which indicates that neighborhood collective efficacy supports adolescent mental health across diverse populations and urban settings. We recommend a greater emphasis on neighborhood environments in individual mental health risk assessments and greater investment in community-based initiatives that strengthen neighborhood social cohesion and control.

The Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study

- 2,264 children in 20 cities across the country
- Parents were interviewed to determine neighborhood collective efficacy
- Kids' anxiety and depressive symptoms were assessed at age 15

COLLECTIVE EFFICACY – A DIFFERENT COHORT



SOURCE Authors' analysis of data from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study. NOTES The exhibit shows the effects on adolescent depressive and anxiety symptoms relative to the standard deviation (with 95% confidence intervals, shown by the error bars) of individual covariates (units or group comparisons are shown in parentheses), based on the full model specifications. Full results including all covariates (and their standard errors and *p* values) are available in Appendices D and E (see Note 24 in text). The models controlled for the sample city at birth and all sociodemographic and mental health history variables shown in Exhibit 1. The depressive and anxiety symptoms scales are explained in the Notes to Exhibit 1.

Exposure to high Neighborhood Collective Efficacy during childhood was more impactful than:

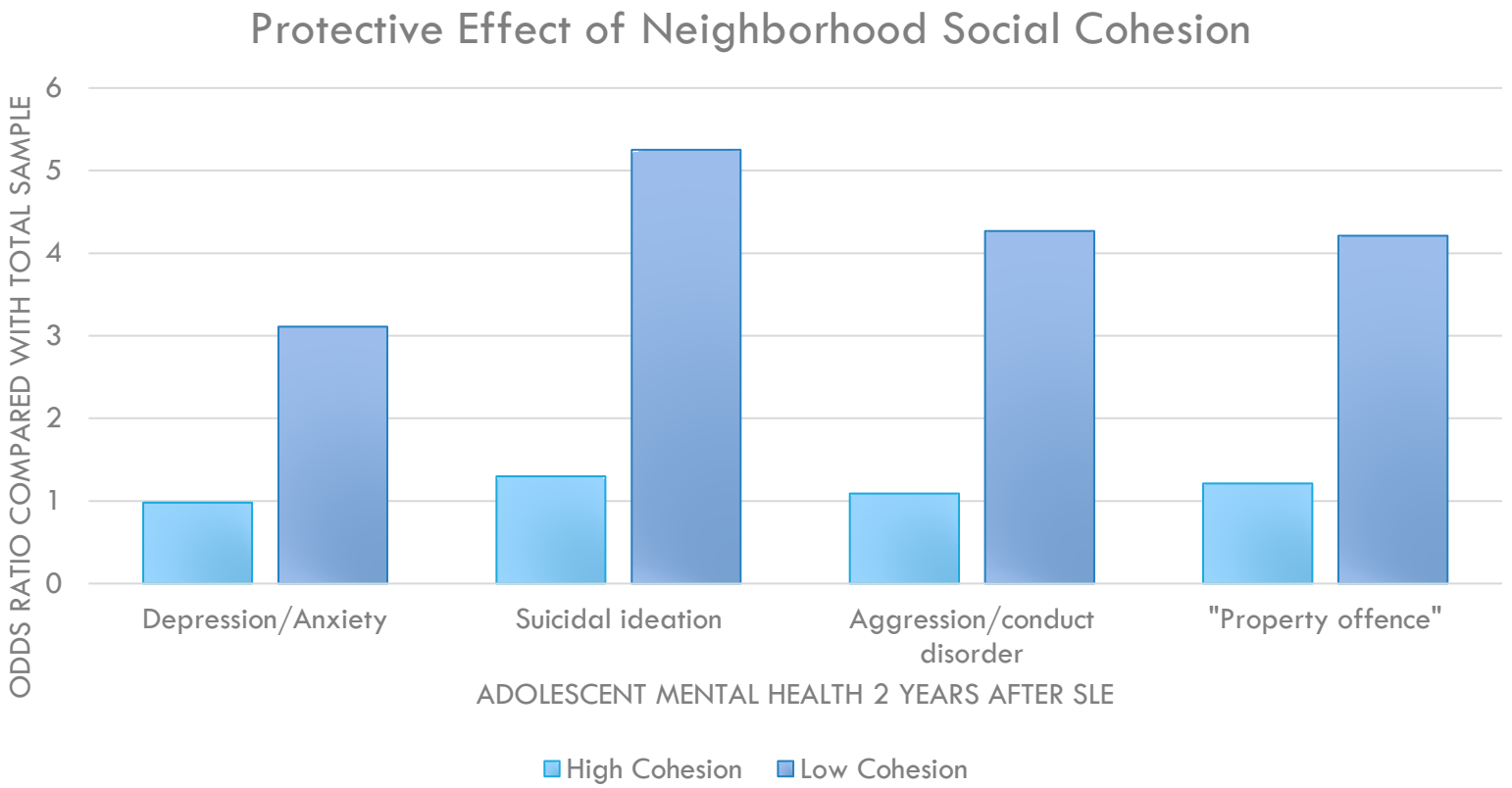
- High household income
- Lack of neighborhood socioeconomic disadvantage

Growing up in a neighborhood at the 75%ile in collective efficacy "is similar to the average effect size of depression prevention programs aimed at general or at-risk adolescent population"

COLLECTIVE EFFICACY – PROTECTION AGAINST STRESSORS

From the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth

- Nationally representative survey of 5,183 12/13 year olds
- Interviewed 2 years later to see if any "Stressful Life Events" occurred since baseline

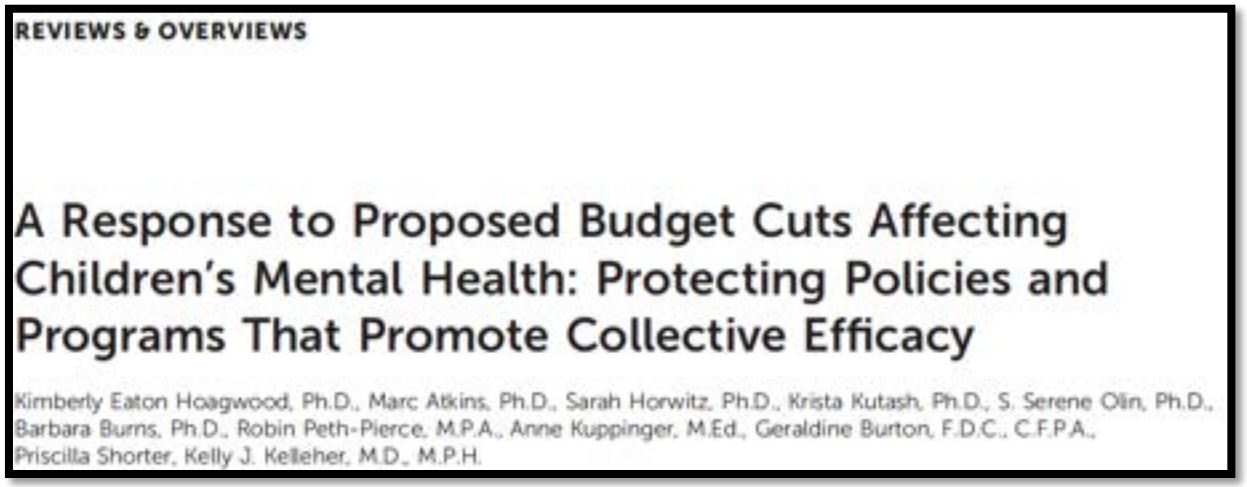


Kingsbury, M., Clayborne, Z., Colman, I., & Kirkbride, J. B. (2020). The protective effect of neighborhood social cohesion on adolescent mental health following stressful life events. *Psychological medicine*, *50*(8), 1292-1299.

