# Safety net? The use of vouchers when a place-based rental subsidy ends

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# Overview of the project-based Section 8 program

- Created under the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974
- Subsidized private owners
- Over 1.2 million units were developed
- Over 115,000 households lived in properties that exited the stock prior to 2011
- Vouchers are offered as a tenant protection when the subsidy ends



## Motivation: the affordability problem

- The share of affordable private-market rental units has decreased, and rent burdens have increased (Schwartz et al. 2016; Joint Center for Housing Studies 2017)
- There is increased demand for subsidized housing, while the number of properties where owners will be eligible to end their existing subsidy contracts will increase going forward (Reina 2018)
- We know little about what happens to households who live in these properties



### Research questions

- 1. How many households use their voucher?
- 2. Do households who use their voucher move?
- 3. Do households who use the voucher move to lower poverty neighborhoods?
- 4. Do these outcomes vary based on household demand, market supply, or household demographic factors?



# Existing literature: subsidy expirations

- Properties are more likely to exit a subsidy program in areas with:
  - Increasing price appreciation
  - Rising rents
  - o Improving neighborhood characteristics

(Finkel et al. 2006; Reina and Begley 2014; Ray 2015; Reina and Lens 2016)



### Existing literature: voucher use

- Approximately 81 percent of households offered a voucher used it 1993 (Kennedy and Finkel 1996), 69 percent did in 2000 (Finkel and Burron 2001) and 62 percent did in 2001 (Shroder 2002)
- Voucher use varies based on:
  - Household demand
  - Market supply
  - Household demographics

(Popkin and Cunningham 1999; Finkel and Buron 2001; Shroder 2002; Galvez 2010)

### **Existing literature: voucher moves**

#### Households:

- Delay moves until they receive a voucher
- Move multiple times with their voucher
- Move to slightly lower poverty neighborhoods

(Newman and Schnare 1997; Devine et al. 2003; Jacob and Ludwig 2012; Eriksen and Ross 2013)



#### **Data**

 Constructed a national tenant-level database with proprietary HUD data from 1996-2010

 Combined the HUD data with American Community Survey data



#### **Models**

- •Dependent variables:
  - Odds of using a voucher
  - Odds of moving
  - Tract-level poverty rate
- •Independent variables:
  - Household demand
  - Market supply
  - Household demographics



# Results: How many households use their voucher?

- 48 percent use their voucher
- Those who do not use their voucher lose over \$400 per month in rental assistance, which is equivalent to 41 percent of their effective income
- Those households with the highest rents, lowest income, dependents, and a Black or Elderly head of household are associated with lower voucher use rates



# Results: Do households who use a voucher move?

- 56 percent of households who use their voucher move to another tract
- Of these households who move:
  - o 72 percent move once
  - 21 percent move twice
  - o 7 percent move three or more times

 Households with dependents, and those where the head was older than 62 or Black had higher odds of moving one or more times

# Results: Do voucher households move to lower poverty neighborhoods?

- The average poverty rate of a tract where a household lived when the contract ended was 26.8 percent
- On the whole households moved to lower poverty neighborhoods
- Controlling for moves, Black and Hispanic households were still associated with living in higher poverty tracts, while those with dependents were associated with living in slightly lower poverty tracts



### **Results: Summary**

- 52 percent of households do not use a voucher and on average lose 41 percent of their effective income
- 56 percent of households who use their voucher move
- Moving is associated with a lower tract-level poverty rate
- Those with the highest demand for a rental subsidy have lower odds of using it
- Households where the head is older than 62 are less likely to use a voucher and more likely to move multiple times
- Households where the head is Black are less likely to use a voucher, more likely to move multiple times and are associated with a higher tract-level poverty rate



#### Limitations

- We lose our counterfactual
  - What happens to those households who do not use their voucher?

- Other outcomes of interest
  - Education outcomes
  - Health impacts



### Policy recommendations

- Invest in data to better understand which properties are at risk of losing subsidies
- Develop networks that will:
  - Use these data
  - Ensure HUD regulations and fair housing laws are being followed
- Incorporate all the potential losses in calculating the amount of subsidy offered to preserve existing affordable units
- Account for demand, supply, and demographic factors when administering vouchers



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