THE EFFECTS OF DISPLACEMENT ON ELDERLY RENTERS IN JAMAICA PLAIN

by

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Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning on February 24, 1981 in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master in City Planning.

ABSTRACT

The latest wave of urban reinvestment began in many cities across the country in the early 1970's. Several obvious benefits of this phenomenon are: increased tax revenues, property restoration, physical improvements, and a marked increase in the numbers of middle income people choosing to live in the city. Unfortunately, negative consequences also arose. The most visible of these is displacement. This thesis takes an in depth look at this problem. The backdrop for this exploration is Jamaica Plain, a neighborhood of Boston. This thesis describes the internal factors that are responsible for drawing larger numbers of home dwellers (both owners and renters) to Jamaica Plain, and thereby creating a displacement problem for the elderly. This paper first looks at displacement as seen through the existing literature, and then at the problem as experienced individually by displaced elderly renters in Jamaica Plain. The main objective of this thesis is to determine the severity of the problem by analyzing what the emotional, economic, and physical costs of displacement are.

This thesis finds that displacement due to private market forces causes severe problems for many of its elderly victims. It further suggests that many of these problems can be alleviated through neighborhood interventions.

Thesis Supervisor: Langley Keyes, Professor

TO HAROLD SR., MIRIAM, MATTHEW, AND HAROLD JR.

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INTRODUCTION

Displacement is a phenomenon occurring in many inner city neighborhoods. While most people acknowledge that it is a negative consequence of urban reinvestment, there is little agreement on most facets of the problem such as the extent of displacement or its effects on those who are displaced. More important, policy makers have been unable to make effective recommendations to prevent or alleviate the problem. It is my belief that this powerlessness to find solutions is in part due to the lack of understanding about the effects of displacement. This thesis attempts to look more closely at the displacement issue and to cast some more light on it by documenting the experiences of elderly residents in Jamaica Plain who have been victims of displacement.

Thesis Structure

The thesis is divided into four parts:

Chapter I: Jamaica Plain as a Neighborhood in Transition

This chapter provides a context for the ensuing discussion and study on displacement. It examines the internal factors that are causing Jamaica Plain to attract people who are willing and able to pay more for their housing than many current and longtime residents can afford. The chapter then introduces one group of residents, the elderly, who will face a

housing squeeze as a result of old and new Jamaica Plain residents competing for the same housing.

Chapter II: Selected Literature on Displacement and Elderly Relocation

This chapter looks at the current literature on displacement and describes the controversial nature of the topic. It looks at displacement in terms of its differing definitions, whom it effects, the extent of the problem, and the effects it has on displacees. The last part of this chapter looks at some of the gerontology literature on relocation in order to obtain a better picture of how elderly people may be affected by displacement.

Chapter III: The Effects of Displacement on Elderly Renters in Jamaica Plain: A Study

This chapter explains the results of a study based on in depth interviews with elderly displacees from Jamaica Plain to examine how the individuals felt about this experience.

Chapter IV: Conclusions

The final chapter summarizes the major survey findings. It then raises issues, based on these results, to which further policy options might be directed.

Chapter I: Jamaica Plain as a Neighborhood in Transition

Jamaica Plain is a community at least 300 years old. Although carrying the name Jamaica Plain, it was originally part of Roxbury and then of West Roxbury before becoming a separate township of Boston. Prior to the Revolutionary War, such country gentlemen as John Hancock and a nephew of Peter Faneuil lived here. Eventually, land speculation and industrial development followed the path of the Boston and Providence Railroad which passed through Roxbury and across the Stony Brook Valley in 1834. By the early 1870's, there were a number of breweries and other industrial and manufacturing concerns in Jamaica Plain. The streetcar lines also contributed to development activities and to the proliferation of housing for workers and the middle class in such buildings as the triple decker. Yet the wealthy continued to be lured and built larger estates

alongside the Jamaica Pond and the park lands which are part of the "Emerald Necklace" of Boston's park system designed by Frederick Law Olmstead in the 1890's.[1]

After World War II, part of Jamaica Plain's middle class followed the nationwide trend of moving to the suburbs. The move outward received additional impetus here when a plan for highway I-95 caused the destruction of houses in its path and rendered those alongside undesireable. This project is called the Southwest Corridor, and locally it is referred to as "the road they never built." Court mandated busing in the early 1970's further boosted the exodus.

A loose housing market ensued which in turn made this a prime area for rediscovery. Many external factors are responsible for the renewed interest in city living such as population changes and the energy shortage. But there are special reasons why Jamaica Plain has become a particularly desireable urban neighborhood.

City Policy

Under Mayor Kevin White, the City's Office of Program Development conducted a campaign designed to market Boston neighborhoods. Its goals included strengthening the residents' confidence in their neighborhoods, and selling the neighborhood to both business investors and potential home buyers. A television documentary on Jamaica Plain was part of this program, as was a booklet on Boston's triple deckers

and posters which showed Jamaica Pond and the Arnold Arboretum.

Housing Stock

The majority of homes are detached one to six unit structures, usually of wood. Once considered mediocre housing predominantly for the working and lower middle classes, triple deckers are currently coming into their own as a unique housing type located almost exclusively in New England and concentrated in Boston. Street after street of triple deckers stand in Jamaica Plain, many of them in good condition. In addition, small cottages and two family homes make up sections between the Southwest Corridor and Washington Street which were once the homes of working class persons who probably worked at the breweries along the Stony Brook (now a sewer).

Yet much of Jamaica Plain was originally developed as a middle and upper income community. This architecturally left its mark on Jamaica Plain even if lower middle class housing predominated in some areas, filled in vacant lots in between larger homes, or an increase in lower income people caused some of the larger single family homes to be subdivided. One cannot go far in any direction without finding those features that are typical of a more romantic past: stained glass windows, large front porches, mansard roofs with intricate slate designs. There are homogeneous clusters of Victorian homes (e.g. Sumner Hill), rambling country estates

(e.g. Peter Parley Road and Robeson Street), or an occasional example of a Greek Revival mansion (on the Jamaicaway). One can even find an occasional unpaved road off of a main street with large estates hidden from public view.

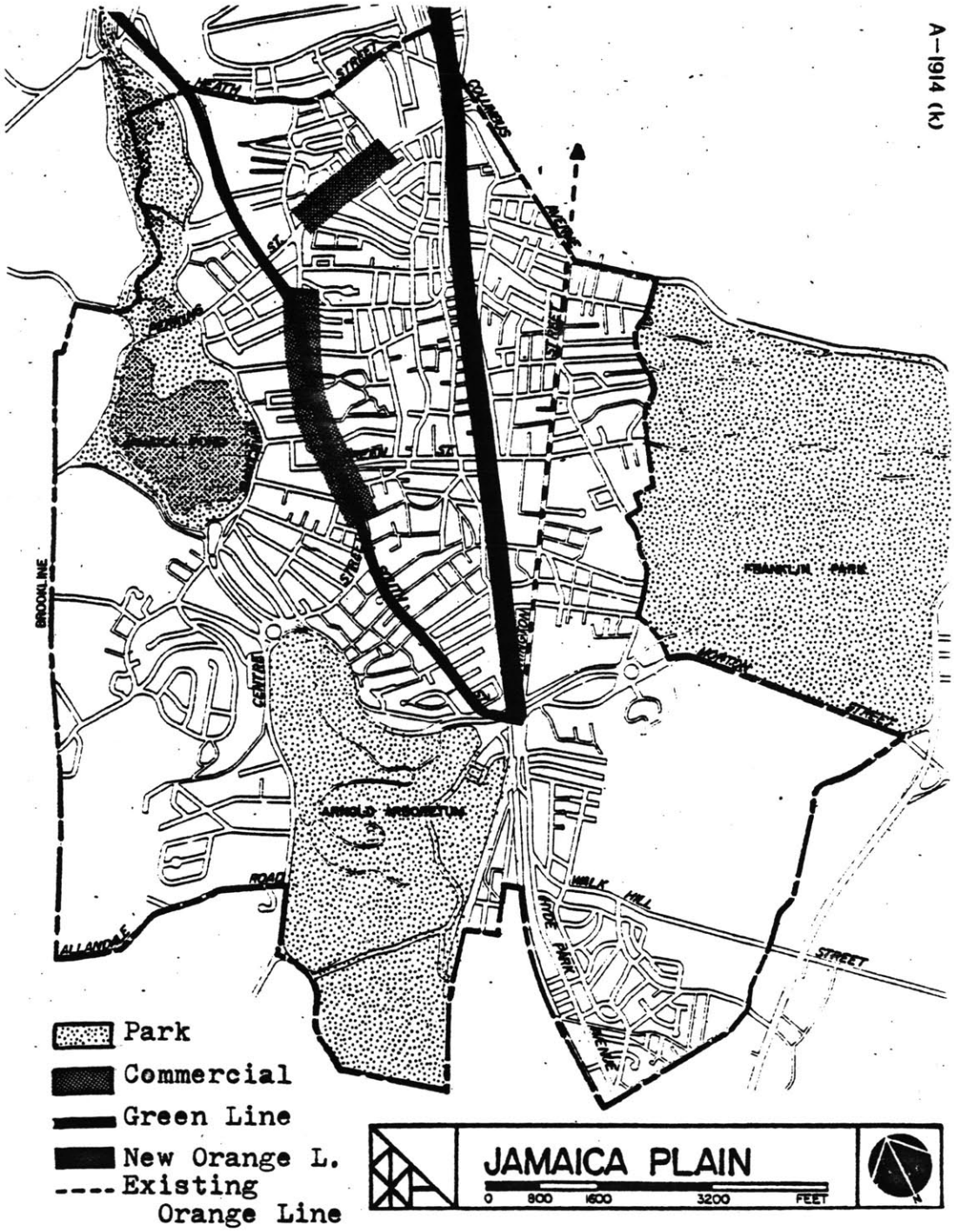
Amenities

Centre Street, a road built in pre Revolutionary War days to connect Boston with Dedham, supports a number of small stores and commercial and professional interests serving the immediate needs of Jamaica Plain citizens. Residents go "downtown" (that part of Centre Street between Boylston and South Streets) to the local banks and Post Office. Drug stores, a number of local restaurants and bars, and garages, provide services and a place to gather. Local shopkeepers know much about the goings on. Further south on Centre Street in Hyde Square, is a similar collection of food stores, gift shops, and bars and restaurants, many of which are operated by Hispanic proprietors who cater to a very local clientele. At the same time, larger shopping centers in Roslindale, Hyde Park, or nearby suburbs are easily accessible.

A feature particularly unique to Jamaica Plain is the abundance of open space which gives this community one of the lowest person to acre ratios in the city.[2] With the exception of its northern border, Frederick Law Olmstead's "Emerald Necklace" virtually surrounds this neighborhood.

Jamaica Plain is exceptionally well served by the

MAJOR LOCATIONAL ATTRACTIONS



transit system. The Green Line's Arborway car runs along South Huntington, Centre (south of the South Huntington/ Centre Street intersection), and South Streets. The Orange Line provides service in Jamaica Plain along Washington Street as an elevated railroad.

At this point, it is important to discuss the Southwest Corridor Project. This is the largest single construction project in the history of Boston. By 1985 the Orange Line will be relocated along the Southwest Corridor, a six mile path stretching from South Cove in Boston's Chinatown to Forest Hills. The Washington El will then be torn down.

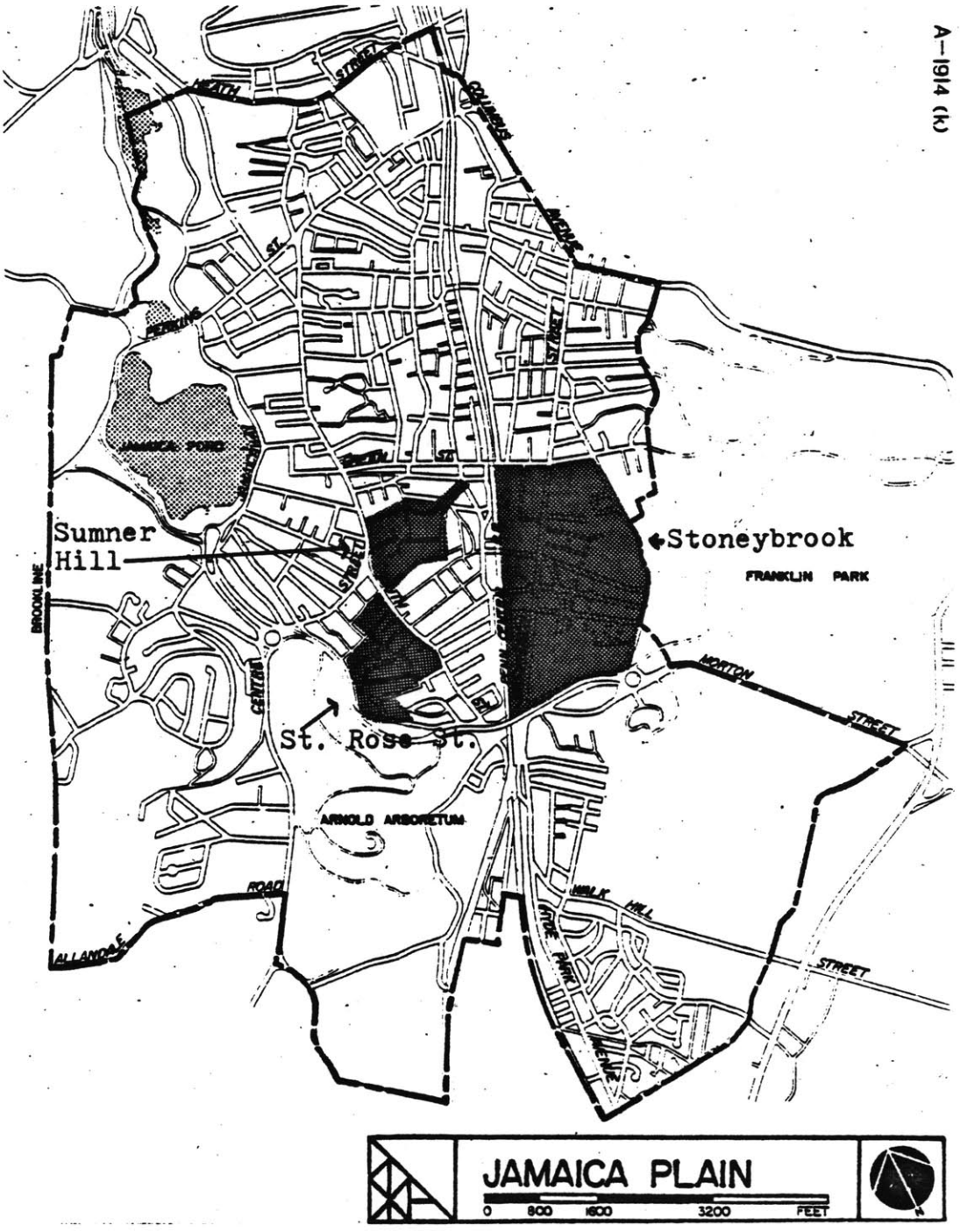
Unlike the El, which was a blighting influence to the sub neighborhoods it crossed, the Southwest Corridor will serve as a magnet for revitalization. Over $600 million will be spent for transit and railway improvements, new streets, and 23 new bridges. In addition, 85 acres of linear corridor park land will extend from the Back Bay to Forest Hills. It will be operated as a state park by the Massachusetts Department of Environmental Management and will include tennis and basketball courts, a bike path, children's play areas, etc. Extensive landscaping is also included in the park's design. In Jamaica Plain, this parkland will provide linkages to both Arnold Arboretum and Franklin Park.

