1	U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
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3	HOUSING POLICY IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM
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5	Breakout Session: HOUSING VOUCHER POLICY
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9	Hilton Crystal City
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- 2 MR. LUBELL: I would like to say we're on
- 3 time. We're on time for the revised time, but
- 4 we're -- I guess an hour late and we have until 3:30
- 5 so we've lost 15 minutes and I'm going to ask the
- 6 speakers to cut back their remarks accordingly to
- 7 eight minutes apiece. This discipline will be
- 8 strictly enforced. We have a bouncer. He has a
- 9 water bottle and it's all very complicated.
- 10 My name is Jeff Lubell. I'm the director
- of the policy development division in HUD's office of
- 12 policy development and research. This panel has two
- 13 objectives. The first is to try to bring everyone up
- 14 to speed on some of the recent developments in
- 15 housing voucher policy, and the second is to take a
- 16 step back and look at some of the fundamental
- 17 questions. We don't get much of a chance to do that,
- 18 busy with day-to-day details, and this is a chance to
- 19 try to attain the benefit of your input on where we
- 20 are today and where do we need to go.
- In particular, I ask the panelists to
- 22 think about some of the fundamental questions such
- 23 as, in addition to simply providing affordable
- 24 housing, what are the primary purposes of the housing
- 25 voucher program? Why do we use that mechanism as

- 1 opposed to other mechanisms to subsidize the cost of
- 2 housing for low income families? This is a program
- 3 that is currently administered, well-positioned, well
- 4 designed to achieve those objectives.
- 5 Is the federal government playing the
- 6 right role? Do we have the right mix between
- 7 regulation and local discretion? What improvements
- 8 should be made in the voucher program to help it
- 9 achieve the goals of the voucher program and, more
- 10 broadly, on a topic you've heard a little bit about
- 11 already, what is the right mix between voucher demand
- 12 side and supply side solutions. And are we there
- 13 yet? Do we have to make some changes, and what do we
- 14 need to do?
- 15 So I'm going to very briefly start with a
- 16 very brief overview of some of the recent
- 17 developments in voucher policy, and then I'm going to
- 18 introduce our panelists and they're going to speak
- 19 further on these subjects.
- There have been a lot of changes actually
- 21 in the voucher program over the last few years. I'm
- 22 just going to outline three major developments. One
- 23 is merger, second is devolution and the third is
- 24 enhancement. On the merger front, we used to have
- 25 two programs, the housing certificate program in

- 1 which there was a fixed fair market rent that
- 2 governed the maximum rental costs, and a more
- 3 flexible voucher program where families could choose
- 4 to pay more of their income to rent more expensive
- 5 apartments. They have now been merged into a single
- 6 program.
- 7 That merger is ongoing as we speak and
- 8 should be completed by the end of this fiscal year,
- 9 this coming fiscal year. So that's a major change.
- 10 It simplifies the program. It also allows some
- 11 families to spend somewhat more of their income. The
- 12 maximum they can spend now is 40 percent of their
- 13 income for rent. So they can spend 10 percent of
- 14 their income for rent above the local payment
- 15 standard.
- 16 The second major point is devolution. The
- 17 federal preference categories that used to dictate
- 18 which families receive priority for the limited
- 19 supply of available vouchers and public housing, for
- 20 that matter, have been eliminated. They've been
- 21 replaced with a similar of local discretion where
- 22 local housing authorities have the option of setting
- 23 the various preference categories so long as they
- 24 comply with the overall income targeting requirements
- in the Section 8 program, the tenant based program.

