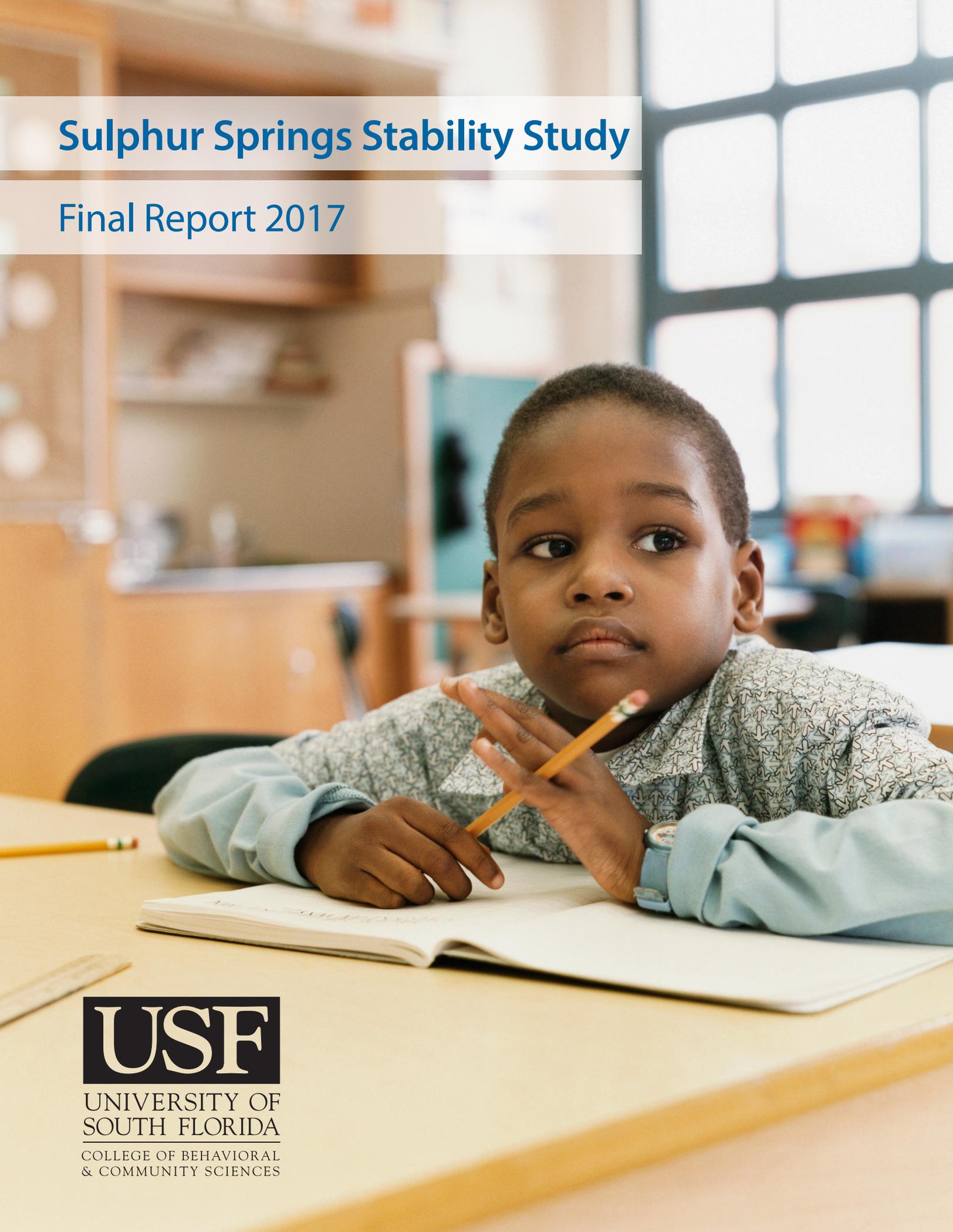


Sulphur Springs Stability Study

Final Report 2017



USF

UNIVERSITY OF
SOUTH FLORIDA

COLLEGE OF BEHAVIORAL
& COMMUNITY SCIENCES



SULPHUR SPRINGS
NEIGHBORHOOD
of PROMISE

Child
& Family
Studies



UNIVERSITY OF
SOUTH FLORIDA
COLLEGE OF BEHAVIORAL
& COMMUNITY SCIENCES

Department of Child & Family Studies
College of Behavior & Community Sciences

University of South Florida

Tampa, Florida

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Executive Summary

Despite success in its work within Sulphur Springs, the Sulphur Springs Neighborhood of Promise (SSNOP) has identified a key area of concern: a high rate of mobility among Sulphur Springs K-8 students, resulting in disruption for students that stay and lack of reach of school programs designed to support academic success. Research shows that high rates of student mobility can have a negative impact on students who move frequently, those who remain in schools with high mobility rates, and even teachers and other school staff members. The SSNOP 2015-2016 School Year Report (2016) found that only about 43% of students were enrolled for the full school year.

USF researchers partnered with the SSNOP Leadership Council to conduct a stability study designed to examine primary and secondary data sources to better understand conditions that might be contributing to residential mobility and undermining the stability of local schoolchildren and their families. Although researchers were unable to interview families that had moved frequently in the past year, they uncovered a number of issues that can help the Leadership Council build on its current activities, review its large-scale community change strategies, and plan for future work in the neighborhood with increased engagement from residents, landlords and other organizational partners.

Important study findings identified include:

- Unlike most low-income neighborhoods, Sulphur Springs is characterized by single-family homes with yards, which residents – especially families with children – identified as an important attribute when seeking a place to live.
- Residents and landlords interviewed for this study identified concerns about crime, violence and open drug use in Sulphur Springs. Respondents gave various suggestions for addressing these issues, including encouraging other residents to work to “clean up” the neighborhood.
- Affordable housing programs supported by SSNOP efforts may compare favorably with current rents paid by residents.
- Most interview respondents were not familiar with the Neighborhood of Promise, although they were able to identify organizational partners.

This report provides the SSNOP with a number of recommendations to build on existing strategies designed to improve conditions in Sulphur Springs and, ultimately, to reduce factors that contribute to high rates of student mobility within local schools. A key recommendation of this report is for the SSNOP to adopt a guiding framework or theory of change to ensure that its strategies and activities work together to address the multiple and interrelated needs prioritized for Sulphur Springs and achieve collective goals and desired outcomes.

Introduction

Researchers and policymakers have long focused on conditions in poor neighborhoods that are believed to negatively affect the overall well-being of local residents, including the academic performance of children who live in these neighborhoods (Ensminger, Lamkin, & Jacobson, 1996; Wilson, 1987). Residents of high poverty neighborhoods are thought to face numerous and often high intensity stressors (e.g. high crime, “blight”, unemployment, etc.) that produce negative outcomes related to health and well-being, including academic achievement. In urban areas across the country, neighborhoods with high concentrations of poverty are also highly segregated, with high rates of Black and/or Latina/o residents. Researchers focusing on academic achievement – especially in low income neighborhoods – have found consistent academic performance and achievement gaps between White students and those that are Black or Latina/o (Lee, 2002; Lemke et al., 2004). Research has shown that over 60% of Black and Latina/o students attend high poverty schools (Orfield & Lee, 2005). However, other studies suggest that attending a racially homogenous school or feeling safe in one’s school, despite existing community violence or other at-risk conditions, can result in increased academic performance (See Pribesh & Downey, 1999).

While policymakers have used research on neighborhood conditions to support policies that break up concentrations of poverty and increase socioeconomic diversity (e.g. Goetz, 2003; Popkin et al., 2004) evaluation of such efforts show mixed results (Clark, 2005; Coulton et al., 2009; Gibbons, Silva & Weinhardt, 2014; Grice, Hill & Hayes, 2012; Sanbonmatsu et al., 2006; Turner, Popkin & Cunningham, 2000). Comprehensive Community Initiatives (CCI) or place-based initiatives have been embraced by funders and policymakers to focus an infusion of resources in neighborhoods where residents already live without forcing them to move. CCIs use a population-based approach to promote community well-being, which works to address the underlying conditions that shape health and social problems in communities disproportionately experiencing poverty, discrimination, and other social ills (Kubisch, Auspos, Brown, Buck & Dewar, 2011). These underlying conditions, referred to as **social determinants** of health or well-being,¹ are understood to be tied to larger inequalities within societies that shape how poverty, discrimination, and disproportionately affect some populations more than others (CDC, 2017).

Studies have found that residents who live in the most extreme conditions of poverty often experience a number of stressors that produce lasting effects on their long-term well-being. Epigenetic and other studies show that children exposed to sustained and high levels of stress, including maltreatment and the deprivation associated with extreme poverty, are more likely to be diagnosed with severe illnesses in adulthood, which may then be passed on to later generations (Middlebrooks & Audage, 2008; Miller, Chen, & Parker, 2011).

Other common stressors identified by Miller and colleagues (2011) include:

- witnessing violence and/or personally experiencing it;
- living in low-quality housing conditions, including inadequate water quality/supply, heating and/or sewage; and
- experiencing chaotic household environments, which may include domestic violence, household substance use and/or untreated mental illness.

Some residents living in conditions of extreme poverty may also face high rates of mobility, which can disrupt family life and school success in children. Since the 1990s, researchers, funders, and policymakers have increased their focus on the role that neighborhood conditions, particularly resident mobility, play in academic achievement in school-aged children, including grades, test scores, and graduation rates. Evaluation studies of CCIs have found that residents experiencing the highest levels of poverty were more likely to move frequently, resulting in reduced reach of initiative activities and poor outcomes for adults and children with regard to education, health, and well-being (Coulton, Theodos & Turner, 2012). Studies also suggest that the disruption of social networks that occurs in neighborhoods with high rates of mobility results in reduced educational achievement in students that remain in the neighborhood (Gibbons, Silva, & Weinhardt, 2014; Grice, Hill, & Hayes, 2012). Cohen and Wardrip (2012) note that extreme poverty results in families moving frequently, and they attribute this increased rate of mobility to a “wide range of complex forces,” which include housing cost burden, lack of employment, and/or a “lack of a safety net”. Indeed, in a report examining the outcomes of various Making Connections (MC) place-based initiatives, Coulton et al. (2012:69) found that residents with an annual income of \$14,000 or less had moved at least once in the previous three years; on average, such residents moved within 1.7 miles of their home. High rates of mobility can challenge the efforts of CCIs because those who most need resources and services may not receive them or may not benefit from them long enough.

Sulphur Springs Stability Study

The Sulphur Springs Stability Study is being conducted as a collaborative effort between faculty from the Department of Child and Family Studies at the University of South Florida (USF) and the Sulphur Springs Neighborhood of Promise (SSNOP) Leadership Council. The SSNOP describes itself on its website as a “collaborative effort of residents, educators, service providers, government agencies, business leaders, and funding partners that have joined together to implement an educational program in which children thrive academically” (SSNOP, 2016). The collaborative identifies three programs or initiatives that guide its current approach for supporting children and families in Sulphur Springs:

- **Promise Neighborhoods** – a U.S. Department of Education program improve educational outcomes for students in distressed urban and rural neighborhoods, based on the programs such as the Harlem Children’s Zone²;

- **the K-8 Community School** – schools that enroll students from Kindergarten through 8th grade to increase academic performance, especially at the middle school level; *and*
- **Economic Stability** – activities designed to help local residents secure employment and manage their finances.

The SSNOP has four large-scale goals that drive its current activities and which are seen as guiding the outcomes the initiative seeks to achieve in Sulphur Springs. These are:

- Good Schools
- Economic Stability
- Community Pride (includes Safety)
- Affordable and Adequate Housing

Annual reporting indicates that the SSNOP has made strides in engaging community residents in work groups and community activities; supporting the work of local provider agencies providing family support and economic stability services to local residents; working to improve local housing conditions and increase homeownership rates; and increasing access to quality educational services and programs for preschool and school age children. However, the local community school has identified high rates of mobility among a large percentage of students resulting in disruption for students that stay and lack of reach of school programs designed to support academic success. The SSNOP 2015-2016 School Year Report (2016) found that only about 43% of students were enrolled for the full school year. High rates of mobility among students can be detrimental not only to students who move frequently; it can also have negative impacts on students that remain at schools with high mobility rates, and even teachers and other school staff members (Coulton et al., 2009; Gibbons, Silva, & Weinhardt, 2014; Grice, Hill, & Hayes, 2012; Heinlein & Shinn, 2000).

As a result of these findings, the SSNOP Leadership Council asked USF faculty to conduct a stability study designed to examine primary and secondary data sources to better understand conditions that might be contributing to residential mobility and undermining the stability of local schoolchildren and their families. This report outlines the findings of this study and provides recommendations for the SSNOP Leadership Council to consider as they work to further support the needs of Sulphur Springs residents. This report includes the following sections: 1) an Executive Summary that highlights key findings and recommendations; 2) an outline of current SSNOP action plan goals; 3) a brief overview of the Sulphur Springs neighborhood; 4) results of a review of relevant community indicators; 5) results of interviews with local renters and landlords; and 6) recommendations for the SSNOP Leadership Council.

Sulphur Springs Neighborhood Profile

Sulphur Springs is a neighborhood within Tampa, Florida located approximately five miles north of the city's downtown. In the late 1800s, the local mineral springs (for which the neighborhood is named)

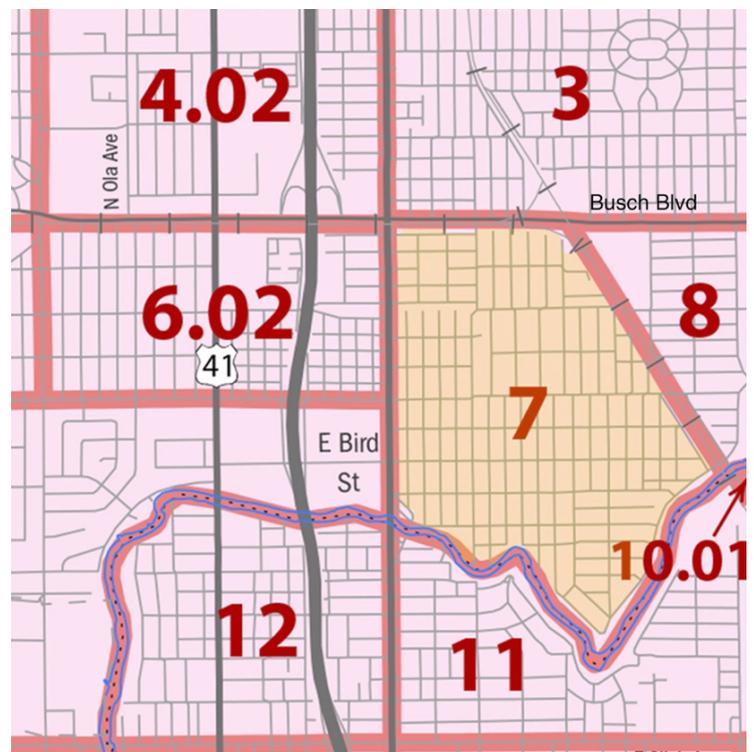
were a tourist attraction. Other tourist destinations in the neighborhood included the Sulphur Springs Pool Complex, fed by the natural spring, originally established in 1906, and the Sulphur Springs Hotel and Arcade, built in the 1920s, and a water slide and a community pool, in operation in the 1940s (Sulphur Springs Museum and Heritage Center, 2009).

USF researchers compiled and reviewed data collected from a variety of sources to learn more about the Sulphur Springs neighborhood. The SSNOP Leadership Council secured figures and maps from partners, funders, and policymakers to provide a truer picture of housing occupancy, participation in housing subsidy programs, current market value for single-family homes in Sulphur Springs, and school mobility. USF researchers secured data from the American Community Survey (ACS) 2015 estimates for Census Tract 7 to provide a snapshot of neighborhood residents, as well as crime statistics provided by the Tampa Police Department. This section compiles these data sources to present a profile of the community. It begins with a profile of residents, followed by a series of figures related to housing occupancy and crime. The section closes with a short report on the local school's stability and mobility provided by the School District of Hillsborough County.

The neighborhood boundaries, recognized by the SSNOP and shown in Figure 1, are the same as those used by the Sulphur Springs K-8 Community School and coincide with Census Tract 7 in Hillsborough County. These boundaries are defined as:

- Busch Boulevard on the north,
- Nebraska Avenue (US Route 41) on the west,
- the railroad to the east, and
- the Hillsborough River to the south.

