

RELOCATION DUE TO HIGHWAY TAKINGS:  
A DIACHRONIC ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EFFECTS

by

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(The opinions, findings, and conclusions expressed in this report  
are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the sponsoring agencies.)

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16. Abstract This report presents the findings of a study of the relocation assistance program of the Virginia Department of Highways and Transportation. The overall purpose of the research was to determine the degree to which the program consistently achieves the goals set forth in the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisitions Act of 1970. A survey methodology was used as the means of data collection. Of the 879 families relocated in Virginia between July 1, 1972, and December 31, 1974, interview and questionnaire data were obtained from 494. Seventy percent of the respondents were Caucasian, 65% were married, 40% were male, and 70% were employed. Fifty-five percent of the respondents were owners at the time of relocation and 61% were classified as rural cases. The typical family had 3.2 members, an annual income of \$9,000 and lived in housing valued at approximately \$15,500. Moreover, 68% of the respondents were over 60, and 22% were white-collar workers and the greatest number had somewhere between 10 and 12 years of formal education. Subjects addressed include, but are not limited to, both displacee and practitioner attitudes about the relocation experience, as well as the financial and social aspects of relocation. In addition the extent to which time attenuates negative responses is examined. In general, four-fifths of Virginia displacees had a positive attitude toward the relocation experience; however, home owners rated the experience much less favorably than did tenants. Unfavorable attitudes toward relocation were found not to significantly attenuate with time. The percentage of displacees pleased with their replacement housing was greater than the percentage pleased with their replacement neighborhood. (over)			
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Twenty-eight percent of the respondents were dissatisfied with the payment portion of the relocation program. The reasons most often cited by the dissatisfied persons were low appraisals, insufficient relocation housing payments, payment timing problems and debt status changes. Elderly displacees exhibited a greater need for services and post-relocation assistance than did younger people. The greatest enemy to a successful and amiable relocation transaction was found to be miscommunication between displacee and agent. Factors such as printed matter, the type and amount of information presented at the first contact, and the number of contacts were also cited as items which impeded rather than enhanced communication. A prevalent concern of displacees is the length of time between their relocation and the beginning of project construction, the major complaint being the vandalism of their former residences. Finally, there is evidence that the method of computing relocation housing payments as prescribed by the 1970 Act may be in need of review.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page No.</u>
PREFACE	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vii
FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS	ix
RECOMMENDATIONS	xv
INTRODUCTION	1
Background	1
Objectives and Scope	2
Methodology	3
Characteristics of Sample Population	5
RELOCATION FROM THE DISPLACEE'S PERSPECTIVE: THE PROGRAM, THE DEPARTMENT AND DEPARTMENT PERSONNEL	11
General Attitudes	11
Payment Adequacy and Satisfaction with Relocation Services	11
Probing the Causes of Dissatisfaction	13
Attenuation of Negative Responses Over Time	21
Summary	25
ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL ANALYSIS OF RELOCATION	27
Introduction	27
Physical and Monetary Comparisons of Housing	27
Compensable and Non-compensable Costs	30
Adequacy of Payments	36
SOCIAL ANALYSIS	41
Residential Satisfaction: Housing versus Neighborhood	41
The Elderly	48
Minority Groups	49
Summary	50
DISPLACEE COMMENTS: CLUES TO FUTURE PROGRAM SUCCESS	53
Payments	54
Replacement Dwelling	55
Information	56
The Elderly	58
Termination of Residence	59
Motivation for Economic Status Change	60
Environmental Concerns	61
Miscellaneous	62

## TABLE OF CONTENTS (Cont'd)

	<u>Page No.</u>
RELOCATION FROM THE PRACTITIONER'S PERSPECTIVE	63
Introduction	63
Interviews	63
Payment Timing Problems	63
Communications	64
The Elderly	65
Comparability	66
REFERENCES	67
APPENDICES	
A. Interview Schedule	A-1
Interview Contact Letter	A-3
Follow-up Letter	A-5
Postcard	A-7
B. Questionnaire	B-1
Questionnaire Contact Letter	B-5
Follow-up Letter	B-7

## PREFACE

In a decade when the phrase "government project" has come to connote something negative, it is quite encouraging to report that between 75% and 80% of the individuals displaced by the construction of highways in Virginia emerged from the experience with a positive attitude. Specifically, where the personnel with whom they dealt and the state program under which they were relocated are concerned, more than four-fifths of the displacees reported no negative feelings. In the opinion of the authors, such a level of satisfaction should be a source of pride to the Virginia Department of Highways and Transportation. Nevertheless, since the research reported herein was undertaken to identify both the positive and negative aspects of Virginia's relocation program, the authors believe that the interests of the Department and the Federal Highway Administration can best be served by a detailed examination of those aspects of the relocation transaction which may warrant reevaluation or improvement. Therefore, this report focuses on the 20% to 25% of the respondents who emerged from the relocation experience with something less than a positive attitude.



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The opinions, findings, conclusions and recommendations expressed in this report are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the Federal Highway Administration or the Virginia Department of Highways & Transportation.



## FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

1. In general, relocatees in Virginia voiced a favorable opinion of the relocation program, the Department, and its personnel. Only 14% had a negative opinion of Department personnel, 17% displayed negative feelings toward the program, and 26% felt they had been unfairly treated by the Department.
2. Respondents were generally less satisfied with certain services offered by the Department than they were with the overall relocation experience. Specifically, 30% were not satisfied with the help they received in finding a replacement dwelling. In most instances this displeasure stemmed from help not being offered. Furthermore, one out of four displacees found the notice to vacate period too short. Of those who felt the vacation notice was not adequate, 30% had a negative opinion of personnel; among the group who said the notice was sufficient, only 8.5% had a negative opinion. Moreover, over three-fourths of the displacees displaying a negative opinion of the relocation program were dissatisfied with the help they received in finding a home; among those who had a positive opinion of the relocation program, only 13% were not satisfied with the help they received in finding a replacement. (See recommendations 21 and 22.)
3. One of the major concerns of relocatees throughout the relocation process was the amount of compensation they received for being forced to find a replacement dwelling. Twenty-nine percent of the respondents, most of whom were home owners, felt payments were inadequate in terms of making them as well off financially as they were prior to relocation. (See recommendation 1.)
4. Home owners as a group rated the relocation program less favorably, felt unfairly treated more often and expressed the feeling that payments were inadequate more frequently than did tenants. This finding was expected because of the fact that home owners as a group are wealthier and more settled than tenants and therefore stand to lose more upon being relocated. In addition, owners comprised the overwhelming majority of the respondents who were dissatisfied with specific aspects of relocation such as payment adequacy, help in finding a replacement dwelling, and length of notice to vacate. (See recommendations 1 and 22.)
5. Education level was related to the displacees' attitude toward Department personnel. Only 20% of those displacees having a negative opinion of Department personnel had greater than a 10th grade education. Among those respondents who had a negative opinion of Department personnel, 71% had less than a 10th grade education. (See recommendation 24.)

6. Both length of occupancy in the original dwelling and age of the displacee were significantly related to attitudes about fairness of treatment. Individuals over 50 years of age and those who had lived in their original dwellings longer than 10 years were more likely to feel unfairly treated than younger individuals or those who had lived in their original dwelling less than 10 years. In addition, the longer an individual had lived in the original dwelling, the more likely he was to have a negative overall feeling about the relocation program. (See recommendation 9.)
7. The passing of time does not appear to have significantly weakened negative attitudes. However, respondents who felt negatively toward relocation because of dissatisfaction in the early stages of the operation tended to maintain that attitude, regardless of how long they had lived in their replacement dwelling. (See recommendations 14 and 16.)
8. The greatest obstacle to a successful and amiable relocation transaction was found to be inadequate communication between the displacee and agent. In fact, the authors contend that miscommunication is the major cause of most of the dissatisfaction associated with forced relocation. The data (particularly comments) revealed that the payment procedure, information booklet, bombardment of information on the first contact, variance of agents, and length of time between first contact and the initiation of negotiations often totally confused the displacee and thus seriously impeded communications. (See recommendations 11, 13, 14, 15 and 16.)
9. The relocation program appears to serve as a vehicle by which tenants can improve their economic position by becoming home owners. Over half of those who were tenants at the time of relocation became owners. The average down payment supplement received by this group was \$2,800. Those who remained tenants tended to make a slight voluntary upgrade in the value of their housing, in that after relocation they paid an average of \$10 per month more than the average value of comparable rental units.
10. From a purely monetary standpoint, owners tended to upgrade their housing. On the average, owners paid \$3,140 more for their replacement dwelling than was necessary to secure housing comparable to their original dwelling. Seventy-five percent of the owners purchased homes valued greater than the comparable; 4% purchased homes of value equal to that of the comparable; and 21% purchased a dwelling valued lower than the comparable.
11. A comparison of the physical characteristics of pre-and post-relocation housing indicated that an upgrade occurred in roughly one-third of the cases. However, while replacement dwellings cost an average of \$3,140 more than comparables, the average difference in floorspace between replacements and comparables was only 14 square feet (1.3 square metres). (See recommendations 8 and 23.)

12. While most of the dissatisfaction with the payment portion of the relocation program resulted from a feeling that replacement housing payments (RHP's) were too small, inability to obtain decent, safe, and sanitary comparable dwellings with the existing RHP's was not the source of dissatisfaction. Rather, the finding that 75% of owners purchased homes valued at approximately \$3,140 more than comparables differing from them only slightly in terms of access, number of rooms, and floorspace and the finding that owners were more satisfied with their replacement dwelling than the replacement neighborhood suggest that neighborhood comparability was the source of dissatisfaction with RHP's. (See recommendation 8.)
13. The fixed payment schedule for moves was both efficient and less expensive than the use of professional movers. Only 7% of the respondents felt that moving costs were inadequate. However, interview and questionnaire comments revealed that most respondents had made no conscious separation between the \$200 dislocation allowance and the actual moving cost payment. The authors believe that any inadequacy in moving expense payments has to do with the dislocation allowance. Specifically, tenants appear to fare much better than owners in terms of the adequacy of the allowance to cover certain incidental expenses of moving (hookups, erecting TV antennas, etc.). (See recommendations 2 and 3.)
14. Displacees were in few instances dissatisfied with mortgage interest differentials and reimbursements for minor compensable expenses.
15. Increases in utility costs among displacees occurred in 69% of the cases. Those increases, in the majority of cases, were generally accepted; that is, they were attributed to rate hikes rather than relocation. However, cross tabulations between certain attitudes concerning the relocation experience and changes in utility costs revealed that the greatest percentage incidence of negative attitudes occurred among displacees whose utility costs increased after relocation. (See recommendation 4.)
16. While there was a high correlation between a higher level of property taxation in the replacement dwelling and overall dissatisfaction with relocation, the dissatisfaction could not be attributed to the higher taxes. Forty-nine percent of owners experienced higher property taxes, usually because the assessed value of the replacement was higher than that of the original. However, owners with higher taxes were no more likely to prefer their original dwellings than were owners whose property taxes were lower.
17. Dissatisfaction with the payment portion of the relocation program stemmed from causes in addition to the "settlement", or bottom line, figure paid by the Department. Of the 28% who were dissatisfied with payments, 27% said the RHP was too low, 19% said the appraisal was too low, 12% said they were deeper in debt, 9% said they just didn't get enough for their trouble, and 5% said they could not get their RHP quickly enough. (See recommendations 23, 5, 20, 7 and 11.)

18. Satisfaction with those payment aspects of the relocation program mentioned in item 17 seemed to be strongly related to satisfaction with the housing and neighborhood and to attitudes about fairness of treatment and overall feelings about relocation. Over half of those who preferred their previous neighborhood and previous housing were dissatisfied with some aspects of payments; furthermore, even among the group of respondents who had a positive opinion of personnel, almost two-thirds of those who felt unfairly treated were dissatisfied with payments. (See recommendations 23, 5, 20, 7 and 11.)
19. Uncertainty as to the manner in which the highway project would affect their property led to a reluctance on the part of owners to improve it and provide normal maintenance prior to relocation. Therefore, property values may actually have filtered down, the result being a lower appraisal than would have occurred had the property been maintained. (See recommendation 5.)
20. Where a displacee had a business in his home, a loss in income often occurred because of relocation. Comments showed that in every instance where a "home business" was relocated, a loss in income resulted for which there was no legally entitled compensation. (See recommendation 6.)
21. Displacees appeared to be generally satisfied with their replacement housing. Only 23% of the respondents preferred their original dwelling to the replacement.
22. Neighborhood comparability appears to have been a greater concern of displacees than was housing comparability. Over 40% of those experiencing a neighborhood change preferred their previous neighborhood to their current one. Those preferring their previous neighborhood were more likely to display negative attitudes toward the program, Department, and personnel than were those preferring their current neighborhood. Neighborhood satisfaction was also found to be closely related to neighbor satisfaction. (See recommendation 8.)
23. While the passage of time was found to be related to neighborhood preference, there was no indication that it altered neighborhood preference. Regardless of whether a respondent preferred his current or his previous neighborhood, the data indicated he would be likely to retain that preference through time.
24. The concerns of the elderly involved other than financial matters. The primary sources of discomfort to the elderly respondents were the psychological problems of readjusting and post-relocation matters. The secondary concern of this group was the loss of contact with familiar surroundings. The data also revealed that respondents over age 60 were more likely to feel unfairly treated than were those under 60. (See recommendations 9, 10, and 25.)
25. The elderly displacee appeared to be in greater need of post-relocation assistance than did the younger displacee. Comments received from elderly respondents alluded to the fact that while the \$200 dislocation allowance may have been more than adequate for the younger displacee, it may not have come near to meeting the out-of-pocket expenditures of the elderly displacee, especially after relocation. (See recommendations 2 and 10.)

26. All ethnic groups received equal treatment. While dissatisfaction among black respondents was notably absent, one out of four who were dissatisfied cited a change in their debt status as the reason. (See recommendation 7.)
27. While relocation was often found to have curtailed previously existing social relationships, in no case was this forfeiture found to be a cause of any real discontent. There was, however, a greater likelihood that respondents preferring their previous neighborhood would make fewer friends in the replacement neighborhood than would those who preferred the current neighborhood. Also, it was found that younger displacees were more likely to make friends in the replacement neighborhood than were older displacees.
28. Even though several respondents experienced a difficulty with the timing of their payments, they did not display a negative attitude toward the Department because of it. Instead, they opined rather strongly that the payments portion of the program would be enhanced if the RHP was received in sufficient time not to require obtaining a short-term loan on which the interest charges are not reimbursable. Right-of-way agents who were interviewed by the authors indicated the problem may occur in one-third of the cases, particularly among the elderly or fixed income groups.
29. While respondents were generally satisfied with their replacement dwellings, many took the opportunity to make certain comments regarding the specifics of their housing. Driveway repairs and/or access to the main road appeared to be the main source of discontent regarding these specifics. (See recommendations 12 and 19.)
30. Although certain cases of death and injury were attributed by the survivors to the relocation experience, there is no support that the rates of death and injury were higher among displacees than among the normal population. However, the elderly have the greatest potential of being severely affected by relocation because: 1) their age makes understanding the why and how of relocation very difficult; 2) they often have stronger ties with their original home and neighborhood because they have lived in it for a long while, which makes uprooting very difficult, often to the point of trauma; and 3) the adjustment is difficult. These are likely the reasons that older individuals seldom move voluntarily. (See recommendations 9, 10 and 25.)
31. A prevalent concern of the displacees was the length of time between their relocation and the beginning of highway construction. The major source of discontent here involved the vandalism of empty original dwellings. (See recommendations 17 and 18.)
32. Concerning the finding of a home for displacees, there is a lack of uniformity among districts. Some districts take a very active role and pursue an "I'll call you" philosophy, while others assume the displacee knows best for himself. The authors identified the simple failure to communicate which philosophy is being pursued to be a source of discontent among displacees. (See recommendation 21.)

33. While their opinion was not strongly borne out by displacee comments, right-of-way personnel believe that printed matter (distributed at the initial contact) while being quite helpful on some points of relocation, is frequently a source of both confusion among the less educated and dissatisfaction among those who misconstrue maximum RHP's as being an entitlement. (See recommendation 13.)
34. The method of computing RHP's as dictated by the 1970 Act may be less than efficient. This conclusion is based upon the fact that if the chosen comparable is removed from the market prior to the time a displacee contracts for a replacement dwelling, another comparable has to be located and the appropriate RHP computed. (See recommendation 23.)

## RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings presented above led the authors to make the following recommendations. Recommendations 1, 2, 6, 11, 22 and 23 pertain to the 1970 Act and are therefore addressed to the Federal Highway Administration. The remainder propose changes in state policies and procedures.

1. Changes in either the provisions of the 1970 Act or the manner in which it is implemented should be directed toward that portion of the Act dealing with owners rather than tenants.
2. It is recommended that the current dislocation allowance entitlement be re-evaluated, because renters are faring much better than owners under the \$200 limit and certain incidental relocation expenses frequently are not fully covered for the elderly displacee.
3. It is recommended that the rate of increase in professional contract moves be utilized as a standard annual indicator of the sufficiency of the fixed payment moving schedule. A significant increase in the rate of professional moves about an established baseline would be indicative of the need for increasing the fixed payment schedule.
4. It is recommended that in those instances where practical and consistent with the fulfillment of comparability and decent, safe, and sanitary requirements, the replacement dwelling have a heating system that doesn't cost significantly more to operate than the system in the original dwelling.
5. It is recommended that potential displacees be informed that not maintaining their property can and will likely result in a down filtering of their neighborhood and a consequent low appraisal. This information should be included in the Department's relocation booklet and emphasized in oral transactions with potential displacees.
6. It is recommended that the necessity for a separate provision dealing with businesses in homes be evaluated.
7. It is recommended that it be made standard practice for the relocation agent to provide counseling in those instances where he suspects there is a reasonable likelihood that the displacee may not fully appreciate the financial ramifications of purchasing a replacement dwelling valued higher than the comparable.
8. It is recommended that more attention be given to neighborhood comparability when comparables are selected, especially in terms of accessibility, environmental matters, and neighbor compatibility.