- 1 It is a requirement to give vouchers to -- 75 percent
- of vouchers have to go to low income families. 75
- 3 percent of newly available vouchers to families with
- 4 incomes below 30 percent of the area median income.
- 5 That's a targeting level that's roughly comparable in
- 6 terms of income levels to the targeting that existed
- 7 prior, but how PHAs choose to get there is now their
- 8 business as opposed to following federal preferences.
- 9 There is also other ways in which there
- 10 has been devolution. For example, PHAs have greater
- 11 discretion to set the subsidy levels, what we call
- 12 the voucher payment standard. That determines the
- 13 actual subsidy. They now can set those between 90
- 14 and 110 percent of the fair market rent.
- The third is enhancement. Two weeks ago,
- or three weeks ago, HUD published the final rule that
- 17 would allow Section 8 vouchers to be used for home
- 18 ownership. This is a change that's been in the works
- 19 for many, many, many, many, many years but it's
- 20 finally a reality. It's been operating on a
- 21 demonstration basis for about a year. And now any
- 22 PHA that wishes to set up a Section 8 home ownership
- 23 program can do so. So I encourage you all to look at
- 24 that rule and think about how that affects housing
- 25 voucher policy going forward.

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1 HUD also recently adopted a policy that
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- 2 provided for increasing fair market rents in certain
- 3 targeted areas. The increase affects two particular
- 4 areas. There are two main prongs of the policy. One
- 5 is to promote deconcentration and mobility
- 6 objectives. Certain metropolitan areas have been
- 7 identified where there is both a high concentration
- 8 of voucher holders in a relatively small number of
- 9 census tracts, and also where the distribution of
- 10 affordable rental housing below the FMR appears to be
- 11 fairly constricted, so there is not a wide
- 12 distribution of affordable rental units. And those
- 13 areas are going to receive an FMR based on the 50th
- 14 percentile rather than the 40th percentile rent.
- The second is essentially a safety
- 16 mechanism to ensure that vouchers work everywhere.
- 17 Where fewer than 75 percent of households that get a
- 18 voucher are able to use it despite the PHA having
- 19 raised its payment standard to 110 percent of the
- 20 fair market rent, which is its maximum under the
- 21 discretion. In those circumstances, PHAs will be
- 22 able to obtain a payment standard that is based on
- 23 the 50th percentile rather than the 40th percentile
- 24 FMR. It's actually a slightly different mechanism.
- 25 It's a payment standard increase rather than an FMR

- 1 increase but the standard is the same. And that rule
- 2 was published on Monday. So again, a lot of new
- 3 things happening.
- 4 And finally, there are two things that
- 5 were included in the budget, and we won't know
- 6 whether it will happen or not, but they're also
- 7 enhancements. One is that the Administration
- 8 included \$50 million for a voucher success fund which
- 9 is to fund businesses that will help families use
- 10 their vouchers to obtain housing. The House bill
- 11 included a similar provision that would allow PHAs to
- 12 use unutilized funds to fund services. The Senate
- 13 bill did not have a comparable provision and it's not
- 14 clear what's going to happen to the final bill.
- But the upshot of that, in terms of
- 16 enhancement, is it is really an attempt to change the
- 17 paradigm from handing families a piece of paper to
- 18 handing them a home, helping them find a home. And
- 19 even if it's not funded, it's something that I think
- 20 will be increasingly on the agenda in the future as a
- 21 way to make the voucher program work better and more
- 22 acceptable.
- 23 Finally, there was a proposal in the
- 24 Administration's budget to fund 10,000 production
- 25 vouchers that would be used essentially to make the

- 1 marriage between tax credits and vouchers work
- 2 better. There would be vouchers that would be
- 3 assigned to specific tax credit developments that
- 4 would enable those developments to serve extremely
- 5 low income families. It would have the benefit of
- 6 allowing the families to move and keep their
- 7 assistance, but it would have the benefit of allowing
- 8 them to access some of the tax credit developments
- 9 that, until now, have not been able to reach
- 10 extremely low income families.
- 11 So the bottom line of this is we have a
- 12 simpler merged program that is enhanced, can be used
- 13 for home ownership, it can be used maybe as part of
- 14 production, maybe changing the paradigm a little bit
- 15 to make it have a services component as well, and
- 16 there is a lot of greater discretion at the local
- 17 level. So as you think about those major questions,
- 18 think about the way in which the voucher program has
- 19 changed and updated, and hopefully there will be a
- 20 chance to have questions, and also maybe some of the
- 21 panelists will speak about some of these developments
- 22 as well.
- 23 So now let me very, very briefly introduce
- 24 the panelists and I'm not going to do a long
- 25 introduction because you're familiar with most of

