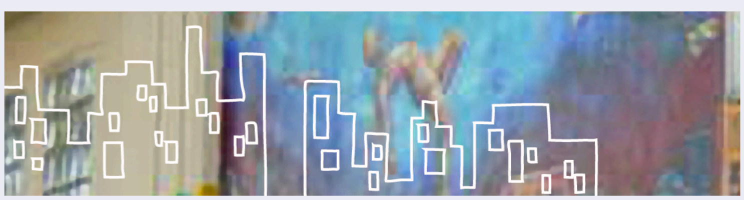
ISSC WORKING PAPER SERIES 2009-2010.48

After Foreclosure: The Displacement Crisis and the Social and Spatial Reproduction of Inequality

by Anne J. Martin

Department of City and Regional Planning
University of California, Berkeley

December 9, 2010



INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Anne J. Martin
Department of City and Regional Planning
University of California, Berkeley

anne_martin@berkeley.edu

The current foreclosure crisis has led to large-scale displacement of former homeowners and their families. From 2005-2010, this crisis has produced a wave of displacement, which still shows little sign of slowing, and is predicted to continue until 2012. Research shows that those who have been the most heavily impacted by foreclosure are people of color, homeowners with low educational attainment, the elderly, and women homeowners. This paper engages the foreclosure and displacement literatures and discusses five pilot interviews to examine the ways in which households have been impacted, at the level of the individual and the household. While the popular press and academic literature have focused on the impacts of foreclosures on the financial and mortgage industries, the impacts of foreclosure and displacement on families and neighborhoods continue to be profound and are silently undermining stability and producing deep social uncertainty. The literature on displacement due to natural disaster, urban renewal, and gentrification foregrounds the ways the current foreclosure crisis may operate differently from past large-scale displacements, and provides insight into the social and equity implications of the foreclosure crisis. Interviews with individuals who have been foreclosed upon, and church pastors from communities with high rates of foreclosure, show how displacement contributes to uncertainty and hardship for many families. This paper examines the variety of realms affected by foreclosure, from the social to the spatial, and analyzes the ways in which the foreclosure crisis is becoming a displacement crisis that may be reproducing social inequalities.

The Foreclosure Crisis:
A Lending Industry Problem or a Displacement Problem?

The current foreclosure crisis stands as the culmination of multiple factors. These include the lending industry's enthusiasm for high-cost, high-risk loans, the blind faith of policymakers who promoted homeownership at any cost, a national economic recession, and homebuyers and refinancing homeowners who did not fully understand the long-term implications of their mortgage loans. Researchers have focused on understanding how the mortgage lending industry and housing policy produced this crisis, often ignoring discussions of the equity and social implications of the foreclosure crisis. From 2005-2010, this crisis has produced a wave of displacement, which still shows little sign of slowing.[1] Displacement, at its simplest, occurs when people are involuntarily forced to move from their homes, often to be replaced by higher-income residents. Nationally, foreclosure-produced displacement has forced over a million displaced households into a process of reconstruction of everyday life. I argue that what we see today is a displacement crisis, with households shouldering the burden of larger structural conditions. This mass displacement of foreclosed families is silently reshaping neighborhoods, and the research on previous waves of displacement suggests this process may reproduce inequalities of class, race, gender, and age.

Wide-scale displacement in the United States is not without precedent, and interrogating past waves of displacement can provide new insight into how displacement functions to reproduce social inequalities. In the last century, wide-scale displacement has occurred due to

[1] Researchers at the Ford Foundation project that the foreclosure crisis will continue into 2012 (McCarthy 2009).

natural disasters, planning and redevelopment interventions, as in the case of urban renewal, and indirect market forces, as in the case of gentrification. Previous research on different types of displacement has only begun to explore the implications for the people displaced. Little is known about how people experience the forced moving of displacement and how the consequences of displacement may continue to shape lives, long after they have moved.

This research begins to fill that gap, using pilot interviews from my larger dissertation research to explore experiences of foreclosure-induced moving, including prolonged uncertainty, the effects of damaged credit that may result in a lack of choice in moving and other lingering consequences, hardships due to moving in with family, and for some, trying to start anew by moving far away. While the foreclosure crisis may create new opportunities for some, there is a wide range of experiences after foreclosure, and many people experience foreclosure and its aftermath as a series of hardships.

This paper asks how households[2] are affected by displacement from foreclosure, looking at how displacement affects families and local communities, and how displacement may contribute to the production of societal inequality. It investigates the social impacts of foreclosure on the household and their local communities using existing literature on the foreclosure crisis and displacement, as well as interviews with foreclosed homeowners and two pastors in a Northern California suburb hard-hit by foreclosures. The literatures on displacement due to natural disasters, urban renewal, and gentrification provide a broad sense of how displacement exacerbates pre-existing structural conditions of inequity, how physical recovery and social recovery proceed at very different paces, how dislocations in space can cause long-

[2] Households and families are not equivalent, and examining the differential effects of foreclosure on each allows for a deeper understanding of the social fragmentation produced. The term family often evokes nuclear family households with married parents and school-age children, while the variation and complexity of contemporary families complicates this shorthand. Household is used to indicate the people that cohabitate together in a single housing unit; the term household does not presume a nuclear family relationship between those living together. Following Ellickson (2008), a household can also be understood as an institutionalized set of relationships and practices amongst owners and occupants of dwellings.

term disruptions in social networks, and remind scholars to examine not only the places that have been left behind, but also the new places to which people move. Interviews with those who have experienced foreclosure-induced displacement offer a more detailed and nuanced account of what it is like to move under these circumstances, and the hardships and occasional opportunities such moving entails. In addition, these interviews give a glimpse into mechanisms at the level of the individual that may contribute to the ways in which displacement reinforces structural inequalities.

The first section of this paper examines the existing literature on foreclosure, emphasizing the need to understand both the structural causes of the foreclosure crisis and the ways in which foreclosures impact place. The second section of this paper synthesizes earlier research on displacement from the literature on natural disasters, urban renewal, and gentrification, discussing how large-scale displacement exacerbates social inequality. These displacement literatures provide a lens through which to view neighborhood and household impacts that allows for comparison with foreclosure-induced displacement. The final section of the paper examines households' experiences of foreclosure and displacement, using interview data from interviews with foreclosed homeowners and two pastors from different denominations in a community with a high-rate of foreclosures. These interviews provide insight into experiences of moving involuntarily after foreclosure and some of the mechanisms that may contribute to the perpetuation of social inequalities, as discussed in the displacement literature. I argue that the foreclosure crisis needs to be understood as a displacement crisis, one that is radically reshaping the lives of millions, impacting the communities that displaced households live in both during and after foreclosure, and potentially reproducing patterns of social inequality.

The Foreclosure Crisis: Structural Causes and Place-Based Effects

Structural Causes of the Foreclosure Crisis

From the beginning of the rise in the number of foreclosures, researchers have felt an urgent need to understand why the foreclosure crisis has occurred, and what could be done to prevent a meltdown of this scale in the housing sector in the future. Foreclosure has been studied and understood as a structural failure of the mortgage industry, as a failure of housing policy and regulation of the mortgage industry, and as a problem of predatory lending to minorities and to households with low incomes and low levels of education. In this literature, households primarily function as the seekers of mortgage debt and providers of capital that enable the entire mortgage system to continue to operate, as well as the unlucky victims of an unsustainable system that provides mortgage capital.