Industrial and commercial space is also being planned along the Corridor. Less industrial and commercial develop-

ment is being planned along the Corridor in Jamaica Plain in order to preserve and to restore this neighborhood's strong residential character. Along land running between the three stations in Jamaica Plain, Boylston Street, Green Street, and Forest Hills Stations, are smaller parcels of land currently planned for housing, retail, and industrial uses (in addition to the linear park).[3]

Such features are responsible for the increased desireability of most sections of Jamaica Plain. Improvements in some of these amenities will certainly affect those sections currently experiencing only slight or no increase in housing demand. The differing housing, infrastructure, and amenities jointly distinguish different sub neighborhoods from one another. For one reason or another, each is becoming more attractive to a different type of person, and then more expensive. Presented below are descriptions of three sub neighborhoods and the reasons why each is or will become subject to increasingly high housing costs.[4]

LOCATION OF THE 3 SUB NEIGHBORHOODS UNDER STUDY



Sumner Hill

The Sumner Hill area offers the classic example of a gentrified neighborhood. In the last five years this neighborhood has witnessed a dramatic population change. Of the streets where property transactions were studied, the increase in professional ownership went from five in 1974 to fifteen in 1979. There was a marked decrease, as well, in the number of retirees, blue collar workers, etc. The overall rental population changed along similar lines. Physically this neighborhood has received a boost in terms of freshly painted homes, structural improvements made by homeowners, and well-kept lawns and gardens.

Located on a hill, Sumner Hill is a small enclave architecturally defined by a large number of lofty wooden Victorian homes. Several neighborhood residents had even discussed the possibility of designating Sumner Hill an historic district. Unlike other sections of Jamaica Plain where two and three family homes predominate, most homes in this section are single family and owner occupied. Many also have a rental unit or two to defray operating costs, but the perception in this neighborhood is one of owner/residents, not tenants. Situated on tree-lined streets with a distinctly suburban flavor, Sumner Hill seems to be set apart from the rest of Boston and Jamaica Plain. Yet the neighborhood was attractive to the newcomers for reasons other than its exclusive architecture. It is across the street from the Pond area and

the stability that area guards. Abutting Centre Street, Sumner Hill is also on the Green Line and next to the "downtown commercial district.

St. Rose Street Area

The St. Rose Street area is a sub neighborhood in the process of change. Due to its housing stock, which is less glamorous than that in Sumner Hill, consisting predominantly of small single and two family homes, and triple deckers, this area won't significantly increase its numbers of professional residents who seem to prefer more upper class housing. Yet it will continue to draw its present mixture of professional, clerical, trades, and student groups, only these subsets will have to pay increasingly higher housing costs.

While the trend towards higher housing prices hasn't permeated this entire sub neighborhood as it has on Sumner Hill, the increased desireability has been felt by many renters, especially on Bardwell and Custer Streets. Here the renters often double and triple up to meet some of the higher monthly rental payments.

This sub neighborhood is seen as increasingly popular because of the following factors: it is locationally, if not architecturally an extension of the more exclusive Pond area; the Arnold Arboretum is across the street; "downtown" Jamaica Plain is within walking distance, and a small strip of stores on South Street also serves this area; and public

transportation direct to a number of Boston schools of higher learning and to the downtown also run along South Street.

Stoneybrook

A third neighborhood to look at is the Stoneybrook section of Jamaica Plain. This is a neighborhood predominantly of triple deckers with some two family homes as well. At first glance, this neighborhood appears blighted because of the Washington Street El and the industrial space bordering parts of Washington Street. Yet, because of other neighborhood amenities, this area should be completely beyond the reach of low and moderate income people within five years. This is particularly important because unlike other sections of Jamaica Plain which in a distant past, at least, housed the upper income, this housing was always for middle and lower income families. This turnover should happen largely because of the future improvement in neighborhood amenities. For this reason, it could become a target for speculation. One Boston area landlord has already purchased several run-down triple deckers in this area. At the same time, this homogeneous section of three family homes will become appealing to middle and upper income people. Some might design, for example, two floors for their own use while leaving one unit to help defray operating expenses.

This entire section should become considerably more desireable and valuable as the Southwest Corridor becomes

active. The Stoneybrook neighborhood will still be only a short walk from at least one of two nearby stops, Forest Hills or Green Street, and immediately accessible to the Arborway for auto transportation. Moreover, within a few years this neighborhood should see a brand new western landscape. With the El down, Washington Street will become revitalized. Perhaps some major professional firms will build or rent offices in Jamaica Plain as center city space becomes more costly. In addition, the Corridor itself will be landscaped with a linear park, and space alonside it will accommodate modern retail, light industrial, or housing uses. East of Stoneybrook is Franklin Park, 587 acres of open space, another locational amenity.

Demography

Jamaica Plain, then, is an area that has attracted and will continue to lure an increasing number of middle and upper middle income people wishing to live in an urban environment. As this process continues, they will compete with the existing population for the same housing. The current population, already under transition, is noted for its diversity; rich and poor, black, white, and hispanic, young and old (see chart on following page).

As this chart indicates, a large segment of Jamaica Plain's population is elderly. As of 1970, 15.4% of its residents were 65 and over. The sub neighborhoods with the largest number of elderly residents were Sumner Hill (23.4%),

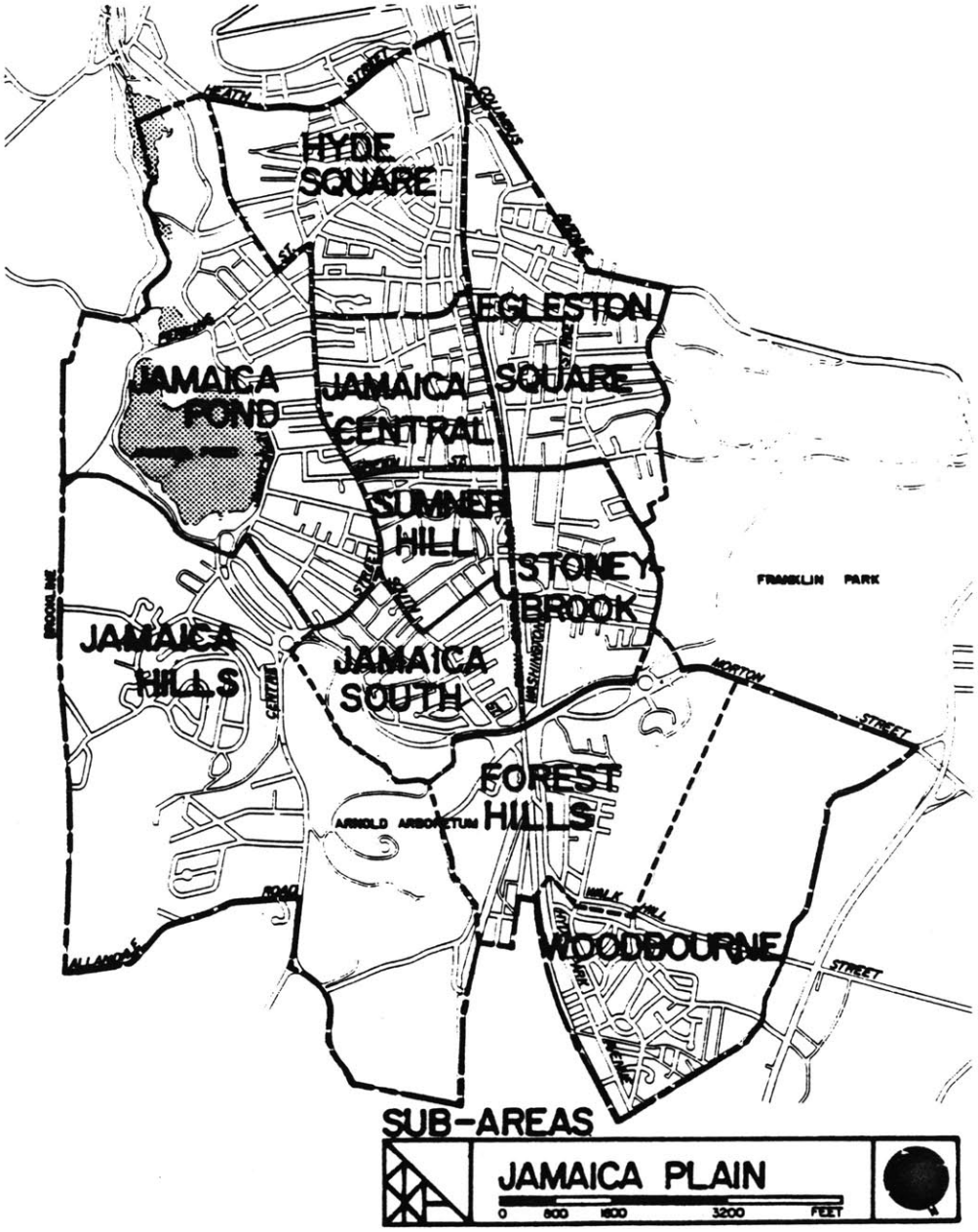
POPULATION OF JAMAICA PLAIN

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS

	Total Pop. 1970	Black Pop. 1970	Spanish Pop. 1970	65 & Over 1970	Total Resid. Struct. 1970	Owner Occ. Struct. 1970	Median Family Income 1970	% Families Below Poverty Level 1970
Egleston Square	7,085	1,087 (15.3%)	1,016 (14.3%)	1,172 (16.5%)	860	566 (65.8%)	$ 7,250	14.5
Forest Hills	2,811	2 (0.0%)	46 (1.6%)	347 (12.3%)	332	245 (73.8%)	$ 9,000	12.5
Hyde Square	10,563	3,078 (29.1%)	1,417 (13.4%)	1,056 (10.0%)	1,076	635 (59.0%)	$ 7,200	22.0
Jamaica Central	4,516	92 (2.0%)	266 (5.9%)	855 (18.9%)	607	428 (70.5%)	$ 9,600	10.0
Jamaica Hills	3,245	24 (0.7%)	15 (0.5%)	463 (14.3%)	720	704 (97.8%)	$ 12,700	2.0
Jamaica Pond	4,500	15 (0.3%)	21 (0.5%)	1,075 (23.6%)	591	486 (82.2%)	$11,000	6.0
Jamaica South	4,187	110 (2.6%)	70 (1.7%)	648 (15.5%)	555	387 (69.7%)	$ 9,000	10.0
Stoney-brook	3,003	157 (5.2%)	183 (6.1%)	350 (11.7%)	306	177 (57.8%)	$ 8,550	12.0
Sumner Hill	2,377	18 (0.8%)	28 (1.2%)	558 (23.5%)	335	226 (67.5%)	$ 9,700	10.0
Wood-bourne	3,188	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	469 (14.7%)	587	540 (92.0%)	$10,500	8.5
District	45,525	4,583 (10.1%)	3,062 (6.7%)	6,993 (15.4%)	5,969	4,394 (73.6%)	—	—
City	641,071	104,206 (16.3%)	17,984 (2.8%)	81,718 (12.7%)	80,700	58,100 (72.0%)	$ 9,133	

Source: Boston Redevelopment Authority, Jamaica Plain, (City of Boston, 1979), p. 6.

SUB NEIGHBORHOODS OF JAMAICA PLAIN AS DEFINED BY BOSTON REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY



Source: Boston Redevelopment Authority, Jamaica Plain, (Boston, MA: City of Boston, 1979), p. 5.

Jamaica Pond (23.6%), and Jamaica Central (18.6%). There are indications that this population has decreased somewhat, but this won't be proven until the 1980 census figures are made available. A recent study conducted by M.I.T. planning students noted that on selected streets in three different neighborhoods, the number of elderly persons had declined.

Ages	Sumner Hill		St. Rose		Mozart	
	1974	1979	1974	1979	1974	1979
70 plus	99	88	167	112	47	42
60-69	87	40	58	73	79	42

This data shows the decline in the elderly population on a limited basis.[5] The reasons for the decline, however, were not explored.

Conclusion

This chapter has tried to explain why Jamaica Plain has increased in popularity as a place to live. The unusual housing stock as well as convenient transportation and other amenities have increased the competition for housing in this area. As the population is shifting, the elderly segment of it appears to have declined. It is evident to the researcher in the field that there are many examples of displacement of the elderly due to reinvestment related reasons, although there may be other reasons for the apparent decrease as well. This chapter makes the point that as a neighborhood is revitalized changes in population occur, and there are indications that the elderly, a group notably on fixed incomes, are vulnerable to displacement.