9. In cases where displacees have lived in the original dwelling for 10 or more years, it is recommended that relocation personnel be cognizant of the fact that displacement has a greater impact on this group than on those who have lived in their original dwellings less than 10 years, and that they adjust their actions accordingly.
10. It is recommended that the elderly be paid a goodwill visit to ensure that post-relocation adjustment has not resulted in undue hardship. Such a visit may be substituted by a telephone call in certain instances.
11. It is recommended that a change in the provision of the 1970 Act governing the requirements for receiving payment be made. While the Department, upon request, is paying early in cases where the RHP is needed to close, the law appears to be restrictive in terms of the spirit of the 1970 Act.
12. Since driveways and access appear to be a source of discontent where replacement housing is concerned, it is recommended that accessibility to the replacement dwelling be as convenient as is feasible.
13. It is recommended that the Department consider the development of two relocation brochures or the use of a color coding technique--one for owners and one for tenants. Implementation of this recommendation might help to reduce the confusion caused by the detail contained in the current booklet.
14. It is recommended that the degree of detail involved in the initial contact be reduced. It is the researchers' opinion that only a minimal amount of information should be disseminated at this time and that maximum entitlement figures should not be presented. Such details should be saved for a second visit at such time as the displacees have recovered from their initial surprise.
15. It is recommended that the same two relocation agents follow each relocation case to its conclusion. These agents must be willing to make themselves available at the displacee's convenience, not at their own.
16. It is recommended that an informational group meeting with potential displacees be used on all major projects. This meeting may be one of the better means of quelling rumors and familiarizing displacees with the Department's personnel, as well as its sincerity and attentiveness to their particular case.
17. The time span which often exists between right-of-way acquisition and project construction should be reduced. A review of right-of-way procedures in the form of a statistical study of the time interval from the initial contact to the possession of a parcel would make available data upon which the Department could estimate a latest date for beginning negotiations with a calculated risk, say a 5% to 10% chance, of not having complete possession of a right-of-way at the time the contract is awarded. The authors strongly urge that such an investigation be undertaken.

18. It is recommended that vacant dwellings be demolished or moved as rapidly as is feasible.
19. While certain of the environmental concerns of displacees are unavoidable, right-of-way personnel should be encouraged to minimize these effects by taking more care with the selecting of comparables.
20. It is recommended that agents explain fully to home owners how improvements made to the original dwelling are taken into account in the appraisal of their property.
21. It is recommended that within each highway (or relocation) district there not only be uniformity of policy, but also special emphasis on informing the displacee whether an "I'll call you" or "You call us" philosophy is to be followed concerning assistance with finding a replacement dwelling.
22. It is recommended that consideration be given to extending the notice to vacate from 90 days to 120 days.
23. It is recommended that consideration be given to altering the manner of computing RHP's. Rather than basing the maximum RHP on one chosen comparable, it might be feasible to again (as in earlier years) base it upon an average of several comparables.
24. It is recommended that relocation personnel exert extra effort during the relocation of the less educated in order that negative attitudes be kept to a minimum.
25. The authors strongly urge that right-of-way personnel be aware of the exasperation often felt by the displacee and strive during all stages of the relocation process to lend an empathetic ear in trying to minimize such feelings.



RELOCATION DUE TO HIGHWAY TAKINGS IN VIRGINIA:  
A DIACHRONIC ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EFFECTS

by

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INTRODUCTION

Background

Prior to the mid 1950's, which marked the beginning of the acceleration of urban renewal programs as well as the initiation of the interstate highway system, people displaced by highway construction were expected to solve their own relocation problems and to merely receive fair market value for their property. They received neither money nor services over and above the just compensation to help cover relocation costs and to assist with the displacement.

In 1962, Congress created the nation's first relocation assistance program through the passage of the Federal Aid Highway Act of that year. This act required that every state assist all residential displacees in finding substitute housing and authorized the payment of up to \$200 for moving expenses. The relocation assistance provisions of the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1968 were a direct result of studies conducted to determine whether people who had been forced to relocate due to federal and federally aided construction programs had been paid adequate compensation for the losses they had incurred. This act increased compensation for moving costs and provided supplemental housing payments to owners and tenants, as well as payments for miscellaneous expenses usually associated with the transfer of property to a government agency. In addition, the 1968 Act called for expanded relocation services to provide relocatees current price and rental information on available replacement housing. The most recent legislation of this type, the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisitions Act of 1970, again increased moving payments and expanded supplemental housing payments. The 1970 Act also required that relocatees be compensated for increased interest expenses resulting from a change in mortgages and for incidental expenses incurred in the purchase of a replacement home. The Virginia Department of Highways and Transportation fully implemented the 1968 Act on February 26, 1970, and the 1970 Act on April 10, 1972.

As evidenced by the above, relocation assistance and services offered to individuals displaced by highway construction have been increased substantially through the years. Several studies have been made to determine the consequences of freeway displacement to residents relocated under federal and state programs which both preceded and included those implemented by the 1968 and 1970 Acts;<sup>(1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6)</sup> however, there has been a dearth of research examining the extent to which the 1970 Act has remedied the problems exhibited as a result of research on these earlier programs. The literature reveals that only three major empirical studies have been conducted which deal with the 1970 Relocation Assistance Program. Of these, two treated the 1970 Act exclusively,<sup>(4, 6)</sup> the other utilized a combination of information taken from households relocated under both the 1968 and the 1970 Acts.<sup>(5)</sup> The latter study consisted mainly of an investigation of economic effects, with only a limited emphasis on social impact. It was limited in two other aspects: 1) the data base was derived from only two projects in two major cities, and 2) the households examined had lived in characteristically low-valued housing. The most recent study conducted by Buffington et al.,<sup>(6)</sup> followed the same general approach as that just cited, but concentrated on the 1970 Act. Although those authors offered some interesting recommendations based upon their research, the data were drawn from only twelve highway projects, all of which were located in or near five urban areas situated relatively close together. In terms of providing recommendations on possible legislative and administrative weaknesses in the relocation program implemented by the 1970 Act, it is in the opinion of the authors more desirable to derive conclusions from analyzing a data base representative of not only large highway projects in or near urban areas, but of smaller projects dispersed over a wide geographic area as well.

Consequently, the Virginia Highway and Transportation Research Council, in cooperation with the Virginia Department of Highways and Transportation and the Federal Highway Administration, undertook the study reported here, which was the most comprehensive to date in terms of the type of projects investigated and the geographic area from which the sample was drawn. This report includes the findings, conclusions, and recommendations derived from an analysis of the data obtained during the study, the specific objectives of which are discussed below.

### Objectives and Scope

The overall purpose of the research was to determine the degree to which the relocation program administered by the Virginia Department of Highways and Transportation consistently achieves the goals set forth in the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisitions Act of 1970. Specifically the objectives were to--

1. determine the adequacy of relocation payments in terms of their comprehensive coverage of all expenses incurred in securing replacement housing;
2. determine both the short-term and long-term social effects of forced relocation;

3. determine the extent to which perceived and actual social effects are correlated with measurable economic effects;
4. determine the extent to which social and economic consequences vary with respect to identifiable characteristics of displacees;
5. determine the degree to which relocatees alter their lifestyle in terms of income, wealth, and social condition;
6. determine the attitude of displacees toward the Virginia Department of Highways and Transportation's relocation program, its personnel, and general practices;
7. determine the attitude of relocation personnel toward the present relocation program; and
8. recommend to the sponsoring agencies such steps which, based upon the research findings, may be necessary to improve not only the program's administration, but also the legislation by which the program is implemented.

This study differs from most others of its type in one especially important respect: It examines the effects on relocatees at different points in time. The following hypothesis was tested for the data obtained: The longer the replacement housing has been occupied, the greater the likelihood that the displacee's perception of adverse social and economic effects will have dissipated. Such a diachronic approach to analyzing relocation effects seems more analytically suitable as a tool by which to judge the relocation process than does a synchronic approach. In addition, whereas previous studies have dealt with relocation on a project basis at one point in time, (1,3,4,5,6) this study dealt with relocation due to takings for highways throughout the state of Virginia during the period from July 1, 1972, through December 31, 1974. The analysis presented here covers all highway districts and all identifiable and available ethnic and economic groups, exclusive of those cases under litigation at the time of sample selection. Cases upon which condemnation proceedings were complete were included.

## Methodology

### Interviews

As was previously mentioned, the Virginia Department of Highways and Transportation complied with the 1970 Act on April 10, 1972; and the period of study was July 1, 1972, through December 31, 1974. Using a table of random numbers, a stratified sample of 200 households were selected to be interviewed from the approximately 879 that were relocated during the study period. The stratification was structured to ensure the representativeness of both urban and rural

relocation cases and the representativeness of cases from each fiscal year (1973, 1974, 1975). The choice of a sample of 200 was made because the interview period was limited to six weeks<sup>(7)</sup> and only a limited number of experienced interviewers could be hired within the project budget. A further consideration was that since the research design called for interviews to be conducted statewide rather than in a small geographic area, a larger sample would have led to exorbitant travel costs.

From the Department's relocation records preliminary information was obtained to enable the researchers 1) to obtain data concerning both the socio-economic characteristics and the pre-relocation conditions of the 200 cases selected before administering the interviews, and 2) to make pre-relocation/post-relocation comparisons. Moreover, the researchers wanted to know something about those individuals who did not respond to the mail contacts. Included in this section of the report is a subsection devoted to characteristics of those non-respondents.

The 200 randomly selected households were notified by mail that they had been chosen to provide the Department information concerning their recent relocation experience, and were asked to return an enclosed postal card indicating their willingness (or unwillingness) to be interviewed. Two follow-ups were sent to those not responding; the second contained a questionnaire which was to be filled in and returned.

The interviews were administered by two teams of two persons each. The researchers felt that the second interviewer not only would be helpful in answering questions the respondents might have, but would also provide a second account or interpretation of the interviewee's responses. Interviews were structured ones in which the interviewers asked a detailed set of both closed-and open-ended questions pertaining to both the pre-relocation and post-relocation attitudes and social and economic conditions of the displacees. While care was taken to see that all questions were asked in each interview, the researchers usually participated in a discussion with the interviewees rather than merely battering them with questions. The authors feel that informal interviews of this type elicit more candid responses than do tightly structured ones on a subject to which a great deal of emotionalism is attached.

A total of 101 interviews were administered and 16 completed questionnaires were received, yielding a response rate for this phase of 117/200, or 58.5%.<sup>(8)</sup> Thirty of the persons contacted returned the postal card refusing to participate in the interview, 43 did not respond, and 10 could not be located.

### Questionnaires

This phase of the study involved the gathering of data from those households relocated under the 1970 Act which were not contacted for an interview. Each of these remaining households was sent a questionnaire containing the same questions as the interview schedule with a request to complete and return it in the enclosed, self-addressed, stamped envelope. One follow-up was sent to those persons not responding within two weeks. A total of 377 completed questionnaires were received, yielding a response for this phase of 377/679, or 55.5%. Forty people on the mailing list could not be located or were deceased at the time of the mail contact.

The researchers decided that if no significant differences existed between the sets of data collected in the two phases of the study, they would be combined for analysis. A careful perusal indicated that the differences between the two groups were negligible; thus the data were combined to yield a total response rate for the entire study of 494/879, or 56.2%. The true response rate, however, was 494/829, or 59.5%. (The reader will remember that 50 members of the sample population were either deceased or couldn't be located.)

District right-of-way agents were also interviewed to obtain their attitudes and opinions about both the relocation program as it is administered by the Department and the legislation under which the program must be carried out. The interviews were focused ones which allowed the researchers to probe both the generalities and specifics of the program and cases. Moreover, responses by both agents and displacees to questions concerning a particular case served to enlighten the researchers as to the specifics of that case. A later section of this report is devoted to the data gathered during these agent interviews.

### Characteristics of the Sample Population

#### The Respondents (Sample)

All of the respondents had lived in their dwellings long enough to qualify for relocation payments for replacement housing as well as for moving expense payments. Table 1 shows that 26% of the respondents had lived in their original dwellings for more than 20 years, and that almost half had lived in their original dwellings more than 10 years. Thus attachment to original dwelling was expected to occur frequently. Sixty-eight percent of the sample were 60 years of age or

Table 1

Length of Occupancy in Original Dwelling  
(N=494)

Category	Percentage of Respondents
Less than 1 yr.	12.4
1-2 yr.	7.7
2-5 yr.	16.0
5-10 yr.	17.2
10-20 yr.	17.4
More than 20 yr.	26.0
No Response	3.2
TOTAL	100.0%

under; 28.3% were over 60 and, for the purposes of this study, were classified as elderly (Table 2). Almost 60% of the respondents were female, while 64.4% were married, 17.6% were widowed, and the remainder were unmarried. Over 70% of the respondents were employed, 10.8% were unemployed, and the remaining 18.5% were retired. Four ethnic groups were represented in the sample, with 69.8% being Caucasian, 28.3% being Black, 1.6% being Asian, and 0.2% being American Indian.

Table 2

Characteristics of Respondents at Time of Interview  
(N=494)

Category	Percentage of Respondents
Age	
21-30	13.0
31-40	12.6
41-50	17.6
51-60	25.1
61-70	17.4
Over 70	10.9
No Response	3.4
Sex	
Male	40.1
Female	59.9
Marital Status	
Single	10.5
Married	64.4
Widowed	17.6
Separated or Divorced	7.3
No Response	.2
Employment Status	
Employed	70.7
Unemployed	10.8
Retired	18.5
Race or Nationality	
Caucasian	69.8
Black	28.3
American Indian	.2
Asian	1.6
<b>TOTAL FOR ALL CATEGORIES</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Sixty-one percent of the households were classified as rural and the remainder urban. The mean size of respondent households was slightly under 3 persons, just below the state average of 3.2. It is interesting to note, however, that over one-third of the households contained only 2 members. At the time of relocation, 45% of the respondents were tenants and 55% owners. However, relocation induced 105 tenants to become owners and 11 owners to become tenants; thus almost half of the tenants became owners. As a result, at the time of the interview just over 74% of the respondents were home owners, 19.6% were tenants, and 3.4% neither paid rent out-of-pocket nor owned a home (Table 3). Over 80% of the respondents had lived in their replacement housing for more than 1 year, with the greatest number having occupied it 2-3 years. Almost half of the respondents reported an annual family income of \$8,000 or less, and almost one-third reported earning \$5,000 or less. The mean annual income was \$8,999 as compared to the statewide median household income of \$8,448. In addition, 36% of the respondents were on some sort of fixed income.

Table 3

Characteristics of Respondent Households at Time of Interview  
(N=494)

Category	Percentage of Respondents
<b>Tenure</b>	
Owner	74.5
Tenant	19.6
Neither	3.4
No Response	2.4
<b>Length of Occupancy in Replacement Dwelling</b>	
Less than 6 mo.	2.0
6-9 mo.	4.5
9-12 mo.	11.5
12-18 mo.	21.5
18-24 mo.	20.2
2-3 yr.	26.3
More than 3 yr.	12.3
No Response	1.6
<b>Total Family Income</b>	
\$0 - 5,000	32.4
\$5,001 - 8,000	16.2
\$8,001 - 11,000	15.4
\$11,001 - 15,000	12.8
\$15,001 - 20,000	7.5
Over \$20,000	3.8
No Response	11.9
<b>TOTAL FOR ALL CATEGORIES</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

19.6

Forty-one percent of the respondents reported having less than a ninth grade education and only 17% had education beyond high school (Table 4). The greatest number had somewhere between 10 and 12 years of formal education. The mean education level was approximately 10 years as compared to the statewide mean of 11.6 years. Twenty-two percent of the respondents were white-collar workers, 12% were homemakers, 29% were retired or unemployed, and the remaining 37% were blue-collar workers (Table 5).

Table 4

Education of Respondents  
(N=494)

Categories	Percentage of Respondents
1-6 yr.	19.8
7-9 yr.	21.3
10-12 yr.	35.4
Some College	9.5
College Degree	4.0
Graduate or Professional	3.2
No Response	6.7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Table 5

Occupation of Respondents  
(N=494)

Category	Percentage of Respondents
Professional	6.9
Business-Manager	6.5
Clerical	8.3
Craftsman	12.6
Operative	9.3
Unskilled	15.0
Homemaker	12.0
Retired	18.5
Unemployed	10.8
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

## The Non-Respondents

Because participation in the survey was optional, there was a possibility of the sample being biased. <sup>(9)</sup> An analysis of the non-respondents showed, however, that the distributions of key socioeconomic variables were quite similar for the respondents and non-respondents. When comparisons were made of the distributions of income, race, original tenure, length of occupancy in original dwelling, and project type for the two groups they were found to be almost identical. Certain other distributions, all related to age and affluence, exhibited sufficient difference to warrant discussion.

The observed distributions of several variables revealed that the respondents were slightly less affluent and older than the non-respondents. Specifically, the findings below are called to the reader's attention.

1. Twenty-nine percent (238) of the sample population were living on fixed incomes. Of this group, 75% responded to the survey and were interviewed. Of the 567 from the sample population not on fixed income, only 55% responded to the survey.
2. Fourteen percent (114) of the sample population were retired. Of this number, 80% (91) responded to the survey. Of the 692 who were not retired, only 42% responded to the survey.

The aforementioned findings run counter to the pattern usually found in survey research, <sup>(10)</sup> and may have occurred simply because this retired and/or less affluent group had the spare time to participate. Even more likely is the possibility that those with fixed incomes might have felt that participating in the survey could result in additional relocation compensation even though the contact letter included a statement to the contrary. A third possibility is that the older and less affluent relocatees might have viewed post-relocation adjustment as being more difficult than did their more affluent, less aged counterparts, and were more interested in taking advantage of an opportunity to speak their mind.

In summary, although some slight differences between respondents and non-respondents were observed, the majority of distributions on basic socioeconomic characteristics were almost identical. The slightly higher response rate among the less affluent group should not, therefore, invalidate the findings based upon the sample.



RELOCATION FROM THE DISPLACED'S PERSPECTIVE:  
THE PROGRAM, THE DEPARTMENT, AND DEPARTMENT PERSONNEL

General Attitudes

While opinion polls may supply misleading information concerning future events, such as how an individual or group of individuals might be affected by a proposed highway or a change in the price of automobiles or housing, an attitude survey should be expected to provide reasonably reliable information concerning events affecting people's lives, once those events have taken place. Using this premise as a basis for generating data about the relocation experience, the authors queried respondents regarding their general attitudes toward the relocation program, the Virginia Department of Highways and Transportation, and Department personnel. Among the items on the study questionnaire were the following:

1) Indicate your feeling toward the Department's overall relocation program, 2) Overall, do you think you were treated fairly by the Department?, 3) What is your opinion of the way Department people acted in their dealings with you?

In 61% of the cases, respondents ranked the program as either "Good" or "Very Good"; 18% gave the program a "So-So" rating; and 17.4% stated that the program was "Bad" or "Very Bad". Responses to the fairness question were quite similar. Sixty-eight percent of the sample felt they had been fairly treated throughout the relocation process, while 27% felt there was some inequity involved in their case. Sixty-six percent had a "Positive" or "Very Positive" opinion of Department personnel; 9% had a "So-So" opinion; and 14% expressed a "Negative" or "Very Negative" opinion. While these findings indicate that, in general, relocatees in Virginia have a favorable opinion of the program, the Department, and its personnel, such an aggregate analysis does not provide the insight necessary to effectively appraise the strengths and weaknesses of the relocation program. Therefore, the remaining portions of this section will deal with specific aspects of relocation; namely, payment adequacy and relocation services and the likely causes of general dissatisfaction.