A number of studies investigate the structural causes of the mortgage and foreclosure crisis, linking the rise in foreclosures to lending practices, risky mortgage products, securitization, and the lack of a meaningful regulatory framework for the mortgage industry (Immergluck 2009, Michaelson 2009, Foote et al. 2008, Gerardi et al. 2007, Carr 2007, Newman 2008, Lord 2004, Newman 2009). For Kathe Newman (2009), mortgage capital is the contemporary "widget," the primary product of the post-industrial "financialized" economy. Only through policy changes and institutional changes in lending at the national scale could subprime and high-cost mortgage capital exploit "new markets" with exploitative lending conditions, linking low-income and minority neighborhoods to the high-risk capital that has resulted in high rates of foreclosure (Newman 2009). Similarly, Dan Immergluck (2009) sees a mortgage industry increasingly fueled by investors seeking high-risk securities, which in turn create supply-side pressure to increase the demand for high-risk lending. Added to this was a lack of federal regulation of increasingly high-risk lending, creating the perfect storm of conditions for the current foreclosure crisis.

Additional causes include outright broker and bank fraud, uninformed and undereducated borrowers, risky mortgage products, and changed lending standards such as allowing high loan to value ratios that, in combination with sinking home values, cause households to owe more on their mortgage than the house is worth, making it impossible to sell to avoid foreclosure (Michaelson 2009, Foote et al. 2008, Gerardi et al. 2007, Carr 2007, Newman 2008, Lord 2004). A lesser-told story links the foreclosure crisis to the current health care debates; a 2008 study found that half of all mortgage defaults were caused by health problems and related expenses (Robertson et al. 2008).

This policy-oriented literature examines the structural causes of the foreclosure crisis to explain the current crisis, hoping to prevent a similar crisis in the future. It does not consider how the experience of foreclosure operates as a life event in the context of individual households, nor does it occupy itself with households once they have been foreclosed upon. This segment of the foreclosure literature focuses on understanding the structural causes that produced the foreclosure crisis, while other researchers have begun to study the effects of the foreclosure crisis, focusing on the place-based impacts of foreclosure and vacancy.

Place-based Effects of the Foreclosure Crisis

The foreclosure crisis has not only been a crisis for the lending institutions bailed out by the federal government, and for households losing their homes, but also for neighborhoods, cities, and regions forced to deal with the effects of lending institutions becoming absentee property owners (Immergluck and Smith 2006a, Immergluck 2009, Swanstrom et al. 2009, Aalbers 2009, Newman 2009). Vacant foreclosed homes negatively affect neighborhoods and have been correlated with both an increase in violent crime and further depression of property values within an eighth-mile radius of each vacant property (Immergluck and Smith 2006a, Immergluck and Smith 2006b). Neighborhoods with large proportions of minorities, lower-income households, and people with lower levels of education were disproportionately targeted for high-cost loan products, and these neighborhoods experience stronger negative neighborhood effects due to the concentration of foreclosures (Perkins 2008, Newman 2009, Ojeda 2009). These neighborhoods may now face additional social stigma, due to the high rate of foreclosures, and residents who remain in the neighborhood find it difficult to refinance or sell, due to sinking property values. Neighborhoods or condo complexes that were built during the mid-2000s, at the peak of high-cost lending, may experience high concentrations of foreclosure, as many buyers were encouraged by realtors to use high-risk products to finance their mortgages. As concentrations of foreclosures vary widely across cities and regions, so do the external effects of foreclosures, with some neighborhoods noticing little change, while in others, run-down vacant foreclosed homes are visible to even the casual observer.

Research on three regions experiencing high levels of foreclosure found that the uneven concentration of foreclosures has an impact on a region's ability to create innovative responses, as the uneven concentration of nonprofit services in the region does not always match the new spaces of need (Swanstrom et al. 2009). Older central cities and suburbs within a region that receive greater Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) funding had housing and community-serving non-profit organizations able to mobilize more quickly to meet the challenges of responding to the foreclosure crisis with new programs and services, particularly as the Neighborhood Stabilization Program allocated and distributed funds through the existing

CDBG channels (Swanstrom et al. 2009). For example, in the San Francisco Bay Area, cities with CDBG entitlements such as Oakland, Richmond, and Antioch have many CDBG-funded non-profits who have turned to foreclosure prevention counseling as one of their primary functions. In addition, these organizations are producing new, creative strategies for targeting services to needy households and for revitalizing communities with many vacant units, while unincorporated areas of these same hard-hit counties are underserved (Swanstrom et al. 2009). The twin effects of foreclosures on place, and foreclosure-burdened places on the experiences of the foreclosed household, are often intertwined.

While the place-based effects of foreclosure continue to impact the neighborhoods households leave behind, these same households who relocate may find their new neighborhoods negatively impacted by vacant foreclosed units as well. For some households, foreclosure causes household-level effects that in turn affect others in the places they move to, such as children having difficulties concentrating in school, affecting classroom dynamics in their new schools.

Current research on the foreclosure crisis has explained how the crisis was created by the mortgage industry with a lack of regulatory oversight, highlighting the disparate high-cost lending and subsequent disparities in foreclosure rates for minorities, the elderly, low-income households, and borrowers with lower levels of education. As these groups were heavily targeted for high-cost loans, their neighborhoods often have higher concentrations of foreclosures, and vacant bank-owned homes can have negative impacts on property values and safety. The concentrations of foreclosures has produced challenges for community development and housing non-profits in reacting to the crisis, as many of the deeply affected places are underserved by existing organizations. This research illustrates that the production of the foreclosure crisis, and its impacts on places, both have social equity implications. However, this literature does not discuss how displacement may further produce social inequality. I now turn to a review of research from previous instances of mass displacement, which describes how households and places are affected by displacement, providing a new lens to reframe the foreclosure crisis as a crisis of displacement.

Lessons from Displacement: Natural Disasters, Urban Renewal, and Gentrification

Displacement due to natural disasters, planning interventions (such as urban renewal), or market forces (such as gentrification), has reinforced social and spatial inequities. One of the ways in which displacement from the foreclosure crisis differs from previous displacements discussed is that foreclosure-induced displacement and loss is often experienced as the crisis of an individual household. In the case of displacement due to a natural disaster or planning interventions, the experience of displacement is likely to be shared by neighboring residences simultaneously. Although material and emotional costs vary, there can be a sense of shared and collective trauma and kinship with others who have been through the same experience, even while this shared trauma can erode social ties (Erikson 1994, 231). However, similar to market-based displacement due to gentrification, displacement by foreclosure happens at the level of the individual household, staggered in time from other similarly situated households, many times with idiosyncratic individual causes symptomatic of the larger structural market forces at work. Gentrification resistance has generated collective activism, and we are seeing some organizing around resisting foreclosure.[3] After foreclosure, however, it is still to be seen whether individuals have a collective awareness and affinity toward other similarly situated post-

[3] For an example of organized foreclosure resistance, see the Home Defender's League (www.homedefendersleague.org), organized by Alliance of Californians for Community Empowerment (ACCE) in Oakland, CA.

foreclosure households, or whether the individualized experience of foreclosure and displacement and a sense of shame makes them more likely to avoid interacting with others in similar positions.

