

Will Greenbridge Meet its Goal of Deconcentrating Poverty?
An Evaluation of HOPE VI at Greenbridge

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Executive Summary

This report presents an evaluation of the King County Housing Authority's (KCHA) specific goals for deconcentrating poverty at a HOPE VI housing project in White Center of unincorporated King County, in Washington State called Greenbridge. The evaluation focuses on the four KCHA goals for the Greenbridge Project that attempt to deconcentrate poverty. These goals are to:

1. Provide homeownership opportunities
2. Create economic self-sufficiency
3. Develop Greenbridge into a mixed-income community
4. Disperse public housing recipients

We found these specific goals in the KCHA HOPE VI grant proposal. To evaluate these goals we researched historic income information for the specific Greenbridge area, for White Center, and for King County using the 1970, 1980, 1990 and 2000 U.S. Censuses. We also researched the history of the area, how it came to be public housing, and what types of people lived in the public housing units historically and prior to the beginning of its current renovation into Greenbridge. We researched the HOPE VI program overall and looked for case studies of other HOPE VI projects that would shed light on what may take place at Greenbridge after its completion. We researched applicable literature on the problem of concentrated poverty and public housing areas. Finally we researched current housing prices of the region. We used all of this information to critically evaluate KCHA's above listed goals to deconcentrate poverty.

In assessing these four goals, we have come up with what we think will be a mixed bag of successes and challenges for the HOPE VI program at Greenbridge. The successes include that Greenbridge will be a stable new investment in the White Center community and will alleviate the blighted public housing area that was formerly known as Park Lake Homes. The challenges include that the majority of former Park Lake Homes residents will not be able to afford the homes that are being set aside as below market value, for purchase by the low-income. Also, though the KCHA's goal was to create a mixed-income housing area, the public housing area within Greenbridge will still be spatially segregated from the for-sale units thus it will continue to be an area of concentrated poverty, though a smaller less dense area.

In the long run, improvements will be made at Greenbridge and there is a strong potential for Greenbridge to become a sustainable community serving a rich mixture of income levels and ethnicities. In the short run the challenges for those living in poverty will continue to be plentiful and a challenge for the KCHA to meet.

Introduction

The King County Housing Authority (KCHA) is currently redeveloping the former Park Lake Homes subsidized housing site in White Center, Washington. The new development will be called Greenbridge. In 2001, the KCHA obtained a 35 million dollar grant through the federally funded Housing and Opportunity for People Everywhere (HOPE VI) program, whose mission is to revitalize severely distressed public housing areas. Greenbridge is being rebuilt into a mixed-income community. In this paper, we will evaluate the KCHA's specific goals for deconcentrating poverty at Greenbridge.

Stakeholders

The local stakeholders and institutions concerned about concentrated poverty within the former Park Lake Homes area are the KCHA, the residents of Park Lake Homes, and the greater White Center Community. The KCHA is the lead agency facilitating the project. Their efforts are focused towards improving the housing stock and White Center as a whole, as well as helping residents to become more self-sufficient. The resident's involvement in the redevelopment process included attending planning meetings that were translated in several languages. Residents were concerned about many issues with KCHA's reconstruction plan, including the relocation efforts during construction, the lottery system to determine who can return to Greenbridge and the replacement of trees (KCHA, 2005 and KCHA, 2004). Lastly, the White Center Community is looking to this project to help revitalize their area.

Concentrated Poverty

While many problems are endemic to urban areas, the problem of concentrated poverty is essentially the umbrella to many other social ills such as crime and low educational achievement. Concentrated poverty is defined by the census bureau as 40 percent of the tract population living below the federal poverty threshold. Given highly concentrated areas of poverty over time, intergenerational poverty often results. This produces detrimental effects to individuals, families, and communities.

While White Center as a whole has not been an area of concentrated poverty, it remains the most poverty-impacted neighborhood in the Seattle-King County region (KCHA, 2001:48). For decades, Park Lake Homes has been solely occupied by deeply impoverish families –70% of which are immigrants and refugees (KCHA, 2001:1). Poverty deconcentration efforts historically have aimed at fostering social equity by increasing social interaction between classes, increasing opportunities for low-income individuals in the form of jobs and education, and providing positive role models for low-income adults and children.

HOPE VI

The federally funded HOPE VI program was created in 1992 by Congress based on the research conducted by the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing (NCSDPH). Established in 1989, this commission identified "severely distressed" public housing developments, assessed strategies to improve conditions within these developments, and created a national plan to tackle this issue by the year 2000 (Lunney, 2005:276). Severely distressed public housing developments are defined as areas where the majority of homes are in deplorable condition due to poor construction and neglect, are racially segregated, and possess inadequate public services, particularly schools, law enforcement and sanitation. Based on the NCSDPH's

investigation, 86,000 of the 1.3 million public housing units nationwide qualified as severely distressed. Likewise, 80 percent of public housing residents lived below the poverty threshold (Popkin, 2004:9). This caused distressed housing sites to become concentrated with impoverished residents. The poor had the least amount of housing options, making it impossible to move to more affluent areas. Park Lake Homes met the requirement of severely distressed in that the homes were in deplorable condition due to their age, poor construction, and dilapidated conditions. They had long ago outlived their intended life. The area was also racially segregated and a new school needed to be built.