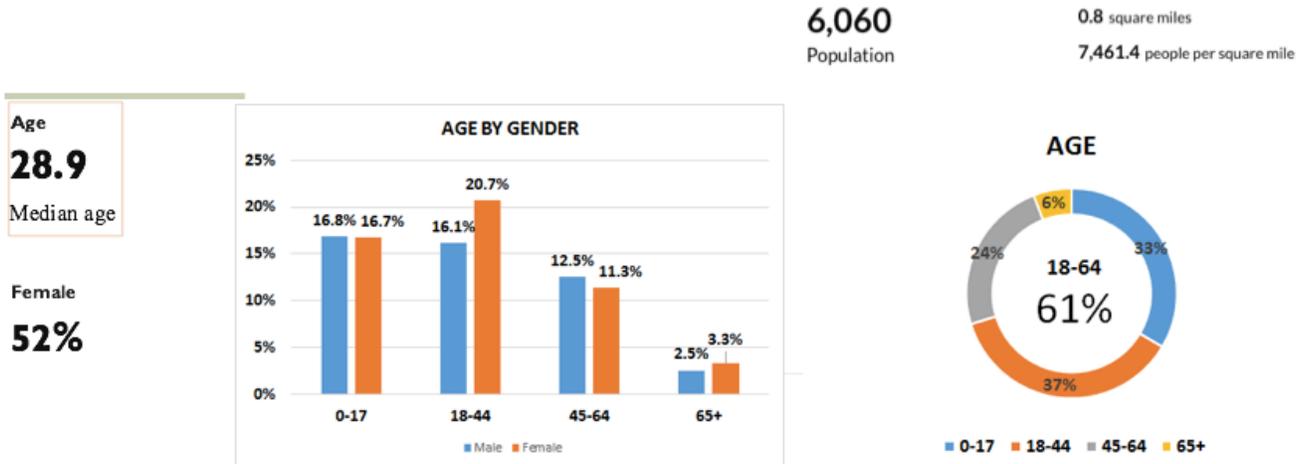
Figure 1. Map of Sulphur Springs Neighborhood (Census Tract 7)



Profile of Sulphur Springs Residents

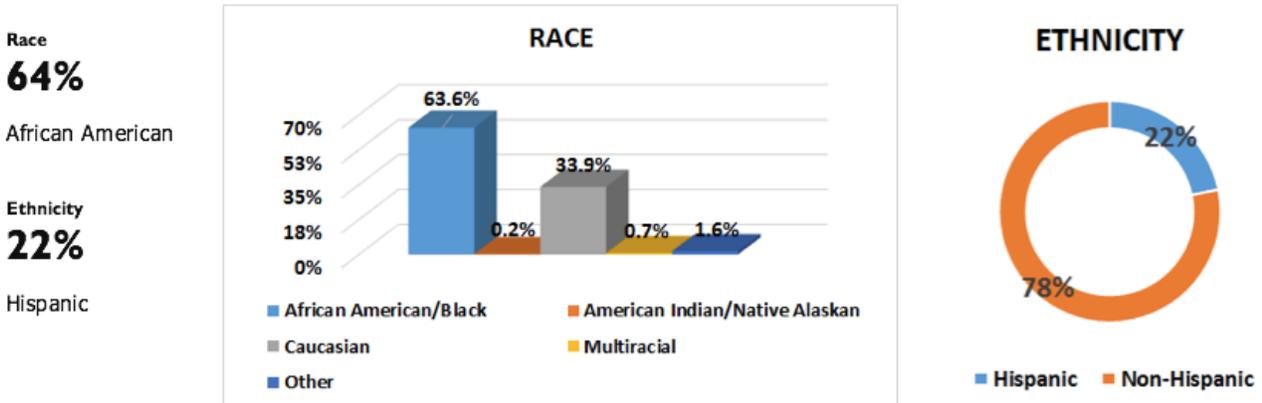
ACS 2015 data show that as of April 2015, Sulphur Springs contained just over 6,000 residents, most of whom are fairly young in age (See Figures 2-9). As shown in Figure 2, adults aged 18-44, make up nearly 37% of the population, while children under the age of 18 account for just over 33% of the neighborhood population. The gender of the population is split fairly even, with 52% of the population female.

Figure 2. Age and Gender of Sulphur Springs Neighborhood Residents



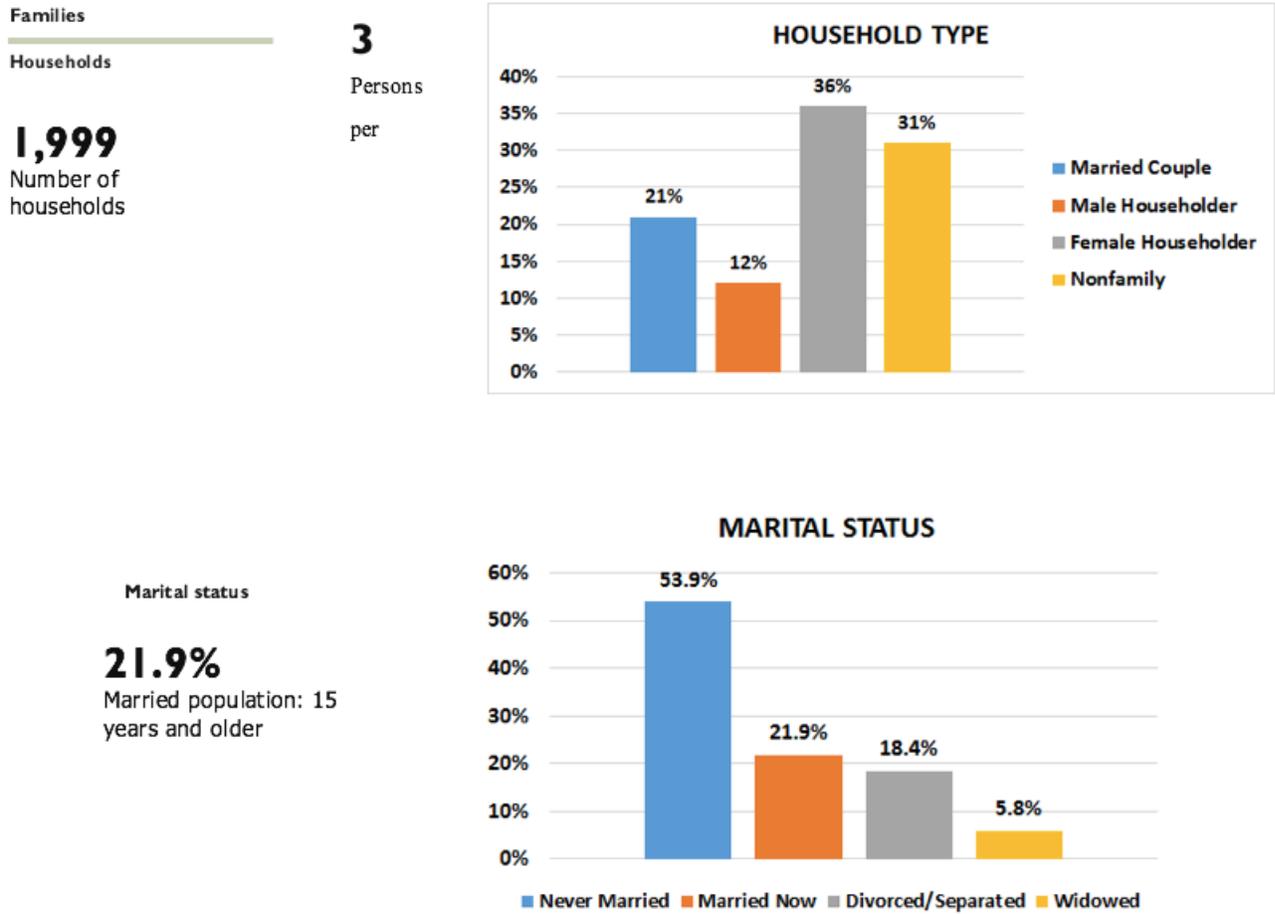
As shown in Figure 3, Sulphur Springs is a majority African American neighborhood (64%); white Americans (listed as Caucasian in Census tables/graphs) make up 19% of the resident population. The neighborhood also includes a small but growing Hispanic population, which accounts for 22% of residents.

Figure 3. Race and Ethnicity of Sulphur Springs Residents



ACS Survey 2015 figures show a total of 1,999 households in Sulphur Springs, with an average of three persons per household (Figure 4). Over half of Sulphur Springs households are female-headed households. Nearly 54% of residents report that they have never been married.

Figure 4. Household Type and Marital Status of Sulphur Springs Residents

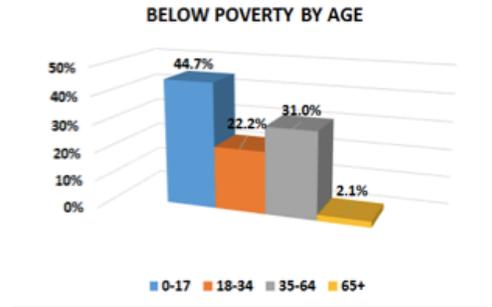
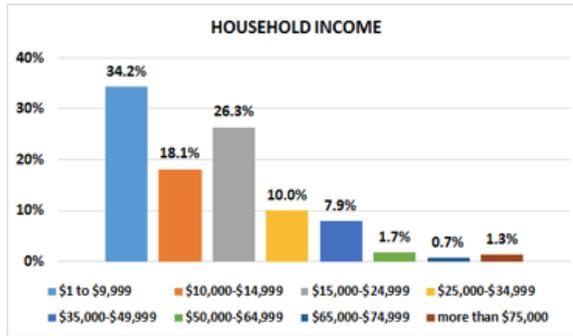


ACS 2015 data show that over 40% of all Sulphur Springs residents live below the poverty line (see Figure 5). Over half of children in the neighborhood live in poverty. This is nearly double the rate recorded for the city of Tampa, 21.8%. Twenty percent of residents in the neighborhood report household incomes below \$10,000 per year. The per capita income reported by Sulphur Springs residents is one-third the amount recorded for city of Tampa residents (\$30,269). Thirty-four percent of residents report being unemployed. The labor force participation rate for adults aged 20 to 54 years of age ranges from 62% to 80%.

Figure 5. Income, Poverty and Labor Force Rates in Sulphur Springs

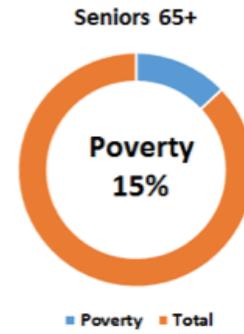
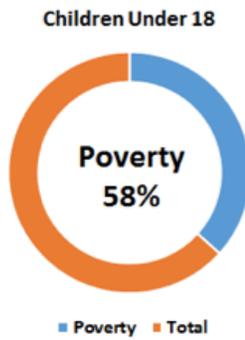
Economics

Per capita income
\$10,418
 Median household income



Poverty

42.3%
 Persons below poverty line



Labor Force Participation

34%
 Unemployed

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION:
 Population 16 years and over

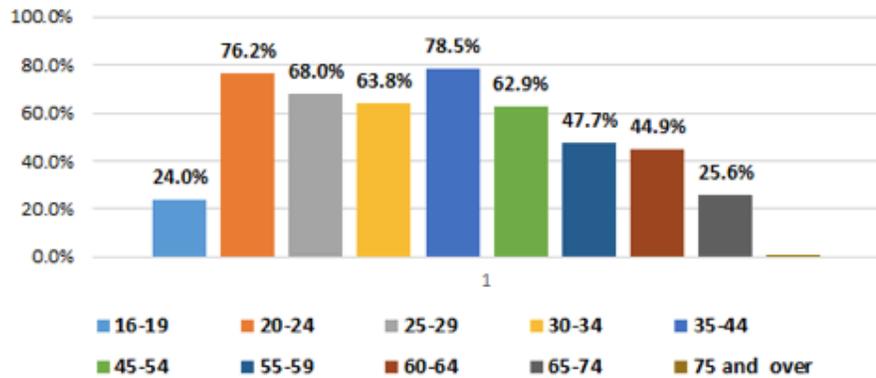
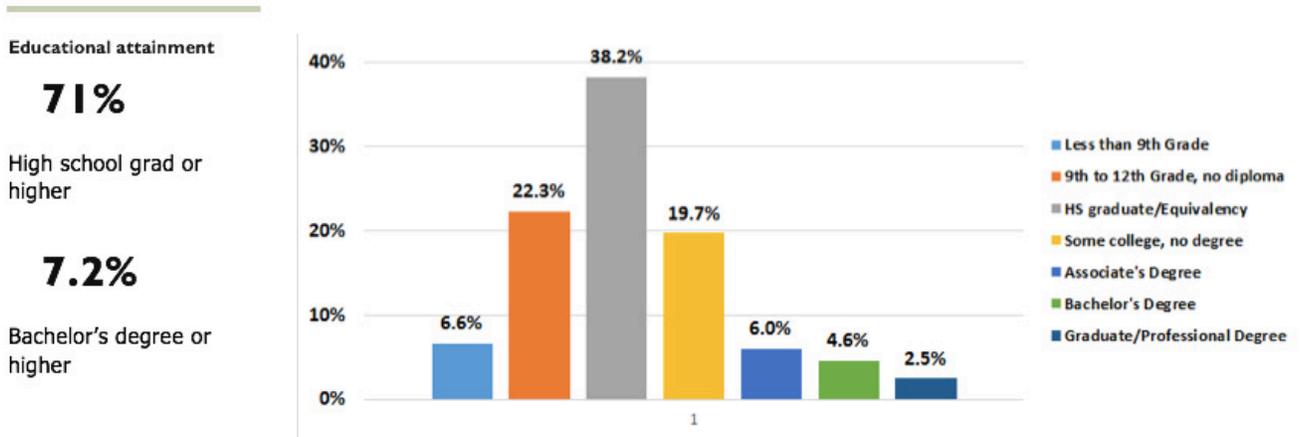


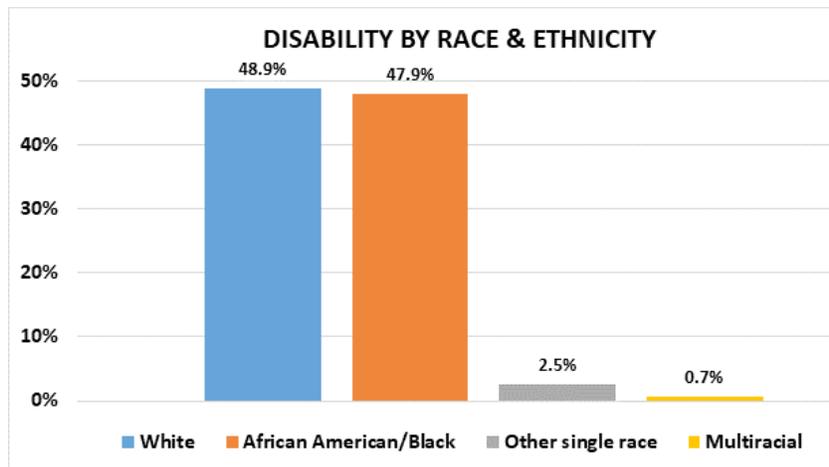
Figure 6 shows that three-quarters of the population have graduated from high school or obtained a diploma or higher; however, less than 10% of the population have attained a college degree or higher.

Figure 6. Education Level of Sulphur Springs Residents



As shown in Figure 7, over 19% of Sulphur Springs residents report having a disability. Despite comprising only 19% of the population, white Americans account for nearly half of all neighborhood residents who are disabled.

Figure 7. Disability in Sulphur Springs Residents



The majority of owner-occupied units in Sulphur Springs had a reported value of less than \$100,000 for owner-occupied homes, and further, these units have a median value of less than \$52,000 (see Figure 8). This is about one-third the median value of homes recorded for the city of Tampa (\$160,300).

Figure 8. Value of Owner-Occupied Units in Sulphur Springs Neighborhood

Value
\$51,600
 Median value of owner-occupied housing units

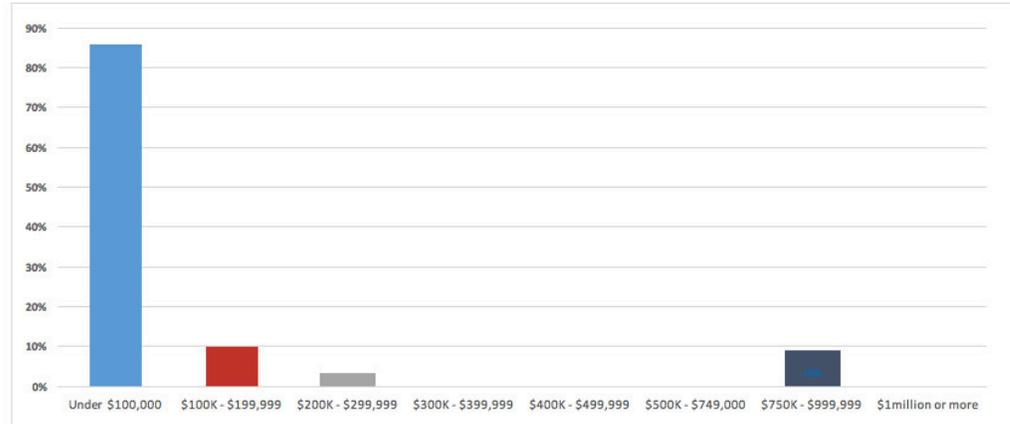
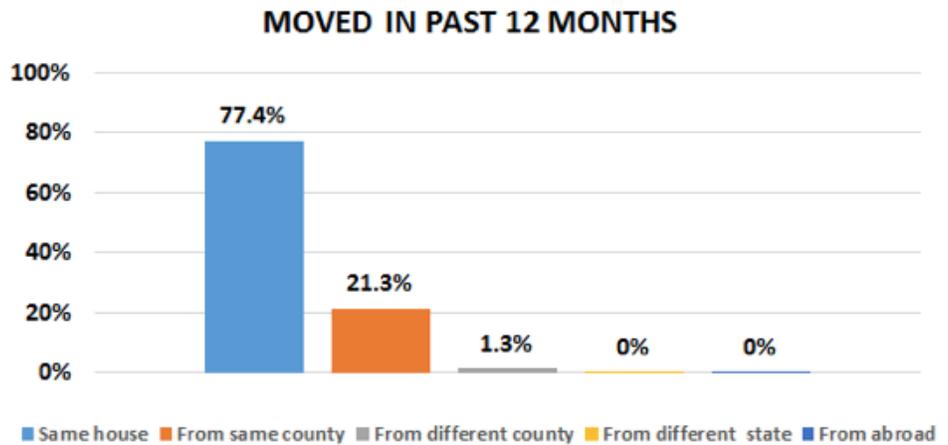


Figure 9 shows that nearly 23% of Sulphur Springs residents reported having moved to the neighborhood within the past year from another Hillsborough County neighborhood. The majority of residents reported having lived in the same house since the previous year.

Figure 9. Mobility in Sulphur Springs Neighborhood

Geographical mobility
22.6%
 Moved since previous year



Housing Characteristics

The next series of graphics provide readers with a snapshot of housing characteristics in the neighborhood. Table 1 presents an analysis of housing occupancy in Sulphur Springs, conducted by the Hillsborough County Property Appraiser's office. As the table shows, only 22% of single family homes in the neighborhood are eligible for property tax homestead exemption,³ which was used to approximate number of owner-occupied dwellings. This figure is much lower than the rate of owner occupied homes recorded in the neighborhood by the 2010 Census (30%), also included in this table. Additionally, Table 1 highlights that Sulphur Springs contains few multi-family rental units (17%), with 57% of single-family houses making up the existing rental units in the neighborhood.