In 1982, Chester Hartman, Dennis Keating, and Richard LeGates published the activist handbook *Displacement: How to Fight It*, uniting displacement resistance and defense strategies due to different causes in separate chapters of the same book. For these activist planners, the mechanics of different forms of displacement vary, but the consequences and the organization needed to stop them is often similar. In discussing displacement data, they underline the importance of investigating “where displaced households go and what happens to them” in order to affect both national policy and local social change (Hartman et al. 1982, 23). This is an equally pressing question for the study of the foreclosure crisis today.

Natural Disasters

Natural disasters often cause widespread displacement, however, not everyone is likely to be affected equally. Natural disasters are increasingly understood as exacerbating pre-existing structural conditions of inequity, such as racial and income segregation (Peacock et al. 1997). For example, African-American neighborhoods were heavily damaged in Hurricane Andrew due to the legacies of discriminatory real estate practices and lower-quality housing, and reconstruction in these same neighborhoods was slow as many lacked homeowner's insurance (Peacock et al. 1997). Hurricane Katrina provides another example where pre-existing inequities along race, income, neighborhood, and housing ownership have had an effect at every stage of the disaster and recovery, from evacuation, to temporary housing, to home reconstruction support, to neighborhood infrastructure rebuilding (Birch and Wachter 2006). This disparate impact of natural disasters on people of color, low-income households, and their neighborhoods has been found to be consistent across many different types of disasters in the US (Fothergill et al. 2002). While the impacts of natural disaster are different across space, income, race, and ethnicity, recovery is also differentiated in these ways as well.

After natural disasters, “recovery” at the urban level requires institutional disaster management, physical rebuilding, the increase of the population to near pre-disaster levels and “some sort of return to normalcy in the human terms of social and economic relations, even if that so-called normalcy merely replicates and extends the inequities of the pre-disaster past” (Vale and Campanella 2005, 12). This definition is different from commonly used measures of household recovery after a natural disaster; household recovery is most often measured simply by reconstruction of one's home. Families play a big role in the household recovery process after natural disasters, and comparative disaster studies have found that household recovery can progress through different channels: individual resources, informal family support, or formal institutional support (Peacock et al. 1997). The role of social support and social networks has been increasingly seen as key to understanding both social disruption produced by displacement as well as enabling processes of recovery. In the recovery process after natural disasters, recovery is both material and social.

Urban Renewal

The planning interventions of urban renewal in the 1950s and 60s created lasting conditions of emotional trauma from the loss of social connections of neighborhoods, or “root shock,” for those displaced from their homes and neighborhoods (Fullilove 2004). Urban renewal across the country disproportionately targeted African-American neighborhoods, causing a lasting disruption of blacks' social networks (Halpern 1995, Fullilove 2004). In addition to disrupting social networks, the displacement produced by urban renewal caused widespread emotions of sadness, grief, and depression at the individual level (Gans 1962, Fried 1966). These negative emotional impacts were the strongest and the longest lasting for those who had strong ties to family, friends, and neighbors who were also in the neighborhood that was redeveloped (Gans 1962, Fried 1966). Marc Fried (1966, 366) identified external stability as extremely important for the working-class (more so than the middle-class); with the loss of home and neighborhood came a loss of spatial identity and severe grief. The clearance of neighborhoods for urban renewal and the federal highway program created popular backlashes in cities across the country, resulting in constraints upon the use of large-scale displacement for city planning ends and ushering in new requirements for community involvement in planning (Halpern 1995).

Gentrification

Displacement continued through the 20th Century and into the 21st, but more often it was caused by indirect forces of the economy and housing demand in the metropolitan region, rather than direct city planning initiatives. Both inner-city losses of population in the 1970s and 1980s and inner-city gentrification that ensued produced displacement. In the 1970s, the abandonment of owner- and renter-occupied housing in inner-city neighborhoods and the wave of arson that followed produced displacement. Gentrification has caused residential displacement of low-income and minority residents and produced neighborhood change in terms of race and class.

There are few studies that have tracked households following displacement due to gentrification, though a New York study which used data to track individual households provided a revealing portrait of displacement and resistance through pairing quantitative mapped findings of clusters of nearby displaced residents with interviews of residents and neighborhood organizers that explained household vulnerabilities and tactics of resistance (Newman and Wyly 2006). Twenty years earlier, Richard T. LeGates and Chester Hartman (1981) assessed household displacement due to gentrification and similarly found that the displaced generally cluster together, either in the same neighborhood from which they were displaced, or nearby. Not all gentrification researchers agree on the magnitude of displacement due to gentrification, although studies that track displaced residents give a picture of how displacement produces new concentrations of people with similar displacement experiences (Freeman 2005).

The meaning of foreclosure and displacement to individual households, and the magnitude of the experience across households have not yet been fully understood, and the experiences of foreclosure-induced displacement have not had a clear impact on policy. Studies utilizing interviews with displaced households to understand the variety of realms of everyday life that are affected, such as in the National Council of La Raza's *The Foreclosure Generation,* allow for a greater understanding of how the foreclosure crisis impacts families, children, place-based communities, and social networks (Bowdler et al. 2010). This paper seeks to add to this literature by using interview data to explore households' experiences of foreclosure-induced displacement and moving, and by discussing how prolonged uncertainty, a lack of choice in housing due to damaged credit, hardships in moving in with family, and trying to start over by moving away play key roles in shaping everyday lives and may be mechanisms by which social inequalities are reproduced.

Natural disasters, urban renewal, and gentrification have produced displacement. These displacements have further divided people along socio-economic and racial lines, created hardship at the individual and household levels, and created lasting damage to social networks and neighborhood social life. The current foreclosure crisis has created a wave of displacement that, like earlier instances of displacement, is exacerbating existing social inequalities. The ways in which the experiences of foreclosure reach beyond solely housing concerns is investigated further below, in order to understand the way the foreclosure crisis is reshaping households, families, neighborhoods, and social life.

Foreclosure-Induced Displacement and Households' Experiences

This section discusses what is known about types of households more likely to experience foreclosure-induced displacement, and challenges those who view the foreclosure crisis as an opportunity by discussing how foreclosure has diminished the supply of home-based child care, created concerns over public health, increased homelessness, and negatively impacted children. Moving from a foreclosed home is a difficult experience, and interviews with three people who have been through foreclosure, correspondence with a fourth who negotiated a short-sale to avoid foreclosure, and interviews with two pastors in a community hard-hit by foreclosures describe both the deep uncertainty during the foreclosure process, and the hardships brought about by moving and finding a place to live.

Scholars are only starting to investigate how households fare after their homes are foreclosed upon (Bowdler et al. 2010, Kingsley et al. 2009). Policy-makers and housing advocates have made advances in foreclosure prevention efforts, but there has been little systematic attention to assisting displaced households. What is known at this point about the households that have been displaced due to foreclosure is that they are more likely to be minorities, those with lower levels of education, women-headed households, and/or elderly, reinforcing the equity stakes of the recovery for these households. African-Americans and Latinos were disproportionately targeted for high-cost loans and experience foreclosure at much higher rates and, simultaneously, disproportionate levels of unemployment make them ineligible for many foreclosure relief programs, putting African-Americans and Latinos at higher risk of displacement (Ojeda 2009). A disproportionate number of homeowners with high-cost loans in default are women, which is worth further investigation, as women have historically been underrepresented amongst homeowners, and they may have different social experiences of foreclosure than their male counterparts (Newman 2009).