Based on the factors that Park Lake Homes and other distressed public housing sites faced, NCSDPH recommended: eliminating severely distressed public housing through rehabilitation, revitalizing and replacing demolished units with units of public or Section 8 housing, offering residents programs that significantly improve their self sufficiency, and funding the public housing stock adequately (Sherwood, 2003:8). From this recommendation, HUD launched the 10 Year Urban Revitalization Demonstration Program, which became known as HOPE VI. One of HUD's four original goals for HOPE VI were as follows.

1. Improve the living environment for residents of severely distressed public housing through the demolition, rehabilitation, reconfiguration or replacement of obsolete projects.
2. Revitalize sites on which such public housing projects are located and contribute to the improvement of surrounding neighborhoods.
3. Provide housing that will avoid or decrease the concentration of very low-income families.
4. Build sustainable communities (Popkin, 2004:1-2).

Eligible expenses of HOPE VI funds include the capital costs of reconstructing housing units, funding Section 8 vouchers for displaced residents, improving management practices, and financing community service programs and supportive services, such as job training. (Popkin, 2004:13). These costs have been covered for Park Lake Home residents. HUD also encouraged grantees to explore mixed income housing sites to achieve neighborhood revitalization through the integration of different income populations. As the program progressed, an emphasis on homeowner strategies for housing residents was implemented.

Though HUD placed substantial emphasis on developing public/private sector partnerships through HOPE VI, it did not lose sight of the social needs of housing populations. Prior to demolishing housing sites, residents can participate in planning the project. During the reconstruction, HOPE VI enables residents to move into Section 8 voucher housing. The program also set aside 20 percent of its initial \$300 million appropriated for human services programs to help distressed populations to become more self-sufficient. An example of this is the Community Support Services (CSS) component, which provides job training, ESL programs, computer classes and job placement services (Levy and Kaye, 2004:1).

Due to the absence of data and evaluation results, perceptions about the impacts of HOPE VI vary widely. Some notable accomplishments include the distribution of 217 HOPE VI revitalization grants totaling \$5.5 billion to public housing authorities in 118 cities as of January 2005. Since the program's creation, 69,918 units have been razed and 33 new developments have been created. As of September 30, 2004, HOPE VI has enabled 4,367 low-income residents to purchase their own homes (Lunney, 2005: 277). An example of a successful HOPE VI development is Atlanta's Centennial Place, which was the first HOPE VI project in the country. This project replaced the Techwood and Clark Howell Homes, which had a neighborhood

median income of \$7,253 and was a haven for drug dealers and prostitutes (Lunney, 2005:279). Through HOPE VI funding, the housing development now touts a \$13 million dollar elementary school and a \$6 million YMCA site. Combining the positive benefits of the school and the social interaction of a mixed income community, the crime level at Centennial Place decreased by 76 percent.

HOPE VI has not been immune to program failures. Some failures include housing sites being rehabilitated in the same distressed community without an innovative design for neighborhood revitalization, lack of meaningful participation of residents in the planning stages, lack of human services on site, and projects being stalled due to the public housing authority's inexperience in working with private developers (Popkin, 2004). Another problem is associated with relocating residents displaced by HOPE VI construction. Housing Authorities are mandated to either place displaced residents within other public housing sites or provide them with Section 8 vouchers. However, in areas with competitive housing markets, the number of landlords who accept Section 8 vouchers is low. This forces these displaced residents to find housing within more impoverished neighborhoods. The end result is poverty migrating from one site to another (Lewis-Clark, 2002:72). This also raises the question that since HOPE VI projects eliminate numerous subsidized units, can the private market accommodate an influx of former public housing residents? In order for HUD to meet its goals through the HOPE VI program, it is vital that these failures be addressed.

Greenbridge Location and History

The Greenbridge HOPE VI Community Revitalization Project is located in White Center of unincorporated King County, just south of the Seattle city line. Greenbridge was formerly known as Park Lake Homes. Greenbridge will cover 93.5 acres and is approximately one-third of a mile in length in the north-south direction and two-thirds of a mile in length in the east-west direction. It is bounded on the North by Southwest Roxbury Street, on the West by 12th Avenue Southwest, on the South by Southwest 102nd Street, and on the East by 2nd Avenue (KCHA, 2004:i).