SO, NOW WHAT?

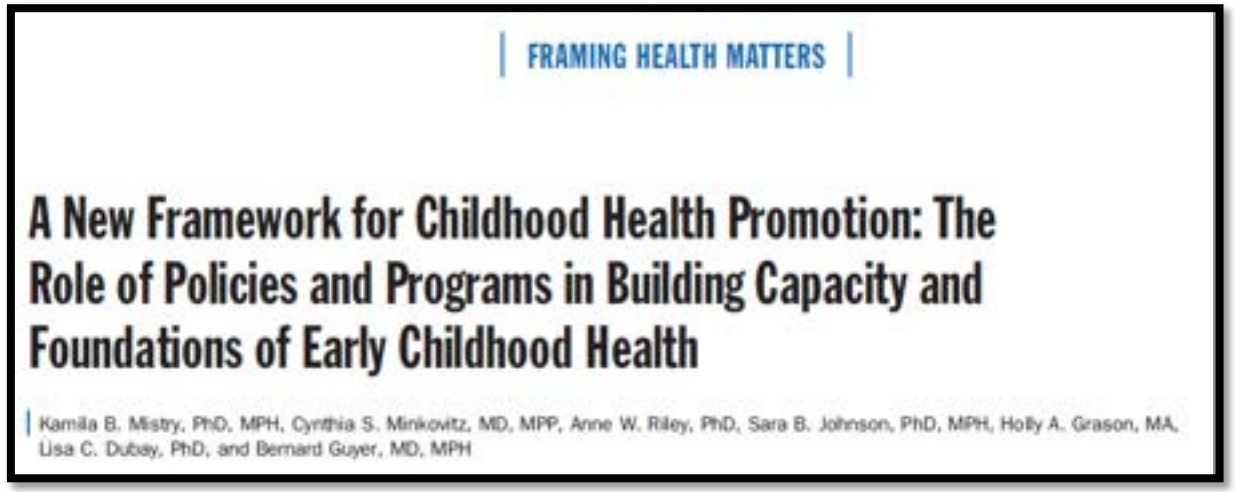
Can we increase collective efficacy in our communities?

SOUND AND FURY


REVIEWS & OVERVIEWS

A Response to Proposed Budget Cuts Affecting Children's Mental Health: Protecting Policies and Programs That Promote Collective Efficacy

Kimberly Eaton Hoagwood, Ph.D., Marc Atkins, Ph.D., Sarah Horwitz, Ph.D., Krista Kutash, Ph.D., S. Serene Olin, Ph.D., Barbara Burns, Ph.D., Robin Peth-Pierce, M.P.A., Anne Kuppinger, M.Ed., Geraldine Burton, F.D.C., C.F.P.A., Priscilla Shorter, Kelly J. Kelleher, M.D., M.P.H.


FRAMING HEALTH MATTERS

A New Framework for Childhood Health Promotion: The Role of Policies and Programs in Building Capacity and Foundations of Early Childhood Health

Kamila B. Mistry, PhD, MPH, Cynthia S. Minkovitz, MD, MPP, Anne W. Riley, PhD, Sara B. Johnson, PhD, MPH, Holly A. Grason, MA, Lisa C. Dubay, PhD, and Bernard Guyer, MD, MPH

Several major reviews and editorials (2018, 2012) call for programming to improve collective efficacy in communities

They don't cite a single intervention that has been shown to increase collective efficacy

SOUND AND FURY

There have been a number of interventions using the idea of collective efficacy to reduce youth violence

- Youth Empowerment Solution for Peaceful Communities (Zimmerman et al 2011)
- Neighborhood-driven "Individual Capacities Survey" (Payne & Williams 2008)
- Neighborhood collective efficacy training (Ohmer 2016)

However, none look at the impact on child mental health or development

BACK TO DESHAWN

Perkins Somerset Oldtown Transformation Project

- $1billion+ redevelopment project
- $105million in tax increment financing
- Creating 1,324 units, but a net loss in public housing

DeShawn is moving, but he's not sure where

BACK TO DESHAWN

What can we do as clinicians to better consider neighborhoods in our work?

- Encourage local organizational participation
- Help support housing stability
- Resource map neighborhoods with our patients
- Safety planning isn't just about self-injury