Payment Adequacy and Satisfaction with Relocation Services

While later sections of this report will closely examine the adequacy of payments and satisfaction with services, a few general comments concerning them are in order here. For the purpose of this study the "total payment" includes the offer for the original dwelling and lot (or for renters, the rent on the date of the first inspection) plus the replacement housing payment (RHP) plus the compensable incidentals associated with the purchase or rental of the replacement dwelling. The interview and questionnaire data, particularly the unsolicited comments suggest that one of the major concerns of relocatees throughout the relocation process is the amount of compensation they will receive for being forced to find a replacement dwelling.

When asked whether or not the total payments received were adequate, 9% of the sample stated they were not sure, 55% felt the monetary compensation was adequate or more than adequate, and 29% (82% of whom were home owners) said that payments were inadequate in terms of making them as well off financially as they were prior to relocation.

In addition to monetary compensation, the 1970 Act stipulates that the relocating agency must help a displacee find a comparable replacement facility if he cannot find one himself. A related aspect of the law requires that no person lawfully occupying real property will be required to move from a dwelling without at least 90 days written notice of the intended vacation date. As both the questionnaire and interview schedule show (Appendices A and B) the researchers were particularly concerned about two aspects of relocation services: The satisfaction with the help being given by the Department, and the adequacy of vacation notice. Results show that 30% of the sample were not satisfied with the help given by the Department, 49% were satisfied, and 20% did not respond to the question. While the attitudes concerning the Department's help in finding a home seem disturbing, no less disturbing are the data shown in Table 6. These data suggest that about one in four relocatees find the 90-day notice to vacate period insufficient in terms of allowing them time to find adequate replacement housing.

Table 6

Adequacy of 90-Day Vacation Notice  
(N=494)

Category	Percentage of Respondents
Adequate	57.3
Not Adequate	23.8
Not Sure	9.8
No Response	9.1
TOTAL	100.0%

## Probing the Causes of Dissatisfaction

The process of right-of-way acquisition by an agency which has the power of condemnation is quite removed from a normal market transaction between a buyer and a willing seller. Consequently, the simple fact that offers for the original dwelling are based upon an appraisal process reflecting fair market value rather than a process of haggling toward an equilibrium price establishes an atmosphere particularly suitable to relocatee dissatisfaction. Examination of some of the more apparent causes of dissatisfaction through the use of cross tabulations provides an indication of how the Department might alter its practices, and what changes may be necessary in the provisions of the 1970 Act to establish a more equitable relocation process. An examination of attitudes was made with respect to type of project, race, current tenure, original tenure, education level, income level, age, length of occupancy in the original dwelling, marital status, family size, sex, and income status (fixed or not fixed). In addition, responses to the questions concerning general attitudes about the Department, its practices, and its personnel were cross tabulated with responses to questions dealing with specific aspects of the relocation process to ascertain the relationship between the two.

### Socioeconomic Characteristics and Attitude Formation

Chi-square tests for the cross tabulations between attitudes and the socioeconomic variables noted above revealed several statistically significant relationships. As Tables 7 and 8 show, both current and original tenure seem to affect general attitudes about relocation and perceptions about the Department's treatment and personnel. Specifically, the findings indicate that home owners as a group rate the program less favorably than do tenants. At the 99% confidence level, 19% of the current owners displayed a negative appraisal of the program, whereas only 8.5% of current tenants displayed such an attitude. Perceptions regarding fairness of treatment yielded results similar to those to the "overall feeling" question but were much stronger in terms of revealing attitudes of home owners as a group. At the 95% confidence level, 29% of current owners indicated that they felt unfairly treated by the Department; only 13% of current tenants felt unfairly treated. A comparison of Tables 7 and 8 shows that the overall feeling toward the relocation program was nearly identical for both current and original owners. The authors had expected that tenure status would be significantly related to attitudes because of the fact that original home owners as a group are wealthier and more settled than tenants, and therefore stand to lose more upon being relocated. In addition to the evidence shown in Tables 6, 7, and 8, several other cross tabulations indicated that owners were more concerned about relocation than were tenants. Concerning payment adequacy, an overwhelming majority of those who felt that payments were inadequate were owner occupants. At the 99% level of confidence 82% of those expressing payment inadequacy were owners, while only 14% of the renters felt the same. Further evidence of a greater tendency on the part of owners to be discontented with various aspects of relocation is presented in Tables 9 and 10.

Table 7

Attitudes Toward Relocation Experience by Current Tenure of Respondent

Attitude Category	Owners	Tenants	Neither	No Response	Total
Overall Feeling Regarding Program <sup>a</sup>					
Good	211	77	8	6	302
So-So	77	10	3	1	91
Bad	71	8	5	2	86
No Response	9	2	1	3	15
TOTAL	368	97	17	12	494
Departmental Treatment <sup>b</sup>					
Fair	238	80	10	7	335
Unfair	108	13	6	3	130
No Response	22	4	1	2	29
TOTAL	368	97	17	12	494
Opinion of Department Personnel <sup>c</sup>					
Positive	243	67	9	7	326
So-So	31	9	5	1	46
Negative	58	8	1	3	70
No Response	36	13	2	1	52
TOTAL	368	97	17	12	494

<sup>a</sup> $\chi^2 = 39.412$ ; 6 degrees of freedom (d.f.); .99 level of confidence

<sup>b</sup> $\chi^2 = 14.826$ ; 6 degrees of freedom (d.f.); .95 level of confidence

<sup>c</sup> $\chi^2 = 14.826$ ; 9 degrees of freedom (d.f.); not significant

Table 8

Overall Feeling Regarding Program by Original Tenure of Respondent  
(N=494)

Category	Owners	Tenants	Total
Good	136	166	302
So-So	61	30	91
Bad	67	19	86
No Response	6	9	15
TOTAL	270	224	494

$\chi^2 = 36.968$ ; 3 d.f.; .99 level of confidence

Table 9

Adequacy of Total Payment by Current Tenure  
(N=494)

Category	Own	Rent	Neither	No Response	Total
Adequate	199	61	8	5	273
Not Adequate	114	19	5	1	139
Not Sure	33	5	2	3	43
No Response	22	12	2	3	39
TOTAL	368	97	17	12	494

$\chi^2 = 21.201$ ; 9 d.f.; .99 level of confidence

Table 10

Attitudes Toward Relocation Services  
by Original Tenure of Respondent

Attitude Category	Owners	Tenants	Total
Satisfaction with Help Finding Home <sup>a</sup>			
Satisfied	117	125	242
Not Satisfied	97	51	148
No Response	54	48	102
TOTAL	268	224	492
Adequacy of Vacation Notice <sup>b</sup>			
Adequate	137	145	282
Not Adequate	88	29	117
Not Sure	26	22	48
No Response	28	17	45
TOTAL	268	224	492

<sup>a</sup>X<sup>2</sup> = 11.069; 2 d.f.; .99 level of confidence

<sup>b</sup>X<sup>2</sup> = 29.300; 3 d.f.; .99 level of confidence

Since both education level and income level might reasonably be expected to be related to both current and original tenure, the data presented above would lead one to expect that responses given by persons of a particular income and education level would exhibit a consistent pattern. The evidence of this study runs counter to that expectation, however. In fact, only one attitude cross tabulation utilizing education level and none using income level was significant. The analysis showed that at the 99% level of confidence, 71% of those respondents who had a negative opinion of the personnel had less than a 10th grade education, while only 20% of those who had a negative opinion of Department personnel had greater than a 10th grade education.

Age, ethnic group, family size, sex, marital status, and length of occupancy in the original dwelling were examined to further probe for areas of the relocation program where improvements might be made. Cross tabulations of these variables with the overall feeling about the program, opinion of Department personnel, fairness of treatment by the Department, satisfaction with help finding a home, payment adequacy, and adequacy of notice to vacate revealed that the number of relationships was minimal. Only age, length of occupancy in the original dwelling, sex, and marital

status showed a statistically significant relationship to certain displacee attitudes. As is discussed in detail in a later section concerning community attachment, both length of occupancy and age of the respondent were significantly related to attitudes about fairness of treatment. At the 95% level of confidence, the data showed that individuals over 50 years of age and those who had lived in their original dwellings longer than ten years were more likely to feel unfairly treated than were younger individuals or those who had lived in their original dwellings less than ten years. In addition, length of occupancy was significantly related to the overall feeling about the relocation program, as was marital status and sex of the respondent. As was expected, the longer the length of occupancy in the original dwelling, the more likely a respondent was to have a bad overall feeling about relocation (Table 11). This phenomenon would likely be found in any study of relocation; however, the authors suspect that the relationships shown in Table 11 for sex and marital status are purely spurious rather than indicative of a causative relationship.

#### Specific Aspects of the Relocation Operation and Attitude Formation

Obviously an examination of the effects of forced relocation would be of limited usefulness, especially to practitioners, if it did not include an analysis of how attitudes toward one aspect of the program as implemented through the 1970 Act affect attitudes toward relocation in general. Because a large portion of this document is devoted to such an analysis, here the authors will undertake to establish, in summary fashion only, the relationship between several key aspects of the relocation operation as implemented by the Department and general satisfaction.

Tables 12, 13, and 14 summarize the relationships which exist between the overall feeling about the relocation program, fairness of treatment by the Department, opinion of Department personnel, and attitudes about specific aspects of the relocation process. The thrust of the results shown in these tables appears to be that relocatee dissatisfaction, when and if it occurs, can be traced to specific aspects of the relocation process rather than simply being an emotion that has no localized source.

Table 11

Overall Feeling Regarding Relocation Program  
by Socioeconomic Characteristics in Percentages  
(N=494)

Category	Percentage of Respondents			
	Good	So-So	Bad	NR
<b>Length of Occupancy<sup>a</sup></b>				
less than 1 yr.	14.0	11.0	8.1	13.3
1-2 yrs.	10.0	2.2	4.7	13.3
2-5 yrs.	18.9	14.3	8.1	13.3
5-10 yrs.	15.3	23.1	17.4	20.0
10-20 yrs.	13.3	15.4	32.6	26.7
over 20 yrs.	24.9	31.9	26.0	13.3
No Response	<u>3.3</u>	<u>2.2</u>	<u>3.0</u>	<u>0</u>
	n*=301	n=91	n=86	n=15
*1 data error				
<b>Marital Status<sup>b</sup></b>				
Single	13.9	7.7	3.5	0
Married	60.6	73.6	72.1	40
Widowed	17.5	14.3	18.6	33.3
Sep/Divorced	7.9	4.4	4.7	26.7
No Response	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1.2</u>	<u>0</u>
	n=302	n=91	n=86	n=15
<b>Sex<sup>c</sup></b>				
Male	41.7	33.0	36.0	73.3
Female	<u>58.3</u>	<u>67.0</u>	<u>64.0</u>	<u>26.7</u>
	n=302	n=91	n=86	n=15

<sup>a</sup>X<sup>2</sup> = 35.855; 21 d.f.; .95 level of confidence

<sup>b</sup>X<sup>2</sup> = 30.904; 12 d.f.; .95 level of confidence

<sup>c</sup>X<sup>2</sup> = 9.745; 3 d.f.; .95 level of confidence

Table 12

Overall Feeling Regarding the Relocation Program  
by Attitudes About Specific Aspects of Relocation

Attitude Category	Good	So-So	Bad	No Response	Total
Payment Adequacy <sup>a</sup>					
Adequate	218	35	16	4	273
Not Adequate	33	40	62	4	139
Not Sure	22	11	7	3	43
No Response	29	5	1	4	39
TOTAL	302	91	86	15	N = 494
Satisfaction with Help Finding a Home <sup>b</sup>					
Satisfied	203	26	9	4	242
Not Satisfied	40	39	64	5	148
No Response	58	26	5	6	102
TOTAL	301	91	85	15	N = 492
Adequacy Vacate Notice <sup>c</sup>					
Adequate	210	41	25	6	282
Not Adequate	35	27	49	6	117
Not Sure	22	16	9	1	48
No Response	33	7	3	2	45
TOTAL	300	91	86	15	N = 492
Housing Preference <sup>d</sup>					
Prefer New	213	42	23	6	284
About Same	33	17	9	0	59
Prefer Old	36	23	48	5	112
No Change in Housing	20	9	6	4	39
TOTAL	302	91	86	15	N = 494

<sup>a</sup>X<sup>2</sup> = 159.91; 9 d.f.; .99 level of confidence

<sup>b</sup>X<sup>2</sup> = 154.00; 6 d.f.; .99 level of confidence

<sup>c</sup>X<sup>2</sup> = 97.259; 9 d.f.; .99 level of confidence

<sup>d</sup>X<sup>2</sup> = 103.71; 12 d.f.; .99 level of confidence

Table 13

Attitudes Toward Department's Treatment by  
Attitudes About Specific Aspects of Relocation

Attitude Category	Fair	Unfair	No Response	Total
<b>Adequacy of Vacate Notice<sup>a</sup></b>				
Adequate	230	44	8	282
Not Adequate	42	66	9	117
Not Sure	30	14	4	48
No Response	<u>32</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>45</u>
TOTAL	334	129	29	492
<b>Payment Adequacy<sup>b</sup></b>				
Adequate	248	18	7	273
Not Adequate	32	102	5	134
Not Sure	26	7	10	43
No Response	<u>29</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>39</u>
TOTAL	335	130	29	494
<b>Housing Preference<sup>c</sup></b>				
Prefer New	229	45	10	284
About Same	42	14	3	59
Prefer Old	44	58	10	112
No Change in Housing	<u>20</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>39</u>
TOTAL	335	130	29	494

<sup>a</sup> $\chi^2 = 98.929$ ; 6 d.f.; .99 level of confidence

<sup>b</sup> $\chi^2 = 73.180$ ; 8 d.f.; .99 level of confidence

<sup>c</sup> $\chi^2 = 265.344$ ; 6 d.f.; .95 level of confidence

Table 14

## Opinion of Department Personnel by Adequacy of Notice to Vacate

Attitude Category	Positive	So-So	Negative	No Response	Total
Adequacy of Vacate Notice <sup>a</sup>					
Adequate	219	19	24	20	282
Not Adequate	49	17	35	16	117
Not Sure	28	7	7	6	48
No Response	28	3	4	10	45
TOTAL	324	46	70	52	492

<sup>a</sup>  $\chi^2 = 61.715$ ; 9 d.f.; .99 level of confidence

It is apparent, for example, that those respondents who felt the relocation payment was inadequate were much more likely to have an overall bad feeling toward relocation than were the group who received a payment which they thought was adequate (see Table 12). Furthermore, the data concerning satisfaction with help finding a replacement and adequacy of notice to vacate suggest that these aspects of the relocation program likely are important influences in general attitude formation. Among the 86 displacees who had a negative overall feeling about relocation, approximately 75% were dissatisfied with the help they received in finding a home and 55% felt the notice to vacate was not adequate. On the other hand, among those who had a good feeling about relocation, only 13% were not satisfied with the help received in finding a replacement and only 11.7% said the notice to vacate was too short. With respect to fairness of treatment (Table 13), attitudes about both payment adequacy and adequacy of notice to vacate appeared to be important, while whether or not a respondent was satisfied with the help received in finding replacement housing was not. Finally, with respect to adequacy of notice to vacate, those who believed the notice to vacate was too short were more likely to have a negative opinion of Department personnel than were those who felt they had plenty of time to move (Table 14). Among those who said the notice was not adequate, 30% had a negative opinion of personnel; among the group who said the notice was sufficient, only 8.5% had a negative opinion.

#### Attenuation of Negative Responses Over Time

During the formative stages of the project, the authors discussed the likelihood that the data would reveal that significantly more negative responses would come from respondents having been in their new residences for a relatively short period of time, for example, less than 1 year. The discussion centered around the proposition that because of the emotional nature of upheaval associated with an

unplanned move, most individuals, and particularly home owners, would be somewhat disgruntled if contacted shortly after their move. This proposition has been supported in studies conducted by Colony. (3, 4) By comparing both the responses to questions where either positive or negative attitudes would be indicated and the impressions gathered during the interviews and from the questionnaires with the length of time the relocatee had lived in the new dwelling, the diachrony hypothesis was tested. (Logically, the most acceptable test would be to contact each relocatee at time intervals after relocation; however, budgetary and time constraints prohibited such an approach in this instance.) Unlike the conclusions offered by Colony, (3, 4) the evidence shown in Table 15 suggests that the passing of time does not significantly weaken negative attitudes. While cross tabulations of payment adequacy and fairness of treatment by the Department with length of time in the replacement dwelling both show a statistically significant relationship, satisfaction does not appear to be a direct function of the length of occupancy in the replacement dwelling. Figure 1 presents the percentage of respondents who expressed dissatisfaction with payments and the Department's treatment as a function of time. For example, point A on Figure 1 shows the percentage of respondents, who, when contacted 9 to 12 months after relocation, stated the payments received were inadequate. It is particularly interesting to note that the slope of the scatter of points in Figure 1 is in a generally upward direction. The implication, if any, is that the incidence of negative attitudes may be expected to increase with the passage of time. The authors, however, do not wish to conclude that negative attitudes intensify over time for a particular respondent. The results of several cross tabulations do suggest, nevertheless, that the early stages of the relocation operation (first contact, distribution of literature, etc.) tend to be extremely important in the long-term adjustment. A highly significant positive relationship was found between respondents' early feeling regarding relocation and their attitude toward both the Department's treatment of them and their overall feeling about the program. Specifically, respondents who felt negatively toward relocation because of dissatisfaction in the early stages of the operation tended to maintain that attitude, regardless of the length of time they had lived in their replacement dwelling.

This evidence notwithstanding, one caveat is offered the reader. Table 15 exhibits an extremely high incidence of negative attitudes toward the Department and its personnel among those who had been in their replacement housing more than 2 years (for example, of the 130 who felt unfairly treated, 56 had been in the replacement dwelling more than two years). This led the authors to speculate that a probable cause might lie in the fact that these respondents were relocated at a time when relocation personnel were novices at implementing the 1970 Act. The cross tabulation between opinions of Department personnel and time in replacement dwelling, due to its lack of statistical significance, does not seem to support such a speculation, however. Therefore, the authors believe that it is reasonable to suggest that negative attitudes will not be alleviated simply by the passing of time, and that animosity can be expected to occur more frequently among the group who have been relocated more than 2 years.