During World War II, the KCHA was ordered to construct housing for the massive amount of wartime workers that flooded into the region to build warplanes at Boeing and warships at local shipyards. Ten housing areas were built in the Puget Sound region. Two built in White Center that make-up the current Greenbridge area were called White Center Heights and Lakewood. Following World War II, these sites became low-income housing areas. The Lakewood area was completely rebuilt and renamed Park Lake Homes Site I and the White Center Heights area was not rebuilt but, was renamed Park Lake Site II. Together, these two were combined into Park Lake Homes by the KCHA in 1965 (KCHA Web Site and Marzo et al, 2005:178).

Greenbridge Project Details

Park Lake Homes was identified by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) as, "severely distressed public housing" (KCHA, 2004: S-4), and in 2001 the KCHA won a 35 million dollar HOPE VI grant to revitalize it. Park Lake Homes consisted of 569 units of public housing, which will be replaced with: "between 900 to 1,100 units of rental and for sale housing, in attached and detached forms, to meet a wide range of needs (KCHA, 2004:i)" and it has been renamed Greenbridge. It will be mixed-use providing low-income, rental, and home ownership opportunities as described in Table 1.

According to the Final Environmental Impact Statement (FEIS) for the Greenbridge project, “HOPE VI funding, based on KCHA's grant application, is conditioned on: redevelopment of the site; reducing the concentration of very low-income households living on the site; and creation of a mixed-income community. The proposed project would involve redevelopment of the existing Park Lake Homes Community to provide housing, services and community facilities, amenities and infrastructure” (2004: S-4). “The Proposed Master Plan would involve redevelopment of the site to create a mixed-income, pedestrian-oriented community containing housing, parks and open space, community services and facilities, and new infrastructure” (KCHA, 2004:i). This is similar to the New Urbanism vision of community. The aim is to promote “the creation and restoration of diverse, walkable, compact, vibrant, mixed-use communities composed of the same components as conventional development, but assembled in a more integrated fashion, in the form of complete communities. These contain housing, work places, shops, entertainment, schools, parks, and civic facilities essential to the daily lives of the residents, all within easy walking distance of each other” (New Urbanism Web Site).

Demographics

Greenbridge is located in and makes up the majority of Washington State census tract 265. Of the 5 census block groups contained within Tract 265 (1 through 5), Greenbridge makes up the majority of group 1, all of group 2 and 3, the majority of group 4, but none of group 5 (see Figure 1). For the purposes of comparing United States Census Bureau data over time for the Greenbridge area, we will compare all of census tract 265 instead of Greenbridge's specific blocks because specific census block group data is not available for censuses before 1990, some of which are analyzed in this report. Tract 265 has not changed spatially for the time period compared in this report through the U.S. Census Bureau reports of 1970, 1980, 1990 and 2000.

Tract 265 has historically been an extremely poor area of concentrated poverty. The median household income in 1970 was \$3,632 while it was \$10,246 in White Center and \$11,886 in King County. In 1970, tract 265's median household income was 30.55 percent that of King County's. By the 2000 census, a similar situation remained. Tract 265's median household income was \$16,285, while White Center's was \$40,480 and King County's was \$53,157. In 2000, tract 265's median household income was 30.63 percent that of King County's. The vast majority (98 percent) of Park Lake Home residents were very low-income (50 percent or less of the area median income) and most (88 percent) were extremely low-income (30 percent or less of the area median income) (KCHA, 2004: S-3). For detailed median income comparisons between census tract 265, White Center, and King County from 1970 through 2000 censuses, please see Figure 2.

In 1970, 47.8 percent of tract 265's families were living below the poverty level. At the same time, only 11.53 percent of White Center's families and 5 percent of King County's families were living below the poverty level. By 1980, the percentage of families living below the poverty level in tract 265 dropped to below the concentrated poverty level at 33.7 percent, but by 1990 it was back up to 49.3 percent. In 2000, it was slightly better at 36.4 percent. Overall, the Tract 265 area has hovered in the middle 30 to high 40 percent level for families living below the poverty level for the time periods studied for this report, from the 1970 to 2000 censuses. Over these years at the same time, the families living below the poverty level in White Center hovered just over 10 percent, while King County's was approximately 5 percent. For

more detailed comparisons of families living below the poverty level between census tract 265, White Center, and King County from 1970 through 2000 censuses, please see Figure 3.

The racial makeup has changed dramatically in the Greenbridge area during the census times studied from 1970 to 2000. In 1970, tract 265 was 93.8 percent Caucasian, versus 36.5 percent Caucasian in 2000. As you can see from Figure 4 and Table 2, between the 1980 and 1990 censuses, tract 265 had a huge influx of Asian and Pacific Islanders and a smaller influx of African Americans. At the same time, high levels of Caucasians were leaving the area. During this time, Park Lake Homes became a “haven to new immigrants; the majority of household heads were born outside of the U.S., and 34% of the heads of household were not U.S. citizens. Only about a quarter (23 percent) of household heads were born in the U.S.” Fully 70 percent were immigrants and refugees. The largest population on site comes from Southeast Asia (45 percent), Somalia and Ethiopia (17 percent), the Middle East (6 percent), and East Europe/Former Soviet Union (5 percent)” (Manzo et al, 2005:22-23).