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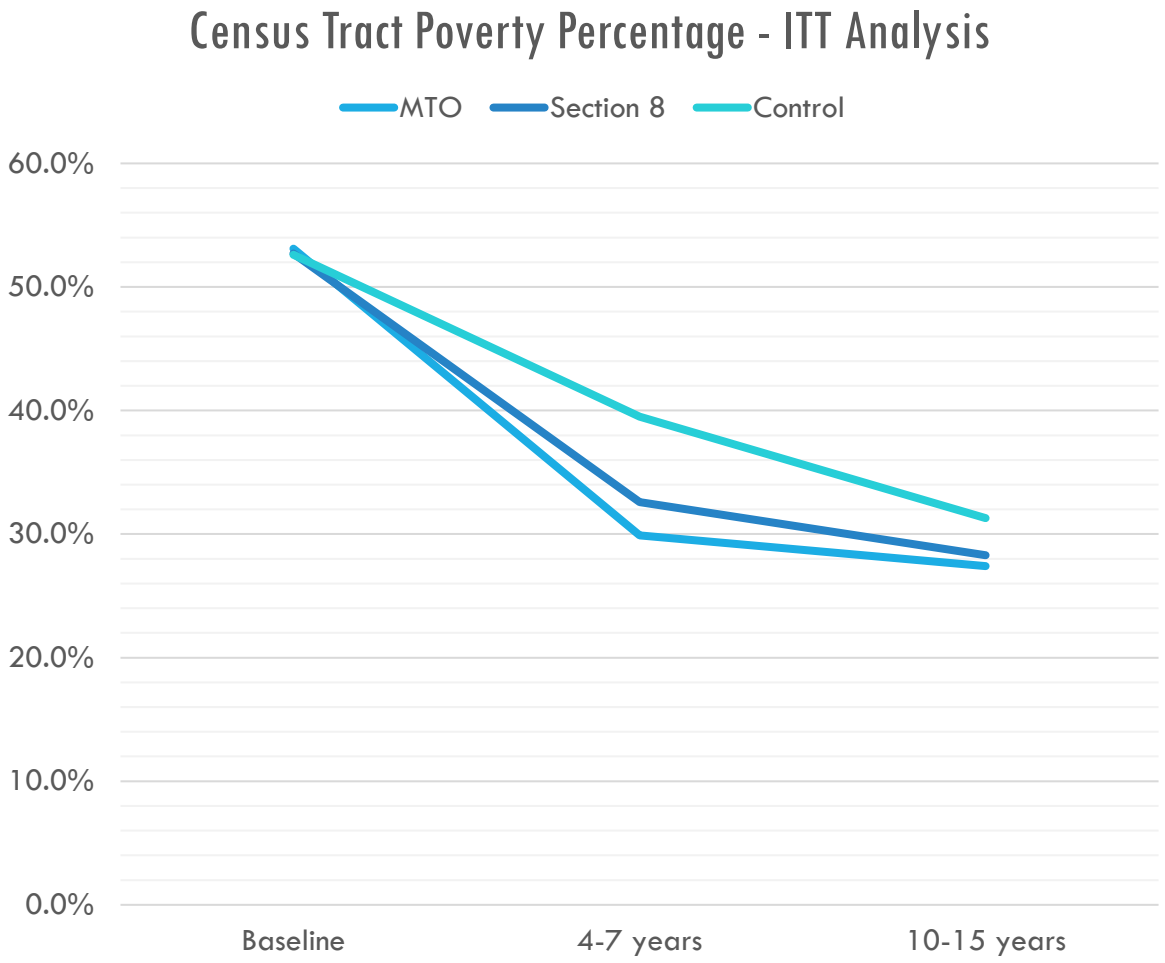
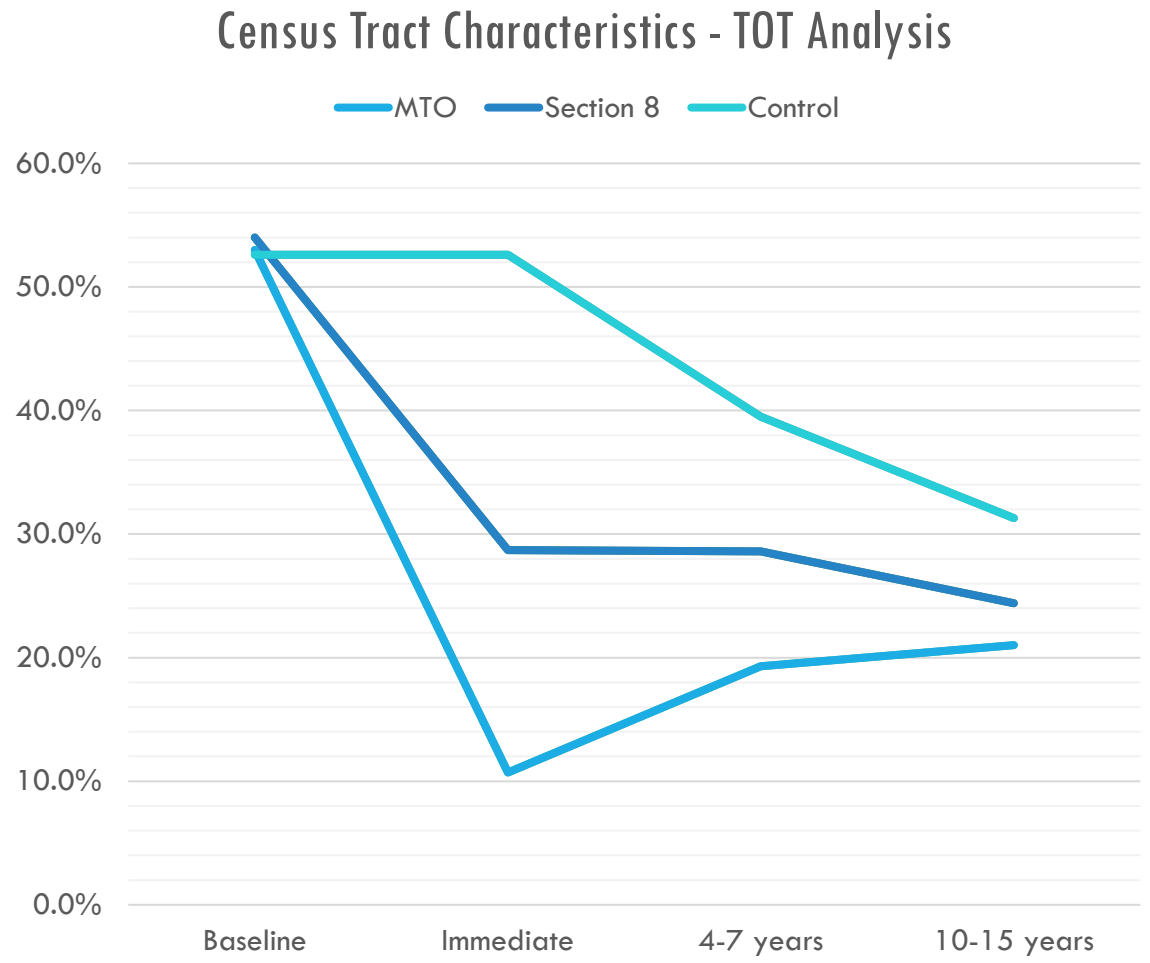
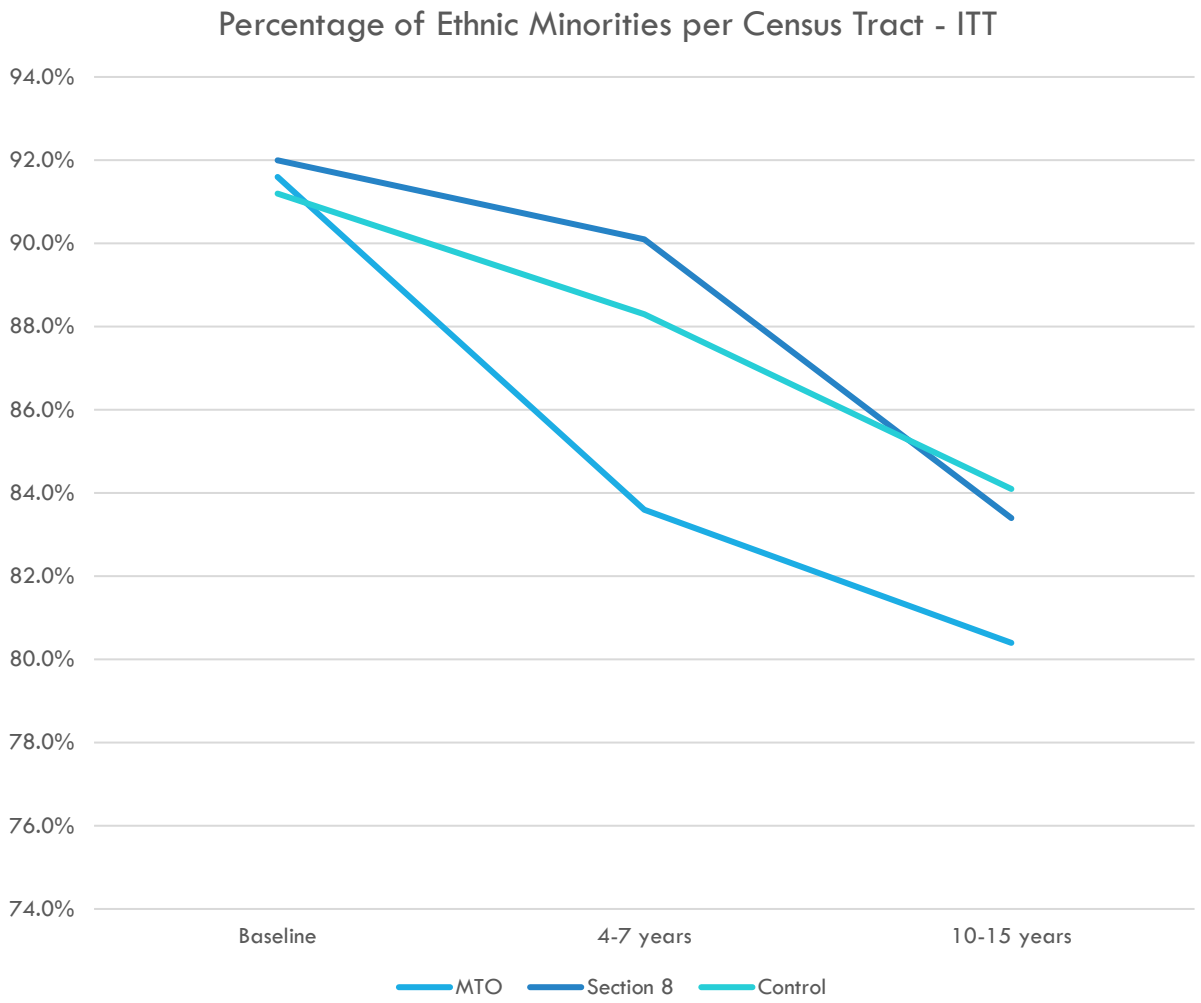
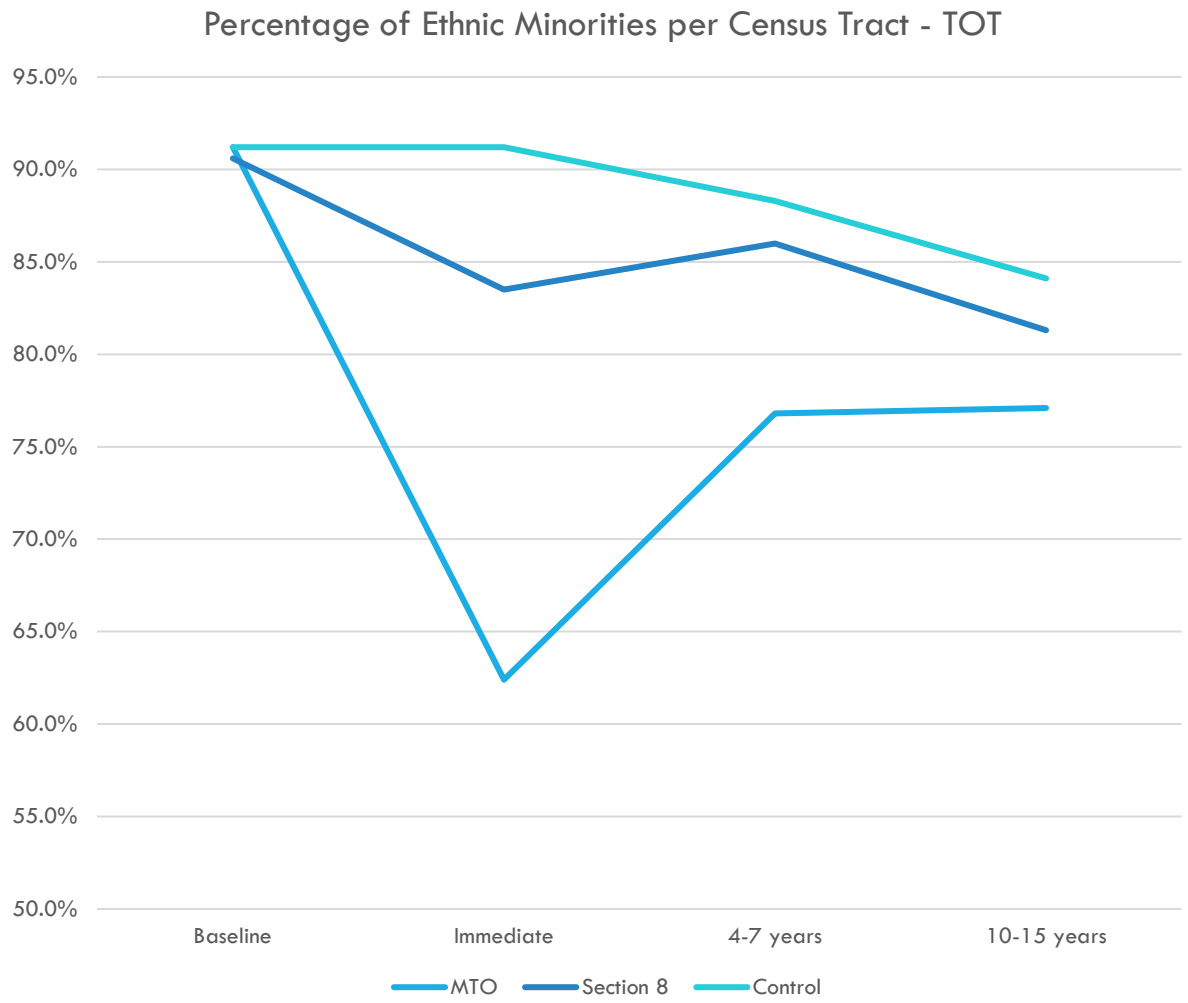
POVERTY EXPOSURE BY CENSUS TRACT





