Health Impacts of Mixed-Tenure Housing Regeneration in Toronto's Regent Park

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Regent Park Background

- home to 2,083 households & 7,500 people b/f demolition
 - Phase 1 will grow from 418 to 800+ households
- one of Canada's oldest and largest public housing developments
- built in late 1940s / early 1950s based on 'Garden City' design principles
- \$1B+ demolition & redevelopment began in 2005 and will occur in 5 phases. New community will:
 - be mixed income: owners & subsidized renters
 - use modern principles of urban design (new urbanism)

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implement `social development plan'



History

Circa 1930







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Regent North and South





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Community





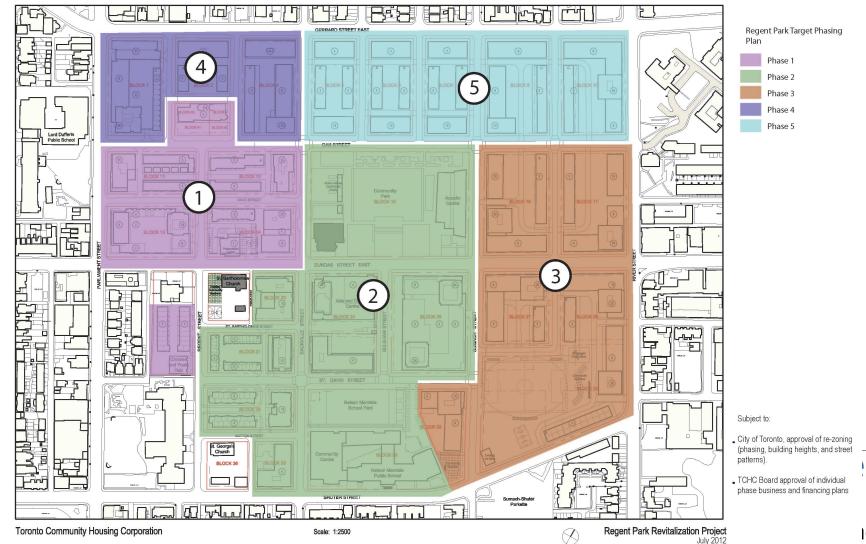
- 7,500 people
- 100% rent-geared-to-income
- 65% in Canada less than 10 years
- 3.6 children per household
- 41% under 16 years old
- 5% seniors
- \$15,000/year average income
- Diverse, multiple languages



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Regent Park Revitalization -Master Plan and Phasing



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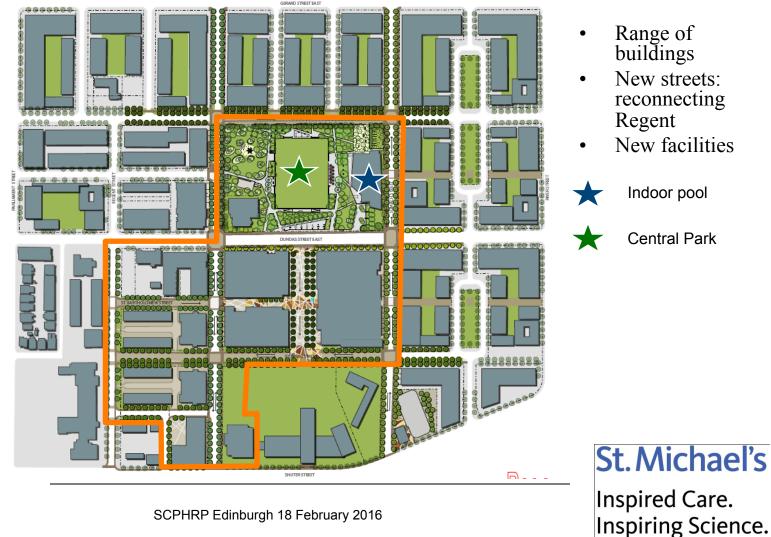
Regent Park Phase 1 : What it looks like