Evaluation of KCHA Greenbridge Goals to Deconcentrate Poverty

The King County Housing Authority has devised numerous goals for the HOPE VI Greenbridge Project. Of those goals, we will only evaluate the goals that attempt to deconcentrate poverty. These goals are to:

1. Provide homeownership opportunities
2. Create economic self-sufficiency
3. Develop Greenbridge into a mixed-income community
4. Disperse public housing recipients

Goal 1 - Provide Homeownership Opportunities:

One of the most significant contributors of social efficacy is building a sense of ownership within a community. This represents stable forces that have personal interest in maintaining or improving an area’s land value, resources, environment, crime, and economic investments. Areas with high transient populations, particularly immigrant, generally have low social control and are often disenfranchised. The KCHA has placed a strong emphasis on homeownership within the Greenbridge development: “For-sale homes are the final and critical element in the neighborhood mix. Homeownership anchors a community and will provide a critical stability previously lacking” (KCHA, 2001:4).

Approximately 75 of the homes for sale will be designated below Market value and will be sold to those earning between 40 to 80 percent of the Area Median Income (AMI). This amount is roughly \$21,000 to \$43,000 in annual household income. As an incentive to strive towards homeownership, former Park Lake Homes residents are given purchasing priority of the below market rate properties.

In order to assist families in determining if they are qualified to buy a home and also to help them purchase a home, the KCHA designed the CSS plan. This plan will allow former Park Lake Home residents to partner with homebuilders, refugee federations, financial partners and the faith community to provide homeownership opportunities. The CSS plan aims at reducing the costs of homes and eliminating structural barriers to homeownership for immigrant and refugee families. The CSS plan will provide homebuyer education courses as well as counseling for potential homebuyers.

Homeownership is central to the American ideal of family and community. Unfortunately, many people will never be able to purchase a home of their own due to the

housing affordability crisis. A recent article printed in *The Seattle Times* on November 27, 2005 titled “Priced Out” stated that, “Seattle area buyers, now in one of the most expensive markets in the nation, find it harder to get into single-family homes as prices, and interest rates rise. ... The median price of a single-family home in the combined Seattle-Bellevue-Tacoma area was \$325,000 in the third quarter (of 2005) according to the National Association of Realtors (Seattle Times 2005, E1).” Furthermore, the average income of a first time homebuyer is \$40,000, which is 70 percent of King County’s AMI. Also, the ease of travel from White Center to Downtown Seattle, Boeing Field, Seattle-Tacoma International Airport and East King County gives Greenbridge a cutting edge in the real estate market as far as location is concerned.

However, the outlook is grim for original Park Lake Homes Residents desiring to own a home. Upon construction completion of Greenbridge, very few original residents will have enough income to purchase a below market price home. Currently, the average income of Park Lake Homes is roughly 30 percent of King County’s AMI. If first time home buyers in King County are earning approximately 70 percent of the AMI, the vast majority of prior Park Lake Homes residents cannot compete in the market to buy a home—even at the reduced rate. In the long run, home ownership classes, along with steady employment and increasing income may lead to more residents being able to purchase a home, however the allocated below market rate for-sale-homes will not meet the future market demand.

Approximately 75 percent of the individuals who will purchase homes in Greenbridge will pay market value. This leaves at best, 75 houses for the 569 residents of Park Lake Homes to purchase. Even if these homes are sold for those at 40 to 80 percent AMI, most Park Lake Home residents will not qualify to purchase the property because their income averages around at 30 percent AMI. These residents could save to purchase one of these homes, however, if these homes are quickly sold upon the completion of Greenbridge, there will be a shortage of homes to sell at the below market rate level. Furthermore, it will be unlikely for these residents to be able to purchase a home within White Center. A 2001 market evaluation completed by housing market research firm Dupre and Scott, for the KCHA, shows that housing prices South of Roxbury Street Southwest in White Center are similar to those within Seattle neighborhoods just North of Roxbury Street Southwest, meaning White Center neighborhoods are subject to the greater Seattle market. If the greater Seattle market is only affordable to those at 70 percent AMI, there will be no below market rate homes available. Thus, KCHA’s small allotment of below market rate for-sale-homes in Greenbridge will not substantially help them to reach their goal of homeownership opportunities for former Park Lake Home residents.

Goal 2 - Create Economic Self-Sufficiency:

The second goal of the new Greenbridge development is to create economic self-sufficiency, upward mobility, and economic independence from Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) and an improved quality of life for low-income residents (KCHA, 2001:53). This is primarily going to be promoted through the CSS Plan. The plan establishes a course of action involving case management, service delivery, rental incentives, and coordination with local service providers. The KCHA has provided \$25 million to build a new elementary school, Head Start facility, public library and an improved community center.