Table 15

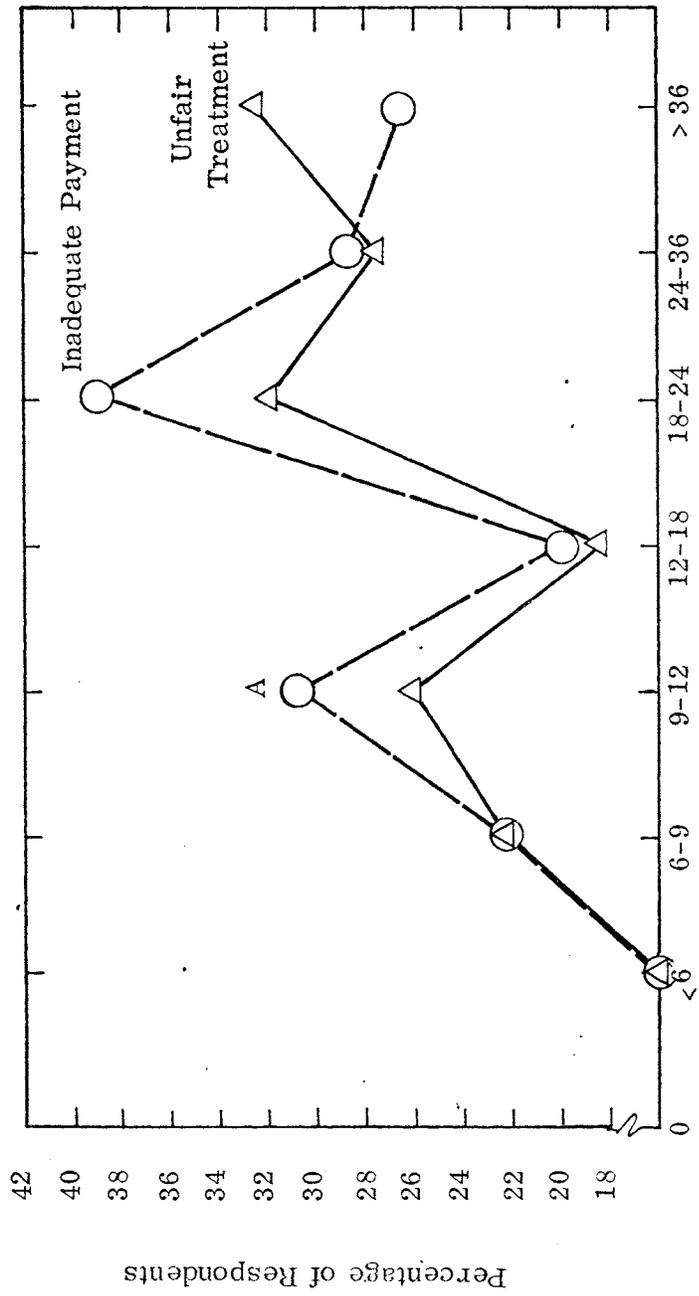
Attitudes of Relocates by Length of Time in Replacement Dwelling  
(column percentages in parentheses)

Attitude Category	<6 mos.	6-9 mos.	9-12 mos.	12-18 mos.	18-24 mos.	2-3 yrs.	> 3 yrs.	NR	Total
Payment Adequacy <sup>a</sup>									
Adequate	9(90.0)	13(59.1)	32(56.1)	61(57.1)	51(51.0)	76(58.5)	28(45.9)	3	273
Not Adequate	0(0.0)	5(22.7)	18(31.1)	21(19.8)	39(39.0)	37(28.5)	16(26.2)	3	139
Not Sure	0	2	1	19	4	8	9	0	43
No Response	1	2	6	5	6	9	8	2	39
TOTAL	10	22	57	106	100	130	61	8	N=494
Departmental Treatment <sup>b</sup>									
Fair	10(100.0)	16(72.7)	42(73.7)	77(72.6)	67(67.0)	8.5(65.4)	35(57.4)	3	335
Unfair	0(0.0)	5(22.7)	15(26.3)	20(18.9)	32(32.0)	36(27.7)	20(32.8)	2	130
No Response	0	1	0	9	1	9	6	3	29
TOTAL	10	22	57	106	100	130	61	8	N=494
Opinion of Department Personnel <sup>c</sup>									
Positive	9(90.0)	15(68.2)	36(63.2)	71(67.0)	67(67.0)	87(67.0)	35(57.0)	6	326
So-So	1	3	10	8	9	7	8	0	46
Negative	0(0.0)	3(13.6)	9(15.8)	12(11.3)	16(16.0)	21(16.2)	8(13.1)	1	70
No Response	0	1	2	15	8	15	10	1	52
TOTAL	10	22	57	106	100	130	61	8	N=494

<sup>a</sup>  $\chi^2 = 43.364$ ; 28 d.f.; .95 level of confidence

<sup>b</sup>  $\chi^2 = 35.509$ ; 14 d.f.; .99 level of confidence

<sup>c</sup>  $\chi^2 = 15$  is insignificant



Time in replacement dwelling, months

Figure 1. Attitudes about payment adequacy and Department treatment as a function of time in the replacement dwelling

## Summary

The findings presented in this section suggest that less than one relocatee in five had a negative overall feeling toward the relocation experience, even though almost one-third felt that the total payment was too small. Furthermore, one out of four relocatees found the notice to vacate period too short, and almost 30% were not satisfied with the help they received in finding a replacement dwelling. In most instances this displeasure stemmed from help not having been offered. From the standpoint of the overall relocation experience, a 17% negative response rate can possibly be considered a very satisfactory figure, considering the emotional nature of forced relocation.

An examination of attitudes by socioeconomic variables showed that owners (both original and current) were more likely to have negative attitudes about the relocation program, fairness of treatment by the Department, and opinions toward personnel than were tenants. Of particular interest is the fact that owners comprised the overwhelming majority of the respondents who were dissatisfied with specific aspects of relocation such as adequacy of payment, help in finding a replacement dwelling, and length of notice to vacate. In addition, length of occupancy in the original dwelling and age of the respondent were significantly related to attitudes about fairness of treatment. Individuals over 50 years of age, and those who had more than a 10 year attachment to the original dwelling can be expected to have negative attitudes more frequently than can other respondents. These findings all seem to suggest that contemplated changes in either the provisions of the 1970 Act or the manner in which it is implemented should be directed in the first instance toward that portion of the Act dealing with owners rather than tenants, and in the second instance toward the older as opposed to the younger displacees.

While it is true that attitudes about relocation are quite emotional in nature, the source of negative overall feelings can quite frequently be localized in the sense that attitudes about the following specific portions of the relocation program significantly affect overall feelings: 1) Adequacy of total payment, 2) adequacy of notice to vacate, and 3) help with finding a replacement. The implication, then, is that these specific aspects can serve as points of departure for improving general attitudes about relocation.

The findings concerning diachrony seem particularly timely in light of the animosity which is frequently generated among the public when highway and other government projects are initiated. If, as the data suggest, negative attitudes do not dissipate with the passing of time, relocatees who have negative feelings about their move may serve as future combatants of proposed facilities.



## ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL ANALYSIS OF RELOCATION

### Introduction

A substantial portion of the 1970 Act and the subsequent policy memoranda pertinent to relocation of displacees are designed to correct deficiencies in the compensation entitlements of the 1968 Act and prior legislation. Consequently, many of the published research findings have been concerned with the extent to which relocatees were being fully compensated for their forced moves. Buffington, in particular, has examined the financial effects of relocation, especially among those individuals living in what he calls "low valued housing."<sup>(5)</sup> While the authors agree that an early, in-depth examination of compensation such as that completed by Buffington is valuable, they are of the opinion that to have followed an identical approach in the present study would have added little to the overall understanding of how forced relocation can be made a simpler and less financially burdensome transaction. Therefore, the intent of this section is to provide insights into the importance of the financial aspects of relocation in attitude formation, and how some of the more glaring problems might be solved. While in presenting the study findings here it is necessary to present several pre- and post-relocation comparisons, the reader should be cautioned not to let them overshadow the more important objective just cited.

### Before and After Relocation: Physical and Monetary Comparisons of Housing

#### Rentals

The 1970 Act was designed to help displacees relocate into housing that is not only comparable but decent, safe, and sanitary (DSS). A logical basis for much of the discussion in this section is a comparison of housing characteristics before and after relocation. Whereas 45% of the displacees were renting at the time they were first contacted by the Department, only 20% remained tenants after relocation. This fact in itself is an indication that the relocation program serves as a vehicle for tenants to increase their economic position by becoming home owners. Before examining those who were owners at the time of this study, consider the data presented in Table 16 concerning current renters.

Table 16

Pre- and Post-Relocation  
Housing Comparisons, Current Tenants  
(n = 97)

Category	Original	Replacement	Comparable
Rental Value			
Mean	\$63.26/mo.	\$120.00/mo.	\$109.55/mo.
Minimum	5.00/mo.	25.00/mo.	30.00/mo.
Maximum	200.00/mo.	260.00/mo.	235.00/mo.
Number Rooms			
Mean	3	3	3
Minimum	1	2	2
Maximum	5	5	6
Floor Space			
Mean	73.51 ca.	58.10 ca.	74.35 ca.
Minimum	22.77 ca.	20.91 ca.	22.30 ca.
Maximum	163.57 ca.	119.42 ca.	167.29 ca.

Note: 1 ca = 10.76 ft<sup>2</sup>

It is apparent from the table that those relocatees who chose to remain tenants moved into a rental unit which rented at approximately \$10 per month more than the average value of comparable rentals. It can be concluded, then, that a number of current tenants made a slight voluntary upgrade in their housing in that they were paying additional money out of their own pocket for their replacement. The data show that 17% of those who remained tenants took a unit which rented for more than the comparable, 26% took a unit costing less than the comparable, and 57% took something valued the same as the chosen comparable. Under current statutes, the rental supplement is calculated as the difference between the monthly rent of the original unit and the monthly rent of the established comparable multiplied by 48. The intent of the statute is that increases in rental costs necessitated by relocation will be covered by the agency for a period of four years. While the maximum legal rental supplement is \$4,000, respondents received a mean supplement of slightly less than \$2,100; the smallest rental supplement received was \$480.

At first glance, the figures concerning physical attributes of rental units of current tenants seem to conflict with the finding that tenants upgrade in terms of money spent on housing. However, there is a logical explanation for the fact that floor space on the average was less in replacement rentals than in original rentals: It is highly likely that most of the 144 respondents who were original tenants and became owners had large families; hence, they would have required larger rental units than would those who remained tenants. Thus, the group of current tenants likely have increased their floor space even though compared to all original tenants, the figures indicate the contrary.

Owner Occupied Housing

In a previous section it was noted that the general satisfaction and attitudes of renters were quite positive; home owners were found to hold most of the negative attitudes among respondents. Since tenants are a much more mobile group, and less averse to moves than are owners, it is not extraordinary to expect them to not hold negative attitudes. In looking for the sources of dissatisfaction among owners, the authors began with an examination of both physical and monetary differences between pre-and post-relocation housing. A summary of this examination is shown in Table 17. Replacement housing was found to have cost an average of almost \$10,000 more than the average value (appraised value) of original dwellings. Chosen comparables averaged \$6,860 more than the average appraised value of original dwellings. Thus, owners tended on the average to pay approximately \$3,140 more for their replacement dwelling than was necessary to secure DSS housing technically comparable to the original home. The data show, furthermore, that 75% of owners purchased homes valued greater than the comparable, while only 4% purchased homes of value equal to the comparable. Twenty-one percent purchased dwellings valued lower than the comparable, but higher than the value of the original; in most of these instances, however, the purchase price was only slightly less than that of the comparable.

Table 17

Pre-and Post-Relocation  
Housing Comparisons, Current Owners

Category	Original	Replacement	Comparable
Dwelling Value			
Mean	\$15,653	\$25,641	\$22,513
Minimum	3,000	6,000	4,000
Maximum	57,100	71,950	63,000
Number of Rooms			
Mean	5	6	5
Minimum	2	3	3
Maximum	14	10	10
Floor Space			
Mean	77.88 ca.	81.32 ca.	79.93 ca.
Minimum	23.23 ca.	14.96 ca.	24.35 ca.
Maximum	172.40 ca.	190.99 ca.	195.17 ca.

Note: 1 ca = 10.76 ft.<sup>2</sup>

A comparison of pre- and post-relocation housing was made from the standpoint of physical attributes also. Photographs taken from the Department right-of-way files indicate that roughly one-third of the owners live in housing that is clearly a physical upgrade compared to their original dwelling. The typical replacement dwelling has one more room than the original and approximately four more centares (45 ft.<sup>2</sup>) of living area. It should be noted that of the homes having greater floor space than the comparable, the average increase is about 18.58 centares (200 ft.<sup>2</sup>). The statistic which is most interesting is that while replacement dwellings cost approximately \$3,140 more than the comparables, the difference in average floor space between replacements and comparables is only 1.3 centares (14 ft.<sup>2</sup>). One possible explanation for this phenomenon might be that owners, particularly those who were quite attached to their original dwelling, are paying extra for little "niceties" in the replacement in an attempt to duplicate the original home. More discussion and data on the subject of monetary upgrading will be presented in later sections of this report. First, several other comparisons will be made.

#### Compensable and Non-Compensable Costs Coincident with Relocation

Under the provisions of the 1970 Act, a displaced individual is not entitled to be compensated for the following: 1) increases in maintenance or utility costs, 2) increases in transportation costs, and 3) increases in property taxes. The 1970 Act does, however, establish certain items as compensable. Among these items are 1) moving costs and incidentals, and 2) mortgage interest differentials. The discussion below examines both the extent to which compensable items associated with moving are covered and the magnitude of changes in non-compensable items.

#### Compensable Items

##### Moving Costs and Incidentals

Probably the largest compensable item, other than the replacement housing payment (RHP), is the cost of moving personal property and establishing oneself in the new replacement dwelling. Approximately 95% of the respondents chose the fixed payment schedule entitling them to a \$200 dislocation allowance in addition to an amount based upon the number of habitable rooms in the original dwelling. The responses to questions about moving costs coupled with the information obtained from the Department's right-of-way files enabled the researchers to analyze the adequacy of present guidelines for this type of payment. In only 7% of the cases where the respondent remembered what he spent to move did the amount received under the fixed payment schedule not fully cover the cost. Fifty-two percent of the respondents did not remember what they had spent to move, but were sure they had not spent anything out-of-pocket. Most of the respondents either moved themselves or engaged the help of friends and relatives at either a zero or nominal cost. Furthermore, it became clear from the interviews and comments received on the questionnaires that most respondents had made no conscious separation between the

\$200 dislocation allowance and the actual moving cost payment based upon the number of habitable rooms in the original dwelling. In short, respondents had viewed the entire amount as a payment for moving costs rather than separating the dislocation allowance as an addition for water, gas, phone, electrical hookups, etc., in the replacement dwelling. Upon discovering this fact, the authors compared the total of the moving cost payment plus dislocation allowance with the amount each respondent said he had spent to move all his personal property and pay for incidentals associated normally with transferring domiciles. The average amount received was \$354. The average paid to those who remembered what they had spent was \$338, whereas the average they stated having spent was \$179, exclusive of their labor. Thus, those who remembered the amount they had spent were in essence paid \$159 on the average for moving themselves. If one assumes that \$4.00 per hour is a reasonable wage for the labor involved in moving, that amount implies 40 man-hours of labor per move. This example suggests that the fixed payment schedule is both efficient and much less expensive than the use of professional movers, especially if one considers the time and expense to the relocating agency and the taxpayer of monitoring contract moves. Statements received by the authors during interviews with right-of-way agents support this conclusion regarding moving costs. However, regarding dislocation allowances, the information received from both the respondents and the right-of-way agents suggests that in some cases the \$200 dislocation allowance is less than sufficient. Specifically, tenants appear to fare much better than owners in terms of the allowance being adequate to cover certain incidental expenses of moving (hookups, erecting TV antennas, etc.). It is the authors' opinion that consideration should be given to increasing the dislocation allowance for home owners.

The authors emphasize, however, that when labor costs are included for self-moves, the displacee appears to be only breaking even if the moving cost and dislocation allowance are added together. In fact, as long as displacees are able to move with no out-of-pocket costs to themselves, they likely will continue to elect the fixed payment schedule. This finding suggests that the rate of increase in professional contract moves should continue to be annually monitored as an indicator of the sufficiency of the fixed payment schedule. If the rate of contract moves begins to increase significantly above the observed pattern over the past several years, a reevaluation of the fixed payment schedule is called for.

#### Mortgage Interest Differentials, Closing Costs

In no instance did the respondents indicate that closing costs, attorney fees, or the like were not fully covered. While there were a number of instances in which relocatees were paying a higher interest rate for the mortgage on the replacement dwelling, the differential was fully covered by the relocating agency.

## Non-Compensable Items

Some costs normally associated with owning a home may change after relocation, but they are classified as non-compensable items because of the difficulty of ascertaining that relocation itself is the source of the change. The items discussed below fall into that category, yet they should be examined in the interest of completeness.

### Heating and Utilities

In Virginia it was expected that the type of heating most often found in replacements would be different from that found in the majority of original dwellings. Table 18 shows that the percentages of post-relocation dwellings heated by electricity and gas are much greater than the percentages of pre-relocation dwellings heated by these sources. While it certainly can be contended that a switch from coal heat (in many instances a coal stove) to a form of central heat such as electricity or gas is an upgrade in some sense for the relocatee, such contentions should be made with the recognition that while the cost of the new heating unit may be borne by the relocating agency, the monthly increase in the cost of heating will be the responsibility of the relocatee. The authors are in no way suggesting that increases in heating or utility costs be made compensable; rather, their intent is to simply point to the incidence and magnitude of these items in order to prevent myopia on the part of those who would automatically feel that newer is better. The data show that 69% of the respondents experienced an increase in their monthly utility costs after relocation, and 20% experienced no change. As Table 19 shows, the increases, particularly for a population whose mean gross family income equals \$9,000, are substantial.

Table 18

Heating Sources in Original and Replacement Dwellings  
(N=494)

Heating Category	Original Dwellings	Replacement Dwellings
Oil	57.7%	41.3%
Gas	16.6%	23.7%
Electricity	5.9%	29.8%
Coal	13.4%	.4%
Other	3.6%	1.6%
Don't Know	.6%	.6%
No Response	2.2%	2.6%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%

Table 19

## Monthly Utility Cost Increases in Replacement Dwellings

Category	Absolute Frequency	Percentage
< \$25	91	18.5
\$26 - \$50	146	29.6
\$51-\$100	87	17.6
\$101 - \$150	21	4.3
\$151 - \$200	20	4.0
No Change	91	18.5
No Response	38	6.8
TOTAL	494	100.0

For example, from the data in Table 19, it can be seen that approximately 30% of the respondents were paying at least \$312 per year more for utilities in their new home than in their old. When asked about the reason for the increase in cost, 38% responded that electricity rates had changed. On this count, the relocating agency has no responsibility. Eighteen percent replied that the change in the heating source was responsible for higher costs, 8% said the dwelling was larger, and 3.5% said that the insulation in the replacement was not adequate. While no overt complaints were received concerning increases in utility costs, it is interesting to note that several cross tabulations between changes in utility costs and attitudes proved significant. The significance tests notwithstanding, the authors are rather uncomfortable about drawing undeniable conclusions from the results shown in Table 20. The data in each category, nevertheless, show clearly that the greatest percentage incidence of negative responses is found among those relocatees whose utility costs increased after relocation. The only relationship which appears to have a logical basis a priori is adequacy of relocation payment by change in utility costs. It is conceivable that there was some subconscious resentment among relocatees having higher utility bills that would have made them respond that their overall payment was inadequate; but even this explanation is rather weak in the absence of further evidence.