The next chapter examines existing literature to determine how various policy makers and researchers view displacement. The third chapter looks at how elderly victims of displacement in Jamaica Plain themselves view the experience.

NOTES

1. The following texts provide interesting histories of Jamaica Plain: Alexander von Hoffman, Common Ground (Unpublished Masters thesis, University of Massachusetts at Boston, 1979); Sam Bass Warner, Streetcar Suburbs (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), pp. 35-66; Local histories on display at the City of Boston's branch libraries in Jamaica Plain.

2. Boston Redevelopment Authority, Jamaica Plain (City of Boston, MA, 1979), p. 7.

3. Charles C. Hilgenhurst and Associates, Southwest Corridor Development Plan (Boston, MA; Fall 1979).

4. Much of the Sumner Hill and the St. Rose Street area descriptions were taken from the following unpublished report: M.I.T. Department of Urban Studies and Planning and the Legal Services Institute of Jamaica Plain, "Residential Displacement in Jamaica Plain" (Cambridge, MA; August 21, 1980), Part II, pp. 6-14. This researcher was one of the authors.

5. Ibid., p. 26.

Chapter II: Selected Literature on Displacement and Elderly Relocation

This chapter examines the displacement that occurs due to private market forces. Displacement by or through public actions such as Urban Development Action Grants (UDAG) and Community Development Block Grants (CDBG) are beyond the scope of this paper. Displacement due to private market forces has only recently become a topic under exploration.

The literature on reinvestment related displacement is as controversial as it is new. Much of the literature on displacement originally stemmed from discussions about gentrification and neighborhood revitalization. Displacement was discussed as one consequence of these phenomena. Displacement has been analyzed sporadically since 1974, but the bulk of writings on this subject really began after 1977 when entire articles or publications were devoted to this topic. Two major viewpoints seem to emerge, and much of this chapter will examine displacement as it is seen from these two positions. The remainder of the chapter will focus on literature that deals with displacement of the elderly in particular.

The first view states that displacement due to reinvestment related causes affects relatively small numbers of people in relatively limited geographic areas. It sees revitalization as a blessing and displacement as its only negative consequence. This view is best expressed in articles by Howard Sumka and in the HUD Displacement Report of 1979.

The second view, which is best articulated by Chester Hartman and Conrad Weiler, indicates that displacement is far more widespread and at the neighborhood level is "serious and pervasive." Hartman presents other findings which magnify the problem while condemning and criticizing the evidence Sumka uses that "belittles" the problem. In addition, Conrad Weiler warns HUD against weighing the costs and benefits of neighborhood revitalization against displacement. He suggests that there may be more negative consequences to revitalization than only displacement and suggests that revitalization be examined more closely before it is encouraged to proceed unchecked.[1]

To better understand the writings on displacement, it is important to look more closely at a variety of issues on displacement and how they are viewed by each side. The next few pages will examine how each side looks at the definition of displacement, whom it affects, and the extent of the problem.

Definition

A very important difference between the two sides is definitional. Conrad Weiler labels displacement due to neighborhood revitalization as reinvestment displacement or "the displacement of lower income residents from older city neighborhoods directly or indirectly resulting from the movement into the neighborhood by higher income residents."[2] It is important to note that many groups and individuals label the phenomenon merely as displacement although they feel the problem stems from revitalization. For example, the National Urban Coalition's study, Displacement, Neighborhoods in Transition looks at this problem as a result of revitalization.[3]

In another case, a neighborhood organization called the Jamaica Plain Coalition To Stop Displacement defines the problem as "the involuntary removal of residents from their homes by political, social, or economic forces beyond their control." This all inclusive definition refers to displacement for reasons other than reinvestment, such as abandonment, natural disasters, and public causes. It can be noted, however, that the Coalition was formed because of a fear that an influx of upper income residents and increased development would threaten traditional housing arrangements for long-time and low income Jamaica Plain residents.[4]

On the other hand, the all inclusive definition of

displacement used by HUD is meant to be a reminder that displacement due to reinvestment must be put in its proper perspective.

> Because of the current spotlight on displacement caused by revitalization and reinvestment in urban neighborhoods, it is easy to forget that displacement is a common and continual process in housing markets. Dwelling units which have been poorly maintained or damaged by fire or natural forces are removed from the housing stock by demolition. Other buildings are converted to nonresidential use. Inflation of housing costs can raise rents, forcing out lower income tenants period. Homeowners faced with extraordinary expenses or rising taxes may be unable to cover costs. In all of these circumstances, the result is a dislocation --a forced move--displacement.[5]

The HUD report does not settle on any one definition, but appears most comfortable with the definition used by George and Eunice Grier in their report Urban Displacement: A Reconnaissance.

> Displacement occurs when any household is forced to move from its residence by conditions which affect the dwelling or its immediate surroundings, and which:
>
> 1. are beyond the household's reasonable ability to control or prevent;
> 2. occur despite the household's having met all previously-imposed conditions of occupancy; and
> 3. make continued occupancy by that household impossible, hazardous, or unaffordable.[6]

This definition, then, includes most causes of displacement. The Griers' report lists twenty-six causes of displacement (see chart). And the HUD report reminds the reader "that in limited instances" displacement is caused by

SOME CONDITIONS RESULTING IN DISPLACEMENT IN URBAN NEIGHBORHOODS*

Abandonment
Accidental fire
Airport construction or expansion
Arson
Code enforcement (including overcrowding)
Conversion of rental apartments to condominiums
Demolition to make way for new housing
Demolition for safety or health reasons
Foreclosure
Highway or transit construction or expansion
Historic Area designation
Institutional expansion (universities, hospitals, etc.)
Military base expansion
Partition sales
Planning and zoning decisions (including decisions still in process which "leak" to real estate industry)
Natural disaster (flood, hurricane, tornado, earthquake, etc.)
Public building construction
Redlining
Rehabilitation (private-market)
Rehabilitation (publicly-aided)
Renovation of public housing
Rising market prices and rents
Rising assessments and tax rates
School construction
Urban renewal
Withdrawal of public or private services from neighborhood or structure

*from Urban Displacement: A Reconnaissance by Eunice S. Grier and George Grier, p. 2.

revitalization.[7]

Thus, the definition of displacement explains how each side views the problem. Those that see reinvestment displacement as a significant problem feel it is important enough to isolate and to address as a separate topic. Those that see displacement from reinvestment related causes as a more minimal problem put it under the umbrella of all causes of displacement, where, to them, it plays only a small role as one cause of all involuntary moves.

This paper is focusing on displacement caused by reinvestment and therefore will not use the all inclusive definition. Instead, the following will be used: Displacement is the involuntary removal of residents from their homes because of private market forces.

Who is Affected

Another controversy centers around who is displaced. Neither side gives a clear picture, but Hartman and Weiler would lead the reader to believe that, more often than not, low and moderate income people are hurt the most.[8] Milton Kotler, Executive Director of the National Association of Neighborhoods (NAN), stated in yet another article critical of unchecked revitalization, "While many people...are singing the praises of an urban revitalization movement, the social and economic costs of this movement are being born by low and moderate income residents and minorities."[9]

HUD and Sumka are cautious about stating that low income people and minorities are bearing the brunt of revitalization. The poor are not the only people, they feel, who are forced to move. Perhaps many people who can well afford it must move because of market forces. Sumka states that revitalization does not always affect low and moderate income people. Revitalization occurs in less deteriorated areas where more displacees are bound to be middle income. Also, much rehab focuses on vacant or abandoned housing and in those cases no one is forced to move. Sumka feels, then, that people should not jump to conclusions about who is hurt the most because few studies have tracked down displacees and looked closely at their socioeconomic levels.[10]

The Displacement Report says certain groups are adversely affected by a forced move, but it does not emphasize who is most victimized by displacement. Groups in this category are the elderly, minority, renter, working class, and blue collar households. It does not claim they are affected more than anyone else nor does it give actual statistics. For example, the elderly have low and fixed incomes, and finding replacement housing that is affordable while also meeting their strict locational criteria would be difficult.[11] Although these people suffer individual hardships, however, the report does not claim they bear the brunt of the process as a group.

A recent study by the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA), Condominium Development in Boston also implies that the elderly, and low and moderate income residents are not bearing the brunt of displacement, at least from condominium conversions. Although longtime (those living in the same apartment for three or more years) tenants who were 50 years or over initially were the largest group to be displaced because of condominium conversions in downtown Boston, the affected cohort has changed in recent years (since 1978). The group now affected seems to be a young, affluent group of renters with few roots in the community. Primarily working individuals and couples with no dependents and therefore higher disposable incomes, it is implicit that this subset should have less trouble in finding replacement housing.

There is also some indication, these authors believe, that the elderly are not being displaced in large numbers in other parts of Boston as a result of condominium conversions. In the non downtown sections of Boston, more of the conversions occur in buildings with large numbers of elderly. However, these tenants, especially in recent years, have been more likely to purchase their units and are therefore not displaced. The group that has been hurt the worst is the lodging house population. But this group, according to the BRA report, "...has not aroused the sympathies that displacement of those with more middle class lifestyles has..." [12]

The Extent of Displacement

The two sides use different facts to explain the extent of the displacement problem. At times, they may use the same findings although they interpret the numbers differently.

Before Sumka cites evidence about the scope of displacement, he makes it very clear that very little is known about the magnitude of this problem. "Metropolitan data on these questions are sparse, and national data are almost nonexistant." He further adds that many studies are impressionistic and are based on the biases of their authors.[13]

The Sumka article and the HUD Displacement Report use findings from two studies to indicate the presently small nature of displacement. The first study was conducted by Gloria Cousar and is based on data from the Annual Housing Survey. Between 1974 and 1976, this study states, that over one half million households were displaced, and almost two thirds of them were households from metropolitan areas. This number is quickly put into perspective; it represents only four per cent of all people who move. Therefore, the vast majority of households move voluntarily, and the number who move involuntarily is minimized.[14] Sumka describes this study as biased on two counts. First, it undercounts the number of displaced people because households that moved because of rent increases are not included. Second, it overcounts the number of involuntary movers by counting all evictions as forced moves. Normally, only evictions where the tenant was not at

fault would be considered moves to displacements.[15]

Urban Displacement: A Reconnaissance by Charles and Eunice Grier is another report used by Sumka and HUD as additional proof that displacement due to spontaneous revitalization is low. This study estimates that fewer than one or two hundred households are directly displaced per year "in most places." In cities like Washington, D.C. and San Francisco where unusually large numbers of households are displaced due to revitalization, the Griers give the upper bound estimates of them at probably in the low thousands.[16]

Those that consider displacement a pervasive and severe problem also cite evidence to support their findings. Hartman looks at the same Annual Housing Survey and comes to a different conclusion. Unlike Sumka who downgrades one half million forced moves by saying they are only four percent of the total moves Hartman says 500,000 displaced households is a very significant figure in itself. Moreover, he feels that the half million is more likely one and a half to two million. Like Sumka, he takes issue with the study but criticizes it for understating the problem. First, the study did not include rent increases as a cause of displacement when increasing rent is a leading cause of all displacements.

Second, Hartman disputes that including all evictions as displacements is overcounting the problem. The exclusion

of "invisible" evictions (e.g. harrassment, arson, lack of maintenance) more than makes up for any extra evictions that are not really displacements. Hartman cites a San Francisco study stating that formal evictions tripled in that city between 1971 and 1978 and which puts informal evictions at twice that number. He also cites Washington D.C. Rental Accommodations Office estimate that over the next four years 100,000 (or one seventh of the City's entire population) will be displaced by market forces.

In addition, Hartman uses his vast personal familiarity with San Francisco for evidence of the pervasiveness of displacement. "Housing speculation, spiraling rents, condominium conversions, lack of new construction, and evictions," he states, "...spell trouble for lower income and in some instances, higher income residents." [17]

Both Sumka and Hartman are interpreting the same report in different ways as they use it as a basis to refute each other. At the same time both agree the report's figures are incomplete in the first place.

It becomes clear that the amount of reinvestment related displacement is much larger than what HUD and Sumka believe although neither side can state the magnitude of displacement or which individuals are affected the most with great specificity. Reinvestment areas to HUD and Sumka are the relatively small geographic entities where newcomers of a higher socioeconomic level have replaced the previous residents of a lower socioeconomic status. The reinvestment related displacement areas they refer to seem to have been lifted from the Grier report.[18] They use that part which minimizes the areas affected, namely "the reinvestment related" section. They ignore the part on large displacement, in which the Griers discuss "overall market shifts."

The Griers say that overall market shifts appear to be more powerful than reinvestment (or disinvestment) in localized neighborhoods, but in analyzing the Griers' report no real connections are made between the two "different" phenomena. In fact, the Griers make strong distinctions between forces which minimize the magnitude of reinvestment related displacement and displacement due to overall market forces. They state that housing costs more today because of inflation, rising utilities, and maintenance. They further maintain that as some other units through abandonment and other causes leave the market and replacement housing is not built, increased competition drives up housing costs and dis-

placement increases as a result. The Griers distinguish this "economic competition" from reinvestment (or gentrifying) caused displacement. In gentrifying neighborhoods substantial investments are involved in restoring rundown property. In economic competition, sound older units are purchased but the property is not necessarily improved.[19] Furthermore, in the areas characterized by economic competition, a higher socioeconomic group may not replace a lower one, but similar people may merely have to spend more for housing. For example, two nurses may currently have to share one floor of a three decker due to inflation, increased housing costs, etc., whereas several years ago, one nurse may have been able to afford the apartment.

Although displacement due to economic competition is not viewed as reinvestment displacement by the Griers, it is still displacement. It is an important cause of displacement in revitalizing areas, especially as seen in Jamaica Plain. For it is near gentrifying neighborhoods or existing public and private amenities that economic competition is the greatest, although the Griers dismiss this connection. Because gentrification and economic competition are often dovetailed, displacement affects more people than Sumka would lead the reader to believe.