Table 1. Housing Occupancy in Sulphur Springs

Sulphur Springs Residential Analysis as of 1/13/17					
Hillsborough County Property Appraiser			2010 Census		
#	%	Area	#	%	Area
Residential Parcels:					
498	26%	Single Family with Homestead Exemption	769	39%	Owner Occupied
1,114	57%	Single Family without Homestead Exemption			
337	17%	Multi Family Rentals			
1,451	74%	Total Residential Rental Units	1,183	61%	Tenant Occupied
1,949	100%	Total Occupied Residential Units	1,952	100%	Total Residential

Figure 11 provides a number of charts showing potential mortgage costs for three-bedroom, two bath single-family home in Sulphur Springs with 1,500 square feet of living space at a sale price of \$132,900. These calculations are based on new construction for affordable homes in the area with a number of amenities, listed below. Figure 11 shows three alternatives related to mortgages for a fixed rate, 30-year loan, with \$25,000 down payment assistance provided to the buyer. Down payment assistance is estimated to cover most upfront costs for home buyers. Provided that prospective homeowners can qualify for one of these loan alternatives, monthly payments are estimated to be between \$810 and \$825 for homeowners.

Figure 11. Housing Mortgage for 3 BDR/2BA in Sulphur Springs

Sales Price: \$132,900



- 2 - 3 Bedrooms
- 2 Bathrooms
- 1500 square feet of living space
- Big Kitchens
- Frigidaire Glass Top Range
- Frigidaire Refrigerator
- Frigidaire Dishwasher
- Frigidaire Microwave & Range Hood
- Bonus Room In Selected Models
- Walk In Closets
- 9' 4" Ceilings Throughout
- Alarm Systems w/Motion Detectors
- Interior Fire Sprinklers
- Garden Tubs In Selected Models
- Covered Patio
- Washer/Dryer Hookup On 2nd Floor
- Recreation Area w/Gazebo, Play Area & BBQ Grill
- Located In Downtown Temple Terrace
- Easy Access To Interstate, Shopping & Leisure

FHA Bond

Summary	
Sales Price	\$132,900.00
Down Payment	12.0%
Total Amount Financed	\$118,998.66
Rate	4.750%
Term (Monthly)	360
P&I	\$620.75
TTL Payment (PITI)	\$ 825.29

Closing Costs/Prepds	Cost
Origination Fee	\$1,169.52
Misc. Lender Fee's	
FL Doc Stamps	\$465.15
Appraisal	\$450.00
Flood	\$15.00
TBD	\$0.00
Misc. Title Co Fee's	\$475.00
Title Search	\$1,300.00
Title Exam	\$75.00
Title Ins. Binder	\$1,290.00
TBD	NA
Recording	\$400.00
Survey	\$400.00
FL Intangible Tax	\$265.80
Interest	\$464.58
Tax Escrow	\$450.00
HOI Escrow	\$225.00
1st Year Hazzard Ins.	\$ 1,800.00
Total	\$9,245.05

Summary	
Sales Price	\$132,900.00
Down Payment	\$15,948.00
Closing Cost/ Pre-Paids	\$9,245.05
Total Cash to Close	\$25,193.05
Seller Assistance	\$0.00
Down Payment Assist.	\$25,000.00
Total Cash to Close	\$193.05

Conv Bond

Summary	
Sales Price	\$132,900.00
Down Payment	12%
Total Amount Financed	\$116,952.00
Rate	4.875%
Term (Monthly)	360
P&I	\$618.92
TTL Payment (PITI)	\$ 822.52

Closing Costs/Prepds	Cost
Origination Fee	\$1,169.52
Misc. Lender Fee's	
FL Doc Stamps	\$465.15
Appraisal	\$450.00
Flood	\$15.00
TBD	
Misc. Title Co Fee's	\$475.00
Title Search	\$1,300.00
Title Exam	\$75.00
Title Ins. Binder	\$1,290.00
TBD	NA
Recording	\$400.00
Survey	\$400.00
FL Intangible Tax	\$265.80
Interest	\$468.61
Tax Escrow	\$450.00
HOI Escrow	\$225.00
1st Year Hazzard Ins.	\$ 1,800.00
Total	\$9,249.08

Summary	
Sales Price	\$132,900.00
Down Payment	\$15,948.00
Closing Cost/ Pre-Paids	\$9,249.08
Total Cash to Close	\$25,197.08
Seller Assistance	\$0.00
Down Payment Assist.	\$25,000.00
Total Cash to Close	\$197.08

Conv Great Rate

Summary	
Sales Price	\$132,900.00
Down Payment	5%
Total Amount Financed	\$126,255.00
Rate	4.000%
Term (Monthly)	360
P&I	\$602.76
TTL Payment (PITI)	\$ 807.30

Closing Costs/Prepds	Cost
Origination Fee	\$1,262.55
Misc Lender Fee's	
FL Doc Stamps	\$465.15
Appraisal	\$450.00
Flood	\$15.00
TBD	\$0.00
Misc. Title Co Fee's	\$475.00
Title Search	\$1,300.00
Title Exam	\$75.00
Title Ins. Binder	\$1,290.00
TBD	NA
Recording	\$400.00
Survey	\$400.00
FL Intangible Tax	\$265.80
Interest	\$415.08
Tax Escrow	\$450.00
HOI Escrow	\$225.00
1st Year Hazzard Ins.	\$ 1,800.00
Total	\$9,288.58

Summary	
Sales Price	\$132,900.00
Down Payment	\$6,645.00
Closing Cost/ Pre-Paids	\$9,288.58
Total Cash to Close	\$15,933.58
Seller Assistance	\$0.00
Down Payment Assist.	\$10,000.00
Total Cash to Close	\$5,933.58

Crime in Sulphur Springs

USF researchers reviewed crime statistics for a period of one year (May 1, 2016 through May 1, 2017) provided by the Tampa Police Department. Table 2A. lists felonies recorded within the neighborhood boundaries for this time period. These crimes exclude drug and alcohol-related offenses, which are shown in Table 2B. However, they do include serious crimes such as aggravated assault, child molestation and sexual battery. With regard to serious crimes such as sexual battery, crime figures do not include a precise address to avoid identifying victims. Therefore, an asterisk (*) has been used to indicate that there is no way to identify where in Sulphur Springs these crimes occurred.

Table 2A. Felony Crimes recorded in Sulphur Springs (Non-Drug or Alcohol Related), May 2016 – May 2017

Type of Crime	Total	South of Waters Ave.
Burglary from Motor Vehicle	38	16
Burglary - Residential	45	32
Motor Vehicle Theft	17	9
Robbery - Individual	19	10
Theft	51	24
Vandalism	73	38
Agg. Assault	11	0
Agg. Battery Deadly Weapon/GBH	6	0
Auto Burglary	14	2
Auto Burglary / GT Auto	4	0
Auto Burglary / Theft of Part	4	0
Burglary Other (Curtilage)	5	0
Burglary Structure/Dwelling	13	3
Felony Battery Serious Injury	2	0
GT Auto	2	1
Lewd or Lascivious Molest Child	1	*
Petty Theft (PT)/Grand Theft (GT) - Bicycle	6	0
PT/GT - Vehicle Tag	5	1
PT/GT All Other	5	1
PT/GT from Building	3	0
PT/GT Shoplifting	1	0
PT/GT Vehicle Parts/Accessory	1	0
Robbery	6	0
Robbery by Snatching No Force	1	0
Sexual Battery – Forcible Rape	2	*
Shoot in Occupied Bldg./Vehicle	2	0
Throw Deadly Occupied Veh./Room	2	0
Total Number of Crimes	339	137 (40%)

Forty percent of felony crimes shown in Table 2A occurred south of Waters Avenue, which has been identified anecdotally by residents and other community stakeholders as a dividing line between safe and less safe sections of the neighborhood. This is particularly the case for those crimes that most often occurred in Sulphur Springs, which include the following offenses: burglary, motor vehicle theft, robbery, general theft, and vandalism. For instance, 71% of residential burglaries occurred in locations south of Waters Avenue, according to Tampa Police Department records. Vandalism was the most frequently occurring crime in the neighborhood during the time period shown. Interestingly, crimes such as aggravated assault, auto burglary, and burglary of non-residential dwellings occurred primarily in sections of Sulphur Springs north of Waters Avenue.

Table 2B shows that drug and alcohol offenses comprise a fairly small proportion of crimes recorded by the police department in Sulphur Springs. Taken together with the crimes listed in Table 2A, these felonies account for 12% of all crimes committed in Sulphur Springs. Further, all of the drug or alcohol-related crimes recorded during the one-year time frame appear to have taken place north of Waters Avenue.

Table 2B. Felony Drug or Alcohol-Related Crimes recorded in Sulphur Springs, May 2016 – May 2017

Type of Crime	Total
Armed Trafficking	1
Civil Citation Marijuana	4
Delivery, Controlled Substance	10
Delivery W/I 1000' of Church	2
Delivery W/I 1000' of School	3
DUI (Misdemeanor)	2
Misdemeanor Possession	2
Possession of Drug without Prescription	1
Possess with Delivery of a Controlled Substance	1
Possession Marijuana <20 Grams	9
Possession of Cocaine	3
Possession of Synthetic Drug	4
Trafficking	3
Total Number of Drug/Alcohol Felonies	46

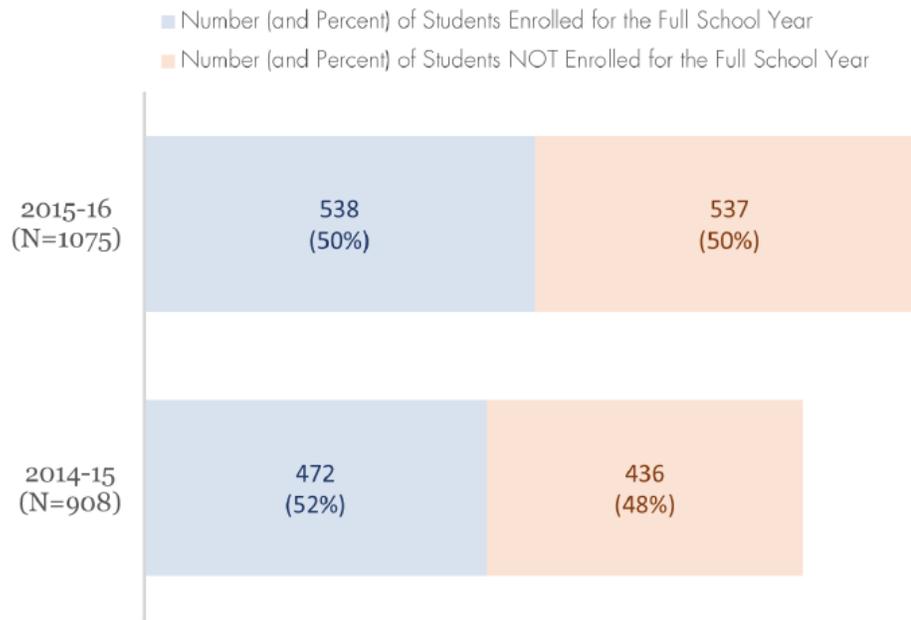
School Mobility

Since its inception, the SSNOP Leadership Council has worked closely with the School District of Hillsborough County to generate figures and reports on various indicators related to the local school (Sulphur Springs K-8). This section presents findings from the *Sulphur Springs Student Stability and Mobility Summary* (2017), prepared by Emily Plasencia, Supervisor of Federal Program Evaluation. (Findings summarized in this report have been edited for clarity.) A full copy of the Mobility Summary is included as Appendix B to this report.

Student Enrollment at Sulphur Springs K-8

Figure 12 shows changes in the number and percent of students who were enrolled for a full year at Sulphur Springs. During the 2014-15 school year, a total of 908 students enrolled at Sulphur Springs at some point, and during the 2015-16 school year, a total of 1,075 students enrolled at Sulphur Springs. Therefore, 167 more students enrolled at Sulphur Springs during the 2015-16 school year. (It should be noted that 2015-16 was the first year that Sulphur Springs enrolled students in 6th grade.) From the 2014-15 school year to the 2015-16 school year, the percent of students *not* enrolled for the full school year increased by two percentage points from 48% to 50%.

Figure 12. School Enrollment in Sulphur Springs, AY2014-2015 to AY2015-2016



Students with Multiple Enrollments in One School Year

The next series of tables compares student enrollment rates to other demographically similar schools in Hillsborough County between the 2013-14 and 2015-16 school years. Table 3 shows the total number of kindergarten through fifth grade students at first enrollment by school and year. First enrollment includes students who enrolled at Sulphur Springs as their first school in Hillsborough County Public School (HCPS) for that school year. For example, a student may have enrolled at Sulphur Springs on the first day of school for the 2015-16 school year. Sulphur Springs is the first HCPS school in which that student enrolled. Alternatively, a student could have attended school in another county or state from August through September and then enrolled at Sulphur Springs in October. Sulphur Springs would still be that student’s first enrollment in HCPS for that school year.

As shown in Table 3, Sulphur Springs had the highest number of first enrollees during both the 2014-15 (N=644) and 2015-16 (N=700) school years. In addition, Sulphur Springs has seen increases in the number of first enrollees each year. Between 2013-14 and 2015-16 the number of first enrollees at Sulphur Springs increased by 74 students.

Table 3. Total Number of Students at First Enrollment by School and Year

School Year	Sulphur Springs	BT Washington	Just	Mort	Potter	Witter
2013-2014	626	466	632	923	630	498
2014-2015	644	496	535	940	596	530
2015-2016	700	514	494	929	612	578

Sulphur Springs had the highest percentage of first enrollees with a second enrollment during the 2013-14 and 2014-15 school years (24.0% and 19.7%, respectively). Compared to similar schools, a higher percentage of students who enter Sulphur Springs as their first HCPS school move to a second school. This includes students who left Sulphur Springs for a period of time and re-enrolled at Sulphur Springs as their “second school”. See Table 4.

Table 4. Percent of First Enrollees with a Second Enrollment by School and Year

School Year	Sulphur Springs	BT Washington	Just	Mort	Potter	Witter
2013-2014	24.0%	15.5%	15.8%	19.5%	19.8%	14.5%
2014-2015	19.7%	16.3%	12.1%	15.9%	19.0%	13.4%
2015-2016	22.7%	14.8%	36.4%	19.8%	15.7%	13.3%

Lastly, the table below shows the maximum number of times students changed schools. For example, during the 2013-14 school year, some of the students who began the year at Sulphur Springs (N=626) moved to a second school. Additionally, some of these students moved to a third school, and so on. For example, students with a first enrollment at Sulphur Springs during the 2013-14 school year, the maximum number of schools enrolled in by students who left the school was six. Therefore during the 2013-14 and 2015-16, students with a first enrollment at Sulphur Springs moved up to six times; more than most other comparison schools. See Table 5.

Table 5. Total Number of School Enrollments

School Year	Sulphur Springs	BT Washington	Just	Mort	Potter	Witter
2013-2014	6	3	4	6	5	4
2014-2015	4	4	3	5	8	4
2015-2016	6	5	4	5	5	4

Based on these figures, it appears that 76% of students with a first enrollment at Sulphur Springs remain at the school throughout the school year. As a result, these students appear to comprise a population of students who might be engaged in innovative programs within the school and supported by the school, the SSNOP and additional partners. Appendix B also includes maps that show the schools at which students who left Sulphur Springs enrolled. (See pages B-3 through B-6.)

Interview Findings

An important part of the SSNOP Stability Study was to conduct interviews with residents and landlords to illuminate possible factors and neighborhood conditions that might be contributing to residential mobility and undermining the stability of local schoolchildren and their families. The interview findings presented in this section provide resident and landlord perspectives on the local housing stock, neighborhood conditions related to safety, available resources and social networks, and recommendations for improving various aspects of the community.

USF researchers interviewed a total of 13 residents, all local renters, and eight landlords. Interview respondents were identified using a purposive sampling method (Bernard, 2011) that relied on referrals made by organizational members of the Leadership Council (Devereux Kids, Rebuilding Together Tampa Bay, and Curt McKay). Demographic profiles of the people who completed interviews for this study are presented in Tables 6 and 7.

Table 6. Demographic Characteristics of Residents Interviewed (n=13)

	<i>Female</i> 12		<i>Male</i> 1	
	<i>African American/Black</i> 11		<i>Hispanic</i> 2	
<i>No HS Diploma</i> 1	<i>HS Diploma/GED</i> 8		<i>Some College</i> 2	<i>AA Degree</i> 2
	<i>Formal Employment</i> 7		<i>Unemployed</i> 6	
	<i>Single Family Home</i> 10		<i>Duplex</i> 3	
<i>2 BDR, 1 BA</i> 2	<i>3 BDR, 1 BA</i> 3	<i>3 BDR, 2 BA</i> 4	<i>4 BDR, 2 BA</i> 3	<i>5 BDR, 2 BA</i> 1

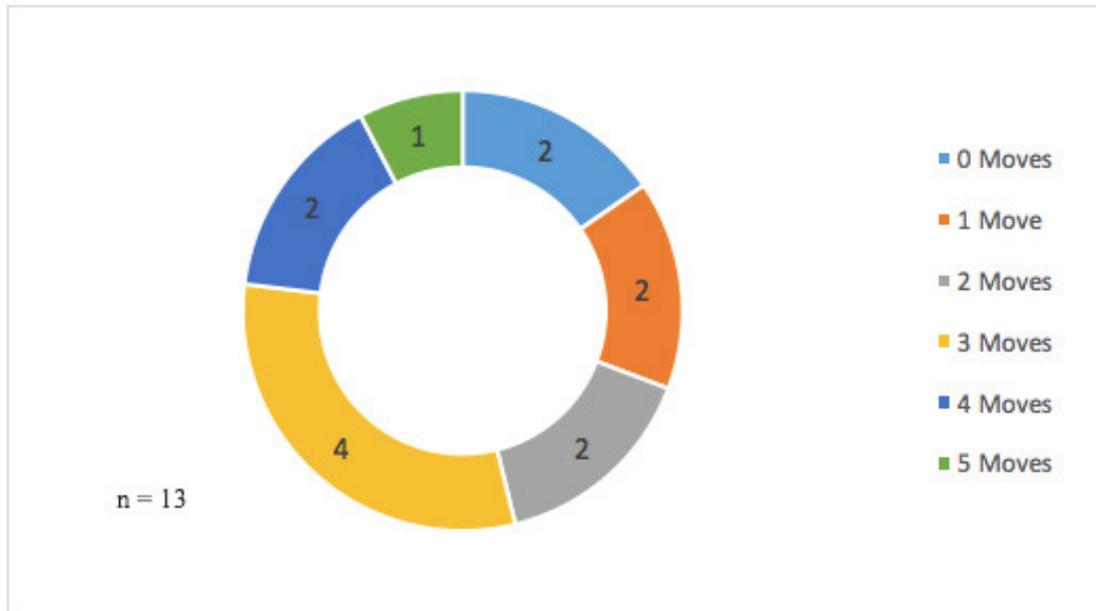
Table 7. Demographic Characteristics of Landlords Interviewed (n=8)

	<i>Female</i> 0		<i>Male</i> 8	
	<i>Black</i> 2	<i>Latino</i> 1	<i>White</i> 5	
<i>Some HS</i> 1	<i>HS Diploma/GED</i> 2		<i>Some College</i> 1	<i>BA Degree</i> 3
<i>Property Management</i> 4		<i>Self-employed</i> 3	<i>Other employment</i> 1	
	<i>Property Owners</i> 4		<i>Property Managers</i> 4	
				<i>n/a</i> 1

Study Limitations

This study has a few limitations, primarily having to do with the sampling method used and the small number of participants. Purposive sampling is a nonrandom sampling technique that results in selection of individuals who possess knowledge or experience of a particular social phenomenon and are willing to provide that information. Purposive sampling is useful in exploratory studies such as this one; however, interview findings are not generalizable to the entire neighborhood. Aside from this limitation, the other key issue encountered was that interview respondents did not include chronic movers. Researchers had hoped at the outset of the study to identify chronic movers who might provide information about the factors that have led to high rates of mobility within the neighborhood and for those with children, mobility in the local school. However, the residents who were able to complete interviews were, by and large, people who had moved less than once a year in the past five years and who said they did not intend to move in the near future. (See Figure 13 to see the number of moves residents reported.) Despite this drawback, the study participants represent a core constituency of the SSNOP initiative and its efforts – Sulphur Springs residents who express a desire for positive change in the community and discussed the changes that they would like to see.