The Career Development Center provides specialized employment services, a portion of which prepare residents for Section 3 skills enabling them to play a part in the construction of Greenbridge. Since the 1980’s, Highline Community College has provided GED and ESL courses to Park Lake residents. While higher-level courses are offered through Washington State

University, Highline Community College and the YWCA. The intent of these programs is to connect them to employers in the community; focusing on securing living wage jobs that provide wage progression and career opportunities.

These programs have been successful in the past and present. They continue to operate during the construction of Greenbridge. Each former Park Lake Homes family has been connected to CSS services during construction. When Greenbridge construction is complete, though the families may not be getting any additional services, they may be better off due to their connection to services during construction.

Goal 3 - Develop Greenbridge into a Mixed-Income Community:

One of the most noteworthy components of the Greenbridge plan is the overall reduction of public housing. There will be a net reduction in public housing units from 569 to 300 and a net increase of overall units to provide between 900 and 1,100 units (KCHA, 2005:3) with four primary income brackets represented (please see Table 1).

Due to the fact that most public housing facilities, Park Lake Homes being no exception, are entirely composed of individuals receiving public assistance, concentrations of poverty will be a natural consequence. Research has show that, "Federal housing construction programs have historically clustered assisted families in low income, central city neighborhoods, contributing to both concentration of poverty and racial segregation" (Turner 2003). The need to recreate public housing areas to deconcentrate poverty is at the heart of Greenbridge. The intention is to combat social, spatial and economic isolation in public housing (Kleit, 2005:1413). This will encourage increased social interaction, and provide opportunities and role models for low-income individuals.

Considering census tract 265 as a whole, and given full occupancy at Greenbridge, the income levels will make a dramatic shift toward moderate/middle income. On a block scale however, Greenbridge has been unsuccessful at integrating a variety of incomes and reducing spatial segregation. Within KCHA's master plan, there are contradictions in the spatial layout for Greenbridge. Though KCHA stated in their HOPE VI grant application that public housing residents would be intergraded throughout the community to avoid concentration of poverty and stigmatization (KCHA, 2001:70), their master plan as of June 2005 paints a different picture. As shown in Figure 1, there is clear segregation of for-sale and rental housing with community buildings acting as a buffer between the two. This layout will minimize the income group's interaction due to the lack of close proximity to each other. Close proximity of residents plays an important role in encouraging neighborhood interaction. Residents are most likely not going to travel out of their way to interact with others from different social, economic and cultural groups. In the study of NewHolly, which is a HOPE VI site facilitated by the Seattle Housing Authority, residents only knew nearby neighbors. Likewise, common activities, such as gardening, enabled those proximate contacts to become established (Kleit, 2005:1439). By segregating the different incomes, KCHA will further isolate and possibly stigmatize the low-income poverty populations within Greenbridge.

One goal of creating mixed income communities is to expand opportunities for low-income residents through their interaction with moderate to middle income residents. However, research to date on HOPE VI redevelopment communities show low levels of mixed income interactions (Curley, 2005:11-12). One contributing factor to the lack of mixed income interactions is many homebuyers do not have children. Though the Seattle housing market will attract homebuyers to Greenbridge, it will most likely attract homebuyers who are single or

married couples without children. This can be correlated to first time homebuyers being younger in age and moderate-income families with children who desire the availability of safe, high quality schools (Varady et al, 2005:150). Though White Center Heights Elementary is newly rebuilt, it as well as Cascade Middle School and Evergreen High School will most likely not attract middle-income families due to low standardized test scores (see Table 3).

Washington State Assessment of Student Learning (WASL) scores do not take into account that many students within the schools like White Center Heights Elementary speak English as a second language and that their parents may not speak enough English to help the student with their assignments. However, due to the State of Washington's emphasis on WASL scores, these scores are affecting the moderate-income parents view of what is considered a quality school. Due to the schools in White Center having lower WASL scores than those for certain Seattle campuses and Bellevue Schools, parents are more likely to move into areas where the public schools have higher WASL scores. This will result in more single individual and married couples without children moving into Greenbridge for sale units.

Low-income families with children will most likely not mix with moderate to middle-income singles and married couples without children due to people's social worlds being generally made up of people like themselves (Kleit, 2005:1415). Households with children engage in neighboring relations more than do other types of households (Kleit, 2005:1415). Parents of school-aged children will likely interact socially because low and moderate-income parents share common interests regarding their children's education (Vardy et al, 2005:150). Singles without children and married couples not desiring to have children in the near future do not share these same interests, thus lessening the opportunities of interactions between the various income levels. However, married couples without children, but who are hoping to have children in the near future, will interact more with families of different income levels because they are in similar life cycles (Kleit, 2005:1439).