MINORITY CONCENTRATION BY CENSUS TRACT





PROGRAM PARTICIPATION

TABLE 2—FIRST-STAGE IMPACTS OF MTO ON VOUCHER TAKE-UP AND NEIGHBORHOOD POVERTY RATES (*Percentage Points*)

	Housing voucher take-up	Poverty rate in tract one year post- RA		Mean poverty rate in tract post-RA to age 18		Mean poverty rate in zip post-RA to age 18	
		ITT	TOT	ITT	TOT	ITT	TOT
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Panel A. Children < age 13 at random assignment							
Exp. versus control	47.66***	−17.05***	−35.96***	−10.27***	−21.56***	−5.84***	−12.23***
	(1.653)	(0.853)	(1.392)	(0.650)	(1.118)	(0.425)	(0.752)
Sec. 8 versus control	65.80***	−14.88***	−22.57***	−7.97***	−12.06***	−3.43***	−5.17***
	(1.934)	(0.802)	(1.024)	(0.615)	(0.872)	(0.423)	(0.622)
Observations	5,044	4,958	4,958	5,035	5,035	5,035	5,035
Control group mean	0	50.23	50.23	41.17	41.17	31.81	31.81
Panel B. Children age 13–18 at random assignment							
Exp. versus control	40.15***	−14.00***	−34.70***	−10.04***	−24.66***	−5.51***	−13.52***
	(2.157)	(1.136)	(2.231)	(0.948)	(1.967)	(0.541)	(1.113)
Sec. 8 versus control	55.04***	−12.21***	−22.03***	−8.60***	−15.40***	−3.95***	−7.07***
	(2.537)	(1.078)	(1.738)	(0.920)	(1.530)	(0.528)	(0.921)
Observations	2,358	2,302	2,302	2,293	2,293	2,292	2,292
Control group mean	0	49.14	49.14	47.90	47.90	35.17	35.17

Chetty, R., Hendren, N., & Katz, L. F. (2016). The effects of exposure to better neighborhoods on children: New evidence from the Moving to Opportunity experiment. *American Economic Review*, *106*(4), 855-902.