What is to be concluded concerning utilities? The data clearly show increases for most relocatees; in the majority of cases, however, the increase is due solely to rate increases. The fact that almost one-fifth of the respondents experienced greater costs due to changes in the heat source in the replacement, coupled with the cross tabulations shown in Table 20, should show the importance of maintaining the same type of heating source in the replacement as in the original in as many instances as it is possible to do so.

Table 20

Utility Costs in the Replacement Dwelling  
by Attitudes about Relocation

Attitude Category	Utility Costs		
	More	Less	Same
Overall Feeling <sup>(a)</sup>			
Good	189	24	63
So-So	68	4	16
Bad	68	1	12
No Response	<u>13</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
TOTAL	338	29	91
Adequacy of Relocation Payment <sup>(b)</sup>			
Adequate	177	22	55
Not Adequate	108	3	19
Not Sure	28	0	11
No Response	<u>25</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>
TOTAL	338	29	91
Department Treatment <sup>(c)</sup>			
Fair	216	28	67
Unfair	102	0	19
No Response	<u>20</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>
TOTAL	338	29	91
Housing Preference <sup>(d)</sup>			
Prefer New	196	21	48
About Same	36	4	13
Prefer Old	84	3	21
No Response	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>
TOTAL	321	28	84

(a)  $X^2 = 22.900$ ; 15 d.f.; .90 level of confidence

(b)  $X^2 = 27.213$ ; 15 d.f.; .95 level of confidence

(c)  $X^2 = 30.569$ ; 10 d.f.; .99 level of confidence

(d)  $X^2 = 82.065$ ; 20 d.f.; .99 level of confidence

## Transportation Costs to Shopping, Work, Church, School

The comparability requirements of the 1970 Act are designed to ensure, as nearly as possible, reasonable accessibility to important destination of relocatees. While the data show sporadic instances where accessibility to work, school, shopping, and church changed substantially, the pre-and post-relocation distributions of distances to these focal points were almost identical. Thus, it can be concluded that no significant hardships have been placed on relocatees from the standpoint of changes in transportation costs.

## Changes in maintenance costs and property taxes

An examination of maintenance costs in replacement dwellings showed that 30% of the respondents experienced an increase in upkeep costs as a result of relocation, but 14% found their maintenance costs reduced (in most instances because the structure was of a different type). Of the group who experienced increases, 60% found that costs went up less than \$100 per year, an amount which was, in their mind, insignificant.

As is shown in Table 21, however, a larger number of relocatees experienced an increase in property taxes due to relocation than experienced increases in maintenance costs. Almost half of those responding found their property taxes higher in the replacement. Forty-three percent of this group experienced an increase of less than \$100, while 25% said their taxes went up from \$100 to \$150. The data thus suggest that two-thirds of those whose property taxes went up found the increase to be about \$10 per month. An examination of the reasons for the increased tax revealed that 20% of the increases came as a result of living in a different tax jurisdiction. Fourteen percent came as a result of a rate change in the jurisdiction they were living in prior to relocation; and 75% came as a result of the fact that the replacement dwelling was assessed at a higher amount than the original dwelling.

Table 21

### Property Taxes in the Replacement Dwelling

Category	Absolute Frequency	Percent
More	242	49.0
Less	7	1.4
Same	32	6.5
Don't Know	63	12.8
NA*	97	19.6
No Response	53	10.7
TOTAL	494	100.0

\*Paid no property tax

Cross tabulations between changes in property taxes and attitudes proved interesting. At the 99% level of confidence, the overall feeling about the relocation program was found to be significantly related to the level of property taxes in the replacement dwelling. Among those respondents who had a negative overall feeling about relocation, 66% experienced an increase in their property tax after relocation; among those who were left with a good feeling about relocation, only 41% experienced an increase in their property tax bill. Housing preference was also found to be significantly related to changes in property taxes. However, the cross tabulations shown in Table 22 do not exhibit a general pattern consistent with the hypothesis that the higher the level of property taxes, the greater the likelihood for the relocatee to prefer the original dwelling. In this instance, then, it should be concluded that while there is a high degree of correlation between a higher level of property taxation in the replacement dwelling and overall dissatisfaction with relocation, the dissatisfaction cannot be attributed to the higher taxes per se.

Table 22

Housing Preference by Level of Property Taxes  
in Replacement Dwellings

Category	Percentage of Respondents				
	More	Less	Same	Don't Know	NR
Prefer New	53.5	1.4	3.2	13.4	19.7
About Same	40.7	0	16.9	15.3	16.9
Prefer Old	50.0	0	8.9	12.5	20.5
NA*	18.2	9.1	9.1	0	18.2

\* No housing change

$\chi^2 = 62.298$ ; 24 d.f.; .99 level of confidence

Adequacy of Payments

Although attitudes concerning satisfaction with relocation payments have been discussed previously in the report, additional discussion is warranted to examine the neutrality of the financial effects of relocation. Both cross tabulations discussed earlier and comments to be discussed later point clearly to very real concerns on the part of displacees over the magnitude of compensation they'll receive. Although compensable incidentals technically are part of the total payments, for the purposes of this discussion the amount a relocatee receives for his original dwelling plus the RHP is defined as the "settlement".

When asked whether or not the settlement received was adequate, 9% of the respondents stated they were not sure, 55% stated the settlement was adequate or more than adequate, and 28% said that it was inadequate in terms of leaving them

as well off financially as they were prior to relocation. It should be apparent to the reader that increases in costs (both compensable and non-compensable) after relocation may be one important source of payment dissatisfaction. A pattern of additional reasons emerged in support of those respondents who felt payments were insufficient. Of the 139 expressing inadequacy, 19% stated that they believed the appraisal was too low and 27% said the RHP was insufficient to purchase a dwelling which they considered comparable. Twelve percent experienced a change in their debt status, 5% had a problem with the timing of payments, and 9% said they just didn't get enough money for their trouble. Of the five individuals who had businesses in their homes, each cited an inadequate appraisal and loss of income for which there was no compensation. Before turning to a more in-depth discussion of settlement adequacy, a brief highlighting of some of the more interesting cross tabulations involving the overall payments portion of the program will emphasize its importance to relocatee satisfaction and adjustment. Both neighborhood preference and housing preference were found to be significantly related to feelings about the payment portion of the relocation program. Specifically, the relationships show that at the 95% level of confidence over half of those who preferred their previous neighborhood were also dissatisfied with some aspect of the payments. Housing preference and payment satisfaction were similarly highly correlated. It is understandable, of course, that dissatisfaction with neighborhood and replacement housing would go hand in hand. As is suggested later in the section dealing with neighborhood comparability, the task of meeting comparability requirements is made much more difficult by the fact that what is comparable technically and in the eyes of the relocation agent is not likely to be comparable in the eyes of the relocatee. It is particularly interesting, in the context of examining the relative importance of feelings about the payment portion of the program, that satisfaction with payment aspects seems to a great extent to determine attitudes about Departmental treatment and overall feelings about relocation. Even among the group of individuals who have a positive opinion of personnel, almost two-thirds of those who felt unfairly treated received what they thought was an inadequate payment; for the same group, 60% of those who had a negative feeling about relocation were in some sense dissatisfied with the payment portion of the program. Several inferences can be made from the answers received about the reasons for dissatisfaction with payments and are commented upon below.

#### Low Appraisals in the Eye of the Landowner

Obviously, low appraisals are an oft mentioned problem. However, in the authors' viewpoint, there is an obvious reason. In many instances, relocatees indicated that they had become aware of the highway project several years prior to any formal interview and inspection by right-of-way personnel. Their reaction had been one of resignation. Being unsure as to the specific manner in which the project would affect their property, they became reluctant to improve the property and at best hesitant to provide periodic maintenance. As the years passed, the homes in the neighborhood naturally lost value. References to this type of phenomenon, known as "filtering", appears quite frequently in the housing literature.<sup>(11)</sup> The end result, although not planned by either the Department or the landowners, was that the average

value of the houses declined below what it would have had no expectations regarding relocation confronted the home owners. The authors' suggestion is not that appraisals be higher per se, but rather that people be educated to the fact that not maintaining their property can only harm them in the long run.

### Timing of Payments

The provision of the 1970 Act dealing with meeting the requirements for receiving the relocation assistance payment states: "In addition to the tenure of occupancy provisions, the displaced person is otherwise entitled to the appropriate payments when he relocates and occupies a decent, safe and sanitary dwelling...". The word "occupies" implies to have or take possession of or to reside in either as an owner or a tenant. The inclusion of this word as it is used in the relocation legislation has given rise to a difficulty that can generally be classified as a payment timing problem. Because this problem was first identified through comments received from relocatees, the discussion will be presented in the section that deals with unsolicited comments.

### Businesses in Homes

During the course of the research, the authors interviewed a number of displacees who operated a business in their original dwelling. It was discovered during the course of these interviews that this group of displacees felt, almost without exception, that they were less than fully compensated for the business. While it was impossible to ascertain the validity of the remarks, there was in most cases a definite feeling of animosity toward the relocating agency. While one possible approach to ameliorating such animosity might be for the agency to take added care in finding a replacement dwelling closely duplicating the original, the interviews with relocation practitioners indicate that this is already being done. Notwithstanding the fact that the data which was gathered are limited, there appears to be a need for more specificity in the 1970 Act regarding the relocation of residences containing businesses. Therefore, it is recommended that the necessity of a separate provision dealing with businesses in homes be evaluated.

### Changes in Debt Status

Should the displacee elect to purchase a replacement dwelling having a market price higher than the comparable, his debt status will likely change. Several respondents expressed displeasure with the fact that they were, as a result of relocation, either in debt for the first time in many years or deeper in debt than they had been prior to relocation, either of which resulted in an increase in their monthly house payment. Because of the potential for such occurrences, the relocation agent must become a financial counselor in cases where he can identify the likelihood that the displacee may not foresee the financial ramifications of purchasing a dwelling having a higher market price than the comparable. Such counseling would be within the realm of ancillary services normally offered by the Department.

## RHP's

As mentioned above, the largest group of those dissatisfied with payments said that the RHP received was too small. The implication is obviously that in the mind of the displacee, the chosen comparable upon which the RHP is based is not really comparable. While the authors cannot offer a solution to this source of dissatisfaction, they believe that it will be of great value to administrators of relocation programs in the future to be cognizant of the following: Neighborhood comparability, not housing comparability, seems to be a likely source of the dissatisfaction with payment adequacy. A.C. King, Hyman and Pasour, Wallace Oates and others have shown clearly in their research the influences of neighborhood amenities on the market price of housing. <sup>(12, 13, 14)</sup> Their research, coupled with the fact that 75% of the owner occupants purchased homes valued at approximately \$3,000 more than the comparables but which differed from them only slightly in terms of access, floor space, and number of rooms, seems to suggest that owners are paying dearly for neighborhoods rather than for housing.



## SOCIAL ANALYSIS

Four objectives of this study were concerned with the measurement of the social effects of forced displacement. This section presents an analysis of the short- and long-term social effects of relocation, the correlation of actual social effects and measurable economic effects, the variance of social consequences with respect to displacee characteristics, and the alteration of the displacees' lifestyles. Table 23 shows displacee responses to the question "What concerned you most about your move?" As the table indicates, the primary concern was "financial," and the secondary concern was "finding a suitable replacement." Uncertainty, social and family ties, and psychological, social and medical concerns are deemed by the authors as "social" concerns and represent the subject matter with which this section deals.

Table 23

Displacee Concerns About Impending Move  
(N=494)

Category	Percentage of Respondents
Financial	18.2
Finding Suitable Replacement Housing	17.2
Uncertainty	16.2
Social and Family Ties	10.5
Psychological, Social, and Medical Concerns	9.1
Didn't Want to Move	6.5
Other	12.8
No Response.	9.5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Residential Satisfaction:  
Housing Versus Neighborhood

The 1970 Act states that a comparable replacement dwelling will be available or provided for each displaced person. To determine whether or not displacees felt their replacement housing was comparable, they were asked which house they preferred, their new one or their old one. Fifty-eight percent of the respondents preferred their replacement dwellings and 23% preferred their original ones. Respondents were also asked what they liked about their new house. Of the 316 displacees responding to the question, 24% liked the newness or sturdiness of the replacement dwelling, 22% liked it because it was larger, and 8% liked its location. The remainder of the respondents listed some 10 additional items which exhibited no apparent pattern. The displacees were also asked what they disliked

about their replacement dwelling. Of the 138 responding, 30% disliked nothing about their replacement dwelling, 15% disliked its location, 9% said their replacement dwelling was too small, and 8% disliked the fact that living costs were higher in the replacement dwelling. The remainder of the dislikes listed by respondents exhibited no apparent pattern and included everything from loss of fond memories associated with the original dwelling to inadequate closet space. Finally, the displacees were asked why they chose their particular replacement dwelling. Of the 417 responding, 20% chose the replacement as a matter of personal preference, 18% chose it because it was the most economical, 18% chose it because of its location, and 16% chose it because it was "the only one available."

Even though the above figures indicate that respondents were generally satisfied with their replacement housing, the researchers ran several cross tabulations between housing preferences and certain variables to determine what relationships might exist. Chi-square tests showed a significant relationship between housing preference and length of occupancy in original dwelling. Specifically, of the 112 respondents who preferred their original dwelling, only 24% had lived in that dwelling more than 20 years. On the other hand, of the 284 who preferred their replacement, 65% had lived in their original dwelling more than 20 years. The implication here is that individuals who have lived in their original dwelling for a lengthy period are no less likely to prefer their replacement dwelling than are those who have lived in their original dwellings for only a short period of time. An additional cross tabulation between original tenure of respondent and housing preference did show, however, that there is a tendency for more owners than tenants to prefer their original dwellings, but this relationship was expected from the outset of the study. It appears, then, that meeting comparability requirements with respect to housing is not a real problem in Virginia since the majority of the displacees were very pleased with their replacement housing.

The 1970 Act states that comparability requirements reach a great deal further than physical housing requirements. A comparable replacement dwelling must be located in an area not generally less desirable than that of the pre-relocation dwelling with regard to public utilities and public and commercial facilities; must be reasonably accessible to the displacee's place of employment; must be adequate to accommodate the displacee; and must be in an equal or better neighborhood. To determine the displacees' attitudes about neighborhood comparability, they were asked which neighborhood they preferred, their current or previous one, what they missed about their previous one and what was different about the current one. They were also asked what effect moving had on friendships they had made in their previous neighborhood and how many friends they had made in their current neighborhood. Thirty-six percent of the respondents preferred their previous neighborhood, 35% preferred their current one, and 17% had no preference (Table 24). The remainder either did not experience a neighborhood change or did not respond to the question. Consequently, of those who experienced a neighborhood change, over 40% preferred their previous neighborhood to their current one. Those who preferred their old neighborhood cited neighbors and access to conveniences as the things they missed the most. These same individuals, when asked what was different about their new neighborhood, most frequently mentioned incompatibility with neighbors and environmental difference (i.e., noise, shade, dust and dirt, woods, clean air, etc.) From responses to these questions it appears that neighborhood satisfaction is closely related to neighbor

satisfaction. When asked what effect moving had on friendships made in the old neighborhood, almost 50% of the respondents said that at least some friendships had been ended. When asked the extent to which new neighborhood friends had been made, 87% of the respondents reported that they had made at least some.

The relative importance of neighborhood comparability to attitude formation was tested by cross tabulations between respondents' neighborhood preference and their attitude toward Departmental treatment, overall feeling about the relocation program, opinion of Department personnel, and their opinion of payment adequacy. Chi-square tests showed a significant relationship for all four cross tabulations (see Tables 25, 26, 27, 28). Specifically, while 44% who preferred their old neighborhood felt they had been unfairly treated, only 14% of those who preferred their new neighborhood felt the same; of those who preferred their old neighborhood, 34% felt negatively towards the relocation program, while only 6.3% of those preferring their new neighborhood felt the same. The relationships for opinion of personnel and payment adequacy follow the same pattern. Thus at the 99% level of confidence, there was a greater likelihood that respondents preferring their previous neighborhood would display a negative overall feeling toward the program, Department, Department personnel, and payment adequacy than would those who preferred their current neighborhood. Such variables as race, age, tenure, education level, length of time in original dwelling, and length of time in replacement dwelling were not found to significantly affect preference of neighborhood. Additional cross tabulations also revealed significant relationships between both neighborhood preferences and the number of new friends made in the current neighborhood, and neighborhood preference and the effect relocation had on friendships made in the previous neighborhood. Specifically, at the 99% level of confidence, there was a greater likelihood that respondents preferring their previous neighborhood would make fewer friends in replacement neighborhoods than would those respondents who preferred their current neighborhood. Moreover, there was a greater likelihood that respondents preferring their previous neighborhood would end a considerable amount of friendships made in the previous neighborhood than would those who preferred their current neighborhood. The number of new friendships established in the current neighborhood was also found, as one might expect, to be related to age. At the 95% level of confidence, there was a greater likelihood that younger displacees would make more friends in their current neighborhood than would those who were 60 years of age and older.