Diversity within cultures of mixed income sites can also lessen social interactions among residents. For instance, people enjoy practicing traditions of their culture, so they will associate with residents that hold the same traditions and values. Cultural differences and misunderstandings can cause conflicts that prohibit cross-cultural interactions. Language barriers will also prevent residents who speak English as a second language and those fluent in English from communicating. Due to former Park Lake Homes having a large immigrant and refugee population, there will be vast amounts of diversity within the subsidized residents of Greenbridge. These factors, combined with the fact that diverse residents are not in close proximity to each other, will prevent the various income and cultural groups at Greenbridge from interacting.

Goal 4 - Disperse Public Housing Recipients:

All former Park Lake Home residents will be offered replacement housing though only 300 units will be available. A total of 269 Section 8 vouchers will be provided. KCHA will attempt to scatter recipients throughout KCHA owned properties in areas with expanding communities and job markets, such as Bellevue, Redmond, Kirkland, Issaquah, Newcastle, Bothell, Kenmore and Shoreline. Providing Section 8 vouchers allows flexibility and a wider dispersal into higher-income areas. However, far too often there is a "refusal by many private owners to accept Section 8"; Section 8 assistance is often used in lower rent, poverty impacted areas; and, it is not fully responsive to low income needs (KCHA, 2001:51). This prevents recipients from relocating to healthy communities because properties in more wealthy areas do

not accept Section 8. This does not deconcentrate poverty--it simply relocates it into other public housing developments and other poor communities where many residents permanently relocate (Curley, 2005:12).

The KCHA has provided information on fair housing rights, housing opportunities in less impacted areas of King County, instructions on Section 8 vouchers, expanded the affordable housing supply, and addressed physical modifications for those with disabilities (KCHA, 2001:51). Even with this effort, of the 569 families, only 2 percent relocated to East King County, where they encouraged families to move to and, it took an average of 61 days to find a residence. The primary reason for the resistance to move to east King County is likely due to ethnic community ties and fear of isolation from other natives or refugees. 58 percent of the residents opted for Section 8 and KCHA housing opportunities within White Center. Though these residents are not reaping the benefits of living in more affluent areas of King County, they are benefiting from not living in as densely of a populated public housing site. For instance, KCHA purchased The Cones apartment complex, which was known for criminal activity and other social ills. The intent of this purchase was to provide a more positive housing site within White Center, thus they refurbished the complex and renamed it Arbor Heights (KCHA, 2005). If a Park Lake Homes resident opted to move into this complex, the resident would live amongst 95 other subsidized units versus living amongst 569 other subsidized units within the former Park Lake Homes. Therefore, the use of Section 8 vouchers in Park Lake Homes to relocate publicly assisted families has not served its intended purpose of dispersing residents to more affluent areas, but has reached its goal of dispersing residents into less dense and less impoverished housing sites.

Conclusion

The rich and diverse ethnic make up of the residents of Park Lake Homes (the majority of which (70 percent) were immigrants and refugees), and their concentrated poverty status (the majority of them living at roughly 30% of the Area Median Income), will provide immense challenges for the KCHA during the federally funded HOPE VI reconstruction of Park Lake Homes into Greenbridge.

Our evaluation focused on the four KCHA goals for the Greenbridge Project that attempt to deconcentrate poverty. These goals are:

1. Provide homeownership opportunities
2. Create economic self-sufficiency
3. Develop Greenbridge into a mixed-income community
4. Disperse public housing recipients

In assessing these four goals, we have come up with a mixed bag of successes and challenges. The successes include that Greenbridge will be a stable new investment in the White Center community and will alleviate the blighted public housing area that was Park Lake Homes. Turning the housing area into a mixed-income community of public and private homes will bring added economic benefits to Greenbridge and White Center. The KCHA plan to create economic self-sufficiency among the former Park Lake Home residents will continue to provide programs that support residents before, during and after the construction of Greenbridge. These programs will provide positive services such as homeownership education and counseling, community services, ESL and GED education, and job training services.

The challenges include that of the 75 homes that are being set aside as below market value for the low-income, the majority of former Park Lake Home residents will not be able to

afford these homes due to their low AMI and the inflated housing market in our region. Essentially the poor are priced out of the housing market. Also, though the KCHA's goal was to create a mixed-income housing area, the public housing area within Greenbridge will still be spatially segregated from the for-sale units, thus it will continue to be an area of concentrated poverty, though a smaller less dense area.

In the long run, improvements will be made and there is a strong potential for Greenbridge to become a sustainable community serving a rich mixture of income levels and ethnicities. In the short run the challenges for those living in poverty will continue to be plentiful and a challenge for the KCHA to meet.