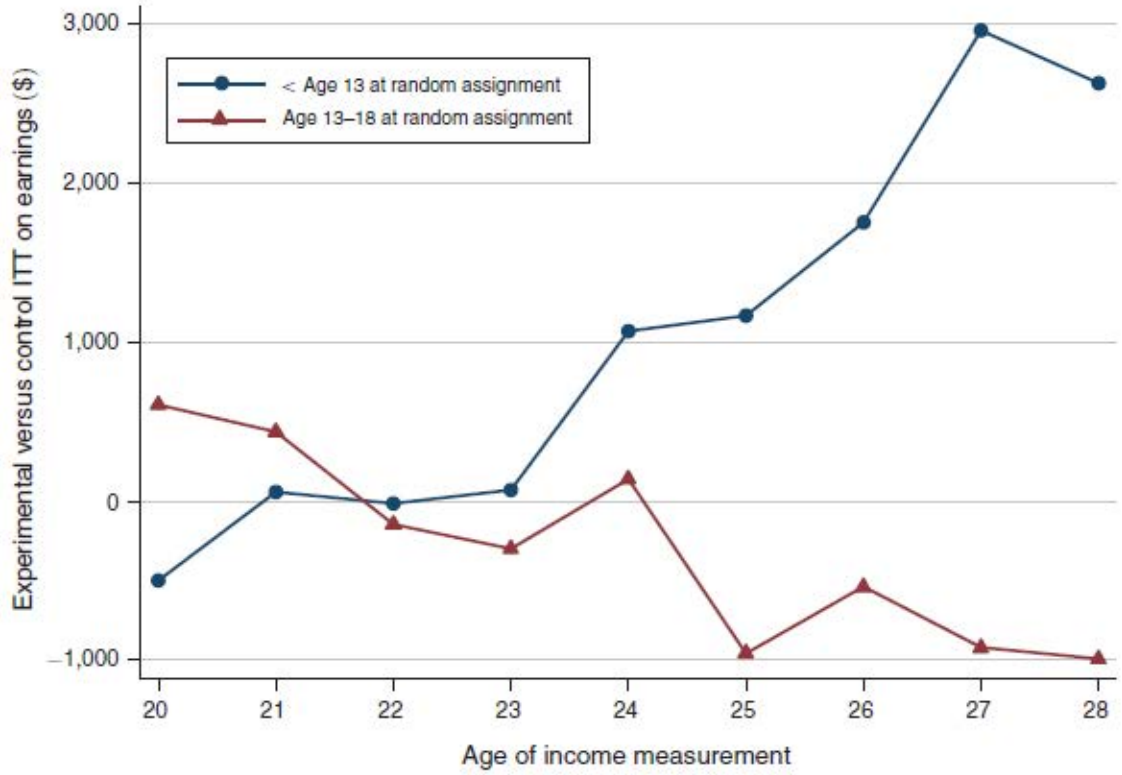
POST-PROGRAM EARNINGS

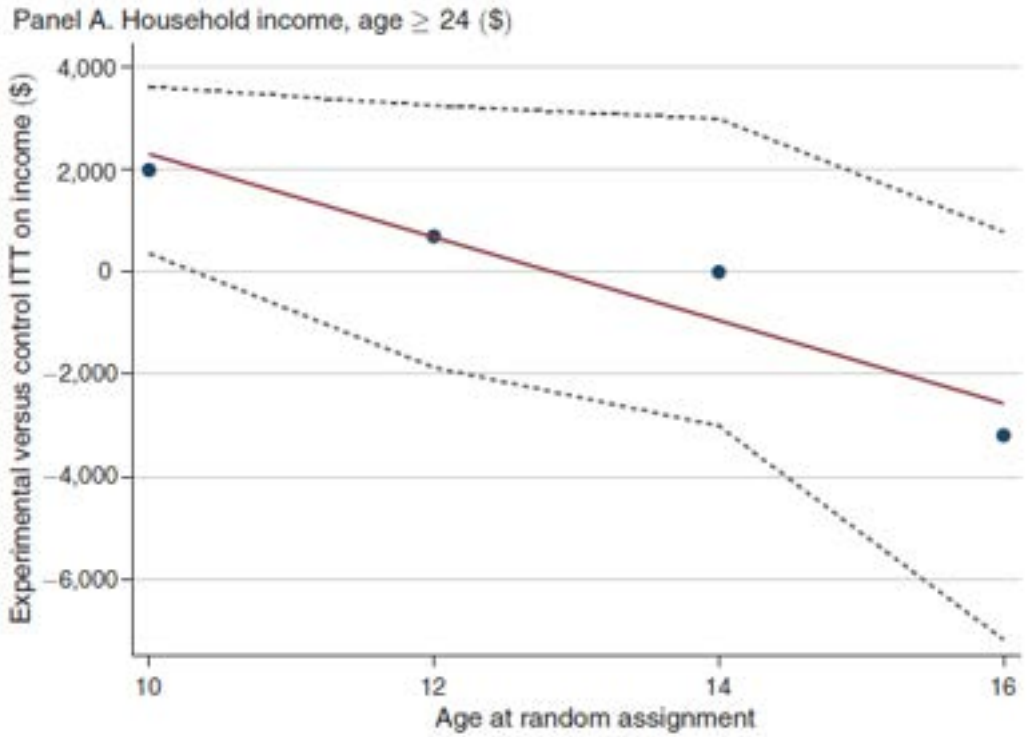
TABLE 3—IMPACTS OF MTO ON CHILDREN'S INCOME IN ADULTHOOD

	W-2 earnings ($) 2008–2012 ITT (1)	Individual earnings 2008–2012 ($) ITT (2)	Individual earnings 2008–2012 ($) ITT w/ controls (3)	Individual earnings 2008–2012 ($) TOT (4)	Individual earnings ($) Age 26 ITT (5)	Individual earnings ($) 2012 ITT (6)	Employed (%) 2008–2012 ITT (7)	Hhold. inc. ($) 2008–2012 ITT (8)	Inc. growth ($) 2008–2012 ITT (9)
Panel A. Children < age 13 at random assignment									
Exp. versus control	1,339.8**	1,624.0**	1,298.9**	3,476.8**	1,751.4*	1,443.8**	1.824	2,231.1***	1,309.4**
	(671.3)	(662.4)	(636.9)	(1,418.2)	(917.4)	(665.8)	(2.083)	(771.3)	(518.5)
Sec. 8 versus control	687.4	1,109.3	908.6	1,723.2	551.5	1,157.7*	1.352	1,452.4**	800.2
	(698.7)	(676.1)	(655.8)	(1051.5)	(888.1)	(690.1)	(2.294)	(735.5)	(517.0)
Observations	8,420	8,420	8,420	8,420	1,625	2,922	8,420	8,420	8,420
Control group mean	9,548.6	11,270.3	11,270.3	11,270.3	11,398.3	11,302.9	61.8	12,702.4	4,002.2
Panel B. Children age 13–18 at random assignment									
Exp. versus control	−761.2	−966.9	−879.5	−2,426.7	−539.0	−969.2	−2.173	−1,519.8	−693.6
	(870.6)	(854.3)	(817.3)	(2,154.4)	(795.4)	(1,122.2)	(2.140)	(11.02.2)	(571.6)
Sec. 8 versus control	−1,048.9	−1,132.8	−1,136.9	−2,051.1	−15.11	−869.0	−1.329	−936.7	−885.3
	(932.5)	(922.3)	(866.6)	(1,673.7)	(845.9)	(1213.3)	(2.275)	(11.85.9)	(625.2)
Observations	11,623	11,623	11,623	11,623	2,331	2,331	11,623	11,623	11,623
Control group mean	13,897.1	15,881.5	15,881.5	15,881.5	13,968.9	16,602.0	63.6	19,169.1	4,128.1

Chetty, R., Hendren, N., & Katz, L. F. (2016). The effects of exposure to better neighborhoods on children: New evidence from the Moving to Opportunity experiment. *American Economic Review*, *106*(4), 855-902.