Table 24

Neighborhood Preference  
(N=494)

Category	Percentage of Respondents
Much Prefer New	23.5
Somewhat Prefer New	11.9
About the Same	17.2
Much Prefer Old	26.9
Somewhat Prefer Old	9.5
Not Applicable	6.7
No Response	4.3
TOTAL	100.0

Table 25

Attitude Toward Department Treatment by Neighborhood Preference  
(N=494)

Attitude	Percentage of Respondents			No Neighborhood Change (n=54)
	Prefer New (n=176)	About the Same (n=185)	Prefer Old (n=180)	
Fair	83.4	76.5	47.8	70.4
Unfair	13.7	16.5	44.4	22.3
No Response	2.9	7.1	7.8	7.4
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$X^2 = 63.283$ ; 8 d.f.; .99 level of confidence

Table 26

Attitude Toward Relocation Program by Neighborhood Preference  
(N=494)

Attitude	Percentage of Respondents			No Neighborhood Change (n=54)
	Prefer New (n=175)	About the Same (n=85)	Prefer Old (n=180)	
Good	78.9	64.7	41.1	64.9
So-So	12.6	27.1	20.0	18.6
Bad	6.3	8.2	34.4	11.2
No Response	2.3	0	4.4	5.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$X^2 = 94.827$ ; 12 d.f.; .99 level of confidence

Table 27

Attitude Toward Department Personnel by Neighborhood Preference  
(N=494)

Attitude	Percentage of Respondents			
	Prefer New (n=175)	About the Same (n=85)	Prefer Old (n=180)	No Neighborhood Change (n=54)
Positive	78.3	65.9	51.1	76.0
So-So	6.3	12.9	11.7	5.6
Negative	8.0	5.9	25.6	9.3
No Response	7.4	15.3	11.7	9.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2 = 47.254$ ; 12 d. f. ; .99 level of confidence

Table 28

Attitude Toward Payment Adequacy by Neighborhood Preference  
(N=494)

Attitude	Percentage of Respondents			
	Prefer New (n=175)	About the Same (n=85)	Prefer Old (n=180)	No Neighborhood Change (n=54)
Adequate	69.1	55.3	40.6	59.3
Not Adequate	16.6	17.6	45.0	26.0
Not Sure	5.7	14.1	9.4	7.4
No Response	8.6	12.9	5.0	7.4
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2 = 57.676$ ; 12 d. f. ; .99 level of confidence

Several cross tabulations were also run to determine the degree of the respondents' attachment to their original dwelling. Chi-square tests showed a significant relationship between length of occupancy in the original dwelling and overall feeling about the relocation program, attitude toward treatment by the Department, and the greatest concern about the impending move. Of the 214 respondents who had lived in their original dwelling 10 years or more, 23% had a negative attitude toward the relocation program. More importantly, at the 99% level of confidence there was a greater likelihood that respondents living in their original dwellings more than 10 years would display a negative attitude toward Department treatment than would those who had lived in their original dwellings less than 10 years. A significant relationship was also found between respondents' concerns about their impending move and the length of time they had lived in their original dwelling. Of particular interest is the fact that of the 9% of respondents who listed psychological or emotional impact as having concerned them most, 76% had lived in their original dwellings 10 years or more. This relationship was significant at the 99% level of confidence. An additional cross tabulation revealed a relationship between "things" that respondents missed from their previous neighborhoods and their marital status. At the 99% level of confidence there is a greater likelihood that married and single respondents will miss "nothing" from their previous neighborhood than will widowed respondents. This relationship is likely due to the age of the widowed respondents.

One final relationship was found to exist concerning neighborhood satisfaction. Figure 2 depicts the proportion of those respondents who preferred their old and new neighborhood as a function of time. For example, point A on Figure 2 shows the percentage of respondents, who, when contacted 18 to 24 months after relocation, preferred their old neighborhood to their new one. As the figure shows, the percentage of those who preferred their new neighborhood is lowest after 8 months of relocation, rises steadily until 15 months after relocation, drops again at 21 months, rises again and finally declines sharply after three years of relocation (Note: Forty months was the longest period any displacee had lived in his new neighborhood at the time of data collection.) On the other hand, the percentage of those who preferred their old neighborhood reaches a peak after 21 months of relocation then declines sharply. Notwithstanding these perturbations, the slope of the scatter of points for those who preferred their new neighborhood is in a downward direction while the slope of the scatter of points for those who favored their old neighborhood is in a generally upward direction. The implication, if any, is that it is no more likely for displacees who have lived in the replacement neighborhood for a long period of time to prefer that neighborhood than it is for displacees who have lived in the replacement neighborhood for a short period of time to do so. In fact, cross tab distributions show that regardless of whether a respondent prefers his new or old neighborhood, he's likely to retain that preference through time. Moreover, as Figure 2 shows, the percentage of those who preferred their old neighborhood actually increases over time. These findings tend to refute the contention of other researchers on the subject of relocation which implies that the passage of time will attenuate dissatisfaction.

In summary, indications are that relocatees are generally satisfied with their replacement housing per se. In fact, the majority preferred their replacement housing to what they had lived in prior to relocation. This is not the case, however, with the relocation neighborhood. Since over 40% of those who experienced a neighborhood change preferred their previous neighborhood to their current one, it is safe to say that neighborhood satisfaction definitely does not measure up to housing satisfaction. Neighborhood comparability appears to be a greater concern of displacees than is

housing comparability. Since post-relocation neighborhood satisfaction has a direct bearing upon displacee attitudes toward the Department, its personnel, the overall relocation program, and payment adequacy, a great deal of attention should be given to neighborhood comparability when comparables are selected, especially in terms of access, environmental matters, and neighbor comparability. Admittedly, the last item will be difficult to determine.

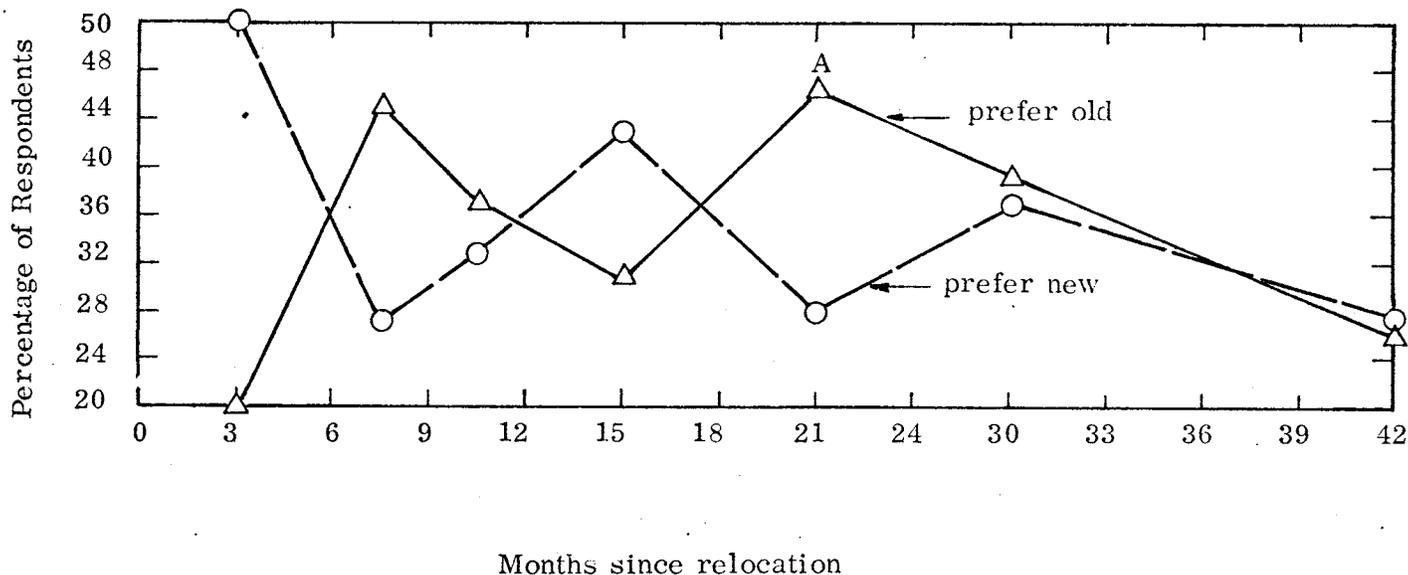


Figure 2. Neighborhood preference by time since relocation.

Neighborhood satisfaction also was related to the degree to which new friendships were made in the replacement neighborhood. Thus, again it seems that readjustment can be aided by the choice of a comparable neighborhood. In terms of community attachment, it appears that the longer individuals had lived in their original dwellings the less satisfied they were with the relocation program and Department treatment. Individuals who had lived in a dwelling for 10 years or more had become attached to either the dwelling or the location. Perhaps increased attention should be given to the problems of readjustment for those who are psychosocially attached to their previous home. Since the statistical relationships for these variables are significant, the authors suggest that readjustment be recognized as being a very real problem which definitely affects attitude.

Finally, the data show that the passage of time will not alter neighborhood preference one way or the other. Satisfaction with neighborhood is an attitude which tends to stick with a displacee, regardless of how long he has lived in his replacement neighborhood. While the authors recognize the difficulty of selecting comparable replacement dwellings in comparable neighborhoods because of differences in the right-of-way agent's and client's perception of pre- and post-relocation neighborhoods, it must be emphasized that many of the problems related to forced relocation stem from neighborhood dissatisfaction. Thus, without sacrificing comparability with respect to housing, it is indeed important that increased effort be made to achieve comparability with respect to neighborhood.

### The Elderly

Almost one-third of the respondents were above the age of 60 and 11% were over 70 years of age. Table 29 shows the statistically significant relationship between the respondents' first feeling about their impending move and their age. The table shows that as age increased, so did the percentage of individuals who were upset at the thought of having to move. Only one additional statistically significant relationship was

Table 29

First Feeling Concerning Impending Move by Age  
(N=494)

Feeling	Percentage of Respondents						
	No Response (n=17)	21-30 (n=64)	31-40 (n=62)	41-50 (n=87)	51-60 (n=124)	61-70 (n=86)	over 70 (n=54)
Upset	58.8	40.6	58.1	55.2	56.5	66.3	72.2
Mixed Emotions	35.3	43.8	29.0	34.5	33.1	18.6	13.0
Pleased	0	15.6	11.3	8.0	9.7	12.8	13.0
No Response	5.9	0	1.6	2.3	.8	2.3	1.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$X^2 = 29.177$ ; 18 d.f.; .95 level of confidence

found for the elderly as a group; this was with respect to their assessment of the Department's treatment of them. At the 95% level of confidence, respondents over age 60 were more likely to feel they were unfairly treated than were those under 60.

Although statistically significant relationships were noticeably absent for the elderly as a group, comments received in the interviews and questionnaires agree with most of the findings contained in literature dealing with relocation of the elderly. (2, 4, 16) Ten of the elderly respondents attributed the death of a spouse to the overwork involved in trying to make the replacement housing equal to that which they had before. This proportion is not large enough to lend statistical support to the hypothesis that elderly displacees are more likely than not to connect the death of a spouse to the relocation experience. This is not to say that death cannot result, in some circumstances, from relocation, or that the opinions expressed by elderly displacees are invalid. However, it can be said that death is strongly connected to the relocation experience in the minds of these ten surviving spouses. Eleven respondents from this group attributed health difficulties to the relocation experience and one blamed a hip injury on relocation. In addition, many indicated that they had experienced a loss in security due to their separation from their former neighborhood. The overwhelming concern of the older respondents, however, was with post-relocation adjustment. Twenty-four from the elderly respondent group expressed a concern that the Department had terminated services as soon as the relocation transaction was complete. The interview experiences of the researchers also lend support to this concern. The interviewees were very well received by the older respondents, all of whom appeared appreciative that someone from the Department had come by to see about them. Such a contact in the form of a goodwill visit might be a worthwhile endeavor for relocation assistance personnel to undertake, especially where the elderly are concerned. It became apparent that the elderly have a greater need for services and post-relocation assistance than do younger displacees. Many miscellaneous items and errands easily undertaken by a young person are often impossible for an elderly person to deal with. Often the elderly displacee must hire help with post-relocation affairs, whereas a younger person might take care of them himself. In such cases, the \$200 dislocation allowance may be more than adequate for the younger displacee, while not coming near to meeting the out-of-pocket expenditures of the elderly displacee.

In summary, it appears that the concerns of the elderly are those which involve other than financial matters. The most prevalent sources of displeasure to the elderly respondents were problems of readjusting and post-relocation matters. As one would also suspect, the secondary concern of this group was the loss of contact with familiar surroundings and old acquaintances.

#### Minority Groups

Twenty-eight percent of the respondents were Black, 1.6% Asian, and .2% American Indian. This section of the report deals mainly with black respondents, since the Asian and American Indian groups were so small. Of the black respondents, 20% expressed dissatisfaction with the program, 26% felt they were unfairly treated by the

Department, and 12% had a negative opinion of the Department personnel. By comparison, 17% of the white respondents expressed dissatisfaction with the program, 27% felt they had been unfairly treated by the Department, and 15% had a negative opinion of Department personnel. The data suggest, then, that a greater percentage of blacks are dissatisfied with the relocation experience than are whites. However, chi-square tests indicate that the distributions of responses by race are not significantly different than what one would normally expect by chance. In fact, tests for significance were run on the distribution of responses to some 17 attitudinal questions and Departmental practices by race and no statistically significant relationships were found. One item does bear mentioning here, even with the absence of a significant relationship. This is with respect to payment adequacy and the reasons given for any dissatisfaction with the payments portion of the program. Respondents giving a negative response to the payment adequacy question were asked to give the reason for that response. In 38% of the black cases, dissatisfaction stemmed from an insufficient RHP, while in 23% of these cases a change in debt status was cited as the cause. In 38% of the white cases, dissatisfaction stemmed from an insufficient RHP, while in only 12% of these cases was a change in debt status cited as the cause. Several of the black respondents indicated that they had no idea they were going to have a larger house payment (or sometimes any house payment at all) as a result of their relocation. The implication here is that the black respondents may have a tendency to not fully understand the ramifications of selecting a dwelling having a higher value than the comparable. Additional financial counseling appears to be in order to minimize any misunderstanding which may be occurring.

#### Summary of Social Effects

Relocation appears to definitely affect community attachment. Overall satisfaction with relocation housing is quite positive, although it is likely that the longer an individual has lived in his original dwelling the less easy it will be to please him with the new one. This finding would normally be expected since it stands to reason that an individual would likely not live in a dwelling for a lengthy period of time if he did not like it. The data gathered in this study seem to imply that the social impact of change of physical dwelling is not significantly great. Neighborhood change, however, is another story. Preferences concerning neighborhood comparability were found to be related to respondents' attitudes concerning the entire relocation experience. Neighbors were found to be very important to displacees, both in terms of losing those from the original neighborhood and in being incompatible with those in the replacement neighborhood. A much lower percentage of respondents preferred their replacement neighborhood than preferred their replacement housing, and the effect of this preference revealed itself repeatedly when cross tabulated with responses concerning attitude and Department practices. In short, neighborhood satisfaction is an item to which added attention must be given in order to alleviate much of the dissatisfaction associated with forced relocation.

Relocation definitely takes its toll where the elderly are concerned. Although statistically significant relationships were absent, unsolicited comments received convinced the authors that this group has a difficult time with readjustment and that financial concerns are not prevalent among this group. Post-relocation contact would

probably help to reduce the impact relocation has on this group of individuals. Finally, the data suggest that all ethnic groups are receiving equal treatment by the Department. Special care should be taken, however, to prevent any misunderstanding among black displacees regarding the consequences of choosing a dwelling valued higher than the comparable.



## DISPLACEE COMMENTS: CLUES TO FUTURE PROGRAM SUCCESS

As was mentioned at the beginning of this report, the researchers often participated in a discussion with the interviewees rather than merely battering them with questions. It was felt that this approach would elicit more candid responses than would a tightly structured interview since the subject was one to which a great deal of emotionalism is attached. Similarly, a space for comments was provided on the mailed questionnaire. This procedure was indeed an effective means of determining many of the underlying reasons for displacee dissatisfaction by bringing to light many items which otherwise would have been unknown to the authors, and which provide clues to the future success and effectiveness of the relocation process both administratively and legislatively. Of the 494 respondents, 276, or almost 56%, took advantage of the opportunity to enter an additional comment of some type. These comments were evaluated and it was determined that 63% of them were negative in nature. An analysis of the content of all comments indicated that they could be categorized. Table 30 shows the major categories, each of which will be treated in this section of the report. Since each displacee could offer more than one comment, the total number in the table exceeds the number of respondents who entered comments.

Table 30

Frequency of Unsolicited Comments by Displacees

Subject Category	Number of Comments	Percent
Payments	70	21.1
Problems with Replacement Dwelling	50	15.1
Information	30	9.0
The Elderly	25	7.5
Termination of Residence	16	4.8
Motivation for Change in Economic Status	16	4.8
Complimentary Overall	66	19.9
Environmental Concerns	11	3.3
Business in Home	5	1.5
Home Improvements	4	1.2
Miscellaneous	40	12.1
TOTAL	333	100.0

## Payments

### Timing of Payments

The most oft mentioned item by displacees concerning compensation was the timing of the payments. Twenty-two of the respondents experienced difficulty with the timing of payments. The provision of the 1970 Act dealing with meeting the requirements for receiving the relocation assistance payments states: "In addition to the tenure of occupancy provisions, the displaced person is otherwise entitled to the appropriate payments when he relocates and occupies a decent, safe and sanitary dwelling...." The word "occupies" implies to have or take possession of or to reside in either as an owner or a tenant. The implication of this provision, as the authors interpret it, is that until an individual has vacated his former dwelling and occupied an acceptable replacement dwelling, he is entitled to receive only the purchase price of his original dwelling. Unless the displacee-owner has only a small remaining mortgage on the original dwelling, in many instances there will not be a sufficient surplus of cash to secure and close on the replacement dwelling. Only in the case where no RHP is computed will the amount received for the original dwelling be equal to the value of a comparable dwelling. Since it is the exceptional case in which the relocatee is not entitled to an RHP, the possibility arises that frequently he might have to either borrow money or take money from savings for a short-term in order to close on the replacement dwelling. He then would be forced to pay the interest on the short-term loan while awaiting the RHP. The interest or withdrawal penalty he pays is not reimbursable under the law. During troughs in the business cycle, the likelihood that payment timing problems will occur is increased because sellers in the real estate market are reluctant to allow a prospective buyer to occupy a dwelling until he has money in hand. Furthermore, a promise to pay by the Department may not be acceptable.

It is interesting to note that most of the individuals experiencing a difficulty with the timing of payments did not display a negative attitude toward the Department because of it. They did, however, express rather strongly that the payments portion of the program would be greatly enhanced if payment timing problems were eliminated. Typical of the responses given on this point were such remarks as:

There is a bad problem with getting the money to close. I paid a considerable amount of interest out of my pocket to secure the house. This has to be changed.

We were forced to relocate before any payment for land was made. We had to take a bank loan to relocate....

We had to pay \$4,000 on our house and had to borrow the money until the state could pay. The state was supposed to pay the interest, but they never did ....

I had to borrow the down payment on a new place and had to pay interest on that loan....

I had to take out a short loan of \$5,000 for the down payment on a replacement dwelling and pay the interest out of my pocket....