Figure 13. Number of Times Residents Moved in Past 5 Years



Resident and landlord questionnaires differed somewhat in content. For instance, resident interviews included more questions on neighborhood conditions and social networks within the neighborhood, while landlord questions focused more on experiences leasing and managing properties in Sulphur Springs, such as lease approval processes, evictions, and maintaining contact with tenants. However, both sets of respondents provided responses about the strengths of Sulphur Springs as a neighborhood, challenges or things that should change, and their knowledge of or experiences with the SSNOP. A summary of key interview findings, organized by these themes, are presented below. Interviews produced information from both residents and landlords about neighborhood strengths.

When asked what they liked best about Sulphur Springs, residents most often mentioned the following:

- Being able to afford to rent single-family homes with considerable space for their families at an affordable rate. Said one resident, “I’d pay more in other places. I pay \$900 for a five bedroom [house].”
- Residents also mentioned the number of parks and programs that support children, youth, and families in the community. The following organizations were mentioned by name:
 - » Devereux Kids
 - » Rebuilding Together Tampa Bay
 - » the YMCA (afterschool and culinary programs)
- Sulphur Springs is centrally located with easy access to public transit and main thoroughfares, highways, shopping, and convenience stores.

When asked what they liked best about leasing properties in Sulphur Springs, landlords most often mentioned the following:

- Leasing properties yields a higher return on investment; lower property and overhead costs mean that they feel they are able to make more than they would renting properties in other areas in Hillsborough County.
- Some landlords mentioned that they enjoyed the ability to get to know tenants, especially families with children, and provide them with good quality housing.
- A few landlords mentioned the neighborhood’s natural environment (e.g., large trees, proximity to the river), central location, and access to public transportation and main roads when discussing what they thought were the neighborhood’s best qualities.

Interviews also yielded a great deal of information about the challenges that both residents and landlords face in Sulphur Springs. In addition, interview respondents discussed the changes they would like to see take place in the neighborhood to make it a more positive environment for children and families.

When asked about the biggest challenges residents face in Sulphur Springs, responses included:

- General concerns about crime, violence, and drug use in the neighborhood were mentioned by nearly every interview respondent.
 - » The majority of residents said they did not feel safe walking through the neighborhood at night or even during the day in certain sections of Sulphur Springs.
 - › Most residents said that they did not let their children play outside due to concerns about crime and violence.
 - › Residents spoke of having family or friends robbed while walking in the neighborhood and having pets stolen from their yards.
 - » Residents also noted concerns about the built environment, such as broken street lights, cleanliness and access to public parks, and poor quality sidewalks.
- Most residents interviewed noted that they did not have family or friends living in the neighborhood that they could count on for help or support.
- Those who mentioned this said that concerns about crime kept friends and family away.

When asked about the biggest challenges landlords face in Sulphur Springs, they mentioned:

- Collecting full rent on time.
- Vandalism and theft in the neighborhood.
 - » Landlords said that tenants complained about having household items stolen from yards and being unable to have friends or family visit due to crime.

When asked what they would change in Sulphur Springs, residents mentioned:

- They would like to see a general reduction in crime and violence.
 - » Five respondents said that they would like to see increased and engaged police presence in the neighborhood.
 - » Residents also said that the neighborhood needed more residents to participate in clean-up efforts and work together to “make it safer for families to live and be proud to call [Sulphur Springs] their neighborhood”.
 - » A few residents said that the city and landlords should do more to ensure that:
 - › Housing and common areas in the community are being maintained.
 - › Code enforcement violations are addressed in a timely manner.
- They would like to see more programming for children and youth, in particular.

- One resident said she would like to see home ownership programs that help residents who are “stuck in the middle where they make just a bit too much money to qualify for any type of housing assistance, but can’t afford [to own] their house.”

When asked what they would change in Sulphur Springs, landlords mentioned:

- They would like to see the city improve sidewalks and tear down more abandoned properties.
 - » One landlord said the city could offer property owners and investors a tax break for building new properties in the neighborhood.
- Landlords said that other landlords could be more selective when choosing tenants.
 - » Some suggested that landlords might increase criminal background checks and inspections.
- Two landlords said that they would like to see more community-based policing in the neighborhood.

When asked, most residents and landlords did not recognize the Sulphur Springs Neighborhood of Promise (SSNOP) by name.

This finding was unexpected, given that all study participants were identified by members of the SSNOP Leadership Council, who provide services as part of SSNOP stated strategies (SSNOP, 2016). More importantly, this finding suggests that the SSNOP and/or its partners have work to do in better communicating the initiative, its mission, how partners work together within Sulphur Springs, and how residents can become more involved. Nevertheless, almost everyone interviewed to was able to identify one or more of the following SSNOP partner providers:

- Devereux Advanced Behavioral Health,
- Sulphur Springs YMCA Afterschool Program,
- Layla’s House,
- Hope Street of Tampa,
- Sulphur Springs Resource Center, and
- Rebuilding Together Tampa Bay

What Did We Learn?

The Sulphur Springs Stability Study provides a number of important points for consideration on the part of the SSNOP Leadership Council, to build on existing strategies or identify additional strategies for increasing the SSNOPs reach in Sulphur Springs. Below, are presented main findings following review and analysis of all of the data that was gathered for the study.

General Impressions About Sulphur Springs

- Sulphur Springs can seem like more than one neighborhood, depending on perspective.
 - » Residents describe Sulphur Springs as having a “good side” and a “bad side” – the informal boundary most often mentioned by respondents was Waters Avenue.
 - › Crime figures cited from May 1, 2016 to May 1, 2017 indicate that about 40% of serious felonies most often committed (excluding drug and alcohol-related offenses) occurred in the area south of Waters Ave.
 - » Most residents said they were not comfortable walking (and some, even driving) at night due to fears of robbery and assault.
- Most respondents said they did not feel that Sulphur Springs is a good neighborhood in which to raise a family.
 - » Residents interviewed said they were concerned about violence in the neighborhood, high rates of theft (robbery and burglary of various kinds), and open drug use and/or sales.
 - » Figures on serious crimes committed in the neighborhood suggest that burglaries, robberies, and aggravated assault are among the highest occurring crimes in the neighborhood, *corroborating resident perceptions*.
 - › Other serious crimes, including sexual battery and assault with a deadly weapon occur but at much lower rates.
 - Tampa Police Department figures suggest that serious crimes appear to occur throughout the neighborhood – even in areas considered to belong to the “good part” of Sulphur Springs.
 - Drug and alcohol-related, in particular, crimes reported for a one-year period (May 2016 – May 2017) occurred in locations north of Waters Avenue.

General Impressions About Neighborhood Residents, Including the People Interviewed

- Although generalizing findings is difficult due to study limitations, most (all except three) residents identified as Black/African-American and women who were heading households.
 - » This finding corroborates census estimates for the neighborhood (See Figure 3, page 5.)
- Landlords, on the other hand, generally identified as male and White (n=5), Black/African-American (n=2), and Hispanic/Latino (n=1).
 - » Half of all landlords described residents as being of lower “quality” or “class,” including people with criminal backgrounds and substance use issues.
 - » However, landlords say they work to maintain positive relationships with tenants.
- About half of the residents said that they were unemployed.

- » Some of these individuals reported receiving supplemental income, including disability, while others said that they relied on selling food and other personal care services to supplement any social benefits they were receiving.
- » ACS 2015 figures show high rates of unemployment and disability among residents in the neighborhood. (See Figures 5, page 7, and 7, page 8, respectively.)

Housing Characteristics

- Residents generally said that they moved to Sulphur Springs seeking bigger homes and/or yard space at more affordable rates.
 - » Housing figures compiled by the Hillsborough County Property Appraiser’s Office show that the majority of presumed rental properties are single-family homes (See Table 1, page 10).
 - › This contrasts with other City of Tampa and Hillsborough County neighborhoods with higher quantities of multi-family units.
 - » Initiatives by the SSNOP to beautify and support efforts to increase safety in Sulphur Springs could capitalize on this unique neighborhood quality.
- Estimated mortgage costs for residents buying a new affordable home in Sulphur Springs suggest that costs may compare favorably with current rents paid by residents (See Figure 11, p.11, and p.2 of the Appendix, respectively.)
 - » Because affordable housing programs include an estimated \$25,000 mortgage assistance credit, which covers expected down payment and other costs, the SSNOP must consider other factors that might hinder efforts to increase homeownership in the neighborhood.
 - › Residents may not have adequate credit histories that would allow them to secure a mortgage.
 - › Interviews with landlords suggest that they are willing to “work” with tenants rather than resort to eviction.
 - › The SSNOP may need to consider how to further support the financial stability of local residents/families who would like to live in Sulphur Springs for the long term.
- City of Tampa figures show that less than a quarter of Sulphur Springs households participate in the Housing Choice Voucher (HCV) Program, formerly known as the Section 8 program (See Figure 10).
 - » Landlords interviewed generally had less favorable opinions of the HCV Program because of challenges/barriers encountered during the vendor application, inspection, and eviction processes.
 - » As a result of not participating in the HCV Program, landlords retain a greater degree of power with regard to how they select prospective tenants, maintenance schedule/responses,

whether or not to conduct property inspections, and rates of eviction.

- › The research literature suggests that landlord decision-making may, in effect, keep residents from moving
- » Most landlords said that more uniform application of tenant selection and other application processes could help lower eviction rates and increase resident stability.
- » Some landlords also suggested that the SSNOP might focus on buying properties on blocks that include multiple houses in disrepair or focusing their efforts on engaging potential buyers in order to decrease residential mobility.
- › Although most landlords interviewed said that they were unaware of the SSNOP, such responses suggest that engaging landlords in the initiative's work might be worthwhile.

School Mobility

- Although the interviews did not capture perspectives from those residents who move frequently, U.S. Census figures suggest that just over 20% of Sulphur Springs residents moved to the neighborhood in the past 12 months (see page 13).
- School mobility figures suggest that students may be moving in and out of the neighborhood.
 - » The SSNOP should consider engaging the school district as a partner in a study that would allow researchers to learn more about the specific conditions that spur multiple moves in families whose children attend the local school.
 - » The SSNOP may also consider partnering with Sulphur Springs K-8 to identify students and families with high rates of mobility and provide them with family support services directly.

Taken together, the findings of this study outline a few areas where the SSNOP might review activities undertaken within their large-scale strategies and build on these or introduce additional efforts. The next sections outlines specific recommendations for the Leadership Council.

Recommendations

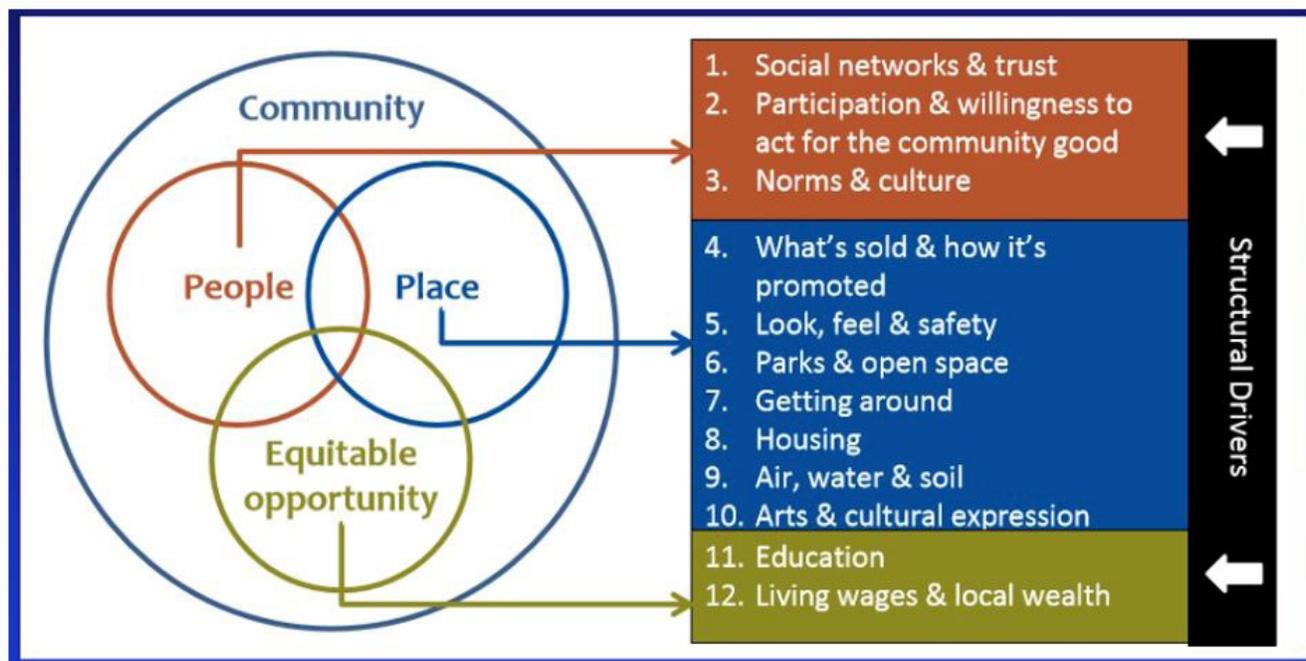
In keeping with the efforts of Comprehensive Community Initiatives (like the SSNOP) to improve the social conditions that affect long-term well-being, this study recommends that SSNOP build on existing strategies designed to improve conditions in Sulphur Springs and, ultimately, to reduce factors that contribute to high rates of student mobility within local schools. Therefore, this section outlines recommended strategies for the SSNOP to consider as it seeks to deepen its work in Sulphur Springs.

As noted in the Introduction section of this report, the SSNOP (and similar CCI) focuses its efforts on promoting the long-term well-being of children and their families in Sulphur Springs. This approach coincides with a broadly construed definition of mental health as “a state of well-being in which every individual realizes his or her own potential, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively

and fruitfully, and is able to make a contribution to her or his community” (World Health Organization, 2014). There are various ways to structure (and capture) the work of the SSNOP and similar initiatives in neighborhoods to address the underlying or structural conditions that contribute to poor outcomes in education, safety, and other domains related to well-being. A key recommendation of this report is for the SSNOP to adopt a guiding framework or theory of change to ensure that its strategies and activities work together to address the multiple and interrelated needs prioritized for Sulphur Springs *and* achieve collective goals and desired outcomes.

One recommendation is use of the THRIVE: Tool for Health & Resilience in Vulnerable Environments, which identifies 12 determinants of well-being, grouped in 3 interrelated clusters, which coincide with the larger goals of the SSNOP (Good Schools, Economic Stability, Community Pride, and Affordable and Adequate Housing). The THRIVE tool uses a framework that illustrates how social determinants work at the community level and eventually lead to neighborhood outcomes. This tool might be used to map current SSNOP efforts, identify additional areas that have not been addressed, and engage additional stakeholders – including a broader range of local residents – to further build on existing strategies. See Figure 14.

Figure 14. THRIVE Framework (Prevention Institute, 2016)



Based on findings, it is also recommended that the SSNOP Leadership Council revisit its four large-scale goals. Recommendations emerging as a result of this study are organized under the four large-scale SSNOP goals.

Good Schools

- Continue working in partnership with Sulphur Springs K-8 School
- Identify ways to support high mobility students through partnership with schools, and provide family support services to help alleviate, *if possible*, factors leading to high student mobility rates
- Investigate opportunities for increased engagement of parents – residents interviewed most often cited school events as community events they most often attended.

Economic Stability

- Identify potential homeowners currently renting and work to identify ways to support financial stability that would lead to homeownership.
 - » The SSNOP currently estimates up to 20% to 30% of local renters are potential homeowners.

Community Pride (includes Safety)

There are a number of activities that the SSNOP undertake to build upon the activities of the Community and Safety Workgroups and increase community capacity for support of the SSNOP initiative.

- Work with residents and landlords to advocate for increased code enforcement within Sulphur Springs. Both residents and landlords identified the need for better maintenance of properties and more stringent attention to code violations.
- Establish and build a Neighborhood Crime Watch.
 - » Clarify with groups of residents through various community meetings, concerns about crime – especially those that involve drug and alcohol.
 - › Are crimes not being reported to/investigated by police?
 - › How can local residents work to increase community awareness about local hotspots?
- Engage more residents in Beautification and Clean-Up activities.
- Identify community residents who may be interested in taking leadership roles in the neighborhood – connect them with training and guidance to further build leadership and advocacy skills.
 - » USFs Department of Child & Family Studies has a Natural Helper training program that might be of interest in this regard.
- Increase awareness about the SSNOP and its collaborative work in Sulphur Springs among residents, key public officials and other stakeholders that can support SSNOP efforts.

Affordable and Adequate Housing

- Recruit landlords in SSNOP activities to gather their feedback and engage them in activities to increase timely maintenance of rental units and activities to increase homeownership.