POST-PROGRAM EARNINGS





Chetty, R., Hendren, N., & Katz, L. F. (2016). The effects of exposure to better neighborhoods on children: New evidence from the Moving to Opportunity experiment. *American Economic Review*, *106*(4), 855-902.

POST-PROGRAM COLLEGE

TABLE 4—IMPACTS OF MTO ON CHILDREN'S COLLEGE ATTENDANCE OUTCOMES

	College attendance (%) ITT					College quality ($) ITT				
	Age 18–20 (1)	Age 18 (2)	Age 19 (3)	Age 20 (4)	Age 21 (5)	Age 18–20 (6)	Age 18 (7)	Age 19 (8)	Age 20 (9)	Age 21 (10)
Panel A. Children < age 13 at random assignment										
Exp. versus control	2.509**	2.213*	2.579*	2.734*	0.409	686.7***	670.2***	800.6***	589.3**	337.8
	(1.143)	(1.200)	(1.452)	(1.464)	(1.474)	(231.2)	(240.6)	(274.3)	(262.3)	(269.9)
Sec. 8 versus control	0.992	1.221	0.502	1.252	−0.371	632.7**	592.0**	604.7**	701.4**	549.2*
	(1.264)	(1.303)	(1.613)	(1.599)	(1.592)	(256.3)	(268.2)	(304.7)	(294.9)	(293.7)
Observations	15,027	5,009	5,009	5,009	5,009	15,027	5,009	5,009	5,009	5,009
Control group mean	16.5	11.3	18.6	19.6	20.1	20,914.7	20,479.6	21,148.7	21,115.7	21,152.3
Panel B. Children age 13–18 at random assignment										
Exp. versus control	−4.261**	−5.866***	−4.460**	−2.995	−3.528*	−882.8**	−1195.7**	−890.0*	−672.6	−687.9*
	(1.712)	(2.180)	(2.162)	(2.077)	(1.972)	(385.5)	(482.8)	(465.0)	(414.2)	(402.6)
Sec. 8 versus control	−3.014*	−3.339	−3.928*	−1.882	−4.455**	−597.2	−581.5	−730.2	−492.1	−603.0
	(1.785)	(2.295)	(2.243)	(2.182)	(2.030)	(434.2)	(546.9)	(511.5)	(465.7)	(446.6)
Observations	5,100	1,328	1,722	2,050	2,234	5,100	1,328	1,722	2,050	2,234
Control group mean	15.6	12.4	16.8	16.6	17.2	21,638.0	21,337.3	21,880.1	21,629.8	21,597.8

Chetty, R., Hendren, N., & Katz, L. F. (2016). The effects of exposure to better neighborhoods on children: New evidence from the Moving to Opportunity experiment. *American Economic Review*, *106*(4), 855-902.

FINAL ANALYSIS – COMPLIANCE

EXHIBIT ES–1. ALLOCATION AND COMPLIANCE OF THE LONG-TERM EVALUATION SAMPLES BY SITE AND TREATMENT GROUP

	ALL GROUPS	CONTROL GROUP	EXPERIMENTAL GROUP		SECTION 8 GROUP	
	N	N	N	COMPLIANCE RATE (%)	N	COMPLIANCE RATE (%)
ADULTS						
Baltimore	572	197	252	53.5	123	79.8
Boston	868	326	366	43.6	176	51.1
Chicago	625	232	460	33.4	133	67.4
Los Angeles	929	389	340	60.5	200	71.6
New York City	948	295	401	46.4	252	45.2
All sites	4,142	1,439	1,819	47.4	884	61.6
YOUTH, AGES 10–20						
Baltimore	762	240	268	59.1	254	79.2
Boston	1,267	440	475	38.2	352	54.6
Chicago	1,363	328	701	31.7	334	72.0
Los Angeles	1,539	592	502	62.2	445	78.2
New York City	1,377	418	471	49.6	488	49.2
All sites	6,308	2,018	2,417	47.6	1,873	66.4

Notes: Percentages are weighted to reflect the randomization ratios and sampling of Section 8 adults and up to three youth per family. "Compliance" is defined as leasing a unit using a housing voucher provided by the Moving To Opportunity (MTO) program.
Data source and sample: MTO data system. The samples are N = 4,142 adults and N = 6,308 youth ages 10 to 20 as of December 2007 selected for the long-term survey. Excluded from the samples are the N = 462 Section 8 group adults and youth from households with greater than three youth ages 10–20 who were not randomly selected for the long-term survey.

Sanbonmatsu, L., Katz, L. F., Ludwig, J., Gennetian, L. A., Duncan, G. J., Kessler, R. C., ... & Lindau, S. T. (2011). Moving to opportunity for fair housing demonstration program: Final impacts evaluation.

CHANGES IN NEIGHBORHOOD CONDITIONS

	Experimental vs Control		Section 8 vs Control	
Adults reporting at 4-7 year post-randomization interim analysis	ITT	TOT	ITT	TOT
Share reporting housing as excellent or good (Control = 52%)	+10%	+21%	+7%	+12%
Share feeling safe during the day (Control = 75%)	+9%	+20%	+10%	+16%
Share feeling safe at night (Control = 55%)	+14%	+30%	+9%	+16%
Share reporting police not responding (Control = 34%)	-13%	-27%	-9%	-16%
Share very satisfied or satisfied with current neighborhood (Control = 48%)	+14%	+29%	+11%	+18%

CHANGES IN POVERTY EXPOSURE

EXHIBIT 1.5. CENSUS TRACT CHARACTERISTICS FOR KEY ADDRESSES FOR MTO ADULTS SURVEYED IN THE LONG-TERM EVALUATION

	CONTROL GROUP	EXPERIMENTAL GROUP			SECTION 8 GROUP		
OUTCOME	ALL	ALL	COMPLIERS	NON-COMPLIERS	ALL	COMPLIERS	NON-COMPLIERS
SHARE POOR [CEN]							
Baseline address	0.531	0.527	0.530	0.524	0.526	0.540	0.505
Initial MTO-assisted move address			0.107			0.287	
Address at time of MTO interim evaluation (4–7 years after baseline)	0.395	0.299	0.193	0.402	0.326	0.286	0.391
Address at time of MTO long-term evaluation (10–15 years after baseline)	0.313	0.274	0.210	0.334	0.283	0.244	0.345
Average (duration-weighted) of all addresses since Random Assignment	0.396	0.306	0.200	0.407	0.329	0.285	0.400

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EARLY EVALUATION (1-3 YEARS AFTER RANDOMIZATION)

Type of Impact	MTO Site	Population	MTO Treatment Group	Section 8 Comparison Group	In-Place Control Group
Differences in child behavior[a]	Boston	Children ages six to fifteen in households in MTO as of 5/96			
Percentage with seven behavior problems, boys			23.6**	21.3**	32.6
Percentage with seven behavior problems, girls			17.0	14.3	19.3
Percentage with at least one close friend in neighborhood, boys			73.8	72.8	74.7
Percentage with at least one close friend in neighborhood, girls			67.7**	63.3**	82.3
Differences in child health[a]	Boston	Children ages six to fifteen in households in MTO as of 5/96			
Percentage with any asthma attack requiring medical attention in past six months			4.7*	9.4	9.8
Percentage with any accident or injury requiring medical attention in past six months			4.6*	6.8	10.5
Differences in number of arrests per 100 juveniles ages eleven to sixteen[b]	Baltimore	Children ages eleven to sixteen in all MTO households			
Arrests for violent crimes			1.4**	1.6*	3.0
Differences in school test scores[c]	Baltimore	Children ages five to twelve in all MTO households			
Elementary school CTBS percentile reading scores			32.47**	31.52**	25.13
Elementary school CTBS percentile math scores			36.25**	30.25	28.77

Notes: MTO is the Moving to Opportunity for Fair Housing Demonstration; CTBS is the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills. Differences reported are based on intent-to-treat comparisons (full group) rather than adjusted treatment-on-treated results.