The authors questioned right-of-way personnel throughout the state regarding the frequency with which the payment timing problem occurs. While not a problem which involves a great deal of money, its incidence is frequent enough to create an aggravation to both displacees and Department personnel. This aggravation could be alleviated either by a slight change in the provision governing the requirements for receiving payment or through formally allowing the state latitude to pay early in cases where the RHP is needed to close. The reimbursement of interest charges is unnecessary. It is much more rational and efficient to remove the necessity for a loan to be obtained.

#### General Dissatisfaction and Low Appraisals

Twenty of the respondents said that they did not receive enough money from the state, but gave no specific reason for their dissatisfaction. It is to be expected that some relocatees would not be satisfied with their settlements, however. Nevertheless, the item is mentioned here in the interest of complete reporting.

Another oft mentioned criticism by displacees regarding relocation allowances were low appraisals. Seventeen respondents felt that appraisals were less than fair. A discussion of the reason for this occurrence is presented later.

#### Debt Status Change

Displacees electing to purchase a replacement dwelling priced higher than the comparable will likely experience a change in debt status. Comments from several displacees enlightened the authors regarding the frequency of this occurrence. While this item has been discussed previously, certain additional comments bear mentioning here. This problem appears to be a result of poor communication between the agents and the home owners. In no instance should the home owner be the least bit confused about the financial ramifications of the replacement dwelling he selects. Agents should thus always bear this source of displeasure in mind when explaining the financial aspects of relocation to a displacee.

#### Replacement Dwelling

Although, as was previously mentioned, displacees were generally satisfied with their relocation housing, many took the opportunity to make comments concerning the specifics of their housing. Most of these comments had to do with repairs or changes which had to be made in the replacement dwelling. Some of the following remarks make it clear that some dissatisfaction with dwelling was indeed present.

I had to install a \$700 furnace, get a \$650 new roof and put in \$90 worth of new pipes.

I would like a better driveway down to my house.

I've spent thousands of dollars to fix up my new home.

The stove and refrigerator in the mobile home gave out and I don't have the money to replace them....

I've asked the highway department to repair the portion of my driveway that is state property, but have gotten no response. Can you help?

My new house had leaks in the wreckroom [sic] and basement and septic tank. My driveway was not finished properly...I've been in financial trouble since I started dealing with the highway department.

Certain of these and many other comments received concerned the inadequacy of a driveway or access way to the main road. While it is admittedly a tall order for the Department to be responsible for such specific items, displacees should definitely be discouraged from selecting replacement housing which appears to be in need of major repair. Also, since driveways appear to be a major source of discontent where replacement housing is concerned, it is recommended that accessibility to the replacement dwelling be made as convenient and comfortable as is feasible.

#### Information

Perhaps the most serious item regarding the relocation experience is the presentation of accurate information by the Department. The importance of accurate communication and information is best exemplified by the words of the displacees themselves. Certain of the responses are indicative of the degree to which displacee and agent reached agreement.

There's too little coordination between the first contact and subsequent negotiations. The brochure you gave me stinks....

Explanations were not adequate....

The whole process was too slow. Verbal commitments were different than written commitments....

Your initial contact needs to be very clear...Take more time with people who don't have much education....

I didn't understand what I was being told. I wish they would have talked in plain English....

I felt pressured to settle quickly and am not really happy with the program....

I'm glad the ordeal is over because I was confused by the payment procedure.

The highway department so-called workers know how to mistreat people. It's not for the little people anymore. It's for the big man....

As can be seen, the comments are varied but do indicate that there were definite problems in communication. Several respondents indicated that they were confused by the payment procedure, and subsequently tied this confusion to the informational booklet given to each displacee. It became apparent to the authors that this booklet probably contains too much information for the displacee to digest, especially in view of the fact that many displacees cannot read very well. Perhaps separate information booklets--one for owners and one for tenants--might help to alleviate some of this problem. Moreover, it cannot be emphasized enough that the first contact is crucial to a successful and amiable relocation transaction. The data show that if the first impression is negative, the attitude reached at that point will permeate the entire negotiation. The authors found that several displacees felt that they were bombarded with information on this first contact at a time when they were dazed and confused about an impending alteration in their lifestyles. The result was that they didn't hear all the important points that the agent was making and thus became even more confused at the next visit. The authors feel that the solution to this problem is to simply reduce the degree of detail involved in the initial contact. Only a minimal amount of information should be disseminated, with the details being saved for a second visit after displacees have recovered from the initial shock. In addition, it is the researchers' opinion that maximum figures should never be mentioned during the first contact, since quite possibly these figures will be all that displacees are likely to retain.

Several displacees explained that they were confused by (1) seeing too many different faces, (2) being unable to see agents at a time convenient to them, and (3) the length of time between the first contact and the initiation of negotiations. For item (1) the case is that the displacee very often feels that he is being bombarded with faces and that his problems are being shuffled about rather than being dealt with. This situation only adds to the confusion, especially where the elderly are concerned. It is the authors' recommendation that to avoid this type of confusion the same one or two agents follow each case to its conclusion. Also agents must be willing to make themselves available at the displacee's convenience, not at their own. The agent must realize that he is the state and that the importance of public relations is immeasurable. He must be willing at times to "go out of his way" to prevent a displacee from becoming disgruntled and thus a potential missionary for anti-highway sentiment. Also, displacees should never be made to feel "pushed" to relocate when it will exert a hardship upon

them, or to relocate into a dwelling which is totally unsatisfactory to them. While the authors recognize that agents will likely encounter displacees who are ill-tempered greedy, or sometimes hostile, they cannot emphasize enough the importance of maintaining good relations with relocatees through effective communication and information exchange. One of the better methods for communicating with potential displacees appears to be the informational group meeting. This method has been used successfully in several highway districts in Virginia. Such a meeting tends to quell rumors and familiarize the displacees with Department personnel and their sincere desire to be helpful. While this technique may not be as effective in rural areas as in urban ones, the authors endorse this practice and heartily recommend that it be used on any or all urban jobs.

### The Elderly

Although the problems of the elderly were covered in a previous section, it is felt that, since many of the worries prevalent among older displacees were entered on the comments section of the questionnaire, they should be mentioned here also. Several of the comments from the elderly reflected the difficulties of having to absorb a move while being old and on a fixed income:

We find it difficult on a fixed income to make ends meet.  
We had to spend what we had saved on land and had to  
borrow to pay for the rest of the house. We're too old  
to be worried by so many bills....

More consideration should be given to people on social  
security than to people working....

Other comments received from the elderly concerned the loss of the "old home place" and the separation from familiar acquaintances and surroundings. But perhaps the most prevalent comment from the elderly concerning the relocation experience involved their health or the health and subsequent death of a spouse. Typical of the responses were:

My husband had suffered 2 or 3 heart attacks prior to  
contact by the highway department. I feel relocation  
killed him....

I lost my husband by death due to his worrying where  
we were going and in moving our property....

Relocation was too much for my husband....

The highway department caused by husband's death.  
He died 1 month after the move....

I hope when you have people move you don't expect old people to jump up and move. I've been down sick ever since I moved....

Overall, the elderly have the greatest potential of being severely affected by relocation for three basic reasons:

1. Their age makes understanding why and how very difficult.
2. They often have stronger ties with their original home and neighborhood because they have lived in it for a long while. This fact makes uprooting very difficult, often to the point of trauma, over the loss of neighbors upon whom they once depended.
3. Readjustment is extremely difficult. This must surely be the reason that older individuals seldom move voluntarily.

It became obvious to the authors that the elderly want and need additional post-relocation assistance. Post-relocation contact, while important to the elderly, is also a good means for the agency to learn how it came across in handling the case, and in addition can be expected to enhance public relations for future projects. The authors also feel that the dislocation allowance may in certain elderly cases be less than sufficient. In light of this, a reevaluation of the dislocation allowance appears timely.

#### Termination of Residence

A prevalent concern of the displacees was the length of time between their relocation and the beginning of construction. Several respondents complained that it appeared to them that the Department was in a terrible hurry to move them only to let the vacant land lay idle for months or even years. An even greater source of displeasure involved vandalism of empty original dwellings. A few typical responses may help convey the feelings of certain of the respondents:

I feel the highway department shouldn't make people vacate their homes just to let them set for 2 or 3 years before beginning construction. Housing is limited in our area and the highway department shouldn't make people vacate until they really need the land....

Things were taken from the house that were supposed to be left and we had no one to turn to for advice....

I was very upset about the move. Now it seems the highway department has forgotten about the road....

The state ran us out and has yet done nothing with the property....

I asked the highway department to lock the doors of my old house and put up no trespassing signs. They didn't and vandals destroyed the insides. I was upset to see my old home of 48 years destroyed so....

No steps were taken to guard the property after we moved out and there was much vandalism....

In addition, a few respondents were concerned that they were forced to move more than once because the replacement home which they were building was not finished "soon enough to suit the highway department." Similarly, displacees were quite disturbed at having to pay rent to the Department on their original dwelling while awaiting construction of a new one. (The authors realize that legally the Department is entitled to charge rent.) It appears obvious that efforts should be aimed at narrowing the time span which often exists between right-of-way acquisition and construction. While the authors recognize that the entire process is affected by several divisions within the Department, they wish to emphasize the fact that letting a project "sit" adversely affects the attitude of those displaced toward the entire relocation experience. Indeed the number of functions which must precede and follow relocation are countless. However, the Department's years of experience in handling projects should provide fairly precise estimates as to the time involved in getting a project to the construction stage. Colony offers one possible solution with which the authors wholeheartedly agree.<sup>(4)</sup> It is probable that a review of right-of-way procedures could lead to a minimization of the time required for the purchase of right-of-way. Such a reduction would improve both Department public relations and the efficiency of the entire operation. A statistical study of the time interval from the initial contact to the possession of a parcel would make available data upon which the Department could estimate a latest date for beginning negotiations with a calculated risk, say a 5% to 10% chance, of not having complete possession of a right-of-way at the desired advertisement date. The authors strongly urge that such an investigation be undertaken.

Regarding vandalism of vacant dwellings, the authors offer one solution to minimize it. The most practical course appears to be rapid demolition of the dwellings. This reduces the opportunity for both vandalism and vagrancy (which also tends to become a problem once the vandalism ceases). The authors encourage expedited demolition regardless of the construction date.

#### Motivation for Economic Status Change

It is encouraging to report that 82 (25%) of the comments received were positive in nature. These comments ranged from simple "Thank you's" to such comments as "Any time anyone asks you does the state treat you right, this man says yes." The predominant positive comment, however, was that relocation helped some tenants to become owners, some for the first time in their lives. Selected comments reflect the quiddity of these displacees' attitudes toward the change in economic status.

I was very pleased that I would get \$4,000 to purchase a new home....

Due to relocation, I am living much better since it enabled me to buy a home....

I feel that we benefited by the move and wish to thank the highway department for allowing us to own our home....

We were lucky the highway department took the house we were renting and it enabled us to buy our own home....

It is likely that the down payment subsidy provided added inducement for certain of the tenants to become owners. The authors encourage the promotion of home ownership whenever it does not appear to financially strain the displacee.

#### Environmental Concerns

Certain respondents were concerned with the change in the livability of their surroundings. Some complained that their new location was noisy or dusty, others that there was a lack of shade or wooded area. The most prevalent concern regarding environmental differences was the problem of water damage to the replacement dwelling and/or surrounding area. Typical responses were:

I would be satisfied if the highway department would help me move my creek it is washing my yard away....

...house is musty and damp and it is wet under the house all the time....

We had a slide taking an acre of land. We were forced into court because the highway department didn't want to pay for the land and damages. Also after removing the shade they left the trees lying around which got caught in our drains....

The construction of the highway created water problems in our basement and took away our view. Now all we can see are rocks, dirt and an embankment.

While certain of the environmental concerns of displacees are unavoidable, right-of-way personnel are encouraged to minimize these effects by taking more care with the selection of comparables.

### Miscellaneous

The final three categories in Table 30 represent a potpourri of displaced concerns. The problems associated with the relocation of individuals who maintain businesses in their homes were covered in an earlier section of this report. Regarding home improvements, it was expected that several respondents would not feel that they were adequately compensated for improvements they had made in their original dwellings. These improvements included such items as driveways, carports, room additions, redecorations and the like. The authors merely wish to point out that these items were mentioned in certain cases, and to recommend that agents explain fully to home owners how these improvements are taken into account in the determination of fair market value equivalents or RHP's.

The "miscellaneous" category in Table 30 refers to all comments which did not fall into the other ten categories. For the most part, these miscellaneous comments represent those persons who displayed dissatisfaction for which there was no reason given.

We were lied to.

I think it's a shame that the state can take people's property to build a highway. I don't care for such progress.

I'm glad it's over.

I hope they don't take us again.

None. What's the use? It's all over. The state has what they want. I just hope they're satisfied.

You all think that it is more important for the highway department to be happy than those that had to move.

...it felt to everyone that the road wouldn't benefit anyone but the bureaucrats...many people were moved and millions of dollars spent on something unnecessary.

The negative attitudes displayed by the above comments are a result of some aspect of the relocation experience and should not be taken lightly. Although these are uncategorizable, they indicate that in many ways relocation connotes exasperation. It is crucial that right-of-way personnel be aware of such exasperation and strive during all stages of the relocation process to minimize such feelings.

## RELOCATION FROM THE PRACTITIONER'S PERSPECTIVE

### Introduction

One objective of this study was to determine the attitude of relocation personnel, that is, right-of-way engineers and their staff of relocation agents, toward the relocation program as it is implemented through the 1970 Act. While at first glance the value of such an undertaking may appear to have been questionable, the authors felt that interviews with relocation personnel daily involved in the practice of relocating households would serve as an excellent vehicle for corroborating what had been learned from relocatee interviews and questionnaires. Unlike those in the foregoing sections of the report the discussion presented here will be less technical and more narrative in nature.

### Interviews

After processing the data received from relocatees, the authors interviewed each of the eight district right-of-way engineers and several of their relocation agents. While the interview format was not a rigid one, several topics were covered in all interviews: Payment timing problems, communication, the elderly, and comparability. The authors believe that legislators and administrators in the upper echelons of transportation departments can benefit greatly from the comments offered here. In many instances they corroborate findings suggested in earlier sections of this report.

### Payment Timing Problems

The overwhelming majority of district engineers and right-of-way agents were aware that a real problem exists with the timing of relocation housing payments (RHP). Their knowledge of the problem was not as surprising to the authors as was the apparent lack of any consistent way of formally dealing with it. In other words, each district is left to its own resources to alleviate the problem. The relocation personnel suggested that the most frequent occurrence of payment timing problems is found among relocatees with very low incomes or among the elderly who are on fixed incomes. In addition, several districts suggested that the problem occurs in one out of every three cases.

All of the personnel indicated that the law itself seemed to be the source of the problem. As has been suggested earlier, the requirement of occupancy as a condition for receipt of the RHP, if strictly adhered to, can, in many instances, result in the displacee having to take a short-term loan for a down payment on his replacement dwelling, the interest on which is not reimbursable under the law. Clearly, such a situation is a hardship on the displacee and inefficient for the relocating agency. Furthermore, the relocation agent handling cases in which this problem arises must attempt in some way to draw a check early, make payment jointly to the buyer and

seller at the time of closing, or convince the seller (or the loan institution financing the mortgage) to complete the deal (or finance the loan) based upon the relocating agency's promise to pay. At any rate, such special procedures are not invoked except in cases where a request is made by the displacee.

Right-of-way personnel (district engineers and relocation agents) all share the sentiment that payment timing problems cause inequity, and therefore result in a "bad taste," if not animosity, among relocatees. Their suggestion is rather simple; they are reluctant to recommend making interest charges on short-term loans reimbursable, but believe that if the law itself cannot be liberalized, there is no other equitable alternative.

### Communications

The second major topic discussed with relocation personnel was communications. As was implied in previous sections of the report, early feelings concerning relocation, attitudes about satisfaction with help finding a home, and unsolicited comments seem to suggest that some of the negative feeling among displacees may stem simply from a failure on the part of the relocating agency to communicate properly. Interviews with field personnel did in fact support the authors' original feelings on this matter. There often seems to be a lack of uniformity as to what displacees are told. Some districts take a very active role in providing assistance in finding a new dwelling, while others wait for the displacee to call for help. While the authors do not wish to make a judgment as to which philosophy is preferable, cross tabulations have shown that the incidence of satisfaction with the replacement dwelling is much higher among individuals whose homes were located by Department personnel. At any rate, it is clear that within each district there should be not only uniformity of policy, but special care to inform the displacee of whether an "I'll call you" philosophy or a "You call us" philosophy is to be followed concerning assistance with finding a replacement dwelling.

Concerning early feelings about relocation, district personnel had some very interesting comments. Because cross tabulations between early attitudes about relocation and satisfaction (both overall and with specific aspects of the relocation process) had proved highly significant, the authors had been led to believe that early contacts with displacees are crucial to program acceptance. Both a number of displacee comments and comments received from the relocation agents verified this speculation. Typical of the agent's comments are the following:

The first contact is such a shock that we shouldn't tell them (the relocatee) too much. We should make a second contact.

The first contact is the most important. Too many details (especially maximum figures) can often be misleading later on.

In addition to the fact that the information given in the first contact is quite important, the feeling among both agents and displacees is that the displacee sees too many faces. While the authors recognize that right-of-way acquisition is a highly specialized process, there appears to be a great deal of merit in minimizing, to every extent possible, the number of people a displacee comes in contact with during relocation. A displacee who must deal at different times with an appraiser, a negotiator, and several relocation agents is likely to become confused and feel that he and his problems are being shuffled about like chessmen. The authors are in complete agreement with the following relocation agent comments concerning number of contacts and faces.

On the first goodwill visit both of us (the negotiator and the relocation agent) go; it saves a lot of trouble when questions arise and is good PR.

Assigning projects to a particular individual who can carry it all the way through is crucial.

There is a crucial need to cut down on the number of contacts.

My appraisal is that the communications problem is due to the fact that so many functions must precede and follow the relocation section people that the relocatee just becomes confused and frustrated.

A third point concerning communications was raised by agents involved in relocation. All of those interviewed believe that the printed matter used by the Department, while on some points quite helpful, is at times a source of not only confusion to the less educated but also of dissatisfaction to those who misconstrue the maximum RHP figures quoted as being what they are automatically entitled to receive. Since the questionnaires distributed to displacees did not address this issue, displacee responses could not be used to corroborate this feeling among field personnel. In the interest of completeness, however, the authors believe the comment is worth reporting and should be further examined.