The SSNOP Leadership Council might consider undertaking a facilitated process to refine its current theory of change, which might use the THRIVE Framework to highlight their large-scale strategies and further to establish expected outcomes and the indicators that they will use to address these concerns. The final theory of change could be illustrated in a logic model that organizes current activities and ties them to outcomes.

Appendix A – Interview Findings

An important part of the SSNOP Stability Study was to conduct interviews with residents and landlords to illuminate possible factors and neighborhood conditions that might be contributing to residential mobility and undermining the stability of local schoolchildren and their families. The interview findings presented in this section provide resident and landlord perspectives on the local housing stock, neighborhood conditions related to safety, available resources and social networks, and recommendations for improving various aspects of the community.

Study Limitations

This study has a few limitations, primarily having to do with the sampling method used and the small number of participants. Purposive sampling is a nonrandom sampling technique that results in selection of individuals who possess knowledge or experience of a particular social phenomenon and are willing to provide that information. Purposive sampling is useful in exploratory studies such as this one; however, interview findings are not generalizable to the entire neighborhood. Aside from this limitation, the other key issue encountered was that interview respondents did not include chronic movers. Researchers had hoped at the outset of the study to identify chronic movers who might provide information about the factors that have led to high rates of mobility within the neighborhood and for those with children, mobility in the local school.

Sulphur Springs Residents

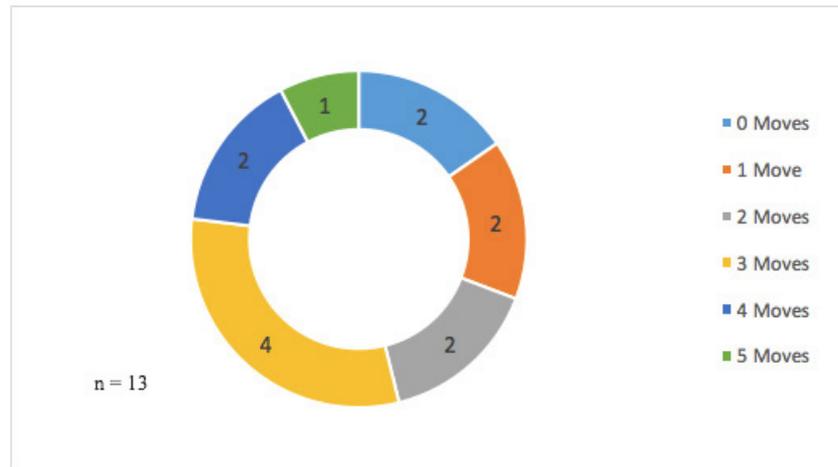
USF researchers interviewed a total of 13 residents, all local renters. Interview respondents were identified using a purposive sampling method (Bernard, 2011) that relied on referrals made by organizational members of the Leadership Council (Devereux Kids and Rebuilding Together Tampa Bay). A demographic profile of the residents that completed interviews for this study is presented in Table A1.

Table A1. Demographic Characteristics of Interviewed Sulphur Springs Residents (n=13)

	<i>Female</i> 12	<i>Male</i> 1		
	<i>African American/Black</i> 11	<i>Hispanic</i> 2		
<i>No HS Diploma</i> 1	<i>HS Diploma/GED</i> 8	<i>Some College</i> 2	<i>AA Degree</i> 2	
	<i>Formal Employment</i> 7	<i>Unemployed</i> 6		
	<i>Single Family Home</i> 10	<i>Duplex</i> 3		
<i>2 BDR, 1 BA</i> 2	<i>3 BDR, 1 BA</i> 3	<i>3 BDR, 2 BA</i> 4	<i>4 BDR, 2 BA</i> 3	<i>5 BDR, 2 BA</i> 1

Respondents were asked to share how many times they had moved in the past five years (2012-2017). Figure A1 shows a fairly even distribution with regard to the number of moves undertaken within the requested time frame; roughly half of the residents interviewed reported that they had moved three to five times in the past five years.

Figure A1. Number of moves in past five years



The remainder of this section presents findings from interviews with residents. Findings are organized according to main themes identified during data analysis.

Why did they choose Sulphur Springs?

After responding to basic questions about household composition, residents were asked to relate why they had chosen to live in Sulphur Springs, particularly if they had moved from another City of Tampa or Hillsborough County neighborhood. Reasons for choosing to live in Sulphur Springs were fairly varied. These included two residents who had lived in Sulphur Springs for many years (including one who said she grew up in the neighborhood); others said they moved because they relied on public transportation and Sulphur Springs was centrally located, with easy access to bus routes. Most other respondents indicated that they moved to the area looking for more space in their homes or yards and/or because rent seemed more affordable. Half of the residents interviewed disclosed their monthly rent when asked to, and reported the following monthly rents:

- \$95 (Section 8) – 4 bedroom, 2 bath single family home
- \$109 (Section 8) – 3 bedroom, 2 bath single family home
- \$550 – 3 bedroom, 2 bath single family home
- \$600 – 2 bedroom, 1 bath duplex
- \$900 – 5 bedroom, 2 bath single family home
- \$1075 – 3 bedroom, 2 bath single-family home

Appendix C provides information on monthly rents provided by from SSNOP provider partners to supplement the information gathered via interviews. Eight residents said that they owned at least one car; while the remaining residents reported using the bus and/or walking as primary methods of getting around.

Do they have family or friends in Sulphur Springs?

Respondents were asked to identify whether they had any family or friends in the neighborhood and to identify who they turned to in an emergency or when in need of help. Only two residents reported having family members living within Sulphur Springs that they would turn to for help or support. Five residents indicated that they have friends in the neighborhood with whom they socialize and/or to whom they could turn for help, if needed. Three of these residents reported that they have numerous friends in the neighborhood with whom they socialize on a regular basis. One resident who indicated that she had lived in Sulphur Springs at various times in her life since the age of 16 noted that because she has lived in the community for such a long time, she knows and is friendly with many people. Another resident stated that she knows a number of people in Sulphur Springs and if she does not know someone, she can “stop and talk with them, get to know them.”

The remaining respondents indicated that they did not have friends or family living in Sulphur Springs and would turn to family or friends (in one case, a co-worker) for help or in case of an emergency. Five residents reported that family/friends lived in other Tampa neighborhoods and a few noted that family lived outside of Hillsborough County. Two residents declined to disclose where their family or friends resided, although they noted that they did not socialize with other Sulphur Springs residents. One resident said, “I stay to myself. Work, home, and stay in the house.” Four additional respondents characterized the Sulphur Springs neighborhood negatively when talking about the social networks they rely on for help. A resident, whose close friend moved out of the community due to gun violence said, “You cannot talk to anybody you do not know because you don’t know how it will turn out.” She also stated that it was “hard to trust” other neighborhood residents. Another two residents said that family or friends preferred not to visit Sulphur Springs.

Perceptions of the Neighborhood

A large part of the interview focused on asking residents to share their perspectives on Sulphur Springs and whether it was a “good place to raise a family”. The majority of residents interviewed characterized the community in negative ways, particularly with regard to crime in the area and how it affected their families’ quality of life. Despite concerns about crime and safety, however, nearly half of residents did relate some positive aspects of community life in Sulphur Springs and provided recommendations or suggestions for positive changes to problems they identified.

Safety/Crime/Violence

Eight residents interviewed mentioned that they were concerned about their own and their children's safety due to violence and drug use that they said occurred regularly in the neighborhood. These residents said that the wailing of sirens (e.g. police, ambulance) was a daily occurrence in Sulphur Springs and often characterized the sound as a constant reminder of crime in the neighborhood. Some residents indicated that ambulances often come to the neighborhood as a result of overdose or bad reactions to drugs, like synthetic marijuana. One resident characterized the neighborhood as being "broken down" due to ever-present trash, violence, and a resulting environment where "young people curse at and disrespect at the [older] people they encounter." Residents concerned about safety mentioned theft of items from yards and/or robberies of individuals walking through the neighborhood. One resident reported an incident where a neighbor stole her dog and forced her to pay \$100 for his return. Another stated that she worried she would have items stolen from her yard and therefore brought all yard items inside every evening. She said that even though this was a huge inconvenience that made it difficult for family members to use the living room, she did not feel safe leaving anything in her yard overnight. Two additional residents indicated that they, a friend, or family member had been robbed while walking through Sulphur Springs.

When discussing safety concerns, respondents gave various reasons for continued violence and crime. For those who emphasized trash and lack of respect toward elders, the cause of the neighborhood's ills stemmed from residents who did not care about their community, their children, or themselves. Respondents who expressed such views characterized other residents as "nasty, dirty people... they are not interested in making it better... [t]hey keep the ghetto looking ghetto and you know you are in the ghetto." Others blamed safety issues on local youth who they said were involved in fights and open drug use as a result of being left to their own devices. One respondent said that parents were "harsh" with their children and let them spend their time "in the streets" with little to no supervision. Other residents agreed that local youth needed more support and recreational resources. Generally, they said that there are not enough local recreational programs for children from middle school to high school age that could keep youth occupied during out of school hours. Two residents who expressed concerns about safety stated that the police exacerbated these problems because they respond to calls indiscriminately and make victims or concerned parties feel like they are criminals, as well. Another resident placed the blame on the city and landlords, who have neglected to make sure that homes are being maintained and that residents are not actively participating in criminal activity.

Despite these negative characterizations, five residents spoke positively about Sulphur Springs and said that they felt safe in the neighborhood. Many of these residents said that they lived on the "good side" of Sulphur Springs, which they said was divided by Waters Avenue. As one resident noted, "I live on the good side and feel safe, but I would sleep with one eye open if I had to deal with the shooting and the fighting." Other residents said that their interactions with police had been positive and that they appreciated their efforts at addressing violence and drug use/sales in the neighborhood. One resident noted that Sulphur Springs includes a number of people that have lived there for many years (and which she knew) making it feel like home. Many of these residents also stated that part of the reason

that they liked living in Sulphur Springs was that it includes a number of resources, including nearby parks, a recreation center, a museum, and a number of service providers that provide local families with support.

Walking/Driving through the Neighborhood

Residents who viewed Sulphur Springs in a generally positive light said that they felt safe walking and/or driving through the neighborhood at any time, day or night. This includes a resident who takes the bus as the primary means of transportation, who stated that she feels safe getting on or off the bus at any time. Residents that expressed concerns about safety and violence most often said that they felt comfortable walking and driving through the neighborhood during daylight hours. Two residents qualified these statements by saying that they avoid walking during the day in areas where gunshots are heard at all hours and/or where parties were being held. In general, these residents said that they felt comfortable driving through Sulphur Springs at night – usually with the doors locked. One resident said that she would not drive at night because “people don’t care” but did not elaborate. Three residents said that they rarely felt safe in the community, day or night.

A few residents with concerns about walking and/or driving through the neighborhood said that sections of the neighborhood had no working street lights, making it particularly dark and “scary”. Another noted that the quality of the sidewalks discouraged her and her family members from walking and/or biking through the neighborhood. One resident related her efforts to try to get a street light fixed near her house. Initially, she said, she called the city to complain for several months with no response. Eventually, she said she called the local news program, *Bay News 9*, which launched an investigation resulting in the light being fixed in a little over a week. In concluding the story, she said she did not like having to publicize the issue but felt that she was not being listened to and it was the only way to resolve the problem.

Raising Children in Sulphur Springs

Given the number of residents that expressed concerns with safety and violence in the neighborhood, the majority of respondents said that they did not feel Sulphur Springs was “a good place to raise children”. Five residents stated that they were especially concerned about their children being exposed to violence or being bullied or victimized. All five of these residents said that they either did not allow their children to play outside or encouraged them to stay inside homes as much as possible. As one resident noted, “I want my children to have more knowledge and access to better things and environments. You can’t let the neighborhood make you. My kids don’t go outside.” Another resident likened conditions in Sulphur Springs to those seen in the film *Boyz in the Hood*. “Even if a kid is getting good grades and staying out of trouble, the kid can still walk outside and get shot for no reason.”

When responding to this question, other residents reiterated their belief that Sulphur Springs did not have enough programs for school-age children and youth – especially for children living in extreme poverty. They noted that the lack of programs meant that older children and teens, in particular, had nothing better to do than to walk around the neighborhood and get into trouble. Two residents noted

instances where they had given local children or youth clothing or toys who clearly did not have adequate clothing for school. One of these residents cried during this part of the interview because she said she felt that these children were often not receiving enough care or love from their parents and families and noted that one child she helped came back to pray with her periodically.

Respondents who said that Sulphur Springs is a good place to raise children emphasized the availability of multiple resources in the community, as well as the fact that certain sections of the neighborhood are “nicer” or on the “good side” and, therefore, they feel their children are fairly safe. One parent said that she believed that children and youth behaviors are shaped by what they learn at home. She said that she talked to her daughter quite a bit about avoiding trouble and participating in positive activities with likeminded friends. However, this parent did note that she has had to teach her daughter how to walk away from bullies in the neighborhood that have attempted to draw her into trouble.

Perceptions of Local Schools

Only a few respondents shared their thoughts on local schools. Parents with more negative perceptions of Sulphur Springs said that they did not like the local schools. One parent said she kept her children in the school they were already attending when they moved to the neighborhood. Another said that she did not like the school because she did not feel welcome by staff, “[They] treat people like they are lower than you.” Other respondents said that they felt that the local elementary school was a good one, with about four parents saying their children were doing quite well. These and other parents noted that they most often attended school events as opposed to other community events.

Like Best about Sulphur Springs

When asked what they liked best about Sulphur Springs, most respondents had at least one response. Most mentioned that they liked that they were able to rent homes with considerable space for their families at an affordable rate. Said one resident, “I’d pay more in other places. I pay \$900 for a five bedroom [house].” Residents also mentioned the number of amenities, including parks and central location of the neighborhood with easy access to transit and main thoroughfares/highways, shopping, and convenience stores. Others once again emphasized the availability of programs in the community that support local children, youth, and families. These respondents mentioned the following programs: Devereux Kids, Rebuilding Together Tampa Bay, the YMCA aftercare program, and a culinary program where children learn to cook. Residents who said they lived on the “good side” of Sulphur Springs, in particular, stated they like the area and the fact that they could raise their families away from violence.

Has Sulphur Springs Changed?

Respondents were asked if they thought that the neighborhood had changed in any way since they moved in. Responses were just about evenly divided with regard to whether changes in the neighborhood had been positive or negative. About half of the residents said that they felt the neighborhood had changed for the better from the time that they moved in. Responses in this regard

highlighted the demolition of abandoned homes, construction of new homes, and an increase in available community programs, including the resource center, Layla's House, a community garden, and a library. Residents who highlighted negative changes said they felt that violence was increasing in areas where it had not been a problem traditionally. One long-term Sulphur Springs resident said that she felt gun violence had increased over time and had made certain parts of the community more violent than they had been in the past.

What Would You Change?

Interview respondents were asked to relate what, if anything, they would change about Sulphur Springs. Ten respondents said that they would like to see a reduction in crime and violence and made a variety of recommendations about the city or other organizations that might implement these. Half of those who responded this way called for more police presence, adding street lights, and establishing a neighborhood watch supported by local residents. Other respondents said that the neighborhood needed more residents to work in clean-up efforts around the neighborhood to "make it safer for families to live and be proud to call it their neighborhood." A few residents also said that they would have the city and landlords do more to ensure that housing and common areas in the community were being kept up and to more adequately address code and zoning violations.

About half of respondents also mentioned the need for increased programming for children and youth of all ages in this regard. One resident said that she felt that she would make daycare more readily available to low-income families currently on a wait list and increase programs for school-age children and adolescents because she felt there was not enough of such programming for the "large number of kids in this area". Another resident said that the neighborhood needed an agency to provide free clothes and shoes for children who are not getting enough attention by parents and providers. Conversely, one resident said that Sulphur Springs needed more programs to help "people that are stuck in the middle where they make just a bit too much money to qualify for any type of housing assistance, but can't afford their own house". This resident said she would like to see programs that help such residents buy their own homes.

Knowledge of SSNOP

Residents were asked to share their knowledge of and/or experience with the Sulphur Springs Neighborhood of Promise (SSNOP). Only three respondents said they knew about the SSNOP, although two of these residents associated the partnership most with Rebuilding Together Tampa Bay. The remaining respondents did recognize the SSNOP partner agencies and their respective programs, identifying the following organizations during interviews: Devereux Kids, the YMCA, Layla's House, the Hope Program, and the Resource Center. The lack of knowledge about the partnership suggests that SSNOP activities and efforts may not be as widely communicated throughout the neighborhood. Overall, respondents who mentioned providers spoke about their programs positively. Two respondents said that they had negative experiences with local providers. One said that although Devereux Kids helped with a utility bill, she felt

that the staff did not fully listen to children and family goals and instead imposed their own ideas about family priorities. She also said that she often had to give up a day of work to travel to various agencies for help, sometimes having to go multiple times to the same agencies. The second resident said she felt there was inadequate communication regarding agency services and/or events. She also noted that most places offered services at times that were not accessible to her because of her work hours.

Community Events

Residents were asked to share whether they attend community events in Sulphur Springs; the question did not specify the types of events to give residents leeway in their responses. Only three residents said that they attended local events and did so to learn about upcoming activities, programs, and potential changes in the community and to socialize with their neighbors. Of the 10 respondents who said they did not attend events, most said that they did not often hear of events or were “never invited to” community events. Two of these respondents said that they only attended school events involving their children. Two additional residents said that they did not attend community events because they did not feel that the community agencies help residents as much as they should and therefore did not feel interested in attending. One respondent said that she attended events outside of Sulphur Springs, most often those hosted by the University Area Community Development Corporation (UACDC).

Experiences with Landlords

Only two residents discussed relationships with their landlords. One resident said it was mostly negative because there had been several problems in her current home, including plumbing in a bathroom that is currently not useable. This resident said that her landlord lived outside of the area and that she dealt primarily with a rental management company. In the past year, she said that she had been asked to pay a \$200 plumbing bill (although it is not clear from her response if she had hired a plumber on her own or if this bill was issued by her landlord). She said that she felt she had no other option but to file a complaint with the city (she participates in the Housing Choice Voucher program, formerly known as Section 8). According to her, the management company fixed part of the problem after the complaint, but she said that she is still unable to use one of her bathrooms.