- 1 them, and because we don't have a lot of time but we
- 2 are pleased to have with us -- I'm going to be
- 3 introducing them in the order in which they will
- 4 speak. Cushing Dolbeare, who is listed as a
- 5 consultant, which is a wholly inadequate title to
- 6 describe her current line of work. And I'm sure
- 7 she's all well-known to you. A founder of the
- 8 National Low Income Housing Coalition, she's been at
- 9 various times the executive director of the National
- 10 Coalition for the Homeless, the National Rural
- 11 Housing Coalition, Meeting America's Housing Needs,
- 12 and many, many other organizations.
- 13 Barbara Sard will next speak. She's the
- 14 director of housing policy at the Center of Budget
- 15 and Policy Priorities. She's also been managing
- 16 attorney at greater Boston Legal Services and has
- 17 taught at Harvard Law School.
- 18 We'll next be hearing from Jens Ludwig who
- 19 is assistant professor of public policy at Georgetown
- 20 University and a research affiliate of the
- 21 Northwestern University, University of Chicago joint
- 22 Center for Poverty Research. Jens has been working a
- 23 lot and one of our cadre of scholars working on the
- 24 Moving to Opportunity program.
- 25 Edgar Olsen is professor of economics at

- 1 the University of Virginia, and he's working with the
- 2 GAO on a study of the cost-effectiveness of housing
- 3 programs so we're hoping to hear some of the benefit
- 4 of that analysis.
- 5 Our next speaker will be Shelia Crowley
- 6 who is currently the president of the National Low
- 7 Income Housing Coalition, but also has 25 years of
- 8 experience in community organizing and development.
- 9 She's the founding director of the YWCA Woman's
- 10 Advocacy program which is a shelter and service
- 11 program for battered women and their children in
- 12 Richmond, Virginia.
- 13 And finally, we'll be hearing from Rod
- 14 Solomon, who is Deputy Assistant Secretary for Policy
- 15 Program and Legislation in HUD's Office of Public and
- 16 Indian Housing.
- We were supposed to hear from Steve
- 18 Renahan. Steve unfortunately was ill so he was
- 19 unable to make it, and I am hoping that there are
- 20 representatives of housing authorities in the
- 21 audience who -- is there a representative of a
- 22 housing authority in the audience, anyone who works
- 23 for a housing authority or a Section 8 program? Or
- 24 some industry groups. Well, it will be great to have
- 25 your input at the end.

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1 So eight minutes each and I'll be letting
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- 2 you know when your time is up. So Cushing? Thank
- 3 you.
- 4 MS. DOLBEARE: I was realizing as I sat
- 5 here that it was back in 1966 when I was director of
- 6 the Philadelphia Housing Association, which was an
- 7 advocacy group, and we thought that the way to solve
- 8 the housing problem, at least in Philadelphia and
- 9 probably in the whole country, was to have an
- 10 entitlement to housing assistance, which is, in a
- 11 complicated way that I won't try to explain,
- 12 ultimately led -- had a hand, anyway, in leading to
- 13 the experimental housing allowance program and then
- 14 to something called section 23 and then to Section 8
- 15 and now what we call vouchers. So I have a long
- 16 history of advocacy and involvement in this.
- 17 What I wanted to do today was not so much
- 18 talk about the voucher program as to try to address
- 19 some of the big picture issues that are the -- as I
- 20 see it, the context of the voucher program. And
- 21 without intending to criticize the nuts and bolts
- 22 that other speakers are going to talk about about the
- 23 current voucher program, to suggest some
- 24 supplementary measures, which I think we need to
- 25 consider in order to really get the level of housing