The experience of displacement due to foreclosure is not limited to homeowners, but is also shared by many renters whose landlords go into foreclosure. A Tenants Together (2009) study indicates that at least a third of homes foreclosed in California are occupied by renters. Some cities, such as Richmond, California, have been prompted by community pressures to implement new "Just Cause" eviction protections that keep renters in their homes during and after an owner's foreclosure. Renters experience unique vulnerabilities in the event of foreclosure in that they may lose their security deposit, receive little if any notice in advance of eviction, and lending institutions may stop making utility payments in attempts to force renters to leave (Tenants Together 2009). In the case of renter households evicted due to their landlord's foreclosure, these households often have fewer resources after displacement than their former-homeowner counterparts.

In spite of overwhelming evidence of the damage wrought by displacement due to foreclosure, a popular discourse on foreclosures as opportunities has sprung up. This discourse relies on the following reasoning: foreclosed homes create affordable opportunities for homeownership, allowing young families to buy vacant homes. A 2009 *Reuters* article by Dan

Whitcomb (2009) titled “California's Train Wreck a Golden Opportunity?” offers an example of this silver-lining perspective: “Hard-hit by the mortgage crisis and foreclosures, home prices dropped 35 percent in 2008 in Southern California – making home ownership realistic for young families in California for the first time in nearly a decade.” But this perspective does not account for the fact that many of the foreclosed homes are being purchased by speculators and investors, either as rental properties, or for the purposes of renovating and hoping to be able to sell them, or “flip” them, for a higher price in a few months' time. In the Bay Area in March 2010, investors purchased a record 27 percent of all homes sold (Said 2010). This optimism also disregards the loss of households who have school-age children or may be active community members from local areas, as well as the loss of resources for families with children such as home-based child care, discussed below, and how their departure may pull apart the social fabric that may otherwise be available to new residents.

Another casualty of the foreclosure crisis has been in the realm of licensed home-based child-care businesses, particularly in low-income and minority neighborhoods. The California Child Care Resource and Referral Network (2009) reports on the ways that the foreclosure crisis is impacting the child care system. Child care providers are losing their homes and place of business due to high cost loans or the landlord's foreclosure. Simultaneously, parents losing their jobs or homes are no longer bringing financial support to child care providers to pay his/her mortgages. And there are parents losing their child care provider due to foreclosure as well as being displaced by foreclosure themselves (Davis and Shin 2009). The diminishing supply of child care in low-income and minority neighborhoods will pose a challenge to working parents and to job-seekers, and may further dampen the economic recovery in these neighborhoods.

Scholars have also raised concerns that the foreclosure crisis will create a public health crisis, as the prolonged stress on individuals during the foreclosure process puts them at risk for both mental health and physical health problems (Bennett et al. 2009). In light of an earlier study that found medical expenses played a significant role in causing many foreclosures, this is not an unreasonable concern, as many individuals with pre-existing medical conditions that contributed to foreclosure may find their conditions exacerbated afterward (Robertson et al. 2008).

For some individuals, the path following foreclosure begins with homelessness. Advocates and service providers for the homeless have seen an increase in homeless foreclosure victims seeking services. A 2009 survey of homeless service providers found that service providers are seeing an increased number of foreclosed households amongst the homeless, with renters displaced by foreclosure comprising the majority of this population (National Coalition for the Homeless 2009). This study also asked homeless service providers where their clients generally lived after foreclosure, and they responded that they usually lived temporarily with friends or family, or in emergency shelters. This survey provides a window onto homelessness as a common experience after foreclosure, especially for displaced renters. However, while this survey of service providers enriches our limited understanding of foreclosure recovery, a deeper understanding of the process of recovery after foreclosure from the perspective of those displaced is necessary to further understand the human dimensions of the foreclosure crisis.

One recently published study does focus on the impact of foreclosure on Latino families with children. Researchers interviewed 25 households in five regions of the country, including California's Central Valley and found that the effects of foreclosure on families are profound; the stress from foreclosure has a significant impact on marital relationships and on the well-being of children, both in terms of family relationships and education (Bowdler et al. 2010). The families interviewed were able to use the resources of family and friends in their social network to avoid becoming homeless[4], and more than half secured additional financial help through public assistance, although all but one family was left with no savings or financial cushion. Many of the parents interviewed in the study experienced severe strain on their marriages due to the stress from foreclosure, and many reported that parent-child and sibling relationships became strained. Children also experienced social and academic difficulties, even if they were not forced to change schools.

Other research shows that children experience instability in child care and instability in their academic environments, as moving between schools makes students become more likely to fall behind academically, impacting self-esteem and increasing the likelihood of behavioral issues in school (Davis and Shin 2009). The instability in the academic environment extends to families who stay in their homes in foreclosure-impacted communities, as increased turnover in schools can reduce the learning and performance of all students, and as foreclosures reduce the property tax funding that supports local schools (Davis and Shin 2009).

While we know that foreclosure displaces homeowners and tenants, this paper opens a new perspective onto the experience of foreclosure by discussing the demographic characteristics of those displaced, the risk of homelessness, impacts to home-based child care, and the impacts on children. Some of the commonalities that emerge from interviews about experiences of foreclosure are the deep uncertainty it produces, foreclosure-damaged credit creating logistical constraints, moving in with family (which alleviates some hardships and produces others), and, for some, attempting to move away to start anew. These common experiences during

[4]This study did not characterize foreclosed households temporarily living with family or friends as homelessness, but the study conducted by National Coalition for the Homeless (2009) would characterize this as homelessness.

displacement may also operate as mechanisms that reinforce structural inequalities in society for households who are more likely to be people of color, women, and elderly. As time passes, households who experience foreclosure will be able to provide greater insight into the ways displacement affected them, their families, and their communities.

Experiencing Displacement: Moving

Being forced to move from a house being foreclosed upon creates uncertainty for households. In trying to stall the foreclosure of their homes, families often deplete all available personal resources, from family savings to retirement accounts. Many find their credit ruined due to foreclosure, and find themselves unable to afford all of their household's expenses. A common sentiment was that the homeowner experienced a sense of great uncertainty, due to not knowing when the actual foreclosure would happen or when they would be forcibly evicted, and anxiety about trying to find replacement housing. Moving from a foreclosed home is a difficult experience, and these former homeowners felt constrained and had little choice of where to move, both in terms of neighborhoods and in terms of the rental units available to them. Landlords use credit scores to determine whether or not to rent to an applicant; having poor credit due to foreclosure can jeopardize households' abilities to find housing. Many who move from a foreclosed house first move in with family, which avoids the problem of poor credit standing in the way of obtaining housing. Vincent[5], Linda, Susan, and two pastors offer examples of how living with family, while an alternative to the challenge of finding rental housing that will accept tenants with a history of foreclosure or becoming homeless, may be more complicated than it first appears. Others choose to move away from the area, state, or even out of the country, seeking new opportunities for work and housing away from where their

[5] Names have been changed to protect confidentiality.

hardships occurred. Examining this moment of moving due to foreclosure provides a better understanding of how uncertainty in timing, locational constraints, and relationship-strain factor into experiences after foreclosure.