Appendix: Tables

Table 1: Breakdown of Housing Type, Number of Units and AMI to qualify

Housing Type	Number of Units	AMI
Public Housing	300	Up to 50%
Workforce Housing	155-229	50%-60%
Below Market Rate For-Sale	75	40%-80%
Market Rate For-Sale	399	100%+

Source: King County Housing Authority, Greenbridge Master Plan

Table 2: Ethnic Breakdown in Tract 265, White Center and King County, see Figure 4

	1970 - Tract 265	1970 - White Center	1970 - King County	1980 - Tract 265	1980 - White Center	1980 - King County	1990- Tract 265	1990 - White Center	1990 - King County	2000 - Tract 265 **	2000 - White Center **	2000 - King County **
White	93.8%	96.7%	93%	80.5%	89.3%	88.36%	46.5%	76.5%	84.8%	36.5%	54.9%	78.9%
African American	0.53%	0.41%	3.5%	3.84%	1.45%	4.4%	8.88%	3.81%	5.06%	14.2%	6.4%	6.5%
American Indian/ Alaskan	*	*	*	4.93%	2.42%	0.97%	2.8%	2.41%	1.14%	2.72%	2.01%	1.9%
Asian or Pacific Islander	*	*	*	4.52%	4.25%	4.62%	40.1%	14.8%	7.88%	47.2%	23.7%	13.4%
Hispanic	*	*	*	6.03%	3.44%	2.09%	4.46%		2.94%	6.43%	11.9%	5.48%

* Only Whites, and African Americans were counted for the 1970 census.

**Figures include all who reported one race; the 6% of the population who reported more than one race are not represented.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Source: 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000

TABLE 3: 2004 Washington State Assessment of Student Learning Scores

School	Reading	Writing	Math	Science
White Center Heights Elementary (Highline School District)	61.5	40.4	48.1	20.8
Lafayette Elementary (Seattle School District)	97.4	82.1	87.2	56.8
Clyde Hill Elementary (Bellevue School District)	91.7	73.8	79.8	72.7
Cascade Middle School (Highline School District)	51.4	42.9	29.1	16.1
Eckstein Middle School (Seattle School District)	88.8	81.6	79.4	54.7
Chinook Middle School (Bellevue School District)	90.9	86.3	81.7	57.2
Evergreen High School (Highline School District)	63.3	56.5	38.3	29.0
Nathan Hale High School (Seattle School District)	83.9	63	59.8	50.8
Bellevue High School (Bellevue School District)	93	88.3	78.7	70.1

Source: Washington State Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction (OSPI) 2005

<http://reportcard.ospi.k12.wa.us>

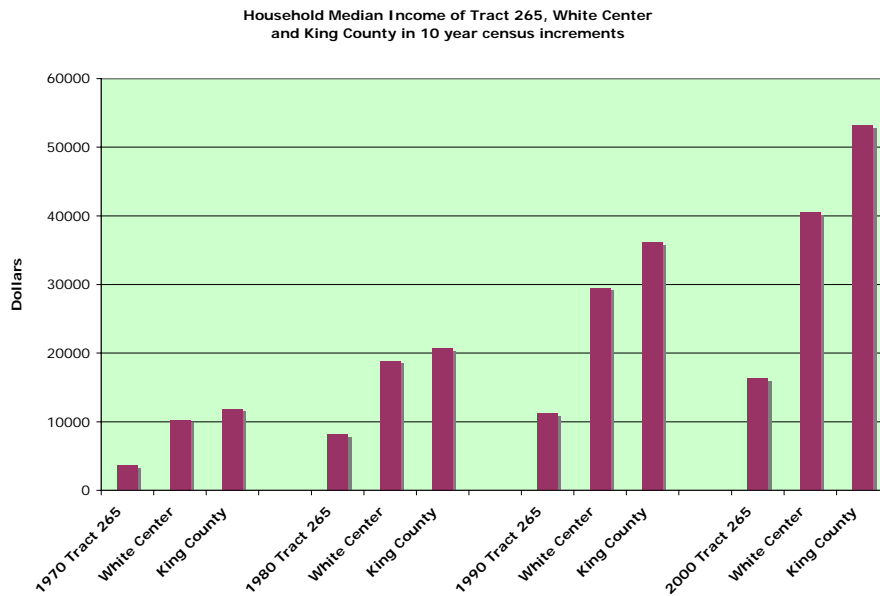
Appendix: Figures

Figure 1: Map of Census Tract 265

QuickTime™ and a
TIFF (Uncompressed) decompressor
are needed to see this picture.