As an example, the Griers mention displacement caused by condominium conversion as one type of private market occur-

rence which is distinct from an example of reinvestment. Unlike the displacement caused in gentrifying areas where professionals replace longtime nonprofessional residents, the former tenants often stay on to purchase their unit. Of course, other tenants will be forced to move. It is interesting to note that of the two apartment buildings in Jamaica Plain that are currently being converted into condominiums, one is on the fringes of the more exclusive Pond section and calls itself Pond Walk.
The other is ensconced in the Pond area in an architecturally interesting building. It is called Pondside Condominiums. Part of the appeal in making an investment in one of these condominiums is that they are in neighborhoods that nearby gentrification helps make desirable and where they will appreciate in value.

In rental units as well, the rents are often almost as high and even higher, in units next to gentrified areas or nearby attractive physical amenities such as a park. For example, the rents on some of the streets behind the Victorian mansions of Sumner Hill can be exorbitant even if these units don't have the large windows or high ceilings of their restored and gentrified neighbors. On the other hand, areas without gentrification or amenities are much less affected by "economic competition." Costs may have increased somewhat in the northern parts of Jamaica Plain, but this area has not yet

caught up to other sections of Jamaica Plain where economic competition is keener. In the Mozart Triangle area it was found that rents in decontrolled apartments were not much different from units in the same neighborhoods that were still under rent control.[20] This is one indication that this area, abutted by both a large public housing project which is thirty per cent vacant and by vacant lots which were cleared ten years ago for the Southwest Corridor, has not yet been hit as strongly by the inflation and increased housing costs which the Griers have addressed.

In nongentrified areas, much of the economic competition is brought on not only by inflation and increased housing costs as the Griers maintain, but also by reinvestment related activities. Whether or not an individual is displaced by a young professional or by another blue collar worker spending more of his income on housing, the cause of displacement is still reinvestment related. Another look at the St. Rose Street area of Jamaica Plain may make this point clearer. This area will never gentrify in the same manner that Sumner Hill did. The housing is newer, less extraordinary and therefore not the kind that owners can restore to the original elegance of a bygone area. Yet the area is fast becoming increasingly desireable for reasons described in Chapter I (proximity to the Arnold Arboretum and mass transit, and the fact that it borders on the Jamaica Pond area). Non-

professionals are paying more for this housing now and for many reasons are replacing the same types of individuals who were displaced from gentrifying neighborhoods. To exclude these areas when discussing reinvestment related displacement is to ignore the larger issue of which gentrification is a part.

Effect on Displacee

A final issue that must be discussed is the effect of displacement on the displacee. Whether or not the extent of displacement is as great as some believe, the hardships placed on displacees warrent attention. There is, however, very little current policy and planning material on this topic.

Hartman feels there is an ample amount of literature about the effects of displacement from the urban renewal days. Most of the literature discusses the effects of displacement from public action, but there is no reason to assume, he believes, that the "fate of the present day displacee is any different."[21] These findings are listed below:

--a large percentage of forced movers relocated to substandard housing

--rent increases experienced by 80-85% of relocatees

--severe psychological and social costs

--worse housing conditions and higher costs for minorities who, due to the discriminatory nature of the housing market, fared worse[22]

Hartman concludes that the cumulative effects of all of this can be devastating.

"Grieving for a Lost Home," by Marc Fried, is one of the classic articles documenting the suffering that many working-class families endured when they were forced, by urban renewal, to move from their homes in Boston's West End. Fried states that many relocatees expressed reactions of "grief" after moving. These expressions of grief

> are manifest in the feelings of painful loss, the continued longing, the general depressive, frequent symptoms of psychological or social somatic distress, the active work required in adapting to the altered situation, the sense of helplessness, the occasional expressions of both direct and displaced anger, and tendencies to idealize the lost place.[23]

A major finding in this article is that the extent of the grief reaction suffered by relocatees is a function of prior orientations to the West End. The greater a person's pre location commitment to an area, the more likely he is to react with market grief. In addition, a spatial familiarity of the area often meant the individual had a greater commitment to the neighborhood.[24]

Sumka argues that "little systematic knowledge exists about its (displacement's) magnitude or its effects on dislocated populations." He doesn't deny that urban renewal literature exists on displacement, but feels that today's problem stems from a different source, affects different kinds of housing, and different people.[25] This displacement issue, which in some cases must, to Sumka, be alleged dis-

placement because it affects homes that were often previously vacant and abandoned, stems from private market and not government activities. Whereas urban renewal affected mostly low income people, the current victims may not only be low income, but also moderate income people in less deteriorated neighborhoods.[26]

When Sumka does discuss the effects, both the studies he cites that are more systematic and those that aren't imply that the effects of displacement on those who experience it are not severe. The only study that he feels has done a systematic analysis of displacees is a 1976 study by the Development Economics Group on condominium conversions. In this study individuals who were forced to move were tracked down and interviewed about their replacement housing. This study found that "by and large" displacees were able to find homes of similar cost and size nearby their old housing. Most were able to remain in the city and in the same or adjacent neighborhoods. Two thirds were able to find a new home within a month after the housing search began.[27]

In another instance, he discusses a less systematic study by Tim Pattison (less systematic because its conclusions are drawn primarily from two Boston area case studies) of a revitalizing neighborhood in Boston where several homeowners were happy to realize capital gains from the sale of their homes, enabling them to move to the suburbs.[28] Although this evidence suggests that some benefit from revitalization,

it hardly touches on what revitalization does for the displaced renter who does not gain financially from the sale of the home where he had rented a unit. It also says nothing about the homeowner who is forced to sell because increased property taxes prevented him from remaining where he is. In cases where an owner is forced to sell because of financial straits, it is possible that the seller won't even be able to find an affordable suburban home, expecially one where local property taxes are low. In fact, this particular excerpt from Pattison's thesis doesn't even address displacement at all.

Later in the same section, however, Pattison notes that

> Most incumbent homeowners appear to have reacted favorably to the influx of newcomers...But owner occupied properties did not constitute a large proportion of all structures in Bay Village.[29]

According to Pattison, much of the housing in Bay Village had been lodging houses and not all of it had been of poor quality. He concludes that the reduced supply of rooming houses spelled displacement for the lower income rental population and was a "characteristic of the Bay Village upgrading process."[30] The renovated buildings, although including some rental units went beyond the reach of low income people.

Sumka does list other evidence taken from case studies that suggest a scattered evidence of the results of displacement. This material states that displacees move short distances, usually within the neighborhood or nearby.

Furthermore, this evidence states that some families move more than once as they become displaced, when the homes they have moved to are eventually swept up by the gentrification movement.[31] Sumka doesn't suggest that this places any hardship on the victims of displacement.

Gerontology Literature

There is also an increasing body of gerontological literature that must be examined in order to get a better understanding about the effects of displacement. Those who deal exclusively with the elderly find the problem of displacement to be of greater concern than did Sumka. There is little disagreement that some individuals who relocate experience disruptions in their relationships of the past and present, and in their spatio-temporal orientations. There is, of course, a mixture of opinions as to how severe these disruptions are to the individual and to the pervasiveness of the problem.

In her article, "Environmental Events Predicting Death for the Elderly," Kay Rowlands summarizes much of this literature. Many studies have noted a connection between relocation and increased instances of deaths. She discusses the classic study on this topic Aldrich and Mendkoff which found that the death rate in the first three months after relocation was significantly higher after which it returned to what it had been during the previous ten years. Other studies have reported similar findings but are more open to challenge

because of biased methodologies.[32]

Rowlands notes that literature on the effects of relocation may be divided into two categories. One view purports that relocations lead to declines in all elderly. In particular, one study found that although healthy elderly persons don't necessarily die after being relocated, they may suffer adverse effects. Therefore, individuals in relatively good health get sick and those who are in poor health become more sick and may even die. Other factors predicting death after relocation may include severe brain syndrome, and personality characteristics such as depression, prior to the move. The other view maintains that persons in good health may benefit from the move even though such a move may hasten death for individuals who are physically impaired.[33]

In another study in which involuntary moves were made from an urban renewal area to a housing project for the elderly, deleterious consequences in life adjustment were reported. Some of the post relocation results included: a greater degree of "life dissatisfaction," a decline in health for residents who were in poor health prior to the move, and lower levels of activity and fewer social contacts.[34]

There are some factors that may prevent this literature from being used to authoritatively describe displacement, even while it certainly indicates many consequences of relocation that should not be ignored. First, many gerontological

studies often compare moves from one institution to another or from a a market rate unit to an institution. Very few studies exist, with the exception of urban renewal literature, which discuss moves from one market rate unit to another which is the type of move that often occurs with a displacement. It is far easier to study groups of people when the names and personal data are easily supplied from material from a waiting list or an occupancy list at an institution. It is also easier for a researcher to get the cooperation of these elderly who can be encouraged to participate by the institution's staff. In addition, in order for a study to be considered "statistically significant," a number of people are needed for both a test group and a control group. Finally, where "scientific samples" are needed to prove credibility, names that can be provided through institutions enable these studies to be more timely, less expensive, and possible.

In contrast, it is far more difficult, expensive, and perhaps impossible to do surveys on a large scale of this sort, on individuals who move from one private market unit to another or to housing for the elderly. Data on all outmovers must be collected to determine which outmovers were actually displaced. The most reliable way to obtain this information is by interviewing the outmover, but it is often difficult or impossible to track down these indivi-

Moreover, it is particularly difficult to get these individuals (especially elderly outmovers) to cooperate in this kind of study. To study the effects of such a move in any detail, the researcher must obtain personal and sometimes painful information that the relocatee may not want to reveal.

Second, these studies may not be completely analogous to private market displacement because it might be assumed that the latter group of elderly people are more healthy than those studied by gerontologists who get their "subjects" from nursing homes and other institutional settings. A third reason may be that many studies don't distinguish between voluntary and involuntary moves.

Whether or not all moves cause health decline, it is obvious that some individuals will be hurt more than others by displacement. For each individual, adjustment to relocation depends on the interaction of personal and situational factors.[35] Some criteria used to predict how well an individual will adjust to a new environment in one particular study were levels of income and education, degree of senility, desire for informal activities.[36]

A view which, according to Rowland, needs to be substantiated is that mortality rates may be lowered if the individual feels the move was voluntary and if the degree of change between the old and new environment is not great.[37] Displacement

is a forced move, and even if not always causing deaths, it creates a degree of stress for people who are infirm as well some amount to even healthy people. Circumstances under which displacement occurs (e.g. harrassment and arson) are bound to make these forced moves traumatic for some. Even a thirty day notice to vacate the premises might be a jarring experience. Finally, displacement can also occur when elderly persons are undergoing personal crises (e.g. the displaced person may be caring for a terminally ill spouse). At these times, a displacement can heighten a crisis an individual is already experiencing.

Also, although many gerontological studies are about relocations from nursing homes, it is important to remember that nursing homes do not have a monopoly on the sick and frail. Some elderly persons living independently who are forced to move suffer from some degree of senility, or have recently recovered from an illness and haven't regained their full strength. These people will have a difficult time coping with displacements.

Fourth, many gerontological studies have examined only the effects of a move, rather than all stages of the displacement process (from the actual cause of the move and its effect on the individual to adjusting to a new environment). In "Relocation of the Elderly," Yawney and Slover attempt to describe what they consider to be the three stages of

relocation: the decision and preparation stage, the impact stage, and the settling-in stage. The article states that events prior to the move, although not leading to death, may cause prelocation stress which may precipitate increased mortality or physical and social disabilities later on.[38] In addition,

> There is a high level of mobilization during this stage. A sense of helplessness and powerlessness mixed with anxiety has been observed more frequently among older people awaiting institutionalization than among long-term institutional residents. In many cases, there is a tendency toward depression, withdrawal, and lowered self-esteem.[39]

More literature than can be examined in this chapter exists on relocation of the elderly. Much of the literature would suggest that displacement has severe consequences on at least some who experience it once, let alone on those who experience it more often.

More studies must be undertaken to determine what it is like for individuals outside of institutional settings who are displaced. Without either the professional help or the strong emotional or physical support of a caring family, or other factors, some of these individuals may suffer more than is currently realized.

NOTES

1. Conrad Weiler, NAN Handbook on Reinvestment Displacement: The Public Role in a New Housing Issue, A project of the NAN Task Force on Housing and Community Development (Washington, D.C.: National Association of Neighborhoods, February 1979), pp. 32-52.

2. Ibid., p. 1.

3. The National Urban Coalition, Displacement: City Neighborhoods in Transition (Washington, D.C., July 1978), p.2.

4. Knowledge of the Coalition's history and its definition of displacement is known because this researcher regularly attended Coalition meetings.

5. Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research, Displacement Report (Washington, D.C., February 1979), p. 4.

6. Ibid., p. 5.

7. Ibid., p. 7.

8. Chester Hartman, "Comment on 'Neighborhood Revitalization and Displacement: A Review of the Evidence,' " APA Journal (October 1979), p. 488; Weiler, NAN Handbook on Reinvestment Displacement, pp. 1-7.

9. Milton Kotler, "Is Residential Displacement a Critical Urban Problem?" Urban Concerns (February/March 1980), p. 31. Howard Sumka's reply to whether or not residential displacement is a serious problem is also part of this article.

10. Howard Sumka, "The Ideology of Urban Analysis," APA Journal (October 1979), p. 493.

11. HUD, Displacement Report, p. 24.

12. Boston Redevelopment Authority, Condominium Development in Boston (Boston, MA, Septe mber 1980), pp. 71-79.

13. Howard Sumka, "Neighborhood Revitalization and Displacement," APA Journal (October 1979), p. 481.

14. Ibid., p. 484; HUD, Displacement Report, p. 17.

15. Sumka, "Neighborhood Displacement," p. 484.

16. Eunice S. Grier and George Grier, Urban Displacement: A Reconnaissance, Report prepared for the Office of Housing and Urban Development (Washington, D.C., February 1978), p. 19.

17. Hartman, "Comment on 'Neighborhood Revitalization,' " p. 489.

18. HUD, Displacement Report, p. 21; Sumka, "Neighborhood Displacement," p. 484.

19. Grier, Urban Displacement, pp. 5-8; pp. 17-18.

20. M.I.T., Department of Urban Studies and Planning and the Legal Services Institute of Jamaica Plain, "Residential Displacement in Jamaica Plain" (Unpublished paper, M.I.T., August 21, 1980), pp. 22, 29.