ONDOMINIUMS AT DUNDAS & PARLIAMENT

love where you live

Master Plan Phase 2: Key Features





New indoor pool: Opened 2012





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Phases 1 & 2 by the numbers









820 – households that have moved as a result of revitalization so far **404** – households waiting for a new unit or who left TCH

416 – households now living in a new unit at Regent Park (206) or nearby (210)

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Study Objectives

- Primary Objective:
 - to determine if adults (18+) who move from old Regent Park housing to the new housing show significant improvements in depressive and anxious symptomatology (the 'common mental disorders'), and general health status;
- Secondary Objective:
 - to determine if adults (18+) who move from old Regent Park housing to the new housing show significant improvements in other social determinants of health (e.g., housing satisfaction, neighbourhood satisfaction, fear of crime, etc.);

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Regent Park Housing and Health Study

- partnership b/w CRICH (SMH) and:
 - Toronto Community Housing (TCHC)
 - Regent Park Neighbourhood Initiatives (RPNI)
 - Regent Park Community Health Centre (RP-CHC)
 - Toronto Christian Resource Centre (TCRC)
 - Canada Mortgage & Housing Corporation (CMHC)
 - Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing (MMAH)
 - tenants of Regent Park
- multidisciplinary research team
 - geography, social epidemiology, child development, medicine
- Funding from Canadian Institutes of Health Research, MacArthur Foundation, MMAH, CMHC
- prospective cohort design, with comparison group

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Why focus on mental health?

- Mental health problems are 2nd leading cause of disability in affluent societies
- Common mental disorders
 - "are associated with impairments in physical and social functioning at least as severe as those associated with physical illness" (Weich 1997, 757)
 - combined community prevalence of 15-30%
 - account for 1/3 of work days lost to illness and 1/5 of general practice consultations in the UK

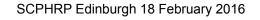
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- High prevalence in the community
- Major community concern





Other questionnaire topics

- Employment and income
- Educational attainment and participation
- Social support
- Social inclusion
- General health status
- Symptoms of depression
- Symptoms of anxiety
- Health behaviours (smoking, diet exercise)
- Chronic conditions
- Unmet need for health care

- General and work stress
- Stressful life events
- Housing satisfaction & meaning
- Neighbourhood satisfaction
- Psychological sense of community
- Social cohesion / trust
- Life satisfaction
- Perceptions of crime and safety
- Children strengths and difficulties questionnaire
- Faith and religiosity St. Michael's



Sampling & Data

- Phase 2 Baseline: n=153 interviews with people while living in temporary housing
 - Response rate: roughly 20%
- Phase 2 follow-up:
 - 132 ppl completed follow-up 1 year after moving
 - 59 were people who moved direct-to-new housing
 - 73 were people who moved to relocation housing
 - 21 were lost to attrition
 - E.g., died, left housing, refused follow-up
- Recently granted funding for 3rd follow-up after relocation residents move to new RP



Sampling and data

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PHASE 1 (complete)			60 – first interviews		39 – second interviews	
PHASE 2 (in progress)	153 – first interviews		73 – second interviews		59 – second interviews	
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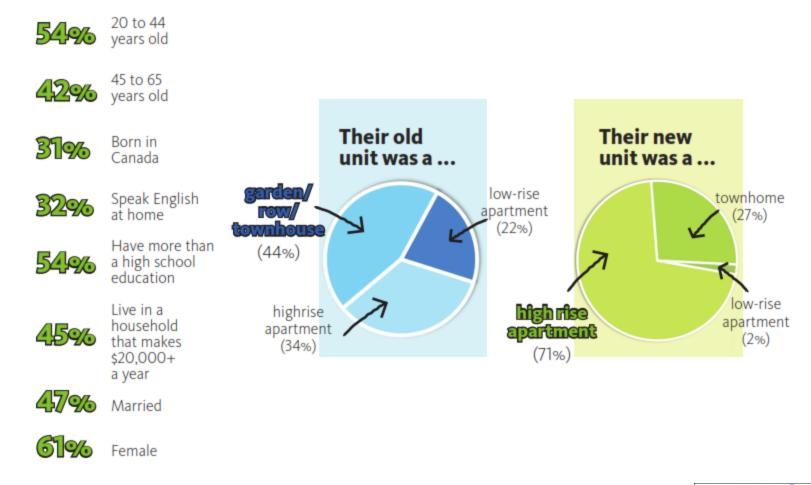
Who We Talked To