[a]Source: Katz, Kling, and Liebman (2001, Table 6).
[b]Source: Ludwig, Duncan, and Hirschfield (2001, Table 5).
[c]Source: Ludwig, Ladd, and Duncan (2000, Table 6).

*Statistically significant difference from in-place control group (intent-to-treat effect) at p less than the .10 level.
**Statistically significant difference from in-place control group (intent-to-treat effect) at p less than the .05 level.

Goering, J. (2003). The impacts of new neighborhoods on poor families: Evaluating the policy implications of the Moving to Opportunity demonstration. *Economic Policy Review*, *9*(2).

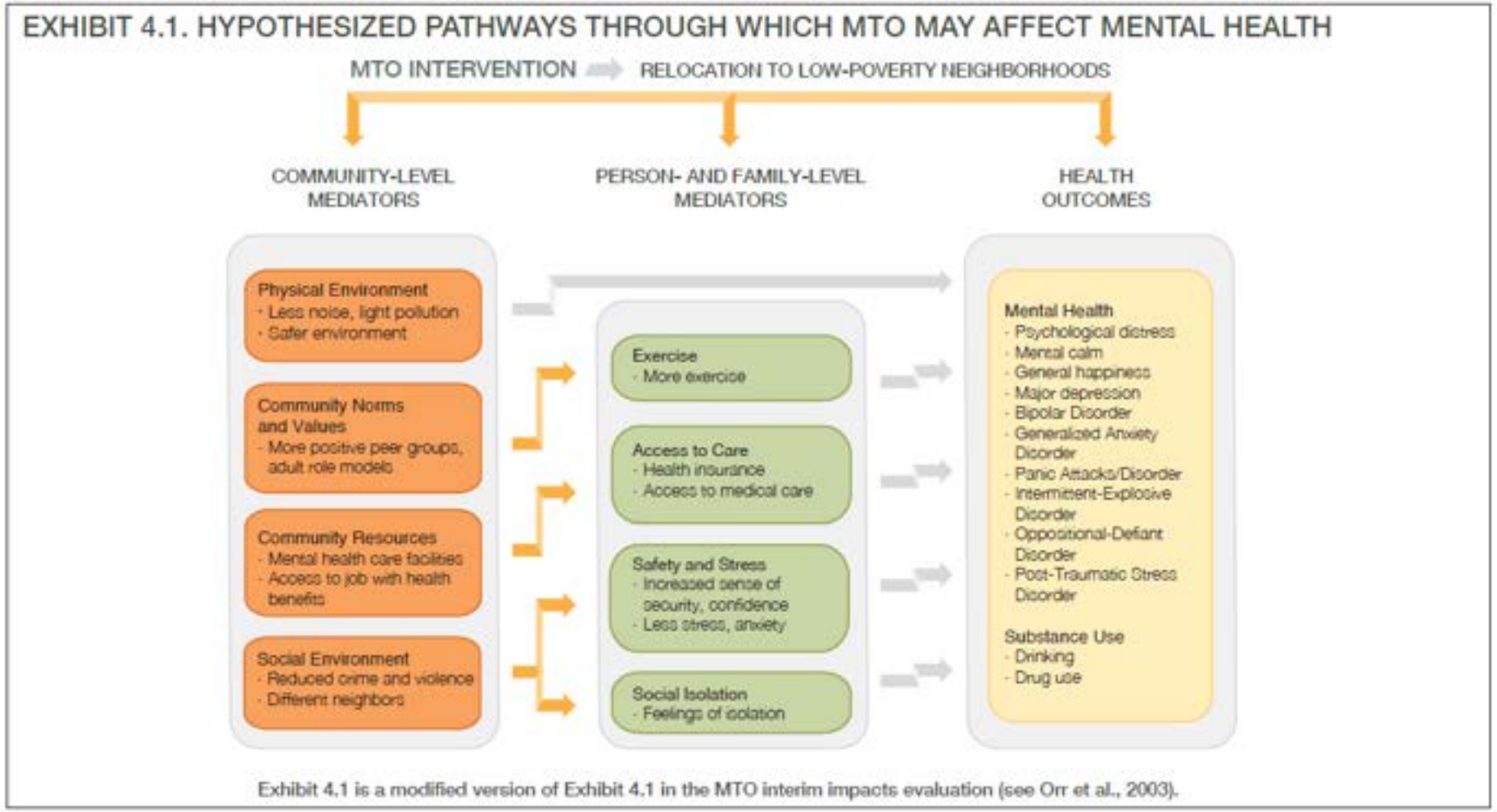
EARLY EVALUATION (1-3 YEARS AFTER RANDOMIZATION)

TABLE 3
Early Evidence of MTO Impacts—Outcomes for MTO Adults

	MTO Site	Population	MTO Treatment Group	Section 8 Comparison Group	In-Place Control Group
Health effects					
Differences in depressive behaviors[a]	New York	All mothers in MTO through 12/31/98			
Percentage unhappy, sad, or depressed			33.0**	46.2	50.6
Differences in adult health[b]	Boston	Adults in MTO as of 5/96			
Percentage reporting overall health is good or better			69.3**	74.0**	57.8
Welfare and labor market effects					
Differences in welfare and labor market effects for household heads[c]	All sites	Adults in MTO surveyed via 1997 long-form canvass[d]			
Average percentage on welfare			58.0	58.0	57.0
Average percentage employed			35.0	34.0	37.0
Average number of weekly hours worked			33.3	31.5	33.9
Differences in rate of welfare receipt[e]	Baltimore	Adults in all MTO households			
Average percentage of household heads on welfare during thirteen quarters after random assignment			38.0**	41.0	44.0