21. Hartman, "Comments on 'Neighborhood Revitalization,' " p. 490.

22. Chester Hartman, "The Housing of Relocated Families," Journal of the American Institute of Planners (November 1964), pp. 270-275.

23. Marc Fried, "Grieving for a Lost Home," The Urban Condition, Edited by Leonard Duhl (New York: Basic Books, 1963), p. 151.

24. Ibid., pp. 154-156.

25. Sumka, "Neighborhood Revitalization," p. 481.

26. Ibid., p. 483.

27. Ibid., p. 485.

28. Ibid., p. 486.

29. Pattison, Timothy James, The Process of Neighborhood Upgrading and Gentrification: An Examination of Two Neighborhoods in the Boston Metropolitan Area (unpublished Masters thesis, M.I.T., 1977), p. 139.

30. Ibid., p. 140.

31. "Neighborhood Revitalization," p. 485.

32. Kay F. Rowlands, "Environmental Events Predicting Death for the Elderly," Psychological Bulletin, Vol. 84, No. 2 (1977), p. 361.

33. Ibid., p. 362.

34. Frederick N. Brand and Richard D. Smith, "Life Adjustment and Relocation of the Elderly," Journal of Gerontology, Vol 29, No. 3 (1974), p. 340.

35. Frances M. Carp, "Short-Term and Long-Term Prediction of Adjustment to a New Environment," Journal of Gerontology, Vol. 29, No. 4 (1974), p. 444.

36. Carp, Ibid., pp. 447-450.

37. Rowland, "Environmental Events Predicting Death," p. 361.

38. Beverly A. Yawney and Darrell L. Slover, "Relocation of the Elderly," Social Work (May 1973), p. 87.

39. Ibid., p. 87.

Chapter III: The Effects of Displacement on Elderly Renters in Jamaica Plain: A Study

This chapter discusses the results of a survey which was undertaken to get a better understanding of the effects of displacement on the elderly. It presents this information, obtained at the neighborhood level, in a manner different from most of the arguments discussed in Chapter II. Whereas those authors tried to dramatize or minimize the problem of displacement by determining the numbers of people affected, this survey tried to determine the extent of the problem in terms of the severity of the impact on the individuals involved. The bulk of displacement literature, as summarized in Chapter II mainly deals with displacees after resettlement, whereas this chapter focuses on the problem as an entire process, both prior to and after one has moved to the new unit. This study carefully analyzes the displacees' opinions and experiences throughout the whole event, using the methodology described in the appendix.

The first part of this chapter looks at the post relocation housing and examines the displacee's levels of satisfaction with it. The second part looks at the displacement process prior to resettlement. The topics in this section include: emotional reactions throughout, the search for new housing, and the difficulties involved in the actual move itself.

POST RELOCATION EXPERIENCE

This part of the study is based on interviews with fifteen households that had been relocated.[1] After analyzing the interviews, it seemed the levels of satisfaction were based on three components. These were, first, the condition and layout of the new unit, and second, their attachment to the immediate vicinity. The third component was their attachment to a whole neighborhood with its institutions such as a church, Senior Citizens group, and shops, whether the attachment was to the new neighborhood or the same one to which ties had been maintained.

The eight individuals in seven households who were satisfied with their replacement housing responded positively to all three categories. The five relocatees who were dissatisfied responded negatively to at least two of these categories. In addition, there were three individuals who didn't fit comfortably into either group. Although they appreciated their replacement housing, they felt indifferent to it, and

missed certain features of former homes. They responded negatively to at least one of the three categories.

A Word About Cost

Cost seemed to be an indirect measure of an individual's level of satisfaction with replacement housing. While people didn't discuss cost as a strength or weakness of their replacement housing, cost was certainly an important criterion used in selecting one's new unit. In particular, individuals who left Jamaica Plain did so because they were unable to find decent housing at a reasonable cost in Jamaica Plain. Although findings from these interviews suggest that displaced people often find housing that is similar in cost or even less expensive, it is unwise to conclude that people are buying the same amount of housing for the money. Four of the twelve respondents who were paying the same or less for their housing moved to subsidized housing where their rent amounted to one quarter of their income. In addition, four individuals who were paying similar or lower housing costs moved to units that had two or fewer rooms than did their former units. Of the four persons who were paying at least $85 more in rent per month, two moved to units with one less room.

Thus people seemed to select their own method for coping with the higher costs of housing. They either paid what the market demanded, moved into subsidized housing, moved to an area where they wouldn't have looked otherwise to get cheaper housing, or moved to a smaller unit.

Satisfied: Housing Unit

Seven of the displaced individuals were very satisfied with their replacement housing. The units they moved to were an improvement over the housing they had left. When asked if one woman missed her former housing she replied, "When you get rich you are glad you are not poor anymore." These individuals liked the condition of the "new" housing, the immediate vicinity, and with the exception of one person who began to identify more with her new neighborhood, remained committed to Jamaica Plain.

All individuals moved to homes that were in better condition than their former homes, which most often had deteriorated substantially over time. In many cases, the replacement housing they moved to was in similar condition to their former housing at the time they moved in. For the last two years of his tenure at a boarding house, for example, an older man witnessed both the physical and environmental decline occurring there. He claimed that the new owner, "who was interested in the fast buck," didn't screen the new lodgers who were becoming "crazies" and alcoholics, nor did he make any repairs or improvements to the house. Although attractive when he first moved in, the house had become so rundown that he left in fear that it would burn down (which it did shortly afterwards).

It is also interesting to note that three individuals moved to recently completed (within the last year and a half)

subsidized housing. Their units were in immaculate buildings. The apartments were spaicious, private, and contained adequate storage space. They were new enough to have taken advantage of some recent findings on elderly needs and preferences.

Immediate Vicinity

These individuals were satisfied with the location of their replacement housing. The sub neighborhoods were often attractive, and close to shopping facilities or the mass transit needed to get there. In several instances, people felt they had moved to different sub neighborhoods that were either more secure or more convenient than former areas. One woman, for example, had lived on a street which she felt was in transition. Many of the longtime residents were leaving and were being replaced by younger students, many sharing the units with two or more people. She was able to move about three blocks down to an area she felt was similar to what hers had been like a few years before.

Another woman was able to move to subsidized housing on Mason Street in downtown Boston, in view of the Boston Common. During the interview, she pointed to a building opposite from hers and explained that it was luxury housing costing $600 per month and the apartments were not any better than hers. She had pride in her new building and appreciated the convenient location, one that put her near the Massachusetts General Hospital and the North End where she does much of her food shopping.

A most important feature of the replacement housing for these seven satisfied households was that each had been able to establish personal attachments with other people in their buildings or on their street, or to maintain existing friendships. Although it is the individual who must ultimately meet people, there were factors that made this easier. First, several persons stayed in areas where they already had social ties. Second, others moved to streets or apartment buildings where there were individuals that were "similar" to themselves. Similarity refers to being of the same age group, a longtime resident, a person known over the years, or having the same interests. In one instance, the social situation one woman found in newly constructed elderly housing was far superior to that in her old neighborhood where many of her friends had either died or moved out. She was now in the company of a Pastor who had taught her in the eighth grade, a former dancing teacher who had taught her asa child in Roxbury, and other friends with whom she currently attends Senior Citizens lunches at the Agassiz Community School in Jamaica Plain.

Third, several of these more satisfied respondents moved to areas where they felt secure enough to walk outside, to sit out on a front porch and converse with people. Finally, in some cases, these individuals were in situations where they had either built up some type of friendship with the landlord or where they got along well with the management or landlord.

The Importance of Neighborhood

It is difficult to know how important a continued presence in Jamaica Plain was for these respondents, as five of the seven who were satisfied after being displaced were able to stay within Jamaica Plain. Two sisters who had to move to Roslindale because they couldn't find affordable housing in a desireable location in Jamaica Plain did like their new location, but most of their time during the day was spent in Jamaica Plain at their church or social club. Although the importance of neighborhood became clearer when individuals who were dissatisfied with their replacement housing discussed what they missed about their old neighborhood, those who were satisfied were also able to point out some of its importance.

The neighborhood offered an individual many social contacts that gave him both a feeling of belonging and a sense of purpose. In a close knit urban environment where an individual could recognize "every third person" on Centre Street, daily chores could become social events. A longtime Jamaica Plain resident described an ordinary afternoon on the commercial strip of Centre Street: He may first have a snack at Brighams and then cross the street and buy a bottle of liquor at Blanches. He'll go to the Post Office for stamps, recognize a few friends, and go to some of the smaller stores where he shops and visits with the store owners. He never goes to Centre Street, he claims, without seeing someone he knows. On the way home, he'll stop into Costello's, a place where he

knows "everyone" for a drink. While walking towards home, he may also meet a grandchild or two as they ride past him on bicycles.

The ability to retain ties in Jamaica Plain was important to the satisfied outmover. Individuals who were able to make frequent trips back to Jamaica Plain to visit friends and see familiar neighborhood landmarks, or individuals who were likely to run into friends on common ground outside of Jamaica Plain seemed more satisfied than outmovers who were forced to sever their ties to their former community completely. Being able to keep broader neighborhood ties probably made it easier for people to adjust to new sub neighborhoods within Jamaica Plain as well. Whether staying in or moving out of Jamaica Plain, these people had the luxury of adjusting to a new environment while maintaining a continuity (and a source of support) with the past. Therefore, these people were not alone when settling into a new place.

Attach ments to various institutions also strengthened one's commitment and sense of belonging to a community. They offered a familiar setting where friends could visit, exchange news, and receive help from supportive friends. Three individuals who participated in this survey found housing from friends or staff people because they regularly attended Sr. Citizens activities and discussed their evictions with people who led them to other housing. In the same way, valuable information was passed along at these or church group meetings. For

example, one woman learned that one almost automatically received a six month extension on an eviction notice, even if the notice itself gave the tenant only 30 days to vacate. Similarly, an individual could get the same benefits from private institutions, like bars, as one respondent explained,

> I go to MacDonalds (a bar in Jamaica Plain) everyday for lunch and stay there for a few hours afterwards. All my cronies are there; without them I'd be lost. I'm not interested in the old ladies activities in Jamaica Plain like the Sr. Citizens lunches although I joined them for a lunch which was held to observe Veterans and Thanksgiving Days.

Several of these respondents noted that they had had misgivings, at least initially, about moving to their replacement housing. These problems were soon forgotten, however, as other features of the new housing compensated for any loss that came with moving. In one instance, a woman was forced to move from the third floor of a triple decker in which her children and grandchildren rented the two lower floors. At first, she didn't think she'd be able to cope with being pulled away from her family. The adjustment, however, turned out to be easier than expected because other aspects of the move were so much better than anticipated. First, for a woman who had difficulty walking, she was now able to take an elevator to her apartment rather than climbing several flights of stairs. Second, the top floor of a poorly insulated home had meant that summers were excruciatingly hot. She found that in her air conditioned apartment, she was much more calm and relaxed during the summer. Finally, although she thought she

would miss the garden and lawn of her former home, she found that a view of the Boston Common provided her with all the green she needed. Although her family was not around her constantly, anymore, she realized they were only a few miles away and could easily visit her (which they did).

For the satisfied relocatee, then, aspects of displacement actually came as a blessing. Statements like "God closed one door and opened up another," or "The agony was worth it," were not unusual comments to hear during these interviews. Some individuals who had contemplated moving at one time or another, appreciated the push offered by displacement, which enabled them to eventually move to better housing. Other persons who had lived in poorly maintained homes, or ones that were three flights up from ground level wondered why they had tolerated these conditions for so long.

Dissatisfied: Housing Unit

While roughly half of these displaced individuals fared well after being displaced, there were three individuals who felt indifferent towards their replacement housing, and five persons were clearly dissatisfied. The indifferent persons were generally satisfied with their new housing, but missed certain features of their old units. Those who were dissatisfied with their new housing had complaints with at least two criteria used in this study to indicate satisfaction with replacement housing. In these latter cases, individuals moved to housing in which they were less satisfied than they had been

previously.

Individuals who were either indifferent to or dissatisfied with their replacement housing, were not as pleased as were their seven counterparts with the condition of their newly found housing. Three individuals felt their housing condition had improved; three felt that the housing condition was adquate, but that the condition of their former housing was better; and two individuals were clearly in housing that was in worse condition than former housing.

People who felt their homes were adequate but not as nice as a former residence, talked about small items that made daily life more aggravating such as left handed taps, faulty electrical wiring, or homes that were generally not as well maintained as the apartments they had become accustomed to. A woman who moved to housing in worse condition than her previous unit moved to one that lacked heat and decent plumbing, and where, she emphasized in her interview, she had cockroach problems for the first time in her life. Being forced to move into such a unit was, to her, embarrassing, humiliating, and degrading.

These people, unlike their satisfied counterparts, were more likely to miss other features of their former housing. Some of the elderly missed their former units because they had "character." There were larger rooms, sunny exposures, and older features like walk-in pantries or French doors which opened into a dining room. These homes were also missed be-

cause of all the large family get-togethers held there, or a back porch was remembered as a place of solitude and refuge where a woman escaped on hot summer evenings when she woke up at four o'clock a.m. and couln't get back to sleep. Others missed their former apartments because of the tremendous amount of labor and decoration they added to the unit over a long tenure.

In addition, some persons have found the interior arrangements of a new apartment less convenient, and a daily reminder that a former apartment was more pleasant. For two older persons, for example, climbing to a second floor apartment or bedroom via steep, narrow staircases is much more difficult than in former units where the staircases were wider, less steep, and where there were landings midway.