In 2009-2010, we sent a letter to everyone living in Regent Park who was going to be affected by Phase 2 of the revitalization. One hundred and thirty-two people agreed to do a survey with us. Two years later we used the same survey to interview them again, because we wanted to see what had changed. Seventy-three of the participants had moved to relocation housing in other parts of Regent Park or elsewhere in the city. Fifty-nine had moved into a new unit built as part of the revitalization.

Who we talked to continued...





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What we found

we usually asked several questions on each topic

What changed for the participants?

TOPICS	Improved	No change	Got worse
Satisfied with their neighbourhood	X		
Satisfied with their home	X		
Felt a strong sense of community	X		
Felt good about/proud of their home	X		
Felt good about their neighbours		Х*	
Said they need services, such as recreation facilities, libraries, grocery stores, banks		Х*	
Said services are accessible		Х*	
Felt they had others they could depend on		x	
Felt safe in their neighbourhood	X		
Took steps to protect themselves from crime		x	
Someone in their household was a victim of crime in the past month		Х*	

Overall, we found that participants felt better about their home, neighbourhood, and community.

1 or 2 questions improved, but the overall trend was no change
* out of 20 questions, 3 questions got worse, 1 improved

Someone in their household was a victim of crime in the past month		Х*	
Felt stressed most days		X	
Felt anxious in the past week		X**	
Felt depressed in the past week		X	
Felt distressed in the past week	х		
Felt bothered by physical or emotional issues in the past month		x	
Felt satisfied with their life		X	
Rated their health as fair or poor		Х	
Needed health care but didn't receive it		x	
Diagnosed with high blood pressure			Х
Diagnosed with heart disease			X
Had a regular doctor		х	

1 or 2 questions improved, but the overall trend was no change

** out of 20 questions, 3 questions got worse, 1 improved

We also found that participants felt less distressed.

We found that doctor diagnosed rates of high blood pressure and heart disease rose. Age was a factor in this.

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More details on what we found...

READING THE CHARTS

old housing



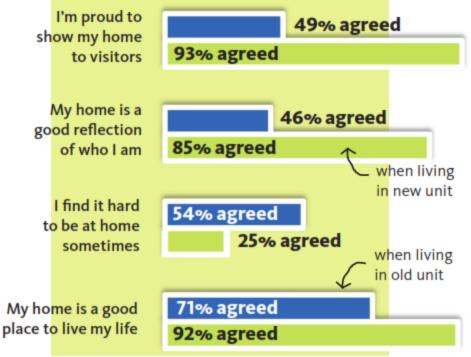
what participants said the first time they were interviewed, when they were living in their old unit in "old Regent Park"