### The Elderly

The findings concerning elderly displacees have been fully discussed in a previous section; therefore, only a brief comment will be made here. Relocation personnel seem to be well aware of the special problems of the aged; consequently, all districts seem to be emphasizing services for the elderly, particularly during the move itself. By far the most interesting comments, however, were related to post-relocation contacts for the elderly. While every district was cognizant of the problems which might linger for an elderly displacee long after his move, some district relocation personnel were reluctant to agree to the authors' suggestion that post-relocation contacts are necessary and valuable where the elderly are concerned. It was quite interesting, the authors thought, that the reluctance did not appear to stem from a difference in philosophy, but rather a concern that Department management would not agree to the

value of post-relocation contacts. In other words, district right-of-way engineers and many agents believe that management views their role solely as one of acquiring property, relocating families to replacement dwellings, and complying with other statutes that are necessary prior to advertising a project for bids. Relocation personnel reason, therefore, that post-relocation contacts as a normal practice are not productive in the eyes of management. If, in fact, top management holds this view, it should be concluded that the job of relocation is being only partially completed; in short, the letter of the law may be complied with, but not the spirit of the law. Leaving a business card with the displacee so that he may contact the relocating agency is not enough. Agents should be encouraged by management to make post-relocation contacts in those cases in which the agent feels such contact is needed.

### Comparability

From the practitioner's standpoint, comparability of both neighborhood and housing is one of the most important, yet one of the most difficult, aspects of relocation with which to deal. Neighborhood comparability is difficult to ascertain, as previously noted, because in many instances a neighborhood undergoes a rather drastic filtering process between the time that the highway project becomes public knowledge and the time that relocation takes place. Relocation personnel can offer no suggestion for alleviating this problem, except to speed up the planning process.

One very interesting suggestion was made, however, concerning housing comparability. It concerns the actual method of determining the maximum comparable figure. The current method consists of locating three dwellings on the market which are suitable as a replacement dwelling. The market price of each is examined; then the most comparable dwelling is chosen upon which is based the maximum RHP to which the displacee is entitled. Several of the district personnel suggest that rather than computing RHP's based upon "one chosen comparable", they should be based upon an average of comparables on the market. Such a procedure would eliminate the necessity for recomputing RHP's in instances where the chosen comparable is removed from the market prior to the displacee finding a dwelling. Although computing the RHP based upon an average of comparability was abandoned as a federal guideline several years ago, the authors agree that such a procedure might indeed be more equitable than the current one. Consider the following example concerning the authors' point on equity. Assume that three comparables are located, with respective market prices of \$23,500; \$23,950; and \$24,750. Further assume that the house whose market price is \$23,500 is determined by the relocating agency to be the "chosen comparable." This means that the maximum amount the displacee can receive for a replacement dwelling is \$23,500, and, in short, is the same as saying that any house having a market price greater than \$23,500 is more than comparable to what the displacee had. However, such reasoning constitutes a non sequitor because three comparables were located on the market, one of which was valued \$1,250 more than the amount which the displacee was entitled to spend.

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APPENDIX A  
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. How did you feel when you first realized the highway might affect your property?  
 (1) very upset                      (3) mixed emotions                      (4) mildly pleased  
 (2) mildly upset                      (5) very pleased
2. In general, what concerned you most about your move? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_
3. How do you feel about the Highway Department's overall relocation program?  
 (1) Very good    (2) Good    (3) So-So    (4) Bad    (5) Very bad
4. What effect did moving have on friendships you had made in your old neighborhood?  
 (1) No effect    (2) Ended some    (3) Ended most    (4) Ended all
5. How many friends have you made in your new neighborhood? (1) Many    (2) A Few    (3) None    (4) NA
6. Is there anything about your old neighborhood you really miss? \_\_\_\_\_ NA
7. Which do you prefer, this neighborhood or your old one? (1) Much prefer new    (2) Somewhat prefer new  
 (3) About the Same    (4) Much prefer old    (5) Somewhat prefer old    (6) NA
8. What is different about this one? \_\_\_\_\_ NA
9. Which do you prefer, this house or your old one? (1) Much prefer new    (2) Somewhat prefer new  
 (3) About the Same    (4) Much prefer old    (5) Somewhat prefer old    (6) NA
10. What feature of this house do you really like? \_\_\_\_\_
11. What feature of this house do you not like? \_\_\_\_\_
12. Why did you select this house? \_\_\_\_\_
13. How does the lot you live on now compare with the one you used to live on?  
 (1) New lot smaller    (2) New lot larger    (3) New lot is about the same    (4) Don't Know    (5) NA
14. Have you made any major changes or repairs in this house since you moved in?  
 (1) Added on (Bath, Bedroom, Den, etc.)    (3) Changed heating system or insulated    (5) None of these  
 (2) Added Garage or other outside bldg.    (4) Made a major repair    (6) NA
15. What type of heating did your old house have? (1) Oil (2) Gas (3) Elec. (4) Coal (5) Other (6) Don't Know
16. What type of heating do you have now?                      (1) Oil (2) Gas (3) Elec. (4) Coal (5) Other (6) Don't Know

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17. Does it cost you more, less or about the same for utilities in this house as compared to the old one? <sup>(1)</sup> more; <sup>(2)</sup> less or about the <sup>(3)</sup> same for utilities in this house as compared to the old one? <sup>(4)</sup> D/K <sup>(5)</sup> NA  
 DK, unsure
18. By how much per month are they different? (1) less than \$25    (2) \$26 to \$50    (3) \$51 to \$100  
 (4) \$101 to \$150    (5) \$151 to \$200    (6) more than \$200    (7) NA
19. What's the reason for the difference. (1) Utility rates have changed    (2) Different size dwelling  
 (3) The type of heating in new dwelling is different from old    (4) New dwelling has different insulation  
 (5) Not sure    (6) NA

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20. Does it cost you more, less, or about the same to keep up this house as compared to the old one? <sup>(1)</sup> more; <sup>(2)</sup> less or about the <sup>(3)</sup> same to keep up this house as compared to the old one? <sup>(4)</sup> D/K <sup>(5)</sup> NA  
 DK, unsure
21. By how much per year? (1) Less than \$50    (2) \$50 to \$100    (3) \$101 to \$150    (4) \$151 to \$250  
 (5) \$251 to \$350    (6) \$351 to \$500    (7) More than \$500    (8) NA

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22. Is the amount that you have to pay for property taxes more, less, or about the same on this house? <sup>(1)</sup> more; <sup>(2)</sup> less or about the <sup>(3)</sup> same on this house? <sup>(4)</sup> D/K <sup>(5)</sup> NA  
 D/K or
23. By about how much per year? (1) Less than \$100    (3) \$151 to \$200    (5) Greater than \$300  
 (2) \$100 to \$150    (4) \$201 to \$300    (6) NA
24. Is this because (1) tax rates are different, (2) this house has a higher value or (3) the tax rates changed.  
 (4) NA
25. How much did you spend to move your personal property? (1) \$ \_\_\_\_\_ (2) don't remember
26. Did the Highway Department pay you for this? (1) yes    (2) no    (3) not sure

27. In your opinion, were the relocation payments you received adequate? (1) yes (2) no (3) Not sure (4) No response
28. Please explain \_\_\_\_\_
29. Were you satisfied with the help the Highway Department gave you in finding a home? (1) yes (2) no
30. Please explain \_\_\_\_\_
31. From the time you first realized you would have to move, how long were you given to find replacement housing and vacate? \_\_\_\_\_
32. Was this enough time? (1) yes (2) no (3) no opinion
33. Did the Highway Department offer you a choice of dwellings to move into? (1) yes (2) no (3) Don't Know (4) NA
34. If offered a choice did you take it? (1) yes (2) no (3) NA
35. If you were offered a house and didn't move into it, why didn't you? \_\_\_\_\_ NA
36. Who or what helped you to find your replacement housing? (1) Real Estate Agent (2) Newspaper (3) Friend or relative (4) Highway Dept. (5) More than one of the above (6) None of the above (7) Not sure
37. What is your opinion of the way the Highway Dept. people acted in their dealings with you? \_\_\_\_\_
38. Overall, do you think you were treated fairly by the Highway Dept.? (1) yes (2) no

For Evaluation Purposes I Would Like to Ask You a Few Questions About You and Your Family

39. How many people are living here? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 or more
40. What is your marital status? (1) Single (2) Married (3) Widow(er) (4) Separated or Divorced
41. Do you own or rent this house? (1) own (2) rent (3) neither
42. About how long have you lived here? (1) Less than 6 months (2) 6 months to 9 months (3) 9 months to one year (4) 1 year to 1 1/2 years (5) 1 1/2 years to 2 years (6) 2 years to 3 years (7) More than 3 years
43. Is this the only house you have lived in since the Highway Department relocated you? (1) yes (2) no (If no, Why did you move?) \_\_\_\_\_
44. How far did you go in school? (1) Grades 0 - 6 (2) Grades 7 - 9 (3) Grades 10-12 (4) Some college (5) College degree (6) Graduate or Professional school
45. What is your occupation? \_\_\_\_\_ Age? \_\_\_\_\_ Sex? \_\_\_\_\_
46. How about your wife/husband? \_\_\_\_\_ Age? \_\_\_\_\_ Sex? \_\_\_\_\_
47. Would you give me the number of the bracket that you fall into? (show card) (1) \$ 0 to \$5000 (2) \$5001 to \$8000 (3) \$8001 to \$11000 (4) \$11001 to \$15000 (5) \$15001 to \$20000 (6) over \$20000
48. Fixed income? (1) yes (2) no
49. Do you have any additional comments you would like to make about your relocation experience?
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_



# COMMONWEALTH of VIRGINIA

## HIGHWAY & TRANSPORTATION RESEARCH COUNCIL

April 15, 1975

BOX 3817 UNIVERSITY STATION  
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA 22903

IN REPLY PLEASE REFER TO FILE NO. 9.47.22

JACK H. DILLARD, HEAD  
VIRGINIA HIGHWAY & TRANSPORTATION RESEARCH COUNCIL

Dear

The Virginia Highway and Transportation Research Council is helping the Virginia Department of Highways and Transportation evaluate its program of relocation assistance. In order to aid us in our evaluation, we would like to talk to you in your home for about half an hour about your relocation experience. Even though this evaluation can have no effect on the compensation you received for your relocation, information about your experience and that of others who have been relocated will be helpful to us in determining how well the relocation assistance program serves the public.

Enclosed is a self-addressed, stamped postcard on which we would like you to indicate whether or not you are willing to discuss your relocation experience with us. Please return this card at your earliest convenience and we will contact you soon concerning scheduling the visit at a time convenient for you.

We appreciate your cooperation and assistance.

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Mike Perfater".

Michael A. Perfater  
Research Analyst

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Gary R. Allen".

Gary R. Allen  
Research Economist

MAP:shk  
Enclosure





# COMMONWEALTH of VIRGINIA

## HIGHWAY & TRANSPORTATION RESEARCH COUNCIL

BOX 3817 UNIVERSITY STATION  
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA 22903

IN REPLY PLEASE 9.47.22  
REFER TO FILE NO.

JACK H. DILLARD, HEAD  
VIRGINIA HIGHWAY & TRANSPORTATION RESEARCH COUNCIL

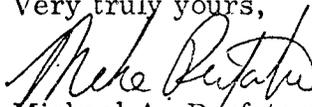
Dear

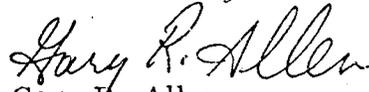
Recently we sent you a letter concerning a relocation survey being conducted by the Virginia Highway and Transportation Research Council. In that letter we enclosed a postcard requesting an interview with you to discuss your relocation experience.

We have not yet received your reply, but do not wish to leave you out of the survey unless you would rather not be included. If you have just overlooked mailing the postcard back to us (or have misplaced it) please return the enclosed postcard at your earliest convenience so that we may schedule the interview. If you have already responded, please disregard this letter.

We appreciate your cooperation and assistance.

Very truly yours,

  
Michael A. Perfater  
Research Analyst

  
Gary K. Allen  
Research Economist

MAP:shk  
Enclosure



REPLY CARDS

Virginia Highway Research Council  
Box 3817, University Station  
Charlottesville, Va. 22903

ATTN: Environmental Management  
& Economics Section

Yes, I am willing to be interviewed.

No, I do not wish to be interviewed.

Telephone Number \_\_\_\_\_ (Include Area Code)

Time of Day most convenient for interview

\_\_\_\_\_





18. If utility costs are different, by approximately how much per month? (circle one) (1) Less than \$25  
 (2) \$25 to \$50 (3) \$51 to \$100 (4) \$101 to \$150 (5) \$151 to \$200 (6) Over \$200
19. What is the reason for this difference? (1) Utility rates have changed (2) New dwelling is different size  
 (3) The type of heating in new dwelling is different from old (4) New dwelling has different insulation  
 (5) Not sure (circle one)
20. How do costs of maintenance and upkeep for your new dwelling compare to that of your old dwelling?  
 (1) It costs more in new dwelling (3) It costs about the same in new dwelling as in old  
 (2) It costs less in new dwelling than in old (4) Don't know (5) Does not apply
21. If upkeep costs are different, by how much per year? (circle one) (1) Less than \$50 (2) \$51 to \$100  
 (3) \$101 to \$150 (4) \$151 to \$250 (5) \$251 to \$350 (6) \$351 to \$500 (7) More than \$500
22. How does the property tax bill on your new dwelling compare with what you paid each year on your old dwelling? (circle one) (1) More in New (2) Less in New (3) About the Same (4) Don't Know  
 (5) Don't Pay Real Estate Taxes
23. If taxes are different, by how much per year? (circle one) (1) Less than \$100 (2) \$101 to \$150  
 (3) \$151 to \$200 (4) \$201 to \$300 (5) Greater than \$300
24. What is the reason for this difference? (circle one) (1) The place I moved to has a different tax rate  
 (2) My new dwelling has a different value (3) The tax rates changed
25. How much did you spend to move your personal property (furniture, appliances, etc.)? (1) \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
 (2) Don't Remember
26. Did the Highway Department pay you for this? (circle one) (1) yes (2) no (3) not sure
27. In your opinion, were the relocation payments you received adequate? (circle one) (1) yes (2) no  
 (3) not sure
28. Please explain \_\_\_\_\_
29. Were you satisfied with the help the Highway Department gave you in finding a home? (circle one)  
 (1) yes (2) no
30. Please explain \_\_\_\_\_
31. From the time you first realized you would have to move, how long were you given to find replacement housing and vacate? \_\_\_\_\_
32. Was this enough time? (circle one) (1) yes (2) no (3) no opinion
33. Did the Highway Department offer you several dwellings to choose from? (circle one) (1) yes (2) no  
 (3) Don't remember (4) I did not need any to choose from
34. If you were offered a choice of dwellings, did you take one of them? (circle one) (1) yes (2) no
35. If you were offered a dwelling, but did not move into it, please explain why? \_\_\_\_\_
36. Who or what helped you to find your replacement housing? (circle one)  
 (1) Real Estate Agent (3) Friend or relative (5) More than one of the above (7) Found it myself  
 (2) Newspaper (4) Highway Department (6) None of the above

37. What is your opinion of the way the Highway Department people acted in their dealings with you?

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38. Overall, do you think you were treated fairly by the Highway Department? (circle one) (1) yes (2) no

39. How many people, including yourself live in your home? (circle one) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 or more

40. Please circle your marital status. (1) Single (2) Married (3) Widow(er) (4) Separated or Divorced

41. Do you own your present dwelling or do you rent? (circle one) (1) own (2) rent (3) neither

42. How long have you lived at this location? (circle one)

- |                           |                            |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| (1) Less than 6 months    | (5) 1 1/2 years to 2 years |
| (2) 6 months to 9 months  | (6) 2 years to 3 years     |
| (3) 9 months to one year  | (7) More than 3 years      |
| (4) 1 year to 1 1/2 years |                            |

43. Is this the only dwelling you have lived in since the Highway Department relocated you? (1) yes (2) no  
(If no, why did you move?) \_\_\_\_\_

44. What is the highest level of school you completed? (circle one)

- |                  |                                     |
|------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (1) Grades 0 - 6 | (4) Some college                    |
| (2) Grades 7 - 9 | (5) College degree                  |
| (3) Grades 10-12 | (6) Graduate or Professional school |

45. What is your occupation? \_\_\_\_\_ Age? \_\_\_\_\_ Sex? \_\_\_\_\_

46. What is your wife's/husband's occupation? \_\_\_\_\_ Age? \_\_\_\_\_ Sex? \_\_\_\_\_

47. What was your total family income in 1974? (circle one) (1) \$ 0 to 5000 (4) \$11001 to 15000  
(2) \$5001 to 5000 (5) \$15001 to 20000  
(3) \$8001 to 11000 (6) over \$20000

48. Please enter below any additional comments you would like to make.

Comments \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_





# COMMONWEALTH of VIRGINIA

## HIGHWAY & TRANSPORTATION RESEARCH COUNCIL

June 10, 1975

BOX 3817 UNIVERSITY STATION  
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA 22903

IN REPLY PLEASE REFER TO FILE NO. 9.47.22

JACK H. DILLARD, HEAD  
VIRGINIA HIGHWAY & TRANSPORTATION RESEARCH COUNCIL

Dear

The Virginia Highway and Transportation Research Council is helping the Virginia Department of Highways and Transportation evaluate its program of assistance to those persons who have been relocated because of highway construction. As one of the persons who has been relocated, your opinion of the program and your experiences during and after your relocation are important to us. To enable you to express your opinion, we are furnishing you the enclosed questionnaire.

We ask that you please fill out this questionnaire as carefully and completely as possible. We will use the information you provide to help determine what changes, if any, should be made in the current relocation program. A self-addressed, stamped envelope is enclosed for returning the questionnaire to us.

We appreciate your cooperation and assistance in this matter.

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Michael A. Perfater".

Michael A. Perfater  
Research Analyst

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Gary R. Allen".

Gary R. Allen  
Research Economist

GRA:shk  
Enclosures





# COMMONWEALTH of VIRGINIA

## HIGHWAY & TRANSPORTATION RESEARCH COUNCIL

July 3, 1975

BOX 3817 UNIVERSITY STATION  
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA 22903

IN REPLY PLEASE 9.47.22  
REFER TO FILE NO.

W. H. DILLARD, HEAD  
VIRGINIA HIGHWAY & TRANSPORTATION RESEARCH COUNCIL

Dear

This is the final follow-up of a relocation survey being conducted by the Virginia Highway and Transportation Research Council. With our original letter we enclosed a questionnaire to be filled out and returned to us at your convenience.

We have not yet received your questionnaire, but we do not wish to leave you out of the study unless you wish not to be involved. If you do wish to participate, please fill out and return the enclosed questionnaire at your earliest convenience. If you have already responded, please disregard this letter.

Thank you for your cooperation in this effort.

Very truly yours,

Handwritten signature of Michael A. Perfater in cursive.

Michael A. Perfater  
Research Analyst

Handwritten signature of Gary R. Allen in cursive.

Gary R. Allen  
Research Economist

MAP:shk  
Enclosure