Immediate Vicinity

Unlike the elderly who were able to move to nicer areas, several of these mixed and less satisfied persons moved to locations that were less convenient to shopping facilities and mass transit, less attractive, or to areas where they didn't feel as safe. Two individuals who had formerly lived in residential sections of Jamaica Plain, now found themselves on busy streets where noise and traffic gave them an unsettled feeling. Another person found that moving to a home on the top of a hill was inconvenient to a senior citizen in his eighties who had suffered a stroke. He had to rest two or three times on his way home just to catch his breath. In a more extreme

example, a woman was forced to move from an area she liked to "that side of Amory Street" where she felt unsafe. It took her a month to muster up the courage to walk outside. Five years later, she has discovered that the people here are not any different than people on the other side, but she does not walk around freely and avoids walking down certain streets near her home.

Moving away from friends and neighbors is one reason why many people missed their former housing. Over the years, friendships had developed slowly, and these people hadn't established the same types of relationships in their replacement housing. They often found that their old ties diminished because they were unable to visit their old friends due to poor health or lack of transportation.

Unlike those satisfied movers who were able to establish new social ties, these individuals found themselves in situations that were less conducive to meeting people and to making new friends. First, people were more likely to have left stable neighborhoods where there was little turnover and to move to apartment buildings where people moved in and out frequently. The short duration of many tenants made forming friendships difficult. Second, and closely related, some individuals found themselves in less residential neighborhoods, where they tended to stay inside more. The activity of walking around a neighborhood, talking or nodding hello to familiar faces and friends, and of being recognized, stopped.

Instead, everything became impersonal. As one person noted, people were more inclined to pick a fight with him if he parked in a space which had been "claimed" by someone else. Or, if a garbage bag broke in front of his apartment, the person responsible would be less likely to clean up the mess. Strangers, he noted, were not as accountable for their actions. Third, these individuals were more likely to move to areas where social patterns (sometimes influenced by building conditions) were different. For example, in some new neighborhoods, people were no longer sitting outside on porches on streets densely lined with homes, nor were people walking around the streets during the day and early evening as a pastime. Therefore, for some, visiting during the warm weather became infrequent after moving. Thus, several of these people became more lonely; their routines and daily activities which had been carried on steadily over the years ceased, leaving a void in their lives.

In addition, many of these people were no longer able to rely on other tenants and neighbors for help. Several of these individuals were forced to become more self-reliant at an age where having close friends looking in on them from time to time had become important to them. The chores and favors that neighbors are bound to do for elderly friends (or actually for neighbors in general) are numerous. Interviews uncovered the following: bringing garbage to the street on collection day, offering to pick up groceries, shovelling

walks after a snowstorm, and leaving a neighbor fresh vegetables from the garden. In one instance, a neighbor daily delivered hot, home cooked meals to two elderly sisters, one of whom was bedridden. Thus, many people found that in moving to a strange place, they lost feelings of importance, of being special, a sense of identity and belonging, and even small but important services.

Neighborhood Attachments

After a lifetime or a long tenure in Jamaica Plain, certain individuals who were forced to leave Jamaica Plain to find affordable and decent housing elsewhere, found it difficult to orient themselves to a new environment. Longtime residents who never owned or no longer own cars missed the extensive knowledge and security they had acquired from the neighborhood by walking around their old community. According to Fried, such familiar places seem like an extension of home. As Fried summarizes,

> It is the sense of belonging someplace, in a particular place which is quite familiar and easily delineated, in a wide area in which one feels "at home." This is the core meaning of the local area. And this applies for many people who have few close relationships within the area. Even familiar and respectable streets and houses, faces at the window and people walking by, personal greetings and impersonal sounds may serve to designate the concrete foci of a sense of belonging somewhere and may provide special kinds of interpersonal and social meaning to a region one defines as "home."[2]

Not only does the longtime resident feel uprooted, but moving to a new community cut off from the former one, may

cause the elderly person to feel lonelier and to lose a sense of importance. One woman, for example, found herself in a different neighborhood, in an apartment on a noisy thoroughfare where the only store in walking distance was a Bradlees, and could be reached only by crossing a busy intersection. Shopping wasn't pleasant for her anymore; she no longer recognized customers or salespeople. In addition, the move had cost her some independence. In Jamaica Plain, she was able to walk to local stores for food, to deposit and withdraw her own money, and to go to the post office when necessary. Unlike the woman who had friends living next door who could occasionally look after her, this woman now had to depend entirely on her daughter to run most of her errands. She stayed inside more after moving because there was little reason to leave her apartment.

The individuals who seemed to regret leaving Jamaica Plain the most were those who were unable to visit due to poor health or lack of transportation. For them, leaving the community was a finality. In addition, some of these people were in new locations (such as Chelsea) which are geographically cut off from Jamaica Plain and where it was unlikely that they would run into Jamaica Plain residents. In contrast, those who were able to retain their ties due to proximity, didn't appear as likely to feel cut off from their former neighborhood. Although one woman was still geographically in Jamaica Plain, her residence practically bordered on Hyde Park.

After moving, it became easier for her to do most of her shopping in Roslindale or at the larger shopping mall in Dedham; she went into downtown Jamaica Plain less frequently. Yet she often ran into Jamaica Plain residents at these neighboring shopping areas and was able to catch up on local news. Thus, a transition to a new place was gradual for her, whereas those residents who were less satisfied with their replacement housing often made a sudden move where contact, except by phone, was cut off rapidly.

EXPERIENCE PRIOR TO RELOCATION

Although individuals had mixed reactions to their replacement housing, most felt that the pre relocation experience (that period from the time of displacement to moving into the new unit) was a difficult one. The events occurring before the person moves out include: emotional reactions precipitated by the displacement, a housing search which can be physically and mentally exhausting, and the work involved in moving. In addition, there are the financial costs of the process, which can require a significant amount of upfront cash.

A major finding in this study is that the pre relocation experience can be the worst part of displacement. The toll, which is physical, social, and financial, is a heavy one. It is felt across the board, by individuals who find excellent replacement housing, and by those who are unhappy with a new unit. Many of the respondents in this study were severely shaken up because they were displaced. In one instance, an interview was conducted with a social worker. In this case, two

displacees in one household had died, one shortly before the move and one shortly thereafter. The interviewee felt that the move was so depressing for the victims, that it entailed so much work, and the sacrifice of moving was felt to be so great, that the sisters lost their will to live.

The Emotional Impact of Displacement

A collection of emotions accompanied displacement. The intensity of feelings varied, but ten of the seventeen interviewed suffered greatly from the emotional effects of the forced move. While a number of people can't quite explain it, "You don't know what it's like to be old and have to move," or "You have to be an elderly renter to understand the feeling," some people were able to explain these symptoms:

> "It made my mother very nervous. These experiences have hurt her. She gets paralysed sometimes and it affects her heart. She wanted to get some medicine from doctors, but no one would give her any. At another time she became so upset that she took an axe and drove it through the wall."
>
> "I would wake up night after night and cry, 'Oh my God, I have to get out of here.' What will happen to me in my old age? I cried a lot at this point."
>
> "I was filled with terror and felt uneasy."

Many stopped eating.

> "Being told is the worst part of any move. If you have high blood pressure, it makes it higher. It is the most insecure feeling. I just can't explain it. The blood rushes to your head. At first you don't sleep at night, and if I hear people talking about it I have to leave. It (the thought) makes me shudder.
>
> "I felt very sad, upset."

> "You feel stunned. It's a shock, especially if you're not expecting it, or you're in bad health. It will upset you, and nerve you up. Then you get depressed and just walk around in a daze. It tires you out. It takes a good two weeks to a month to calm down after moving. You don't sleep and you lose your appetite."

If broken down and analysed, these intense feelings stem from a number of sources. An individual can feel "afflicted" if he suffers from any one or a combination of them.

Fear and Lack of Control

The displaced person is often in a state of limbo. The only place that is real is his current housing, but that is being pulled out from under him, and he is unsure about the kind of housing he will find. Even though almost half of the individuals in this study eventually moved to better housing, the fact is that for several weeks or months, they didn't know what the future held in store for them. The possibility that they ultimately would not have the power to go where they wanted was frightening.

People feared they might be forced into an unsafe neighborhood, or to an apartment where they would have to pay all their income for rent. Others were scared that time would run out and they would be forced to move to a project or a nursing home. People often thought about the worst options and then became worked up about these negative possibilities. Stated one man who had feared the worst, "I'd die before I had to go to a nursing home. Some are good, but most are lousy."

All of these individuals were in market rate housing, and most of them had been leading very independent lives. That a decision to move was made for them, where they in turn might be forced into something not of their liking, was a terrifying fear to live with.

Sadness/Bitterness

Others were saddened or embittered by having to leave something they loved. Over the years attachments to a place, especially to one's home, grew stronger. People found that leaving a house often meant leaving part of themselves or the memory of a loved one behind.

One interviewee explained that she and her husband had moved into a unit thirty years before where they were unable to see the kitchen table through the cockroaches. Her husband, who was a plasterer, got rid of the bugs, rewired the faulty electrical system, and had added special woodworking features to the kitchen and dining room. She was upset and angry that the state then forced her to move from the apartment for "the road they never built." Although she took the mantelpiece which her husband had hand crafted, many objects created by him were destroyed when the house was leveled.

People are also upset about displacement because the move causes an unexpected disruption at a time in life when they would rather feel settled and comfortable. Some older people just don't like leaving "home." One man had lived in the same boarding house for thirty years and stated "I was upset be-

cause I had been there for so long. It was home to me."

Being in secure surroundings is particularly important to older people who know that they will have to face other crises. In one instance, a woman's rent was sharply increased within a month after her brother (with whom she had been sharing the apartment) died. Shortly thereafter, she was evicted. One crisis was bad enough, but the displacement coming so quickly thereafter, was more than she could handle. Commenting on her reaction to being evicted, another woman said"I wanted to die there. I wanted to stay. He (the landlord who displaced her) disturbed my equilibrium. He ruined my plans."

Pressure

Being forced to move under pressure is one of the key reasons why this time in limbo is distressing. Even when the displacee receives a six month's extension, there is still a deadline. Having a set period of time to find housing, a most important item, just creates anxiety. Knowing, in addition, that the landlord is waiting for him to leave, and that prospective tenants are asking to see the apartment, makes the displacee feel even more upset, pressured, and suffering from a low self-image.

Landlord/Tenant Relations

The landlord/tenant relations during this pre relocation phase is often a very awkward one. Even in situations where the new landlord is straightforward about the displacement and

gives the tenant as much time as is needed to find a new unit, the victim is often hurt. He wonders how anyone could do this to him in his old age. He takes the displacement personally and feels rejected. If the landlord is an owner occupant and their paths cross, each encounter is a difficult one for the tenant (and probably for the landlord as well).

There were very few instances where the displacement was handled in a sensitive way. In case after case, the displacement was accompanied by some kind of harrassment, either verbal abuse or leaving the apartment in such disrepair that there was no choice but for the tenant to vacate as soon as possible.

One woman was asked whether she had found another unit every month the landlord came by to collect the rent (it was unclear whether or not he had formally evicted her). This woman finally moved out when she was no longer able to tolerate the low level of maintenance in her building. Pails were placed across her livingroom floor to catch the water dripping in through the leaking roof. While waiting for tenants to move out, other landlords began to make noisy repairs to prod the tenant to leave sooner than later. One man stated,

> "He made repairs in his own apartment but none in his tenants.' He interfered in our lives. He started to put new pipes in and made holes in my ceiling but never finished the work. He was noisy. He took a lot of the scraps from the work and left them in front of my door."

A third example is that of the two sisters mentioned earlier, one of whom died before moving. They experienced a rent increase shortly after the new owner moved into a first floor apartment. They were subsequently asked to move. After obtaining a six month extension, these sisters mysteriously had their hot water turned off occasionally on weekends, and the women, who were in their late seventies, received anonymous calls after midnight. In addition to the other problems accompanying the move, the poor tenant/landlord relations helped to make the last few months of their lives miserable (the other sister died shortly after moving).

Tenants who are displaced, especially because of reinvestment related reasons can find the experience very trying. It is humiliating for these older people, who have often been paying low rents at the same place for years, to find they are being forced to move to be replaced by tenants who can be expected to pay more. Often feeling that a long tenure in the same unit gives them a modicum of privilege, they are surprised at the swiftness of an eviction notice, often by the new owner.

These tenants know that the stated reason for eviction is often not the real cause and this becomes another humiliating factor behind displacement, one that can make the tenant feel "hostile, irritated, and upset." One longtime tenant, who was angry over the method of his displacement, stated that all of the tenants in his house were given a 30 day notice "one week

before the actual ownership papers were even signed." The "excuse given for the eviction," he continued, "was to delead the house." The same unit for which he paid $180 per month including heat, cost the next group of renters $600 per month. The interviews reveal numerous stories similar to this one.

A Sense of Justice

The emotional experiences surrounding displacement are also compounded by the way these tenants feel their rights have been trampled on. They wonder why they are being punished in their old age when they have always paid their rent on time. They just can't believe this is happening to them.

> "The move was bad enough, but it's that someone would do this to you..."
>
> "I paid my rent on time every month and didn't deserve this treatment."
>
> "Some of us have seen Jamaica Plain change from one extreme to another. But some people who have stayed through it all, as it has gone from good to bad to good, are the ones being forced out. I'd like to see Jamaica Plain become better, but the change shouldn't be forcing people out who want to stay. That's what's happening, and it's hurting older people the most."
>
> "How could anyone have such control over my life. My brother died for this country during the war. And this new owner, who looked like he never had done any work in his life was so mean. What right did he have to force me out?"

The Search

There were three ways in which housing was made available. Sometimes opportunity presented itself, sometimes efforts were made in behalf of those looking, and lastly those searching did so on their own.

In a minimal number of cases, replacement housing is made available even before the tenant has time to look. For example, a neighboring landlord approached one displaced tenant and told him about a vacant unit in his lodging house. More likely, some of the elderly will not be able to look either because of physical or emotional reasons. In these cases, the stress or other circumstances involved were too great. Said one man in this category,

> "The idea of moving sounded horrible. My wife had died recently and I had had a stroke. I knew I would never look for housing myself. There wasn't any around at the time, but I was unable to look anyway."