new housing

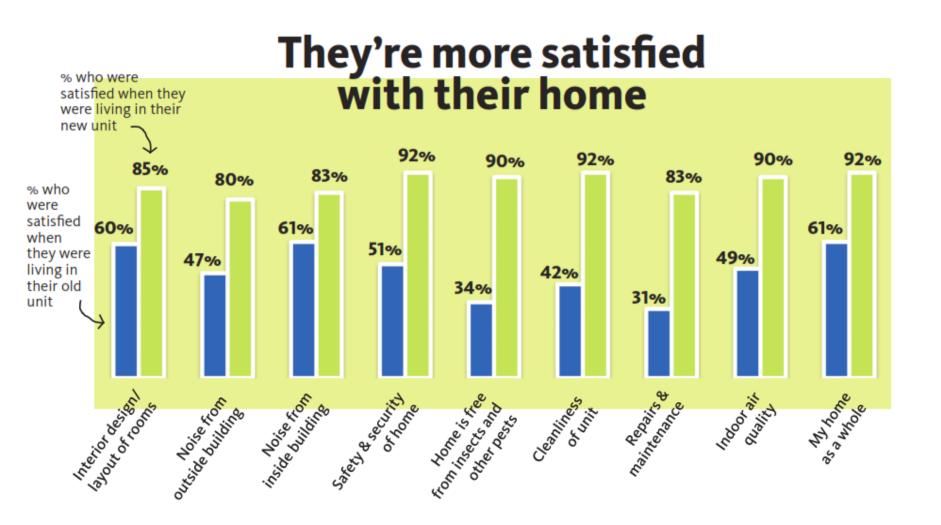
what participants said the second time they were interviewed, after they'd moved to a new unit inside or outside the Regent Park footprint

They feel better about their home





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They feel better about their neighbourhood

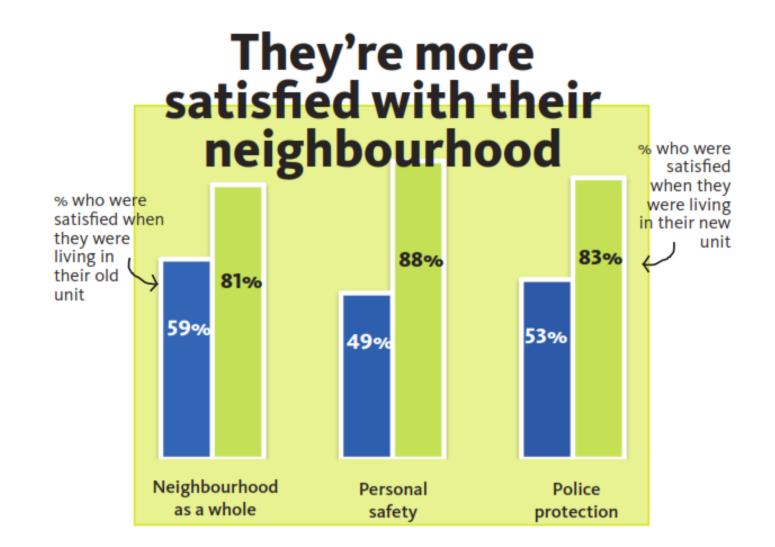
	I think my neighbourhood is a good place for me to live	69%	92%
⊳	I feel at home in this neighbourhood	71%	86%
⊳	It is very important to me to live in this neighbourhood	49%	771926
⊳	I expect to live in this neighbourhood for a long time	54%	79%
⊳	People generally get along	3493	58%
Þ	I have access to a grocery store in my neighbourhood	85%	97%

% who said "yes" when they were living in their old unit

% who said "yes" when they were living in their new unit









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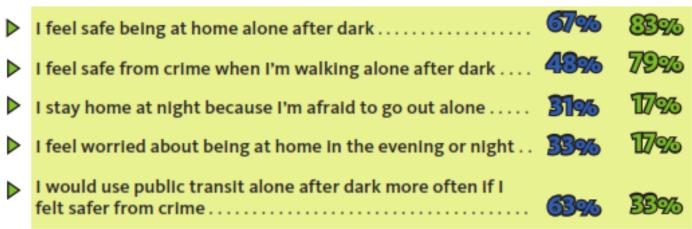
They feel safer in their neighbourhood

73% of the 59 participants said they felt "somewhat" or "very" safe in their neighbourhood when we first interviewed them, while they were living in their original unit in Regent Park.

of the 59 participants said they felt "somewhat" or "very" safe in their neighbourhood when we interviewed them a year after they'd moved into their new unit. % who said "yes" when living in "old

Regent Park"

Life after dark...



Property damage...