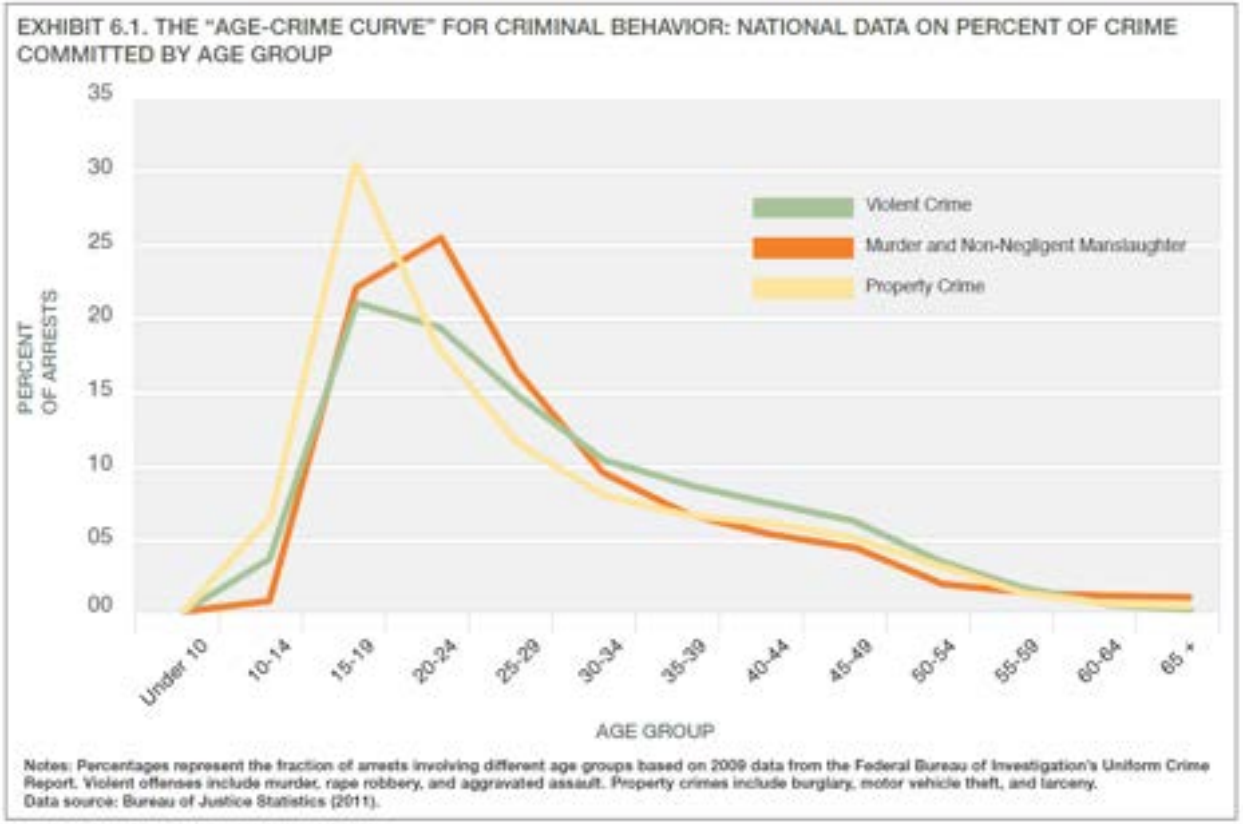
Goering, J. (2003). The impacts of new neighborhoods on poor families: Evaluating the policy implications of the Moving to Opportunity demonstration. *Economic Policy Review*, *9*(2).

MECHANISM OF IMPROVED CHILD MENTAL HEALTH OUTCOMES



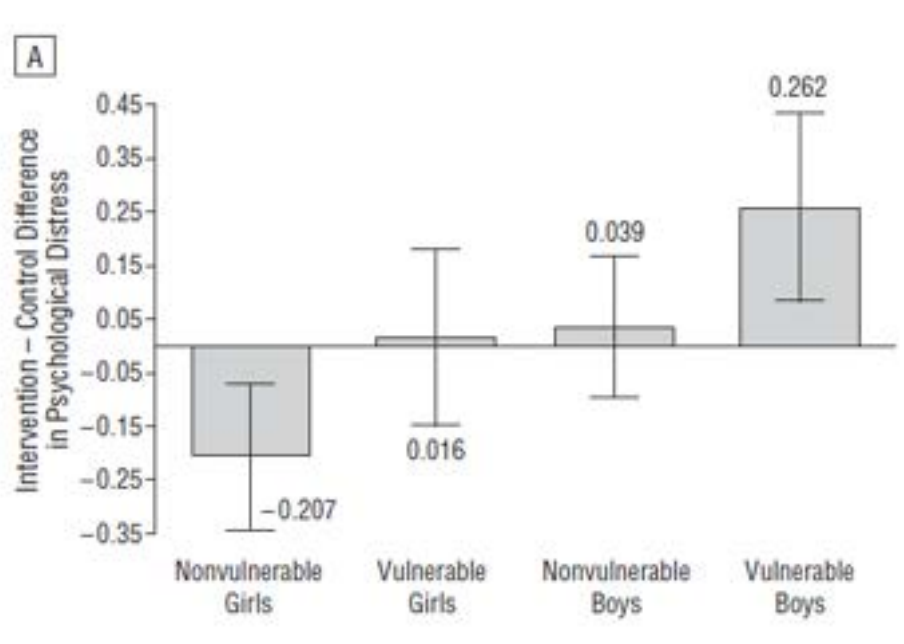
Sanbonmatsu, L., Katz, L. F., Ludwig, J., Gennetian, L. A., Duncan, G. J., Kessler, R. C., ... & Lindau, S. T. (2011). Moving to opportunity for fair housing demonstration program: Final impacts evaluation.

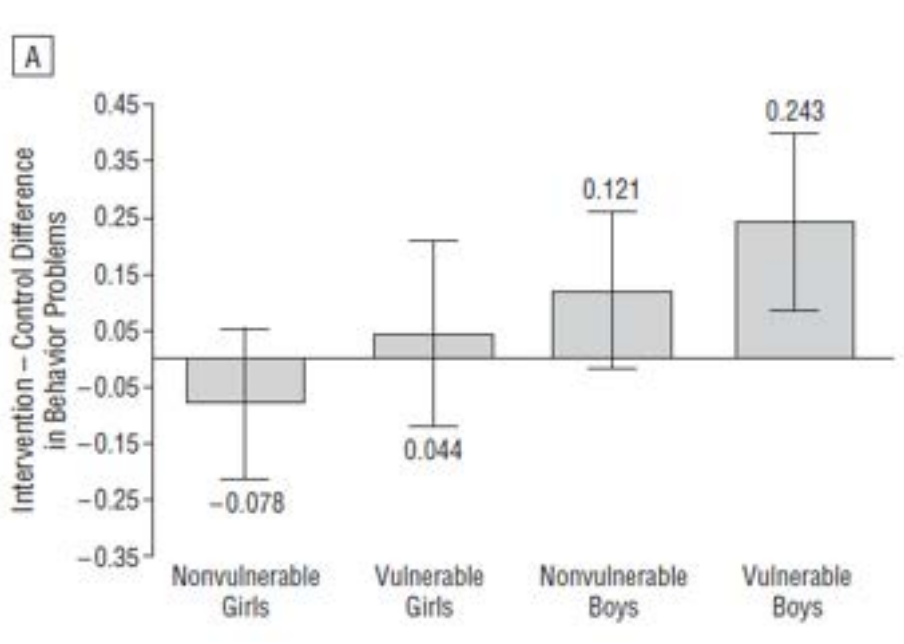
CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR



Sanbonmatsu, L., Katz, L. F., Ludwig, J., Gennetian, L. A., Duncan, G. J., Kessler, R. C., ... & Lindau, S. T. (2011). Moving to opportunity for fair housing demonstration program: Final impacts evaluation.

INTERIM ANALYSIS





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