In these cases (there were five in this study), the search was delegated to a family member, usually a daughter or son. Although these individuals didn't take part in a cumbersome search, they were all distraught over their displacements. They also seemed to be less satisfied with their replacement housing than were many who took a greater role in locating their own. This, in part, was probably due to the children looking more at the condition of the housing than at other environmental factors. In each case, the children, being more mobile than the parents, may not have considered the same criteria, (neighborhood qualities, in particular) as important to housing satisfaction as as did their parents. At the same time, they were probably unable to find better options on such short notice, or the homes they selected were the best that was available at the time.

In other instances the displaced elderly found their own housing. They could claim credit for having initiated and completed the search process on their own. At times, help may have been found midway through the search, but the displacee made the necessary contacts which facilitated it.

Methods

Most people (including the family members who helped), relied on a variety of techniques. These included: real estate ads, realty agents, word-of-mouth, help from staff and friends in senior citizen groups, scouring the neighborhood by car and on foot, and applying to subsidized housing. Most employed several methods, but found one or two of them more useful that the others.

Word of Mouth

Although most people read newspaper ads and called realtors, they relied most heavily on the word-of-mouth technique. They informed friends of their need and hoped the word would be passed on and some one would notify them of an empty unit. Most frequently they used the following networks: neighborhood activists, longtime residents, or local merchants who knew the neighborhood well. The individual people believed to have connections which would lead them to housing were: those employed by a realty firm or a friend in City Hall, a friend or family connection, and another member of a senior citizens club.

Utilizing these networks was the most successful way of

finding housing. But when this method worked, people were more willing to say it was a stroke of luck than a methodological approach to house hunting. In many ways, finding housing this way seemed accidental. For example, one displacee described the futility of her search to her sister-in-law. It turned out that this woman's nephew worked for a firm that develops and manages housing for the elderly. As a victim of arson, she was able to get priority status and moved into an available unit promptly. In another example, a displacee who had spent two months looking for replacement housing described the depressing nature of looking under duress to friends who daily attended the senior citizen lunches at Agassiz Community School. A staff person overheard her story, knew of a just completed subsidized building, where the management was in the process of accepting applications, and escorted this woman through the application process.

These are several reasons why this method is so popular. First, it seems to bring positive results. Second, it is also a convenient way for the elderly to look because it demands the least amount of physical work. Rather, it takes telephoning and communicating with people who who are seen anyway. Because these "contacts" have a better idea of what any vacant housing is like as well as a general understanding of the renter's needs, less traveling time is wasted in looking at places in terrible condition or ones that for some other reason are unsuitable.

Third, persons relying on word of mouth feel they will be getting leads in their own neighborhood, where they often prefer to remain. Fourth, and most important, there is a belief that the best apartments are in two and three family homes which are not publicly advertised. Landlords in the desireable owner-occupied units or otherwise well kept ones prefer to be selective in choosing model tenants, and therefore rely on word of mouth referrals from acquaintances. The displacees hope that their network of connections will lead them to these unadvertised units.

Combing the Neighborhood

Many displacees also walked up and down the streets or drove through desireable areas in search of vacant housing. They would either look for "for rent" signs in windows, or inquire from neighbors if there were an available unit in a house that looked vacant or unoccupied. Although this was not as popular a method as some, those using it relied relied heavily on this technique. Two individuals did find housing in this manner.

Scouring the neighborhood was a technique sometimes used because elderly people didn't know of any other way to look. It may have also been used in the past. Some explained that seeing "for rent" signs was more common years ago. Others felt they could find those select apartments that landlords do not advertise by looking in this way. Like word of mouth, it lead to the best places in preferred neighborhoods. Some used

both methods, while others preferred to work by themselves in order to keep their business private, or else they simply did not have the contacts to depend on.

Newspaper Ads and Realtors

Only in one household did they rely exclusively on real estate ads. They spent two and a half months and many hours a day reading the papers and then inquiring about and inspecting the places advertised. During this time, they called over 150 people, inspected "dozens and dozens" of apartments, and looked at at least fifty houses.

Most people, however, used the papers but not exclusively. The units advertised sometimes were in unknown neighborhoods or those considered undesireable to this group of displacees. When they were in desireable ones, the rents were "sky high." Said one woman, "Nothing desireable was ever listed for less than $300. Anything that was listed for less wasn't worth looking at; it was either behind or over a store."

Apartment hunting in this manner was frustrating for most. Many noted that when they called the listed number, the phone was always busy, no one was home, or the apartment had already been rented. Others said their expectations increased when they read the descriptions, but their hopes were dashed when they saw the places. One person gave the following description:

> "It's depressing...They only give you phone numbers but no addresses. You have to be at the house when they tell you. You spend so much time getting there only to find the place is a dump, with rats and bugs."

Finally, looking for housing in this manner was impossible for several people. Getting to apartments outside of the neighborhood was at best very difficult for those without cars.

Realtors were often contacted, but most had negative experiences with them. The most common complaints were that realtors wouldn't return their calls and seemed more interested in selling homes than helping the elderly find rental housing.

Subsidized Housing

Although six people looked into the possibility of moving to subsidized housing and four moved into subsidized units, people seemed to approach the Boston Housing Authority's public housing division with caution. They saw it as a large, impersonal bureaucracy unable to provide them with immediate relief in desireable housing. As one man stated, "While they can give you hope, they can't give you housing. Your name is placed on the bottom of the list." This researcher found that the waiting period for one bedroom apartments (studio apartments are more prevalent in some of the older buildings and are usually unpopular) in some of the more desireable units could be as long as eight years.

People could sign up for a particular subsidized building, often in subsidized buildings operated under private management, although few did. The waiting list for these units was equally long. In the cases of three in this study, the problem was solved by their getting into a new building as it was

being filled. People do sign up for buildings where there is a significant wait, but they realize it will be a long one (and they often find other housing before their names come up). A woman in this category said about waiting lists for housing for the elderly, "You feel like a ghoul sitting there and waiting for someone to die so you can move in."

Problems Inherent in Elderly Searches

There are additional problems when apartment hunting. An obvious one is physical disability. Walking or maneuvering one's way around the neighborhood or city in search of housing takes time and energy. In addition, impairments such as sight and hearing difficulties are prevalent with older people. This makes communicating with a potential landlord or understanding some of the intricacies involved in entering a new unit more difficult.

There is also some evidence that the elderly may be subject to discrimination. Some landlords seem to shy away from taking in older tenants because they feel it is an additional responsibility. They fear ambulances stopping in front of their homes or the task of contacting relatives in case of other emergencies that they feel are more frequent with this type of tenant. Perhaps the elderly get more than their share of apartment rejections because they are old.

It took most people between two and six months to locate new housing. Even the few who were able to find theirs more quickly were distressed about the search, although obviously

not as much as the others. The search was an unsettling, upsetting phase of the relocation process. Disappointment after disappointment usually followed the hard work required to line up units to look at.

One woman who is ecstatic about her replacement housing and who "prays to God" that she will live long enough to enjoy it summarized her unfortunate experience of searching:

> "I felt anxious and desparate. It might have been different under other circumstances to go looking. I would go into an empty or dark hallway and get scared someone would grab me. I didn't know what I was getting into. I'd go home at night and be sick to my stomach. At times I just wanted to get the whole thing over with and commit suicide. Everyone was saying no to me. Otherwise I was saying no if the place looked so bad that I wouldn't go beyond the front door."

Moving

The final task of the pre relocation stage is moving. This topic didn't receive the same amount of attention from the interviewees as the other parts of the survey because it was, in a sense, anticlimactic. Part of the picture was contributed by peripheral sources pursuant to this study, such as social workers, neighbors, landlords, and relatives. By the time the individual moved, he knew where he was moving, and much of the problems and fears of the unknown had been solved. Nevertheless, moving was burdensome. It required tending to details, packing, and some hard physical work. For many elderly people, packing was also upsetting emotionally, as they had to sort through years of accumulation

in order to determine what to save and bring to the new place, to give away, to sell, or to throw out. How could anyone fit seven rooms full of belongings into four! Finally, the move was costly, even requiring up to $1,800 in upfront cash.

Making Arrangements and Carrying Them Out

Moving involved tending to details and much hard work. Several particulars were mentioned. Selling furniture and dishware was one of them. One woman had to contact Morgan Memorial and a furniture store in Dedham in order to sell or have some extra possessions carted away. Special arrangements had to be made for large articles such as a piano or a dining room set. The new phone's installation had to be co-ordinated with the date of the move. It was difficult to find the right mover and to compare prices among several to select a reasonable one.

The other side of moving called for hard physical work. Packing was an endless chore unless children or other relatives assisted. In addition, scrubbing away years of grease and dirt left by previous tenants sometimes accompanied moving into the new unit, for although it was the responsibility of the landlord or former tenant, it often became the job of the new one.

Cost

Not only was the cost itself a burden, but the involuntary nature of the move required the displacee to raise the amount (ranging from as little as $100 to as much as $1,800)

at a time not of his choosing, when he least expected it.

Being forced to move meant being forced to pay costs that would not have arisen otherwise. Some had to hire professional movers. The tenants had to pay security deposits on their new apartments, on occasion before getting back the deposits on the old, which having been made years ago, were not as large as the upfront cash needed for the new. Sometimes different furniture and accessories were needed for the new place. For example, one person whose new apartment had one less room found she needed a convertible sofa for the living room to accomodate overnight guests.

After the move was completed, those who had gone to market rate units as opposed to subsidized housing worried that they might be forced to repeat the process.

> "If you own you don't deal with these problems. Now I pay my rent every month, but I don't know what will happed in the future. One of the owners may die or sell the house. There is a feeling of insecurity I can't explain. When you get evicted you can't clean the house. You don't know what to do next. You just can't live that way."

> "If I ever had to move anywhere else, I would like West Roxbury. Yet I can see some point to moving to elderly housing. I could always feel secure because I know they couldn't throw me out. Also, the rooms are a little smaller and easier to take care of."

NOTES

1. The section on post relocation is based on fifteen in depth interviews even though seventeen interviews were conducted for this study. This is because death resulted in one household after the two individuals were displaced. The interview covering the experiences of that household was conducted with a social worker who was intimately involved in the case (see methodology section in the appendix). A second interview was not included in this section because the man involved had only lived in his replacement housing for a week and felt it was too early to comment on his new housing. Pre relocation experiences, however, are based on all seventeen interviews.

2. Marc Fried, "Grieving for a Lost Home," The Urban Condition, Edited by Leonard Duhl (New York: Basic Books, 1963), p. 151.

Chapter IV: Conclusions

It is believed that the revitalization occurring in Jamaica Plain and which is expected to increase in the future will certainly be a large factor in the continual rise in housing costs in that neighborhood. One consequence of this phenomenon is displacement which will exact a toll on the large numbers of elderly people living in Jamaica Plain. The study discussed in Chapter III was undertaken to shed more light on displacement as experienced by the elderly in order to determine the severity of a problem that will probably grow worse in the future. Based on these findings, displacement is a problem with grave consequences for elderly people. It is therefore a problem warrenting immediate public attention. Several of the survey findings are summarized below:

1. The displacement experience is painful and traumatic, starting from the moment when the individual first learns he will be forced to move. More than half of the respondents in this survey suffered from intense, emotional effects. In one instance, there was strong evidence that the deaths of two elderly sisters were hastened by the disruptions accompanying their displacement.

2. The task of moving that confronts the displacee can be enormous. Searching for a comparable unit is exhausting, to say nothing of the work involved in

weeding through and disposing of possessions, packing the remainder, coordinating dates, times, and helpers with the move, and cleaning and redecorating the new unit. The sheer effort required to cope with all of this at an advanced age can be too demanding.

3. The financial burden following displacement is a steep one. Not only are some displacees forced to pay increased rents for their new housing, but the up front costs required by the move (deposit for the new apartment, buying new accessories and larger items, paying movers, etc.) are often substantial. The elderly person may find that he has to pay a significant portion of his fixed yearly income to move at a time when he least expects it.

4. Fifty per cent of these respondents were either indifferent to or dissatisfied with their replacement housing (in terms of housing condition, neighborhood, and other factors used in this study to measure levels of satisfaction with one's replacement housing). Some individuals were forced out of units that to them were "home" or were places filled with pleasant memories. Others moved to areas which were unfamiliar to them. They lost contact with old friends and acquaintances, routines were disrupted, and these people lost a sense of belonging and of purpose.

It is important to point out that, as in many other surveys, those who are willing to participate may respond differently from those who are not. As described in the methodology, participants, for the most part, were reached through recommendations that were made with the knowledge that each person was a likely subject who was willing and able to communicate. Only one person whose displacement was discovered through public documents permitted an in depth interview, and he was a man still active in a job and involved with the community. What of others who did not have contacts, were not active in social groups, were not in good health, articulate and outgoing? They, plus the displaced who

stopped living independently by moving in with children or going to an institution, were not reached. If they had been included in the sample, the level of satisfaction with replacement housing presumably would have dropped to a much lower level.

Policy Implications

Survey results lead to two types of policy recommendations. First, findings reveal that some people suffer so much as a result of displacement that preventive measures designed to keep the tenant in place need to be increased and new ones developed. Second, measures that alleviate the pain, trauma, and expenses stemming from displacement as explained in this thesis also need to be increased and others created. This recommendation is based on the assumption that preventive measures, even if they were to be increased, wouldn't prevent all displacements and some people would still need assistance. In addition, it was found that some displacees felt better off in their new housing even though they suffered tremendously prior to resettlement.

Measures Designed to Prevent Displacement

Survey findings would support critics who argue that subsidy programs allowing elderly tenants to remain in place be expanded and new programs of this nature be designed. One example of a program that should be expanded is the Section 8 Existing Housing program. Some policy makers are also experimenting with programs that would keep renters in

apartments being converted into condominiums by helping them puchase their units (see appendix for a list of ideas designed to aid tenants). Perhaps a program of this nature but one less costly would be to allow tax breaks to new homeowners provided they neither displace nor raise the rents of their longtime tenants.

In addition, community organizations in Jamaica Plain, especially social service agencies who are familiar with the effects that displacement has on the elderly should make these findings public. Other groups, such as the Jamaica Plain Coalition to Stop Displacement should continue to collect and publicize data on the nature of this problem. It is believed that an increased awareness of displacement and an understanding of its effects might encourage landlords themselves to refrain from displacing elderly tenants. The increased knowledge gained from this research could also lead to more policy options.