The second respondent who discussed landlord issues said that she also had been unable to get electrical repairs done to the house that reportedly filled her kitchen with smoke and almost ruined her appliances. She said that she told her landlord that she would file a complaint with the city and that this resulted in getting an electrician to come out for a repair. She said that she did not trust the work that was done to fix the problem.

Moving Out of Sulphur Springs

Three residents said they were currently seeking to move outside of Sulphur Springs. Two of these respondents said the primary reason for wanting to move had to do with the crime and violence in the neighborhood. The third resident said that she wanted to move because of the ongoing problems with

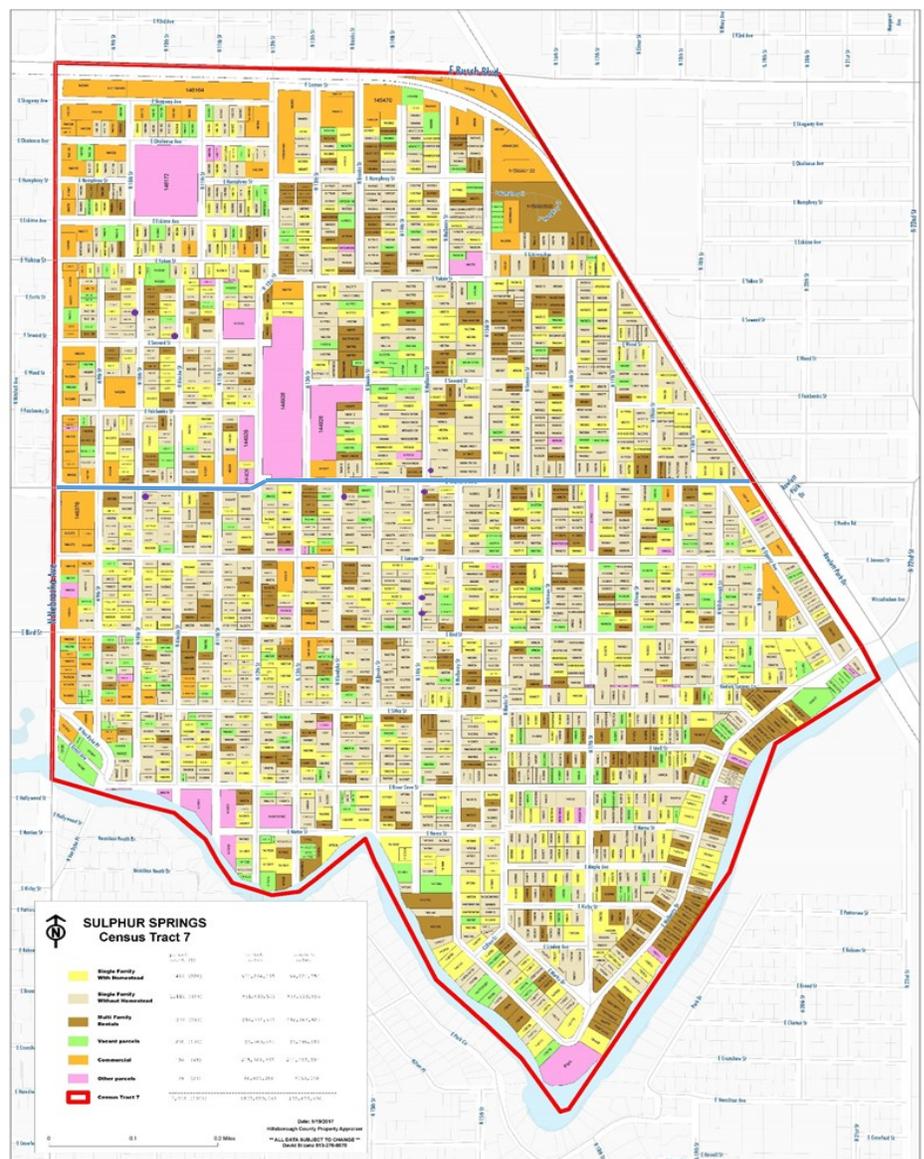
the bathroom in her home, which she said had yet to be addressed by her landlord.

Summary of Findings

Interviews with this sample of Sulphur Springs residents indicate that respondents moved to the neighborhood in search of more space, yards, and the perceived affordability of local rents. However, just about all of the respondents made some reference to regularly occurring crime, violence, and drug use in the neighborhood. This “criminal element” as one respondent called it, appears to shape residents’ daily practices, including the times of day they are willing to walk or drive in the neighborhood, where they keep their belongings, and whether they let their children play outside. Research on resident mobility in very poor neighborhoods shows that residents often recognize the degree to which such neighborhood conditions negatively affect their quality of life (Edin, DeLuca, & Owens, 2012). More importantly, research also shows that such residents would often rather move to neighborhoods with less crime and more amenities, contrary to “culture of poverty” proponents who suggest that residents remain in such neighborhoods because they culturally or otherwise prefer them (Lamont, Small, & Harding, 2010; Moynihan, 1965; Wilson, 1987). Only three respondents said that they were considering moving from their current residences. Two attributed the desire to move to crime and the third said that she wanted to move because of ongoing maintenance issues that were not adequately resolved.

Several residents made note of a “good side” and a “bad side” of Sulphur Springs, which are separated by Waters Avenue. Figure A2 presents a map of the neighborhood with dots representing approximate addresses for respondents. Those respondents with more positive views of Sulphur Springs live

Figure A2. Map of Sulphur Springs Neighborhood



north of Waters Avenue. In general, these residents seem to enjoy living in the neighborhood, are well-connected to other residents, and make use of local resources (including social service programs).

Most residents said that they were not familiar with the SSNOP, which suggests that awareness or information about the initiative’s efforts have not adequately penetrated the neighborhood. Although the respondent sample size is too small to generalize to all Sulphur Springs residents, lack of knowledge about the initiative was surprising given that residents were referred by Leadership Council members. Residents did express knowledge about individual providers and made recommendations for additional recreational programs for local adolescents.

Sulphur Springs Landlords

USF researchers interviewed a total of 8 people who identified as landlords or property managers within Sulphur Springs. Interview respondents were also identified using the purposive sampling method (Bernard, 2015) that relied on members of the Leadership Council (Curt McKay and Rebuilding Together Tampa Bay). A demographic profile of these respondents is presented in Table A2.

Table A2. Demographic Characteristics of Interviewed Sulphur Springs Landlords (n=8)

	<i>Female</i>		<i>Male</i>		
	0		8		
	<i>Black</i>		<i>Latino</i>	<i>White</i>	
	2		1	5	
<i>Some HS</i>	<i>HS Diploma/GED</i>		<i>Some College</i>	<i>BA Degree</i>	<i>n/a</i>
1	2		1	3	1
<i>Property Management</i>			<i>Self-employed</i>	<i>Other employment</i>	
4			3	1	
	<i>Property Owners</i>		<i>Property Managers</i>		
	4		4		

Screening and Approving Renters

Respondents were asked to describe the process that they used for approving tenants. Two property owners said that they did not use a formal process. Rather, they said they preferred to have a face-to-face interview with prospective tenants to understand their current circumstances. One of them said that he tells applicants during these interviews, “Don’t lie to me because if you lie you’re not going to like me.” Both of these respondents felt that prospective tenants are typically honest during interviews and that these encounters gave them enough information to adequately screen prospective applicants.

The remaining respondents said that they conducted full background checks including searching for criminal, eviction, and credit histories, verifying employment, and checking with listed references for previous landlords. Most respondents did not provide additional details about the way they collected such information. A property owner said that in addition to full background checks he used referrals from local community members affiliated with the church or other local organizations to find tenants

who “have a more accustomed way to living” or are able to afford rent and want to stay in one home for a long period of time. A property manager said that he is usually “more forgiving with tenants in this area to avoid turnover.” He said that his company requires completion of a lease application that includes income and a criminal background check. He also noted that income or job verification is more important than good credit.

One property manager said that his company uses a “thorough screening process that is done completely online using a ‘sophisticated’ property management software”. Prospective tenants are required to upload pay stubs and/or tax returns to the online application to verify employment. In addition, they contact employers to further verify employment. He stated that the application process itself is a screening method because if a person applying cannot get everything uploaded online and use the online portal, they most likely will not approve that person as a tenant. He said the company completes credit and background checks, as well as an eviction search. In addition, the company contacts previous landlords to discuss how the person was as a tenant. This property manager said that they do not use personal meetings with prospective tenants as a way to screen or approve them.

Maintaining Contact with Tenants

Respondents were asked to describe how they maintain contact with tenants. The majority of respondents said that they used a combination of traditional phone calls and emails (some, included texting) to maintain contact with their tenants. One property owner reported visiting his properties once or twice a month given that he was often in the neighborhood, so this was not a problem for him. One property manager said that contact with tenants was typically done via email or the management company’s online portal, although renters could also pay cash using a voucher system at a local convenience store. All but one respondent said that they use a licensed contractor for repairs requested by tenants, and such requests were most often made by phone to landlords or property management companies.

Participation in Housing Subsidy Programs

Respondents were asked to discuss whether they participated in any housing subsidy programs and their experiences with such programs. Half of the sample reported participating in the Housing Choice Voucher (HCV) program (formerly known as Section 8) – one property owner and three property managers. One of the property managers indicated that his management company had “inherited” a subsidized property, but that his management company typically did not accept tenants participating in the voucher program. An additional property owner stated that he was working to establish himself as a vendor with the Tampa Housing Authority in order to participate in the HCV program. One property owner said that he has received rental assistance funds from various local agencies including churches and Metropolitan Ministries. This property manager felt that such programs were “great” because he is paid the rent when it is due on time. However, these funds are usually paid on a one-time basis. The remaining two property owners said that they did not participate in any housing subsidy programs and had not received

rental assistance funds from social service agencies.

Respondent experiences reported regarding participation in the HCV housing program were varied. The landlord currently establishing himself as a Tampa Housing Authority vendor reported that there was a two-year waiting list to become fully accepted in the program. He also stated that he had found it difficult to schedule inspections and have questions answered by Housing Authority staff. For instance, he noted that inspectors did not always schedule visits to homes, making it difficult for the landlord to meet personally during the next inspection. He said that in such cases the inspection would be marked as a failure.

One property manager found his participation in HCV to be extremely positive. He said, "For a property manager, it runs well." He said that he felt it was generally a good program for landlords, if they understand the program and how it works. He believes that landlords may have problems or miscommunication with individuals within the Tampa Housing Authority, particularly with regards to receiving the first few rental payments, which may shape their opinions of the program. However, he said that he had been working with the program long enough and knew specific people he could contact to help him answer questions or respond to his needs.

The other two respondents that reported participating in the HCV program characterized their experiences in a more negative manner. One landlord who owns various properties criticized the inspection process saying that he had had inspections done at two houses, which could be considered to be identical, and one would fail and the other would pass. He felt that such discrepancies happened due to the subjective decisions of individual inspectors and mused that the process was a way for the Housing Authority to "drive revenue". The second respondent, a property manager, said that he often found tenants participating in the HCV program to have trouble coming up with their portion of the rent. He also said that making changes to the amount of rent or other aspects of a lease often involved a long waiting period. This respondent further reported having received rental assistance funds in the past, and characterized these programs as "a nuisance". In his experience, he said, it can take six to eight weeks for an agency to cut and mail a check, and rent will come in a month after it is due. He also stated that someone from the property management company had to physically go sign off and collect the funds in person, which he did not care for.

Evictions in the Past 12 Months

Two respondents (one landlord, one property manager) said that they each had to evict a total of two tenants in the past 12 months for nonpayment of rents. Both respondents manage/own several properties in the neighborhood. The majority of respondents said that they had not had to evict tenants in over a year. One respondent said that he felt the rate of evictions overall had decreased in the neighborhood.

Relationship with Local Tenants

Respondents were asked to describe the relationship that they maintained with their tenants. Most of them described their relationships positively, using such qualifiers as “great,” “excellent,” “very good,” and “pleasant.” Generally, they said they felt it important to maintain positive relationships with tenants in order to facilitate collection of rents, good upkeep of properties, and to encourage long-term occupation of properties. As one property owner stated, “If you treat people right, you get the same treatment back.” One of the property managers felt it very important to build positive relationships with his tenants in the spirit of giving back to the community. He said that he can sometimes build “nice relationships with people and their children. They become like friends that I see once a month.” He also stated that it is nice when he can help a family, and sometimes he feels like he can help by providing support or friendship. (This respondent did not clarify whether he ever provided financial or other tangible resources to tenants in need.)

One property owner said that Sulphur Springs is a tough neighborhood for landlords. He said that tenants have cursed at him in the past and, as a result, he is contracting with a property manager to collect rents to see if this will improve relationships with tenants. One property manager said that he does not try to maintain a relationship with his tenants. He said, “We don’t have a lot of contact and the less interaction, the better.” This property manager stressed that his company does not like to “micromanage” or “hover” over tenants. Even though they are renting, he wants tenants to feel like they are homeowners and not renters for however long they live in the unit, especially if it is a single family home. They do not do drive by inspections or otherwise maintain personal contact with tenants. However, he said at Thanksgiving, a management company representative will deliver turkeys to each renter, and he believes they are very appreciative.

At one point or another in the interview, half of all respondents described residents as being of lower “quality” or “class”, including people with criminal backgrounds and substance use issues. They said that the presence of such people made Sulphur Springs a less desirable community for families. One respondent said he knew some families do not send their children to school regularly and reprimand them for going outside during school hours because they do not want truancy charges. One property manager said that it was not necessarily tenants who caused problems in the neighborhood, but family members and friends who are supposed to be visiting, but are actually living in rented properties. In such cases he said, “I’ll go to the tenant and say the other family members can’t be there or I’ll make them move.” He said he believed that tenants in this situation often felt relief because they did not necessarily want their friends or family to stay on but felt uncomfortable asking them to leave. “It’s easier to say the property manager is making them leave.” Another property owner said that most tenants come from very difficult situations and “are used to living in run down, poorly managed properties.” He said, “When I tell them that they are going to be taken in, they start crying and are very grateful.”

How Sulphur Springs Compares to Other Tampa Neighborhoods

Overall, respondents characterized Sulphur Springs as a low income neighborhood with more crime

than other neighborhoods. One property manager referred to the neighborhood as “Suffering Springs” and stated that it has a “terrible reputation” due to “constant gunfire in the neighborhood,” which he said often forced the local elementary school to go on lockdown. According to this and two other respondents, the threat of crime can keep investors and prospective tenants from considering the neighborhood as a potential investment or home. Three respondents said that tenants were less likely to keep their homes clean and/or actively damaged properties. Two respondents described local residents as “transient,” saying they moved often. One property manager said that although he would rather work in an area like Hyde Park, with high income tenants and well-maintained properties, he said that maintenance issues in such a neighborhood might become “burdensome demands” because tenants pay such high rents, they expect a great deal of service/maintenance.

Despite such characterizations, three respondents said that they felt the neighborhood was improving due to efforts by local churches and/or increased police presence over the past five years.

Return on Investment

Most respondents said that Sulphur Springs was a good location for investing in rental properties. As one property manager noted, investors “get more bang for their buck,” since properties are cheaper to buy and property taxes are lower, leaving a greater return on investment than they might have in other neighborhoods. A property owner reported paying \$25 per month on taxes, \$100 per month for water and sewage, and \$75 in property insurance, which leaves him a good return. Individual responses also highlighted the beauty of local trees and the river, the central location, and access to travel corridors and public transportation. Two respondents said that they would not characterize the neighborhood as good for investments due to the amount of crime, violence, and drug use. Both property owners, they said they would not consider buying additional properties in the neighborhood unless crime and violence were successfully reduced. One respondent stated “[I]t’s even more work to manage properties in this area” than in other Tampa neighborhoods. The other said that although renting in such a neighborhood can be risky due to the generally low income of residents, the neighborhood is close to low wage job options and public transportation in the event of unexpected job loss on the part of tenants.

Improving Neighborhood Conditions

When asked if they felt that Sulphur Springs was a good place to raise a family, most respondents did not feel that this was currently the case. Half of the sample said that crime and violence in the neighborhood made for a dangerous environment, especially for children. Nearly all respondents made mention of crime, violence, and drug use/sales in Sulphur Springs at various points during interviews. However, there was disagreement about whether neighborhood conditions had improved or worsened over the last decade. Two respondents said that they would like to see more community-based policing in Sulphur Springs to help decrease what they saw as increasing levels of crime. “Police need to be more visible. They can’t just be driving by in cars going 40 mph. They need to get out of their cars, get on bikes, and talk to people in the neighborhood. That would contribute to safety in the area.” In general,

landlords did not emphasize concerns about neighborhood safety due to crime and violence to the degree that residents did.

When asked what landlords, in particular, could do to help improve neighborhood conditions, three respondents said that landlords could be more selective when choosing tenants. As one property manager noted, "Landlords could improve the neighborhood by tightening up on background checks and increase inspections." Another property manager said that landlords should do a better job of screening tenants for criminal backgrounds. But, he said, "I'm not sure what to do, everyone needs to live somewhere."

One property owner said that he felt that "landlords should clean their properties up... many are not well-maintained." Another property owner said there was nothing landlords could do to improve the neighborhood. Rather, the city should improve and add sidewalks and tear down properties that are abandoned. He also suggested that the city give property owners and investors a tax break for building new properties in the area. Another property manager said that the City of Tampa Neighborhood Enhancement Division (which includes the code enforcement office) should shut down buildings that are in substandard condition. This, he said, would "get rid of the riff raff." According to this respondent, properties that should be slated for demolition are clearly visible in the neighborhood and said these serve as homes for "the bad people" and are attractive to drug dealers. However, he said that the process to condemn buildings often "takes too long."

Knowledge of SSNOP

Six of eight respondents said that they were not familiar with the Sulphur Springs Neighborhood of Promise (SSNOP). One respondent said that he was familiar with the SSNOP because he had received a tenant referral from the group. However, he said that he did not know about specific programs offered by SSNOP partners. Another said he was "somewhat familiar" but did not clarify. Although he said he was not familiar with the SSNOP, a property owner said he felt that most "programs that serve the community are scared of the community." Although he did not identify specific organizations, he claimed that most do not provide evening services, even though most residents work and cannot access them until after 5:00 pm.