In Limbo: Uncertainty in Timing

One of the largest uncertainties during the process of foreclosure is the timing of when the house will actually be foreclosed upon, and whether the household will be able to find replacement housing before they are forcibly removed from the house. The experience of foreclosure is not brief or neat. As recent news coverage has illustrated, the amount of time from receiving a notice of default to the date the house is on the auction block varies considerably, and the average length of time a property spends in foreclosure is increasing at the national level (Streitfeld 2010). As the length of the foreclosure process varies by state due to differences in legislation, foreclosures in California can go to auction as soon as 116 days after the first notice of default, or, this procedure could take significantly longer due to the massive numbers of foreclosures that the banks are processing (Swanstrom et al. 2009). In June 2010, the average length of time to foreclosure in California was 415 days (Streitfeld 2010).[6]

This uncertainty in the timing of foreclosure is further accentuated by the difficulties that many homeowners face when they approach their lender about modifying their loans, and many are unable to secure affordable loan modifications, though this may not be clear from the first few conversations with their lender. Many stories in the media illustrate that even households

[6] In California, unlike many other states, foreclosure is a "non-judicial" administrative process, rather than requiring each case to go through the court system. After a homeowner misses all or part of a mortgage payment, the homeowner is usually sent several notices from the lender demanding payment served with a Notice of Default. After a 90-day Reinstatement Waiting Period (during which a homeowner can prevent foreclosure by paying all past-due fees), the bank serves a Notice of Sale, after which the house can be sold at auction 20 days later. The Notice of Sale must be posted on the property and in an additional off-property place, at least once a week, during this 20 day period. After the auction, the new owner must serve a three-day notice to quit to the occupants and must follow the formal eviction process which takes 30-45 days. Many homeowners facing foreclosure may not know these procedural steps and the requisite time for each step in the foreclosure process, and, due to the sheer volume of properties in foreclosure, this process may take significantly longer than the minimum timeframe outlined above.

facing foreclosure who have comparable situations may have very different experiences in terms of their ability to negotiate alternative outcomes, or how long they are able to stay in their homes before they are evicted (Gorman 2010, Lagos 2010, Leonard 2010). All households facing possible foreclosure experience a period of uncertainty, and although not every notice of default will result in foreclosure, every foreclosure story begins with this process of responding to uncertainty. A pending foreclosure has a number of impacts on individual households, including household spending priorities, relationships with friends and family, employment, family security and stability, and stress levels and outlook on life (Fields et al. 2007).

After the property is in default, a number of third party property management companies may attempt to secure “Cash for Keys.” The lender, but most often a third party who specializes in these types of negotiations on behalf of lenders, bargains with the homeowner. They offer a cash payment for moving expenses, which may be up to several thousand dollars, in exchange for a commitment to a move date in the near future and to leaving the property in clean and habitable conditions, with no pets left behind. Amongst all the uncertainty of the process, Cash for Keys offers a sense of certainty, but only by heightening the uncertainty felt by the homeowner in the foreclosure process, as exemplified by Vincent's experience:

> Actually, I found a resource and did the Cash for Keys. They put a notice, several of them; they come out to you and tape them on your front door. So I'd come home and see them on my garage or on my front door.
>
> *How'd you feel about that?*
>
> Well, you know, they don't really tell you what that is. You receive this notice on your door, you've been ordered, you know, blah blah blah – and you really haven't been ordered yet. You're left in limbo; you don't really know what's going on. I know all this now, having gone through the experience. You have no clue what's happening, what these notices are. They're all written in a threatening manner. And the Cash for Keys, they really had nothing to do with the house, but they put the notice on your door, and they order, you know, you're going to lose everything, you must call us, you have 24 hours. Each notice says you have 24 hours to call, and then you don't, and two days later is another “you have 24 hours to call.” So you start to realize what a ridiculous thing it is, how untrue.
>
> So anyway, I called them and we worked out a deal. They gave me two weeks and $3,000 to move out. And that's when I left the home.

For Vincent, ultimately it was uncertainty about the timing of the foreclosure that prompted him to call and find out more about Cash for Keys, even though he was aware that the company behind the fliers might not be completely honest and the 24-hour deadlines were not real. Vincent's description of the anxiety caused by the experience of having these fliers posted on his home and by the uncertain timing of the foreclosure was in complete contrast to his matter-of-fact description of the "deal" and moving out. Cash for Keys gave Vincent a way to get out of his house with some certainty over the timing, but only after the organization's notices had increased his anxiety around the uncertainty of the timing surrounding the foreclosure process and his eventual move from the house. This uncertainty over timing was echoed by Linda, who described her current hunt for housing during the foreclosure process as putting her "out in limbo." This sense of being in "limbo" that both Linda and Vincent identify describes uncertainty in both location, in terms of housing, and time, in terms of the foreclosure process.

Juliana describes her similar experience with the uncertainty around the timing of the foreclosure process as she tried to find housing for her family. For Juliana, some of the uncertainty came from the foreclosure process itself, and some of the uncertainty stemmed from her own self-preservation techniques of disregarding her lender's correspondence and not wanting to know when the foreclosure auction would actually occur.

> I completely don't even open the letters, when they send me, anymore.
>
> *Are you still getting letters?*
>
> I'm not anymore, you know, even last year I received the last ones. One day I receive a call from... When it was like, the last modification they gave me, I look around everywhere to look for a house because I know they're put [*sic*] it for sale, and I don't even want to know the date. So I was thinking, I'm not going to be here when they come, and everything is...it have to be over. By that time, it was like, kind of like...I don't know... God give us the...to me, the power to not even feel.

Juliana mentions that she had been able to get a loan modification, but that it was not enough for her to be able to afford to stay in the house. With the pending foreclosure, she started looking for new housing for her family, thinking that it would "be over" if they could find a new place to live and the family was not in the house when "they come" and the foreclosure auction forces them to move. However, even after their move, Juliana says that their lender continued to send letters, continuing the sense of uncertainty and vulnerability even after they left the house. For Juliana, it was not moving that ended the uncertainty of foreclosure and made it "over," rather, it was her own faith and personal resolution to "not even feel," no longer engaging or even opening the letters that continued to come to her new home, that gave her a reprieve. The uncertainty of the timing of the foreclosure process, the timing of moving, and the locational uncertainty for Vincent, Linda, and Juliana, created a sense of limbo that continued to follow them, even after they left their foreclosed homes behind.

Damaged Credit: Lack of Residential Choice and Lingering Consequences

In moving away and moving on, former homeowners face new constraints and difficulties, such as poor credit that makes it difficult to find rental housing, complicated circumstances in moving in with family, and moving to distant locations to try to start over in a new place. When former homeowners attempt to find rental housing, their credit is often damaged from foreclosure and the financial difficulties surrounding foreclosure, making it difficult to find a landlord who will accept them as tenants. This lack of credit constrains the choices these households have in the neighborhoods that they might be able to move to, as well as constrains the ability to have a choice between different units. The neighborhoods and units that are less competitive in the market will be where landlords are more likely to take the risk by extending the opportunity to rent to tenants with bad credit. This mechanism produces spatial sorting of foreclosed households, and may further reinforce inequalities in opportunities in the future. Juliana describes her process of securing the rental house where she now lives with her family, in a working-class neighborhood, only blocks from the middle-class neighborhood where they lived before foreclosure:

> I try for 3 or 4 months looking for a rent house, nobody want to rent me a house.
>
> *Why?*
>
> Because of the credit. Even if you explain to them. It was when I start thinking about it, now it's another thing. And I explained to them, and it worked. One day, I said, 'God, you already take the house from me. At least give me a chance to live in a place. ' Cause what I gonna do? Most of our family, or his [her husband's] family that he have around, he was in the same boat. No credit. Because of the same thing. They already lose three houses, one of them.
>
> So, I was in front of the church when I see the sign of a realtor, and it was those kinds of signs, like you see. And I stopped in the door, and I said, 'I want to rent a house, and I know you rent houses, but I want to tell you before you tell me that you're gonna run the credit, my credit's ruined.' Everything is going to be worst [*sic*] than what I expect, because, by that time, I don't even pay the credit cards or anything. Because of the money - it's not because I don't want to do it, you know? They said... 'I have the record, because they already charged me three times to run the credit, so I don't want to pay for that anymore. I give you the record, see what it was from the time I told you that we started losing the house, and see how it was in the back, that's the only way you're gonna trust me. You want to give me a chance? Tell me right now, if not, don't make me lose my time. Because I have to rent a house as soon as I can, because the house is going to be for sale.'
>
> And I remember he told me, 'You know what, I think you're telling me the truth. Let me see how many houses I have, and which one you like.' I don't even look for any house, I just want *one*. So I don't even care if they're big or small. But later on, my daughter was like, 'Mom, why you pick the worst house. Mom, this house is ugly, it's old. Everything is...' And it's true. But it was like, you know, if I don't get this one, I don't know I'll get anything.

For Juliana, she was responsible for finding new housing for the family, and after being rejected for months due to her damaged credit, she turned to a realtor. She noticed the realtor's office, standing in front of her church in the same town where she lives, and found a rental house in the same community where she was already living and going to church, where her children were in school, and with access to her job and her husband's job. Rather than taking a wait-and-see approach over whether she would be approved to rent, based on her application and credit score, she was assertive and explained her situation and was willing to take anything she was offered. She was able to secure housing for her family, but as she acknowledges, she felt she had no choice in the house she ended up renting, and other members of her family reminded her of this lack of choice by pointing out the house's flaws, that it is “ugly” and “old.” While the rental house is only blocks away from their former house, across a major thoroughfare that separates the two neighborhoods, she doesn't feel the new neighborhood is as safe as the old one. Her house and car have been broken into multiple times since moving into the neighborhood, and on her street, nearly every house's front door is protected by a decorative steel security door. For Juliana, moving into this rental house solved the immediate threat of not having a place to live, but the lack of choice in her family's move, and for other Latino families like Juliana's who were disproportionately targeted by predatory lenders, these constrained moves may be a mechanism that allows social inequalities after foreclosure to persist.

Linda is currently searching for rental housing as her home is being foreclosed upon. She has experienced a few landlords saying that they wouldn't rent to her due to the foreclosure, and presumably her damaged credit, but she is not afraid of not finding a rental. Linda looks in the newspaper for rentals and on the weekends drives around local neighborhoods where she would like to live, and looks at apartment complexes. Her biggest concern is being able to bring her cats with her to her apartment. Linda is looking for a rental that is affordable, in a neighborhood that feels safe, and in a building that allows cats. She has not yet found where she will go, and not knowing if and when she will be able to find such a place has left her feeling unmoored. She said she feels “like a gypsy,” not knowing where she will go or where she will end up living.

Damaged credit, due to foreclosure, not only shapes where households are able to move, but also lingers and shapes other aspects of these households' lives. Juliana says, “Right now it's so hard to even buy a cell phone, because they run your credit and they want you to give a hundred dollars of deposit. And that's messed up! Because it's not completely our fault.” The National Council of La Raza's (2010) report, based on interviews with Latino families with children who have been through foreclosure, echoes this same finding of damaged credit reaching into many realms of one's life, giving examples of families being denied for cell phones and auto loans, having car insurance payments go up, and credit card limits decreased (Bowdler et al. 2010). The consequences of foreclosure linger, due to damaged credit, and each time these households need to use their credit, whether to find housing or get a cell phone, they are reminded of their foreclosure. Although many would like to forget and move on, damaged credit can serve as a lingering, expensive reminder of their foreclosure.

Moving in with Family: New Hardships

One way that households can avoid being denied housing due to damaged credit is by moving in with family. Many households move in with family, either as a temporary strategy, or as a longer-term plan for savings and financial recovery. While some households have few resources and little choice, this strategy can also create new hardships. For some, moving in with extended family fragments the household that is being foreclosed upon, producing new difficulties. For other households, moving in with family may be their only alternative to becoming homeless.

Vincent describes how his foreclosure and subsequent moving in with his parents, and therefore his lack of a home, affected his struggle for shared custody of his daughter, and his relationship with her:

> The foreclosure put me in a position where I didn't have a home. So, it [the foreclosure] affected it [custody] financially, where balancing my job with this ridiculous restraining order and with family court appearances, half a dozen appearances in family law, in a very biased system. There never was a shred of evidence to support any of the ridiculous claims that cost me considerably. Ultimately it [the loss of custody] was the outcome of losing my home, and driving a wedge in between me and my daughter.

While Vincent said he was glad that his daughter was able to get to know her grandparents better, when she would visit when he was living there, it was clear that the year living with his parents was not an easy one for him as it challenged his custody rights and the stability of the home environment for his daughter.

As a 40-year-old, Vincent was able to move back in with his parents, who enjoyed having him there, but not everyone has this option. For Susan, a single mom, her household's eviction by the Sheriff prior to foreclosure required her children to be split up amongst the households of extended family members living nearby who could offer temporary places for them to sleep. Juliana's grown daughter offered her living room to Juliana to live in, but her daughter has a dog and a cat, and Juliana has two cats. Juliana said she would rather live in a motel before it came to inconveniencing her daughter and all the animals by crowding into her living room. Several of the families in Pastor Howell's congregation moved in with their families. He describes the hardships that such moves created: "Some families are...some adults is moving back with their parents and that the parents' home is very small, and can't fit the three children. I have one family had to move back with their mother, and their mother lived in retirement, and she had to sneak them in just for them to have somewhere to sleep." For some families, crowding multiple households in one home, or in Susan's case, fragmenting a household amongst multiple family homes, can lead to relationship stress and strain. For the family who moved in with their mother in the retirement home, it could potentially lead to the mother facing eviction. While moving in with family may prevent a household from becoming homeless, some, like Juliana, feel the hardship it would produce makes it not an option, while others risk additional hardship for themselves and their families in order to avoid homelessness.

Pastor Pedro frames moving in with family as a strategy for survival: "So yes, a number of families... I find the Hispanic community very strong-willed in terms of...they've got their backs are to the wall, and they know they're gonna...they've got to survive, or else there's nothing. So, they do whatever it takes, and they move in with each other, with family, with friends, and do whatever they can to survive. They're very, very creative and very resilient, and very faith-filled, as far as I can tell." The pastor sees creativity and resilience in foreclosed households moving in with friends and family, but frames it as a tool for survival; moving in with family may mean doing "whatever it takes."