- 1 assistance to the scale that it needs to be in in
- 2 this country if it's going to make an impact.
- 3 So I want to talk about what the extent of
- 4 the affordability problem is, the importance of
- 5 developing a constituency for addressing it and then
- 6 throw out some ideas for your consideration and
- 7 exploration. And they're ideas. They're not
- 8 proposals. But I would like to sort of sound you out
- 9 on them anyway.
- 10 Firstly, we need to think big and set the
- 11 context of the scale of the problem and then address
- 12 what can and should be done. And the major issue I
- 13 think is less the mechanics of the program and what
- 14 we do than creating the necessary political will to
- 15 really address the affordability problem at scale.
- 16 And this is going to take big bucks, not as much as
- 17 the cost of homeowner deductions but a substantial
- 18 portion of what homeowner deductions cost us if we
- 19 want to solve the problem.
- 20 And just to encourage us a little bit, in
- 21 1968, Congress passed housing legislation which
- 22 called for 600,000 additional subsidized units every
- 23 year until the problem was solved. If we had done
- 24 that every year since 1968, we would now have 20
- 25 million households living in federally assisted

- 1 housing, either project based or tenant based. The
- 2 last year of the Ford Administration produced more
- 3 than 500,000 additional units of subsidized housing,
- 4 mostly through the Section 8 program, which was then
- 5 in its early days.
- If we had maintained that level, we would
- 7 have 14 million households living in subsidized
- 8 housing now instead of fewer than 5 million. I think
- 9 what we need to do, though, is not focus so much on
- 10 how do we expand the voucher program as how do we get
- 11 the political will to get the support and to look
- 12 beyond the limits of HUD programs and tying rental
- 13 assistance to other kinds of housing needs and
- 14 opportunities, but that we need to think in terms of
- 15 dealing with housing affordability as a mainstream
- 16 problem.
- 17 The 1999 American Housing Survey found
- 18 that one third of this nation's households had a
- 19 significant housing problem. Almost half of all
- 20 renters households, 48 percent, and a quarter of
- 21 owner households. Now, that's the makings of a real
- 22 constituency by -- if we can figure out how to tap
- 23 it.
- 24 And I think one of the things we need to
- 25 do is start talking about the scale of the problem as

- 1 being one third of this nation's households, not 5
- 2 million worst case housing needs. Actually, the
- 3 worst case housing needs is misleading because of the
- 4 way it's limited. It covers only about 39 percent of
- 5 all the households that have those housing problems
- 6 of paying more than half their incomes for housing or
- 7 living in seriously substandard housing and only
- 8 about 16 percent of all households with housing
- 9 problems.
- 10 So worst case needs is a fraction of the
- 11 problem. We should stop talking about 5 million
- 12 households with worst case housing needs and talk
- 13 about 33 million households with significant housing
- 14 problems and I think then we can begin to get the
- 15 level of conversation up closer to where it needs to
- 16 be.
- 90 percent of those households have cost
- 18 burden problems, affordability problems. They're
- 19 concentrated at the bottom of the income scale and
- 20 I'm not going to go into that, although I would like
- 21 to if I had time, but what I want to suggest is that
- 22 we need to move beyond HUD. Just as war is too
- 23 important to be left to generals, housing is probably
- 24 too important to be left to housers. And given the
- 25 constraints of the federal budget process and the

- 1 nature of HUD's programs and the complexity of its
- 2 relationships with state and local governments and
- 3 private partners, it may be easier to address the
- 4 needs of the 30 million households with housing
- 5 affordability problems through one or more approaches
- 6 tied to mainstream programs.
- 7 Experience with welfare reform has given
- 8 us some important lessons. The first is that
- 9 millions of working Americans cannot, at least in the
- 10 short run, expect to earn enough to enable them to
- 11 attain decent housing without sacrificing other
- 12 necessities. I think there are three mainstream
- 13 federal programs that we ought to look at as a way of
- 14 dealing with the scale of the affordability problem.
- 15 And this is not intended to replace vouchers because,
- 16 as you'll hear, and know already, vouchers have
- 17 significant roles in the housing-related context.
- 18 But first of all, let's consider a measure
- 19 for working families. Now, expanding the earned
- 20 income tax credit by providing a housing add-on which
- 21 would cover the difference, let's say, between 50
- 22 percent of income and what they're actually paying
- 23 for housing. If they're getting the tax credit, if
- 24 they're paying more than half their income for
- 25 housing, I would love to say more than 30 percent but