Summary of Findings

Not surprisingly, landlord interviews were characterized by their focus on Sulphur Springs as an optimal location for investing in real estate. Most landlords overlooked concerns about crime and safety (or said they felt that the neighborhood had generally improved in this respect) and focused on the opportunity to generate a greater income from properties in Sulphur Springs than they might in other neighborhoods with higher utility and/or tax costs. Nevertheless, several respondents emphasized the need for increased demolition of abandoned properties, code enforcement, and sidewalk repairs/additions.

In describing the relationships they maintain with tenants, most respondents said they tried to keep these positive in nature, treat tenants with respect, and thereby ensure occupancy. When discussing challenges in Sulphur Springs, however, most viewed local residents from a deficit perspective –

characterizing them as being of a “lower class” or “quality.” Even landlords who sought to discuss residents in a positive manner, often focused on what they perceived as tenants’ lack of education, challenging family members who took advantage of them, and children who were at the mercy of the streets due to parents that were not concerned about their welfare. Although the small number of interviews does not allow generalization of findings to all Sulphur Springs landlords, such characterizations of residents of poor neighborhoods are found in research on residential mobility (Edin, DeLuca, & Owens, 2012; Lamont, Small, & Harding, 2010; Moynihan, 1965; Rosen, 2015; Wilson, 1987).

Research on landlords in other cities shows that landlords’ willingness to accept lower rates of rent and/or require less restrictive requirements to start leases – despite such views on tenants – can increase the likelihood that residents will stay in rental properties and neighborhoods for longer periods (Rosen, 2014). Ironically, this often results in further concentrating poverty in neighborhoods that may not have the resources or amenities that residents might hope for (Rosen, 2015; Rosen, 2014).

Synthesis of Findings

Comparison of resident and landlord interview findings provide multiple factors to consider regarding residential mobility and neighborhood stability. It is interesting to note that of 13 residents interviewed, only three indicated that they were planning on moving out of Sulphur Springs in the near future. Moreover, only two of eight landlords interviewed recalled having to evict one or more tenants in the past 12 months. Given the small sample of respondents, it is impossible to generalize to the wider conditions affecting mobility in Sulphur Springs. However, these findings provide some insight into general neighborhood conditions from two contrasting vantage points that are not often taken into account together.

As a means of organizing findings from both sets of interviews, this report uses the **social determinants of health** as the guiding frame for analysis. The social determinants of health have been defined as “conditions in the environments in which people live, learn, work, play, worship, and age that affect a wide range of health, functioning, and quality-of-life outcomes and risks” (Healthy People 2020, 2014). These “conditions” are understood to be tied to larger inequalities within societies that lead to poverty and discrimination, and disproportionately affect some populations more than others (CDC, 2017). Figure A3 outlines the wider determinants of health and well-being (Cambridgeshire County Council, 2013), which organizes study findings and recommendations to the SSNOP. Although health is not a specific focus of the SSNOP, the initiative’s efforts to build a “cradle to career educational pipeline” supports its underlying premise that “all kids should grow up to be fully functioning participants in mainstream America’s economic and civic life” as noted on its website (SSNOP, 2017). As such, the initiative’s efforts in Sulphur Springs are also compatible with calls on the part of the World Health Organization (WHO) for policymakers, researchers and others to take a life course approach to improve the conditions of life for communities (WHO, 2014). The remainder of this section outlines findings using the outermost layers of the determinants model outlined in Figure A3 to reflect on conditions within Sulphur Springs.

Figure A3. Model of wider determinants of health and well-being.



General socio-economic, cultural, and environmental conditions

The outermost concentric half-circle in Figure A3 represents the general social conditions that shape population well-being. These factors include all of the social and political mechanisms that generate, configure, and maintain social hierarchies, including: the labor market, the educational system, and political institutions (Solar & Irwin, 2010). It also includes cultural and societal values related to social status, levels of poverty and wealth, as well as conditions associated with the physical environment, including the quality of air, water, and food available to populations. These general conditions can directly affect government spending capacity, and in turn have a direct influence on health and social policy priorities. In addition, these conditions help shape all of the other factors outlined in the model. Three key factors included in this layer were, for the most part, not directly identified by interview respondents; these are gender, race/social status, and income/poverty.

Gender

Comparison of interview respondent samples highlighted two striking differences between landlords and tenants: gender and race/ethnicity. Research that examines gender in the context of neighborhood mobility and/or stability is fairly limited. However, studies have examined the effects of mobility on adolescent girls (Popkin et al., 2004) and levels of social support among new mothers (Turney & Harkinet, 2010).

Race

All but one of the residents that we spoke to identified as female (n=12), while all landlords interviewed identified as male (n=8). With regard to race/ethnicity, 11 residents identified as Black or African American and 2 identified as Hispanic/Latino, in contrast to landlords who identified as White (n=5), Black or African American (n=2) and Hispanic/Latino (n=1). Race, and to a lesser extent ethnicity, are categories that go beyond simple labeling of different groups of people. In fact, race has been a defining feature of this country's social fabric and is closely tied to individuals' access to resources and general opportunities (Smedley & Smedley, 2005). Although interview respondents were not specifically asked to discuss race or racial discrimination, these topics did surface in discussions with both residents and landlords. The resident who characterized the majority of residents as "nasty, dirty people...[that] keep the ghetto looking ghetto" was referring primarily to her African American neighbors and identified as Hispanic/Latino. Residents who talked about feeling treated as though they were "less than" or "beneath" school personnel or service providers were African American.

Landlord responses appeared to focus more on the characteristics of poor residents, as opposed to identifying specific characteristics that they attributed to one race or ethnicity versus another. One landlord, a property owner with family ties in Sulphur Springs, did address the issue of race in long discussions during his interview. When discussing the positive changes he has seen in the neighborhood he said, "Tampa is starting to see the value of Sulphur Springs and they are going to very soon start to buy out properties to raise the quality, similar to how Hyde Park and Ybor City were built up." He went on to say, "My hope for Sulphur Springs is that it does not become a mostly White, gentrified area like Hyde Park and Ybor City...that there is a restoration of our people [African Americans]."

Poverty

Research suggests health disparities exist even when socio-economic status is controlled for, probably due to the long term effects of racism and oppression (Williams & Collins, 2001). Studies have found that residents who live in the most extreme conditions of poverty often experience a number of stressors that produce lasting effects on their long-term well-being. Epigenetic and other studies show that children exposed to sustained and high levels of stress, including maltreatment and the deprivation associated with extreme poverty, are more likely to be diagnosed with severe illnesses in adulthood, which may then be passed on to later generations (Middlebrooks & Audage, 2008; Miller, Chen, & Parker, 2011).

Living and Working Conditions

The concentric semi-circle that follows the outermost one in Figure A3 refers to a number of “living and working conditions”.

Built Environment

In addition to the conditions outlined in this figure, living conditions include the built environment in neighborhoods that includes the quality of sidewalks, street lights, and the general feeling of safety among residents and those who visit a neighborhood (CDC, 2011). These particular topics were perhaps among the most covered by Sulphur Springs residents. Crime, violence, and drug use were cited again and again by residents as key reasons that Sulphur Springs is “not a good place to raise a family,” makes some residents feel isolated from friends or family who reportedly will not visit due to these concerns, and which prompts residents to keep children inside and away from their peers, as much as possible.

Unemployment

About half of the residents interviewed said that they were unemployed at the time of the interview. Some of these individuals reported receiving supplemental income, including disability, while others said that they relied on selling food and other personal care services to supplement any social benefits they were receiving.

Services and Programs

Although Figure A3 highlights healthcare services, human and social services also comprise an important part of the social conditions in neighborhoods, particularly those that have high rates of concentrated poverty.

Social and Community Networks

Although residents were asked to identify the people they would turn to for help or support, responses to other interview questions also focused on their access (or lack thereof) to social support networks. Those residents who said that they did not have family or friends with the neighborhood or nearby, were among those who had the most negative perceptions of Sulphur Springs. Conversely, those residents who said they attended community events regularly, socialized with friends and neighbors within Sulphur Springs, and made use of local programs and organizations were most positive in their characterizations of the neighborhood.

Final Considerations

While analyzing interview responses in light of neighborhood stability in Sulphur Springs, results indicated that only three residents said they were planning a move in the near future. Similarly, only two landlords recalled having had to evict one or more residents in the past 12 months. While researchers

and policymakers have often focused on neighborhood stability as an ideal condition for communities and their residents, research suggests that the concept of residential stability may not be relevant for residents living in poor neighborhoods. Ross, Reynolds, and Geiss (2000) argue that residents living in poor neighborhoods face fairly constant and higher levels of distress due to the conditions they encounter, such as crime, violence, and reduced access to resources. Stability, under such conditions, does not reduce the negative aspects that residents, like those who live in Sulphur Springs, experience. Landlords have been shown to play a role in maintaining stability in poor neighborhoods due to their primary focus on maintaining a “good return on investment” (Rose, 2015). The majority of landlords that we spoke to utilized this phrase when describing Sulphur Springs. Perhaps more noteworthy, is the fact that only half of the landlords that we spoke to described extensive application and/or tenant approval processes – despite later saying that landlords should “tighten up” these processes. Although interview findings did not produce sufficient data on residential mobility (resulting in high rates of student mobility), it did provide a great deal of information that can identify areas where the SSNOP might review its current strategies for producing positive long-term change in the well-being of Sulphur Springs children and their families.

In order to identify a sample of residents that are considered to be highly mobile, the SSNOP Leadership Council might consider working with USF researchers and the Hillsborough County School District to identify those Sulphur Springs students who have high rates of mobility, as a means of reaching parents that would be willing to respond to questions about whether there are particular housing or neighborhood conditions that account for numerous moves. While this population may not be an easy one to engage in research activities, data generated from such interviews could provide the SSNOP *and* the school district with important information about why a subset of families is moving in and out of Sulphur Springs so frequently and what types of supports would help to mitigate these moves.

Appendix B - Sulphur Springs Student Stability and Mobility Summary

Sulphur Springs Student Stability and Mobility Summary

May 2017

Hillsborough County Public Schools

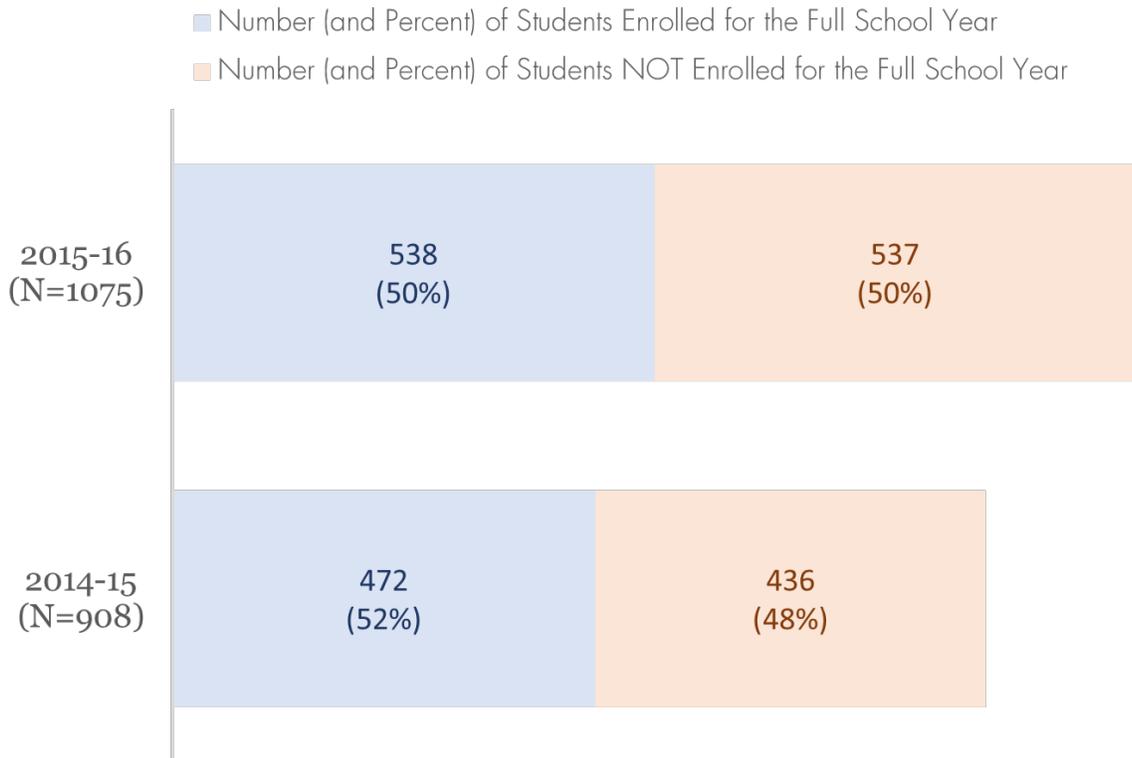
Prepared by Emily Plasencia, Supervisor of Federal Program Evaluation

Sulphur Springs Student Stability Summary

The chart below shows the changes in the percent of students who were enrolled for the full year at Sulphur Springs.

During the 2014-15 school year, a total of 908 students enrolled at Sulphur Springs at some point and during the 2015-16 school year, a total of 1,075 students enrolled at Sulphur Springs. So, during 2015-16, 167 more students enrolled at Sulphur Springs. It should be noted that 2015-16 was the first year that Sulphur Springs enrolled students in 6th grade.

From the 2014-15 school year to the 2015-16 school year, the percent of students *not* enrolled for the full school year increased by two percentage points from 48% to 50%.



Sulphur Springs Student Mobility Summary

The following report summarizes student mobility at Sulphur Spring K-8 Community School between the 2013-14 and 2015-16 school years. Overall, a somewhat larger number of students had a first enrollment at Sulphur Springs compared to other demographically similar Hillsborough County Public Schools (HCPS) during the 2013-14 through 2015-16 school years (See Table 7). Out of these “first enrollees”, a higher percentage from Sulphur Springs moved to a different school at least once (a “second enrollment”) during the school year (See Table 8). The section below and pages 2-5 of this report provide maps and tables for the 2013-14 through 2015-16 school years that show where students go after Sulphur Springs for their second enrollment, and also show the number of schools attended for subsequent enrollments, representing how many times students move schools. The maximum number of moves is somewhat higher at Sulphur Springs compared to other similar schools (See Table 9).

2015-16

Out of all the kindergarten through fifth grade students whose first enrollment during the 2015-16 school year in a Hillsborough County Public School was at Sulphur Springs (N=700), 159 (22.7%) left at some point during the year and enrolled in second, different school (or, the students left Sulphur Springs for a period of time and re-enrolled at Sulphur Springs as their “second school”).

The light and dark blue markers on the map show that the 159 students enrolled at 51 different schools. Although the enrollment at individual school sites cannot be shared for student privacy reasons, a larger marker indicates that more students enrolled at a particular school. The dark blue markers with labels show schools with the greatest number of students enrolled from the group of 159 students.

The table below the map lists the schools that the students attended alphabetically. The table below the list shows that some of the 159 students attended a third, fourth, fifth, or even sixth school during the 2015-16 school year. For example, 28 students enrolled at a third school. This group of 28 students enrolled at 14 different schools.

2014-15

Out of all the kindergarten through fifth grade students whose first enrollment during the 2014-15 school year in a Hillsborough County Public School was at Sulphur Springs (N=644), 127 (19.7%) left at some point during the year and enrolled in second, different school (or, the students left Sulphur Springs for a period of time and re-enrolled at Sulphur Springs as their “second school”).

The light and dark green markers on the map show that the 127 students enrolled at 46 different schools. Although the enrollment at individual school sites cannot be shared for student privacy reasons, a larger marker indicates that more students enrolled at a particular school. The dark green markers with labels show schools with the greatest number of students enrolled from the group of 127 students.

The table below the map lists the schools that the students attended alphabetically. The table below the list shows that some of the 127 students attended a third or fourth school during the 2014-15 school year. For example, 32 students enrolled at a third school. This group of 32 students enrolled at 18 different schools.

2013-14

Out of all the kindergarten through fifth grade students whose first enrollment during the 2013-14 school year in a Hillsborough County Public School was at Sulphur Springs (N=626), 150 (23.9%) left at some point during the year and enrolled in second, different school (or, the students left Sulphur Springs for a period of time and re-enrolled at Sulphur Springs as their “second school”).

The light and dark purple markers on the map show that the 150 students enrolled at 47 different schools. Although the enrollment at individual school sites cannot be shared for student privacy reasons, a larger marker indicates that more students enrolled at a particular school. The dark purple markers with labels show schools with the greatest number of students enrolled from the group of 150 students.

The table below the map lists the schools that the students attended alphabetically. The table below the list shows that some of the 150 students attended a third, fourth, fifth, or even sixth school during the 2013-14 school year. For example, 32 students enrolled at a third school. This group of 32 students enrolled at 16 different schools.