Starting Over? Moving Away

While moving in with family is often the first place that households move after foreclosure, they are not necessarily moving in with family nearby. For some households going through foreclosure, starting a new life or securing the support of family requires moving out of the region. Linda, who is currently looking for a place to move, says that with her sense of being uprooted from her home, she has been toying with the idea of moving to another state, somewhere that she has never been before, to "start over." For Tara, her foreclosure process that ended in short-sale, along with her unemployment, provided an opportunity to move to a Buddhist community in Arizona for nine months, living in a trailer and joining the spiritual community she had been studying with online. For Tara, her short-sale represented a significant break with the rest of her life, allowing her to start a new life in a different state. After a nine-month sojourn, however, Tara has returned to the Bay Area, to start a new job. Other families are moving back to families and places they moved away from, to seek support and ensure their "survival." Pastor Pedro describes the moves some of the members of his congregation have made back to their countries of origin:

> I've seen, on the one hand, a number of people have to move or leave the area, and have to move in with family in other parts of the state or other parts of the country. I'm almost certain that a number of Hispanics have had to move back to their country of origin, as rough as that might be, because in Mexico, for example, the situation is *very* difficult down there, not just economically, but also socially with the drug cartel wars and kidnappings, those kinds of things. So there's a lot of fear for them to go back. And some have left difficult circumstances in other countries in Central America. They came up here during the

> revolutions or the civil wars in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, so it's...and they've been here long enough to establish themselves here, so it's hard then to have to consider moving.

For these families, moving out of the state and even out of the country represents not starting over in a new place, or following a dream for a new life in a spiritual community, but instead returning to an old place, returning to family and even difficult circumstances to try to survive and rebuild their lives.

Concluding Findings on Moving: Moving Away is not Moving On

Displacement due to foreclosure produces a situation where individuals and families are forced to move. The experience of moving is accompanied with a deep sense of uncertainty around the timing of the forced move, and both the location and the housing where they will move to. Those who have been foreclosed upon describe this as an unsettling sense of being in "limbo," for a long period of time. This limbo, and desire for the uncertainty to end, puts foreclosed families in a position of wanting to end the uncertainty, even if the solution that allows that to happen may put them in a position of hardship in the future. Damaged credit haunts foreclosed households as they try to move, and try to find rentals where they will be accepted as tenants. The discretion that landlords or real estate professionals have in renting to these households with damaged credit means that foreclosed households may be steered to the least desirable rental properties or the least desirable neighborhoods. Some who move out of their foreclosed homes move in with family, which can bring significant support, but also new hardships. These hardships can be interpersonal, or they can be structural, in the case of Vincent's custody struggles after foreclosure that also impacted his relationship with his daughter. These hardships can also be over the limitations on the space that families have in their houses to take in foreclosed family members. For some, displacement means being forced to move in with nearby family. For others, displacement means moving away from the area completely, to start over, or to move in with distant family. These households juggle their day to day lives with their forced move from houses that are being foreclosed upon. Even after they have moved away, these households describe that they find moving on from their foreclosure is a different process completely, and one that can be a material, intellectual and spiritual journey. Moving, after foreclosure, often trades uncertainty around timing and location of displacement, for new struggles and hardships around family, health, community life, and simply the everyday ways that life has changed.

Conclusions: Displacement and Beyond

Previous analysis of the foreclosure crisis has emphasized the structural conditions that have produced the crisis, as well as the ways in which the foreclosure crisis has impacted neighborhoods due to vacant housing. This paper draws together the existing literature on the foreclosure crisis, the literature on previous instances of mass displacement, and analysis of individual experiences of involuntary moves from foreclosed homes, to investigate the social impacts of foreclosure on the household and their broader communities. Displacement due to historical forces has reproduced and amplified existing inequalities in society, whether they are inequalities based on race, income, class, age, or existing social capital. Although currently understood as a foreclosure crisis, or even a financial or economic crisis, I argue what we see today is a displacement crisis, where households bear the burden of the larger structural conditions as a household plight.

This struggle of millions of individual households is silently reshaping neighborhoods, community resources, and social relationships. The extent to which this reshaping may be reproducing inequalities of class, race, gender, and age similar to previous moments of displacement is not yet fully understood, but in examining experiences of individual households' forced moves after foreclosure, the conditions of uncertainty and insecurity become powerful forces in influencing moving and life after foreclosure. These destabilizing forces become ways in which those displaced feel less able to control their own life choices and make compromises in order to survive and move on. It is important to continue to examine the ways in which this displacement crisis is changing the social fabric and the life choices of millions of individual households, and to bring forward the human and social implications of what has become a "financial" crisis. The consequences of the uncertainty and insecurity of the displacement crisis will continue to shape the social landscape, but without examining those affected by foreclosure and where they are going, we will not understand the social consequences of the foreclosure crisis.

Bibliography

Aalbers, Manuel. 2009. “Geographies of the Financial Crisis.” *Area* 41 (1): 31-42.

Bennett, Gary G., Melissa Scharoun-Lee, and Reginald Tucker-Seeley. 2009. “Will the Public's Health Fall Victim to the Home Foreclosure Epidemic?” *PloS Medicine* 6 (6): 1-5.

Birch, Eugenie L. and Susan M. Wachter, eds. 2006. *Rebuilding Urban Places After Disaster: Lessons from Hurricane Katrina*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Bowdler, Janis, Roberto Quercia, and David Andrew Smith. 2010. *The Foreclosure Generation: The Long-Term Impact of the Housing Crisis on Latino Children and Families*. Washington D.C.: National Council of La Raza. www.nclr.org/content/publications/download/61725 [June 10, 2010].

California Child Care Resource and Referral Network. 2009. *2009 Child Care Portfolio*. www.rrnetwork.org/our-research/2009-portfolio.html [June 10, 2010].

Carr, James H. 2007. “Responding to the Foreclosure Crisis.” *Housing Policy Debate* 18 (4): 837-860.

Davis, Danne E. and Minsun Shin. 2009. “The Lives of Sesame Street: The Impact of Foreclosures on Young Children and Families.” *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood* 10 (2): 182-184. dx.doi.org/10.2304/ciec.2009.10.2.182 [June 10, 2010].

Ellickson, Robert C. 2008. *The Household: Informal Order Around the Hearth*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Erikson, Kai. 1994. *A New Species of Trouble: Explorations in Disaster, Trauma, and Community*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.

Fields, Desiree, Francine Justa, Kimberly Libman, and Susan Saegert. 2007. “American Nightmare.” *Shelterforce* 150 (Summer): www.nhi.org/online/issues/150/americannightmare.html [June 10, 2010].

Foote, Christopher L., Kristopher Gerardi, and Paul S. Willen. 2008. “Negative Equity and Foreclosure: Theory and Evidence.” *Journal of Urban Economics* 64 (2): 234-245.

Fothergill, Alice, Enrique G. M. Maestas and JoAnne DeRouen Darlington. 2002. “Race, Ethnicity and Disasters in the United States: A Review of the Literature.” *Disasters* 23 (2): 156-173.

Freeman, Lance. 2005. “Displacement or Succession? Residential Mobility in Gentrifying Neighborhoods.” *Urban Affairs Review* 40 (4): 463-491.

Fried, Marc. 1966. "Grieving for a Lost Home: Psychological Costs of Relocation." In *Urban Renewal: The Record and the Controversy*, edited by J. Q. Wilson, 359-379. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Fullilove, Mindy Thompson. 2004. *Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighborhoods Hurts America and What We Can Do About It*. New York: Ballantine Books.

Gans, Herbert J. 1962. *The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans*. New York: The Free Press.