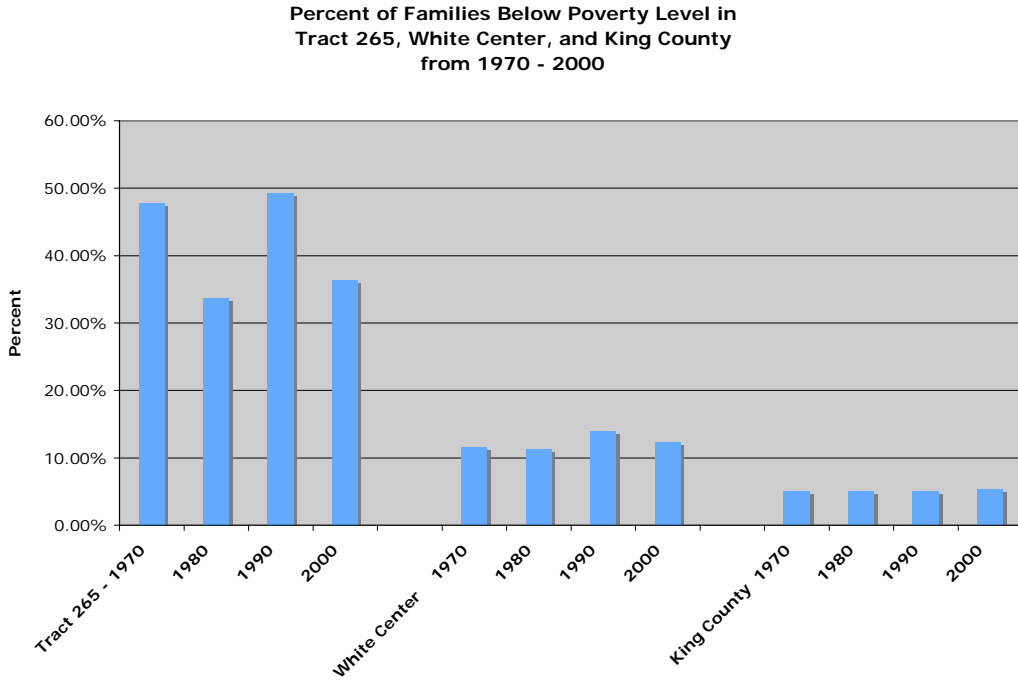
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Source: 1990

Figure 2: Household Median Income of Tract 265, White Center and King County



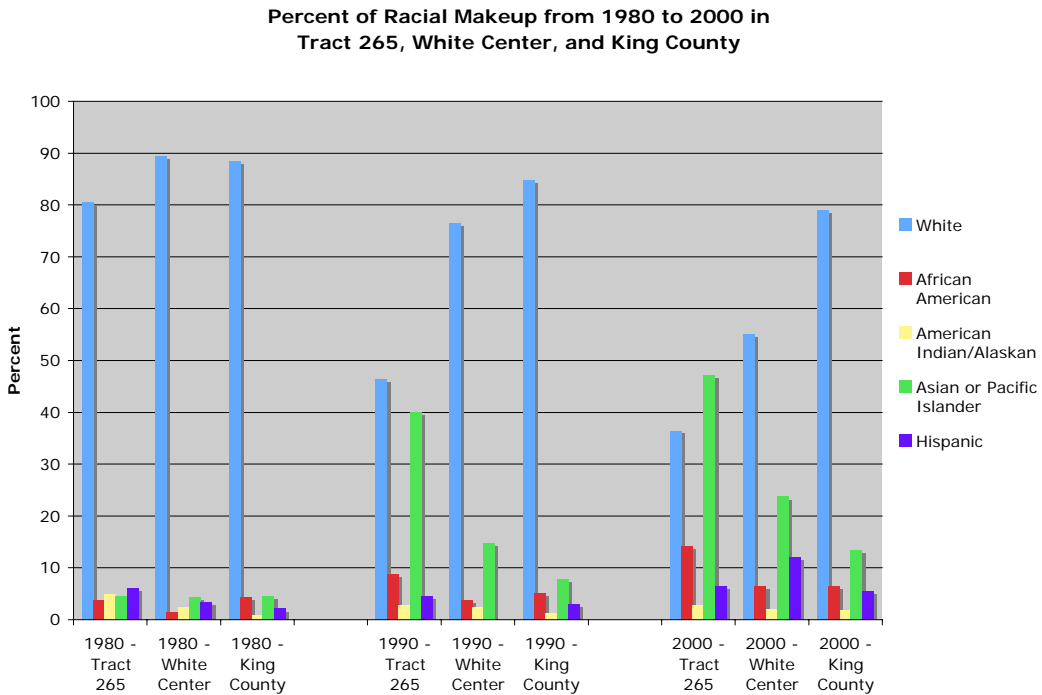
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Source: 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000

Figure 3: Percent of Families Below the Poverty Level



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Source: 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000

Figure 4: Ethnic Breakdown in Tract 265, White Center and King County, see Table 2



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Source: 1980, 1990, 2000

Figure 5: Site Plan for Greenbridge

Red items are for-sale, blue items are rentals, and green items are community buildings.



Source: King County Housing Authority, Greenbridge Master Plan

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