In the past 12 months, someone in my household had property deliberately damaged or destroyed



1497 34.97 Gang activity has a high impact on community safety 1993 \triangleright Drug activity has a high impact on community safety 47/96 Police treatment of youth has a high impact on 7/935 72:07 community safety Discrimination has a high impact on community safety 22296 893 \triangleright % who said "yes" after they moved into their new unit



7/97-

700

Summary of results

- <u>Significant positive changes in</u>:
 - How people felt about their homes
 - How people felt about their neighbourhoods
 - How people felt about their safety
- People also felt significantly less distressed
- No change in:
 - Feelings about neighbours, access to social support, opinions on the need for services in the neighbourhood and physical health;
 - Other aspects of peoples' mental health didn't change
- Some negative change in self-reported hypertension and heart disease



Interpreting the results

- Results are very similar to Phase 1 of the study
- Factors that are *directly* affected by relocation to revitalized housing showed positive, significant change
 - Dwelling satisfaction, neighbourhood satisfaction, perceptions of crime/safety
 - Health is shaped by many other factors
- Some new amenities already built while people in 'old' units; some still waiting to be built after people had moved to new units

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Does social mix 'work'?

- Lively debate in media reflects academic debate
- Basic arguments:
 - Size & importance of neighbourhood effects are exaggerated
 - Potency of social mix interventions to ameliorate problems of concentrated poverty are similarly exaggerated
 - Negative effects of socially-mixed redevelopment far outweigh positives
- Rejoinders:
 - Magnitude of effect is subjective assessment; status quo ok?

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- Limited outcomes of social mix considered to date
- Another subjective assessment, is inaction tenable?
- Need to consider: Mechanism + context = outcome



Social Mix: Definition & Impact

- Vague def'n, in practice means mixed tenure
 - Sounds inherently virtuous seldom questioned
- Research & policy literature says social mix =
 - Social capital & social networks
 - Social control
 - Culture & behaviour / role modelling
 - Political economy of place
 - Attitudes and experiences of social mix

• Evidence: very little of these things happens

- Little interaction of any kind b/w tenures
- Role modelling may happen b/w kids & adults
- Some negative consequences conflict, loss of St. Michael's

er affordable services



Mechanisms, Pathways and Patterns of Social Mix in Public Housing Redevelopment

- Numerous examples of `socially-mixed' public housing redevelopment
- Evidence of the impact of this is equivocal
 - People don't `mix' in any substantial way across class or tenure in studies that have carefully observed this
- But does this matter? Is the benchmark that people across class (and race) lines have BBQs?
- What should the benchmark be? Where and how does social mix take place? What are the appropriate outcomes?
 Master

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De-stigmatization: Application to Regent Park

 Adapting the concept directly focuses on 'everyday de-stigmatization practices and experiences of residents' (Lamont)

• We call this *personal de-stigmatization*

- Place de-stigmatization also a latent goal
 - Known as `normalization of the built environment'

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- Key concept appears to be porousness of boundaries – both social and spatial
 - Can this be achieved with co-location?
 - How important are spatial relations?



Implications for Research

- Three important implications for developing & evaluating complex interventions:
 - Can't read the elements of a successful intervention from the coefficients of a regression model
 - No *necessary* symmetry between causation & remediation
 - The remedy to a problem is not necessarily to simply reverse the causal pathway that created it

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- Need research approaches that allow us to detect unexpected outcomes
- Must be cautious about establishing benchmarks about what `works'
 - closes off important avenues of inquiry



Discussion

- Clear positive impacts of Regent Park redevelopment
 - Positive enough? Negative impacts? Implications?
 - Such findings hard to dismiss
 - Are there interventions that could have a greater impact? Probably, but not on political agenda
- 'Does social mix work?'
 - Complex question; research must reflect this
 - Mechanism + context = outcome: need this frame



Questions?

Report available online:

http://www.crunch.mcmaster.ca/projects/ regent-park-revitalization

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