Gerardi, Kristopher, Adam Hale Shapiro, and Paul Willen. 2007. *Subprime Outcomes: Risky Mortgages, Homeownership Experiences, and Foreclosures*. FRB of Boston Working Paper. December 3. SSRN. papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1073182 [June 10, 2010].

Gorman, Thomas. 2010. "Fighting Foreclosures." *Oakland North*. Berkeley: UC Berkeley, March 29. oaklandnorth.net/2010/03/29/oakland-neighborhood-fights-to-save-a-house-from-foreclosure/ [June 10, 2010].

Halpern, Robert. 1995. *Rebuilding the Inner City: A History of Neighborhood Initiatives to Address Poverty in the United States*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Hartman, Chester, Dennis Keating, and Richard LeGates. 1982. *Displacement: How to Fight It*. Berkeley: National Housing Law Project.

Howell, Pastor Dr. R. Mario. 2010. Interview by author. Tape recording. Antioch, Calif., 19 May.

Immergluck, Dan. 2009. *Foreclosed: High-Risk Lending, Deregulation, and the Undermining of America's Mortgage Market*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Immergluck, Dan, and Geoff Smith. 2006a. "The External Costs of Foreclosure: The Impact of Single-Family Mortgage Foreclosures on Property Values." *Housing Policy Debate*, 17 (1): 57-80.

_____. 2006b. "The Impact of Single-family Mortgage Foreclosures on Neighborhood Crime." *Housing Studies* 21 (6): 851-866.

Juliana [pseudo.]. 2010. Interview by author. Tape recording. Antioch, Calif., 27 May.

Kingsley, G. Thomas, Robin Smith, and David Price. 2009. *The Impacts of Foreclosures on Families and Communities*. Washington D.C.: The Urban Institute.

Lagos, Marisa. 2010. "Big Foreclosure Relief Effort." *San Francisco Chronicle*, 8 April: Front Page.

LeGates, Richard T. and Chester Hartman. 1981. "Displacement." *Clearinghouse Review* 15 (July): 207-249.

Leonard, Paul. 2010. "Some Lessons Learned from Bursting of Housing Bubble – Homeowners Need Backup When Servicers Goof." *The Sacramento Bee*, 6 April: A15. docs.newsbank.com/openurl?ctx_ver=z39.88-2004&rft_id=info:sid/iw.newsbank.com:AWNB:SCBB&rft_val_format=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:ctx&rft_dat=12EF02551434CE48&svc_dat=InfoWeb:aggdocs&req_dat=0D0CB57AB53DF815 [June 10, 2010].

Linda [pseudo.]. 2010. Interview by author. Notes. Antioch, Calif., 27 May.

Lord, Richard. 2004. *American Nightmare: Predatory Lending and the Foreclosure of the American Dream*. Monroe: Common Courage Press.

McCarthy, George. 2009. "The Foreclosure Crisis: The National Picture." Powerpoint slides prepared for the Council of Michigan Foundations. *Ford Foundation*. Lansing, MI. www.michiganfoundations.org/s_cmf/bin.asp?CID=7710&DID=26264&DOC=FILE.PDF [June 10, 2010].

Michaelson, Adam. 2009. *The Foreclosure of America: The Inside Story of the Rise and Fall of Countrywide Home Loans, the Mortgage Crisis, and the Default of the American Dream*. New York: Berkley Books.

National Coalition for the Homeless, the National Health Care for the Homeless Council, the National Alliance to End Homelessness, the National Association for the Education of Homeless Children and Youth, the National Law Center on Homelessness & Poverty, the National Low Income Housing Coalition and the National Policy and Advocacy Council on Homelessness. 2009. *Foreclosure to Homelessness 2009: The Forgotten Victims of the Subprime Crisis*. Washington D.C.: National Coalition for the Homeless. www.nationalhomeless.org/advocacy/ForeclosuretoHomelessness0609.pdf [June 10, 2010].

Newman, Kathe. 2009. "Post-Industrial Widgets: Capital Flows and the Production of the Urban." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 33 (2): 314-331.

_____. 2008. "The Perfect Storm: Contextualizing the Foreclosure Crisis." In Jeff Crump, Kathe Newman, Eric Belsky, Phil Ashton, David Kaplan, and Daniel Hammel, "Cities Destroyed (Again) for Cash: Forum on the Foreclosure Crisis." *Urban Geography* 29 (8): 750-754.

Newman, Kathe, and Elvin K. Wyly. 2006. "The Right to Stay Put, Revisited: Gentrification and Resistance to Displacement in New York City." *Urban Studies* 43 (1): 23-57.

Ojeda, Raul Hinojosa. 2009. *The Continuing Home Foreclosure Tsunami: Disproportionate Impacts on Black and Latino Communities*. San Antonio: William C. Valasquez Institute. www.wcvi.org/data/pub/housingwhitepaper102309.htm [June 10, 2010].

Pastor Pedro [pseudo.]. 2010. Interview by author. Tape recording. Antioch, Calif., 25 May.

Peacock, Walter Gillis, Betty Hearn Morrow, and Hugh Gladwin, eds. 1997. *Hurricane Andrew: Ethnicity, Gender and the Sociology of Disasters*. London: Taylor & Francis.

Perkins, Kristin. 2008. *A Snapshot of Foreclosure in Contra Costa County*. Berkeley, CA: Center for Community Innovation, University of California at Berkeley, July. communityinnovation.berkeley.edu/publications/Perkins_A-Snapshot-of-Foreclosure.pdf [June 10, 2010].

Robertson, Christopher T., Richard Egelhof, and Michael Hoke. 2008. "Get Sick, Get Out: The Medical Causes of Home Mortgage Foreclosures." *Health Matrix: Journal of Law-Medicine* 18 (65): 65-105.

Said, Carolyn. 2010. "Home Sales Dip, Prices Rise in Bay Area." *San Francisco Chronicle*, 19 March: D1.

Streitfeld, David. 2010. "Owners Stop Paying Mortgages, and Stop Fretting." *New York Times*, New York Edition, 1 June: A1.

Susan [pseudo.]. 2009. Conversation with author. 30 July.

Swanstrom, Todd, Karen Chapple, and Dan Immergluck. 2009. *Regional Resilience in the Face of Foreclosures: Evidence from Six Metropolitan Areas*. Berkeley, CA: Institute of Urban and Regional Development, UC Berkeley, May.

Tara [pseudo.]. 2009. Email correspondence with author. 20 October.

______. 2010. Email correspondence with author. 30 May.

Tenants Together. 2009. *Hidden Impact: California Renters in the Foreclosure Crisis*. San Francisco: Tenants Together, March.

Whitcomb, Dan. 2009. "California's Train Wreck a Golden Opportunity?" *Reuters,* January 26. www.reuters.com/article/idUSTRE50P0ZX20090126 [June 10, 2010].

Vale, Lawrence J., and Thomas J. Campanella, eds. 2005. *The Resilient City: How Modern Cities Recover From Disaster*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Vincent [pseudo.]. 2010. Interview by author. Tape recording. Antioch, Calif., 19 May.

INSTITUTE FOR
THE STUDY OF
SOCIAL CHANGE

2420 Bowditch Street #5670
Berkeley, CA 94720-5670

tel: 510-642-0813
fax: 510-642-8674

email: ISSC@berkeley.edu
web: http://issc.berkeley.edu