Measures Aimed at Alleviating the Problems Caused by Displacement

Alleviation measures can be aimed at easing the pre relocation stress felt by so many displaced elderly and at facilitating the steps involved in moving. One way of relieving some of the anxiety of displacement stemming from evictions is to state clearly on an eviction notice that the displacee has at least six months to find replacement housing and that one extension be granted if housing isn't found in

the first six months. Currently, most eviction notices only warn the tenant 30 days in advance of impending eviction procedures. Although most people who request it are granted six month stays, this requires getting involved at the onset with legal procedures which many elderly people find embarrassing, formidible, or threatening. Giving tenants at least a six month notice might relieve some of the panic that they experience and it would give them a feeling of greater control over their selection. They wouldn't feel pressured into making an unwise choice because of insufficient or unclear deadlines.

Local social service groups can and do provide services to displaced tenants. It is important that these groups get the resources (increased personnel, funds, etc.) which can strengthen their capacity to deal with housing related issues of the displaced elderly. Several pre relocation stress problems can be worked on at this level. One important area which needs to be further addressed is in informing tenants of their legal rights. Massachusetts has some of the most extensive tenants rights laws of any state in the country. This material should be made available to displaced tenants in pamphlet form (perhaps given to a tenant when he receives an eviction notice). Personnel at social service agencies should familiarize themselves with some of these laws as well so they can, for example, assure tenants that rents can't be increased illegally or that he can't be

"thrown out in the street" by the landlord if he fails to find replacement housing by a certain date.

An extens ion of this service would be providing mediation services on behalf of the tenant. An experimental program of this nature is being developed at the Legal Services Institute in (LSI) in Jamaica Plain. Negotiating with the landlord on behalf of their client, the LSI personnel try to work out solutions acceptable to both parties. A similar strategy is necessary for elderly persons, who after an eviction or other type of forced move may feel too uncomfortable to approach the landlord to express grievances or even to determine if there are ways that can be worked out where he might remain in place.

Other services could also be set up to facilitate the two activities involved in displacement, searching for replacement housing and helping elderly people to coordinate their moves. First, a clearinghouse might be developed by a Jamaica Plain neighborhood organization (e.g., ESAC, Urban Edge, or by paid personnel or volunteers at one of the Sr. Citizen's lunch programs). The clearinghouse would seek listings from local or nearby landlords, get listings from local realtors, and build up a number of apartment listings through neighborhood contacts. Second, personnel at the clearinghouse, or at another one of the Jamaica Plain agencies could also aid the elderly in coordinating the move. This would include helping to set up a moving date, finding movers,

etc.

It is important that these new services be added to existing aid programs and that the elderly in need of help learn where they can receive it. Clergymen, social workers, and others in contact with the elderly should know of the existing programs and refer clients for any help they cannot administer themselves. In addition, leafletting, leaving brochures that explain these services, and writing up these offerings in the local newspapers from time to time are a necessary part of community outreach. Based on evidence from Chapter III, the elderly frequent public, private, and church sponsored activities in their localities and discuss other problems within these settings. It makes sense that they seek housing assistance in these settings as well, where aid can be administered at a personal level.

These are some of the actions andprograms that social service agencies in Jamaica Plain or in other neighborhoods in Boston undergoing displacement should develop. They will not solve the problem of displacement but will help to make its consequences less severe.

APPENDIX A

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of conducting these in depth interviews was to get an understanding of the effects of displacement on the elderly. That involved finding a sample of tenants who had been displaced from units in Jamaica Plain and who were over 60.

The survey participants were referred to this researcher from several Jamaica Plain sources. The contacts included a clergyman, a social worker and staff personnel from Senior Team (a provider of services for the elderly), Legal Services Institute, and several Jamaica Plain residents. This researcher also found two other participants through a short speaking engagement at a Sr. Citizen's luncheon. In most cases, the contact said he would speak with the respondent first to explain the purpose of the interview, clarify the researcher's credentials, express his own support for the survey, and obtain the respondent's permission to be interviewed. Without these contacts, it would have been very difficult to carry out this survey. Elderly people often felt it was an invasion of privacy to grant an interview of this kind. There were reasons for this reticence other than distrusting strangers (which may be a major reason why these

people don't like to be interviewed). Memories about a displacement also, it became evident, were often personal or painful. For example, while explaining in any depth all of the events surrounding the move, the other topics that often occurred simultaneously were: illnesses, deaths of a friend or family member, landlord harrassment, fear, etc. Thus, while most of the people who agreed to be interviewed did so at the request of a friend, they were reluctant to refer this interviewer to other acquaintances, because in their judgement it would be too difficult for them because of the previously stated reasons. However, these respondents were very candid, and appeared to enjoy the interview themselves.

The importance of neighborhood contacts became clearer after trying to find survey participants without their help. This researcher used public records to identify several elderly tenants who had been displaced. Letters were then sent to them explaining the nature of the survey, asking that they participate, and stating that they would be called in hopes of arranging an interview. The only person who agreed to an in person interview had been a chef at M.I.T. and welcomed participating in a study conducted by an M.I.T. student. Five persons answered a few questions over the phone but would not agree to meet in person. The phone replies helped to clarify points that were raised in the more extensive interviews, but were not used in tallying up survey results.

Most of the tenants who participated in this survey were

in their seventies. Five respondents were men; over two thirds were women. Many had been tenants for most or all of their adult life. Every interviewee was a longtime Jamaica Plain resident; only three respondents had lived in Jamaica Plain for less than twenty years. The people were secretive about their sources of income, and this researcher didn't always ask about it, lest the interviewees become more guarded in their conversation. The former professions of either the interviewee or a deceased spouse included: film operator, plasterer, carpenter, disabled veteran, housekeeper, switchboard operator, policeman, chef, housewife, salesperson, and schoolteacher. Two or three individuals indicated that they had some savings, and one household spent summers away from Boston.

A total of seventeen in depth interviews were conducted. One of these was with the social worker involved in a case in which two elderly sisters died, one before and one shortly after the involuntary move. Two interviews were held with grown children living with elderly parents and displaced along with them. In one of these cases the daughter participated in the survey because her mother didn't want to "drag up the past, since it would not put an end to the problem." In the other case, the daughter volunteered to speak for her mother, who was almost 90 because she felt that a lengthy session would be a strain at that age.

The questionnaire used for this study contains several short answer questions, but the bulk of it was conversational.

The average length of each interview was between two and a half and three and a half hours. The goal of the questionnaire was to encourage each respondent to relate the entire story behind his displacement (see questionnaire on following page).

The interviewer addressed three major components: the former home, neighborhood, and activities; what it was like to search for replacement housing; and the level of satisfaction with new housing. This study did not originally address the topic of moving and the costs that this entailed. When it became evident that the act of moving was an emotional and financial burden in itself, some interviewees were called again and asked to describe their experience over the phone.

The findings of this survey are based on extensive analysis of these interviews.

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

General Information

1. How long have you lived in Jamaica Plain?
2. How long had you lived at your previous address?
3. What was the street address?
4. Where did you live before that?
5. Please describe your former residence (housing type, condition, special features, etc.).
6. Please describe your former apartment within that residence (size, condition, special features).
7. What was your former rent? Had this changed over time?
8. Did this include heat and utilities?
9. Were you under rent control?
10. Did your landlord live at the same address?
11. If not, where?
12. Did he own other property in the community?
13. If so, where?
14. If there was a change in ownership while you lived there, please describe.

Personal Information Sheet

The interviewees were asked their age, source of income, and about their health.

(continued)

In discussing their displacement experiences, the interviewees were asked to touch upon the following points:

Previous Residence

- Former neighborhood
- Activities and group involvements
- Whether or not they had contemplated moving before they were actually displaced
- Reason(s) for forced move
- Reaction to being displaced
- Relationship with landlord
- Description of tenants (if any) that replaced them

The Search for Replacement Housing

- Description of type of housing and location they were looking for
- Method of search
- Help they received
- Description of the search itself: easy, difficult, enjoyable, upsetting, etc.
- Length of time involved in finding replacement housing: how many months, hours per day
- Number of homes inspected before selecting a unit
- Had personal requirements for the housing changed during the search process? Why?

Level of Satisfaction with New Home

- Level of satisfaction with new home
- Description of apartment before and after. Have changes in size or other features affected tenants living style
- Adjustment to new housing.
- Cost comparison, do new costs alter lifestyle
- Other comparisons:
  - housing condition
  - relationship and type of landlord (absentee, owner occupant, etc)
  - social network, group affiliations
  - proximity to family, old friends
  - proximity to doctors, transportation, shopping, etc.
- Ideally, where would the tenant like to live
- Would the tenant consider moveing again? Why?

APPENDIX C

CASE I: MOVING EXPENSES

Deposit (equivalent of 1½ months rent)		$442.50
Phone installation		50.00
Movers (to move furniture, etc.)		200.00
(to pack dishes)		25.00
Necessary items for new apartment		
Floor length drapes (to cover large picture window)		150.00
Traverse rods		50.00
Tip superintendent for putting up curtains		10.00
Curtains for 2 bedrooms		125.00
Shower curtain		10.00
Bathroom assessories		10.00
Living room chairs reupholstered		350.00
	Total	$1422.50

Note: Members of this household moved to private market housing in Roslindale.

CASE II: MOVING EXPENSES

Deposit		$ 60.00
Phone installation (paid over a 4 month period)		52.00
Service and equipment (electrical wiring)		33.00
Movers		175.00
Necessary items for new apartment		
Shade for large picture window		54.00
Drapes in parlor		20.00
Bedroom curtains		5.00
Bathroom assessories		18.00
Kitchen supplies (brooms, mops, soap, etc.)		40.00
Pictures for walls @ $2.00		12.00
	Sub Total	469.00
Sold refrigerator and clothing to a second hand store		- 50.00
	Total	$419.00

Note: This woman moved to subsidized housing in Jamaica Plain.

APPENDIX D

Source: Conrad Weiler, NAN Handbook on Reinvestment Displacement: The Public Role in a New Housing Issue, (Washington, D.C.: National Association of Neighborhoods, February 1979), pp. 75-78.

b. Tenants

Historically tenancy has been both a legally and socially weak status. While tenants have recently gained rights and recognition, they are still far more vulnerable than homeowners to reinvestment displacement, and probably constitute the major share of displacees. There are a variety of factors which may lead to or help cause tenant displacement in reinvestment areas. The property tax may be one factor causing increased rents, and to that extent the provisions discussed above should be considered for extension to rental units to protect tenants. Normally however, tenants are evicted as a result of a major rehabilitation of the rental property usually accompanied by an ownership chan or even a series of rapid ownership changes. In some cases the house apartment in which the tenant may have been living at a modest rent for years is substantially rehabbed with more modern facilities, new interiors, restored facade, in order to attract a higher rent paying clientele. In other cases the building may be sold at a good profit to an owner occupant. Where the rental unit consisted of apartments, the change to owner occupancy means elimination of the apartments. This often means returning a building to its original use as a single family unit. thus causing a reduction in the number of housing units. While reconversion of apartment buildings back to their original single family use may be desirable from several viewpoints—reducing density, creating a home-

ownership element in the neighborhood, aesthetic improvement, and other reasons—it does create a real rehousing problem. Obviously there is no way tenants can be rehoused in their old apartments under these circumstances, and a relocation policy is inevitable. Below are a variety of possible responses to the tenant displacement problem, not including the property tax discussed above.

i. Right of Return. An idea already being tried in New York City, this provision requires that displaced tenants have first priority in returning to their former units. Obviously it requires a variety of financial assistance options, and if the time between eviction and return is not brief, many tenants will be lost to those trying to keep track of them or will simply put down roots elsewhere.

ii. First Right of Purchase. This provision has already been enacted as an ordinance in the District of Columbia. It provides essentially that tenants shall have the first option to buy the building in which they reside. A notable successful effort to convert tenants into owners under this ordinance was led in 1976 by the Adams-Morgan Organization, one of the first to raise and fight the issue of reinvestment displacement. The great weakness of this provision, as the Seton Street Project demonstrated, is that if the owner asks a high price for the building, which an owner is likely to do in a reinvestment area, the tenants will still need a great deal of financial assistance in taking advantage of their purchase rights, and possibly in maintaining the building also once it is theirs.

iii. Sec. 8. This is the most obvious means of assisting tenants to remain in their residences in reinvestment areas because in some ways it is the simplest. Nonetheless there are some problems with it, aside from the greatest problem of all, that is, that the amount of

Sec. 8 allocations available is far, far short of the need. Other problems are the design of a vehicle to get Sec. 8 allocations lined up before substantial reinvestment and hence, tenant displacement begins in a neighborhood, and to guarantee that the allocations will be for existing qualified neighborhood residents. This kind of "fine tuning" can only be done in close cooperation with a well organized, confident neighborhood organization to help review developers, buildings and tenants. Many are suspicious of Sec. 8 as merely another form of public housing, so that if the guarantee of housing for needy neighborhood people first is not strictly adhered to, some neighborhoods may resist Sec. 8 even though they wish to prevent displacement. This principle actually applies to virtually all anti-displacement strategies in some degree. Neighborhoods are quite obviously indispensible as the front line of defense in preventing displacement at the individual building and block level, but just as obviously are not going to work to creat programs to benefit outsiders when their own residents are needy.

iv. Rent Control. A quite controversial measure, rent control is some form should be explored for its suitability in slowing or preventing displacement. One possible effect of rent control could be to disperse reinvestment away from areas where land and building costs have already skyrocketed into less costly areas so that rental increases will not need be so large.

v. Conversion of Tenants to Homeowners. Where possible, this may solve some of the displacement problem, assuming the tenants-turned-owners can afford the increased taxes and other costs even as owners. Naturally, this is a complicated and lengthy process done best long before displacement is a pressing problem. One successful attempt in this area appears to be the St. Ambrose House Project in Charles Village in Baltimore.

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