2015-16 Summary Detail

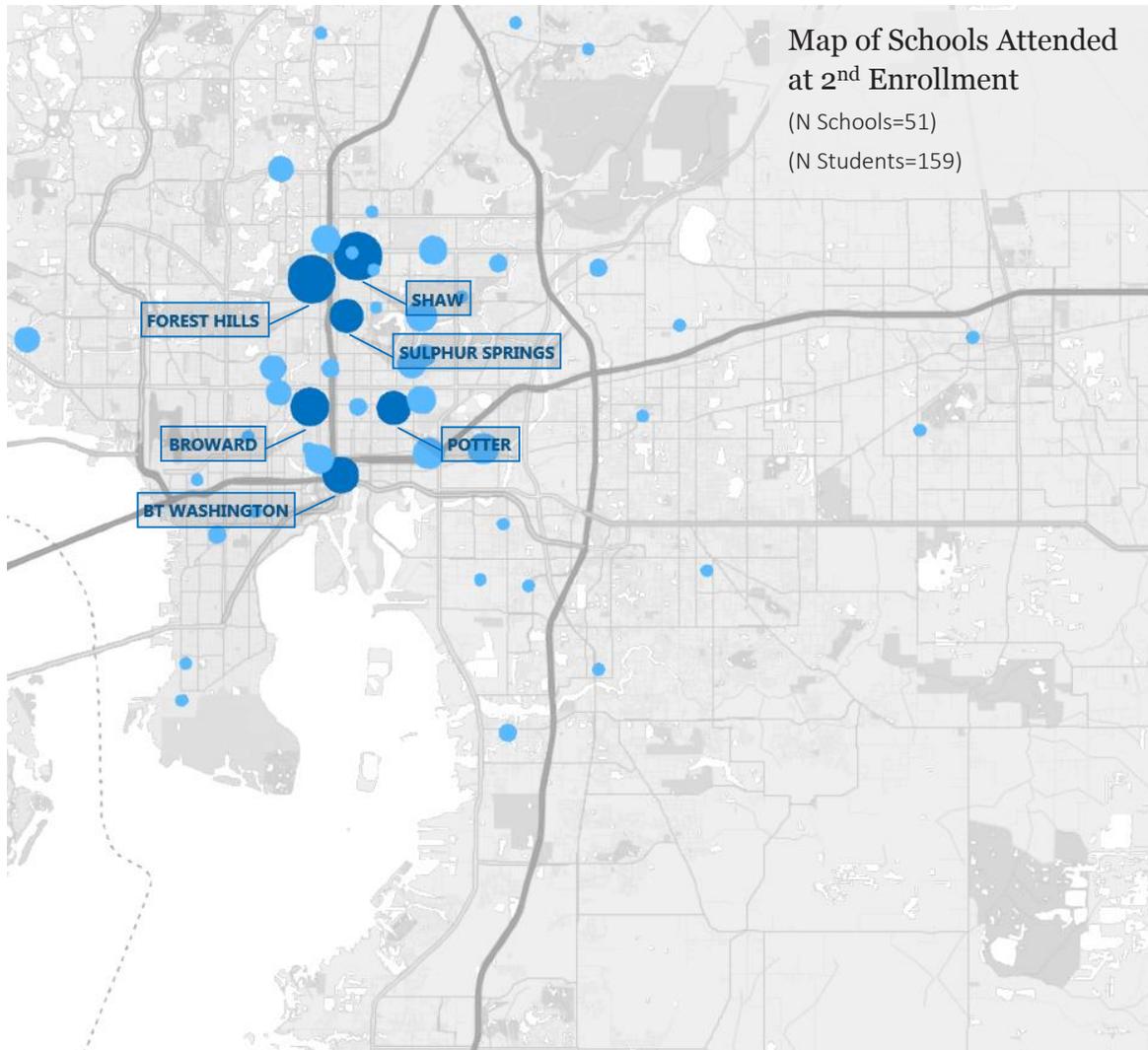


Table 1: List of Schools Attended at 2nd Enrollment (N=51)

Alternative Ed.	Davis	Graham	McDonald	Potter	Tampa Bay
Bing	Detention Center	Hunter's Green	Mendenhall	Riverview	Boulevard
Brooker	West	James	Miles	Robles	Temple Terrace
Broward	Edison	Kenly	Mitchell	Roland Park K-8	Village of Excellence
Bryan	Folsom	Kimbell	Mort	Seminole	Elementary
Cahoon	Forest Hills	Lanier	Muller	Shaw	Walden Lake
Clair Mel	Frost	Lewis	Oak Grove	Sheehy	Washington, BT.
Clark	Gibsonston	Lutz	Oak Park	Sullivan Partnership	West Shore
Community Elem	Grady	Mango	Pizzo	Sulphur Springs	Witter

Table 2: Number of Schools Attended at 3rd – 6th Enrollments

Enrollment #	# of Schools	# of Students
3 rd	14	28
4 th	6	*
5 th	2	*
6 th	4	1

*Number is suppressed to comply with FERPA

Prepared by Emily Plasencia, Supervisor of Federal Program Evaluation, May 2017

2014-15 Summary Detail

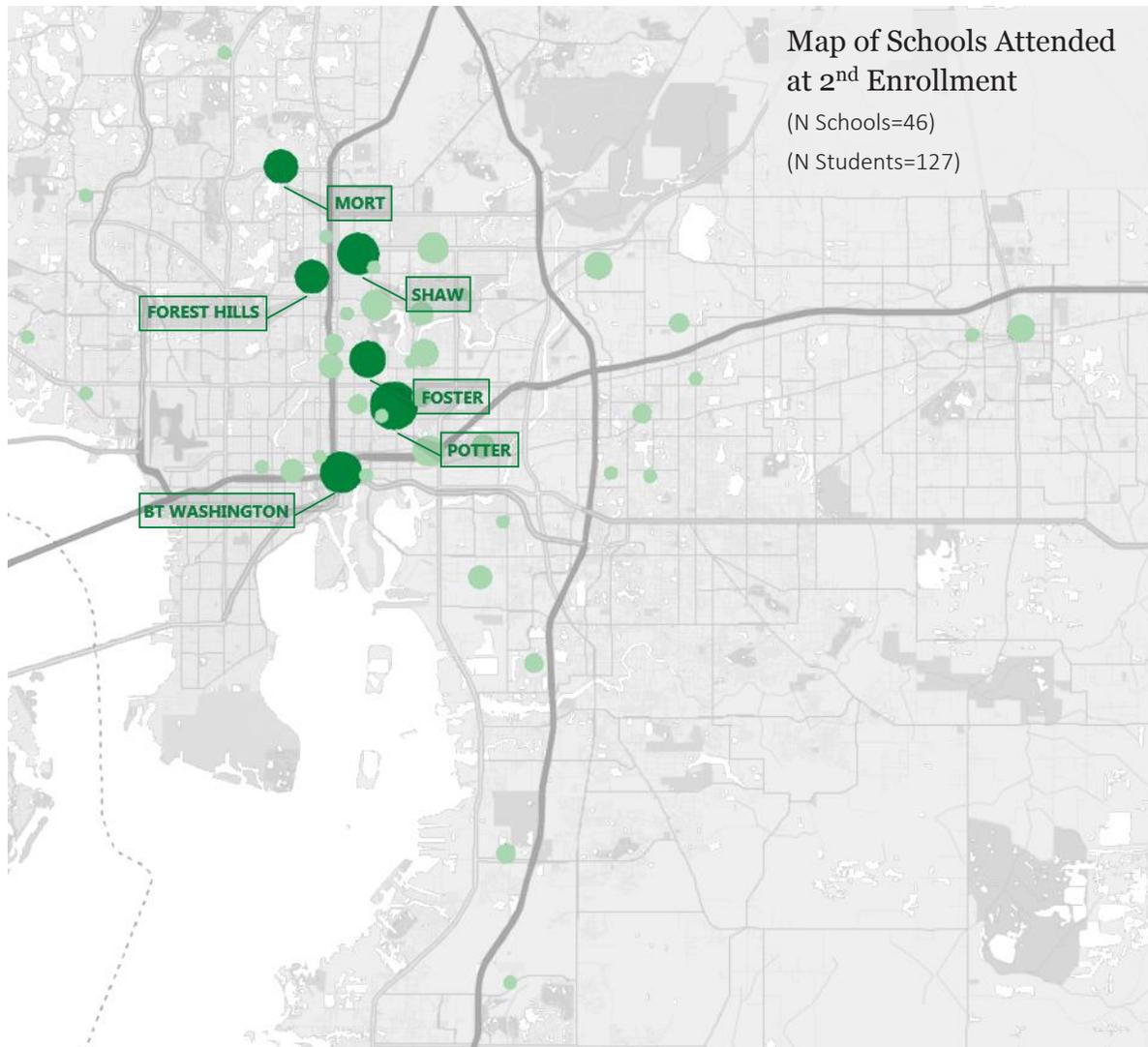


Table 3: List of Schools Attended at 2nd Enrollment (N=46)

Bay Crest	Cypress Creek	Homebound	Lomax Magnet	Potter	Sullivan Partnership
Bing	Davis	Ippolito	Mango	Robles	Sulphur Springs
Bryan	Detention Center	Jackson	McDonald	Schmidt	Temple Terrace
Cahoon	West	James	Miles	Schwarzkopf	Washington, BT.
Citrus Park	Edison	Just	Mort	Seminole	West Tampa
Clair Mel	Folsom	Kenly	MOSI Partnership	Shaw	Witter
Cleveland	Forest Hills	Kimbell	Oak Park	Sheehy	Yates
Corr	Foster	Limona	Pizzo	Shore	

Table 4: Number of Schools Attended at 3rd – 4th Enrollments

Enrollment #	# of Schools Attended	# of Students
3 rd	18	32
4 th	4	*

5 *Number is suppressed to comply with FERPA

2013-14 Summary Detail

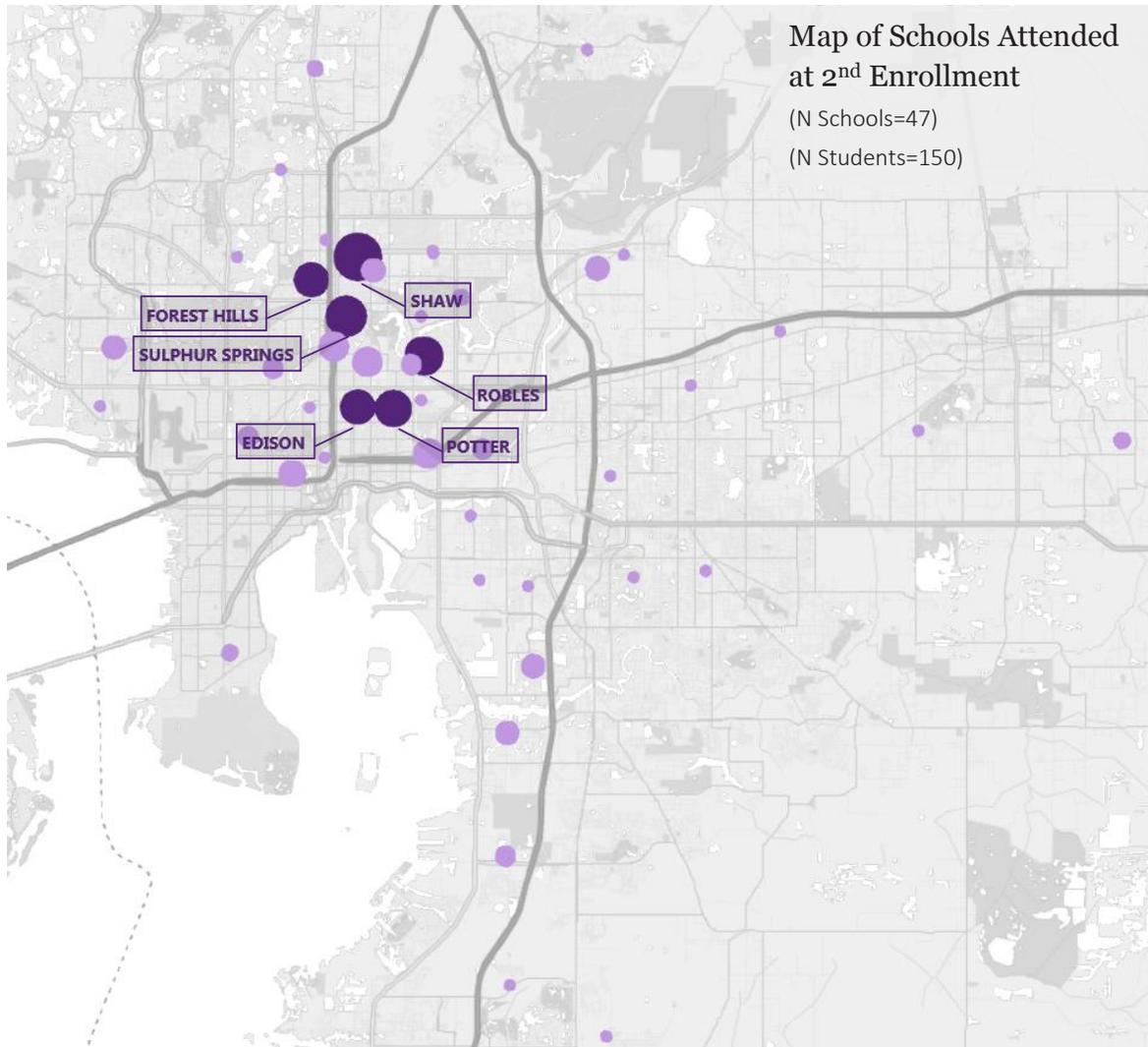


Table 5: List of Schools Attended at 2nd Enrollment (N=47)

Bailey	Cypress Creek	Hunter's Green	Lutz Preparatory	Palm River	Springhead
Bing	Dickenson	Ippolito	Miles	Pizzo	Sulphur Springs
Brooker	Edison	James	Mintz	Potter	Tampa Bay Blvd
Broward	Folsom	Just	Morgan Woods	Reddick	Temple Terrace
Carrollwood	Forest Hills	Kenly	Mort	Robles	Thonotosassa
Chiaromonte	Foster	Kimbell	MOSI Partnership	Schmidt	Walden Lake
Cleveland	Frost	Lee	Oak Grove	Shaw	Witter
Corr	Gibsonston	Lopez	Oak Park	Sheehy	

Table 6: Number of Schools Attended at 3rd – 6th Enrollments

Enrollment #	# of Schools Attended	# of Students
3 rd	16	32
4 th	3	*
5 th	1	*
6 th	1	*
	6	

*Number is suppressed to comply with FERPA

Sulphur Springs Student Mobility Summary

How many students in grades K-5 started the school year at Sulphur Springs or a comparison school?

The table below compares Sulphur Springs to other demographically similar schools in Hillsborough County between the 2013-14 and 2015-16 school years.

The table shows the total number of kindergarten through fifth grade students at first enrollment by school and year. First enrollment, as described in the previous section, includes students who enrolled at Sulphur Springs as their first school in HCPS for that school year. For example, a student may have enrolled at Sulphur Springs on the first day of school for the 2015-16 school year. Sulphur Springs is the first HCPS school in which that student enrolled. Alternatively, a student could have attended school in another county or state from August through September and then enrolled at Sulphur Springs in October. Sulphur Springs would still be that student's first enrollment in HCPS for that school year.

Across all three school years, Mort had the highest number of first enrollees. BT Washington had the lowest number of first enrollees in 2013-14 and 2014-15, while Just had the lowest number of first enrollees in 2015-16. Coming in second only to Mort, Sulphur Springs had the highest number of first enrollees during both the 2014-15 (N=644) and 2015-16 (N=700) school years.

Looking across time, Sulphur Springs has seen increases in the number of first enrollees each year. In fact, between 2013-14 and 2015-16 the number of first enrollees at Sulphur Springs increased by 74 students. Witter is the only other school to have increased by that magnitude with an increase of 80 students.

Table 7: Total Number of Students at First Enrollment by School and Year

School Year	Sulphur Springs	BT Washington	Just	Mort	Potter	Witter
2013-14	626	466	632	923	630	498
2014-15	644	496	535	940	596	530
2015-16	700	514	494	929	612	578

What percent of students had a second enrollment?

Additionally, when considering the percent of first enrollees who also had a second enrollment, Sulphur Springs had the highest percentage of first enrollees with a second enrollment during the 2013-14 and 2014-15 school years (24.0% and 19.7%, respectively). The only school with a higher percentage than Sulphur Springs during the 2015-16 school year was Just (36.4%), followed by Sulphur Springs (22.7%). So, compared to other similar schools, a higher percentage of students who enter Sulphur Springs as their first HCPS school move to a second school (this includes students who left Sulphur Springs for a period of time and re-enrolled at Sulphur Springs as their "second school").

Table 8: Percent of First Enrollees with a Second Enrollment by School and Year

School Year	Sulphur Springs	BT Washington	Just	Mort	Potter	Witter
2013-14	24.0%	15.5%	15.8%	19.5%	19.8%	14.5%
2014-15	19.7%	16.3%	12.1%	15.9%	19.0%	13.4%
2015-16	22.7%	14.8%	36.4%	19.8%	15.7%	13.3%

What is the maximum number of schools in which students enrolled?

Lastly, the table below shows the maximum number of times students changed schools. For example, during the 2013-14 school year, some of the students who began the year at Sulphur Springs (N=626) moved to a second school. Additionally, some of these students moved to a third school, and so on. During 2013-14, for students whose first enrollment was at Sulphur Springs, the maximum number of schools enrolled in was six. During 2013-14 and 2015-16, students whose first enrollment was at Sulphur Springs moved up to six times; more than most other comparison schools.

Table 9: Total Number of School Enrollments

School Year	Sulphur Springs	BT Washington	Just	Mort	Potter	Witter
2013-14	6	3	4	6	5	4
2014-15	4	4	3	5	8	4
2015-16	6	5	4	5	5	4

7

Appendix C - Rental Assistance

The information provided in this appendix was provided by SSNOP partners to supplement information on rents gathered during resident interviews. Devereux Kids provides one-time rental assistance to residents that they serve and used these figures to compile the table below.

The summary that follows this table was provided by Rebuilding Together Tampa Bay, Inc., which outlines the average rent and length of stay for residents with whom they worked in the past year.

Rental Assistance Amounts, Sulphur Springs, 2017 – Devereux Kids

Address	Amount Paid	Note
Single family home	1,300	
Single family home	1,200	
Single family home	1,000	
Single family home	950	
Single family home	900	
Apartment/Duplex	857	
Single family home	800	
1 Bedroom Apartment	425	
Apartment/Duplex	575	Sect 8
Single family home	500	Sect 8
Single family home	500	Sect 8
Apartment/Duplex	271	Sect 8
Apartment/Duplex	265	Sect 8
Single family home	111	Sect 8

Rebuilding Together Tampa Bay, Inc.

Of the 71 tenant occupied homes served by RTTB in Sulphur Springs this past year, the average rent reported was \$696.95 with the average length of stay reported for those homes being 4.2 years.

Endnotes

¹ The social determinants of health have been defined as “conditions in the environments in which people live, learn, work, play, worship, and age that affect a wide range of health, functioning, and quality-of-life outcomes and risks” (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC], 2017). These “conditions” are understood to be tied to larger inequalities within societies that lead to poverty and discrimination, and disproportionately affect some populations more than others (CDC, 2017).

² The Harlem Children’s Zone (HCZ) is a Comprehensive Community Initiative that funds and operates a neighborhood-based system of education and social services for the children of low-income families in a 100 block area in Harlem, New York (See Whitehurst & Croft, 2010).

³ Property tax homestead exemption in Florida is one of three exemptions made available under Florida law. In this case, Article VII, Section 6 of the Florida Constitution reduces the value of a home for assessment of property taxes by up to \$50,000 (Florida Department of Revenue, 2015).

⁴ The Housing Choice Voucher Program is a federal rent subsidy that assists low-income households with monthly rental payments (Tampa Housing Authority, 2006).

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