1 let's begin with something that we might be able to

- 2 get.
- 3 Then let's provide a mechanism for adding
- 4 onto their earned income tax credit payable on a
- 5 monthly basis and probably requiring some sort of
- 6 creative administrative structure such as we created
- 7 when the low income housing tax credit was adopted so
- 8 it could be administered with sensitivity to local
- 9 conditions. But let's do that. That would take care
- 10 of working households.
- 11 For elderly households, let's make a
- 12 comparable add-on to SSI, which would do the same
- 13 thing. And for the other households, the nonelderly,
- 14 nonworking households, let's fix the food stamp
- 15 excess shelter deduction which has been in existence
- 16 for years. I think it's capped at something like
- 17 \$200 a month now so it's not enough to really deal
- 18 with the full measure of housing affordability, and
- 19 not all food stamp recipients are eligible for it,
- 20 but that's a mechanism for dealing with that other
- 21 group of households.
- That would put housing into the
- 23 mainstream. I think it would enable us to develop a
- 24 constituency for housing programs because I think one
- of the reasons that educators and employers and

- 1 health care people and others who all say, sure, we
- 2 know housing is important, we can't do our jobs, we
- 3 can't carry out our own functions if people don't
- 4 have secure housing situations, but they don't speak
- 5 up on the need for housing programs, and I think it's
- 6 because they don't understand them and they're
- 7 wondering if they'll say the wrong thing. And I
- 8 think that part of mainstreaming is getting to scale.
- 9 Part of mainstreaming is to provide some way of
- 10 developing a constituency where people are
- 11 comfortable articulating the need for expanding our
- 12 housing production.
- 13 And if I can find it here, I even have a
- 14 cost estimate. I calculated, just off the 1999
- 15 American housing survey, the affordable housing cost
- 16 gap. And that's the difference between 50 percent of
- income and what households were actually paying for
- 18 housing. Now, most of them were low income
- 19 households and I have in my paper -- I will have in
- 20 the paper in the second edition, I guess, an estimate
- 21 by income range. But the total gap, the difference
- 22 between 50 percent of income that people were paying,
- 23 including a few moderate and even higher income
- 24 households that are probably stretching to buy homes,
- 25 was \$81 billion per year. That's what it would cost

- 1 to provide a subsidy that would cover the difference
- 2 between 50 percent of income and what they would pay.
- Now, normally, you would figure that
- 4 probably fewer than half those households would
- 5 actually participate in the program even if it was
- 6 available so it would be about \$40 billion, let's
- 7 say, that would be required to really make an
- 8 enormous impact on the housing affordability problem.
- 9 And I suggest that that's something that can be done
- 10 this year. OMB and the Treasury estimate that the
- 11 cost of homeowner deductions is going to be \$100
- 12 billion to the Treasury.
- So if we added what HUD is now spending on
- 14 housing assistance and \$40 billion more, it would
- 15 still be a fraction of what upper income people get
- 16 through the tax system. And I would suggest that one
- of the things we need to think about, if we look at
- 18 housing problems in this new millennium, is how we
- 19 get from here to where we ought to be.
- 20 MR. LUBELL: Thank you, Cushing. Barbara
- 21 Sard will next speak.
- 22 MS. SARD: I always hate talking after
- 23 Cushing because I feel like I lack vision and I'm
- 24 stuck in the details. Let me just say that I think
- 25 this is absolutely not an either/or proposition, that

- 1 it would be wonderful to have a more broad-based
- 2 attack on housing affordability. There are two
- 3 things we should know, that even were we to get to
- 4 what may be this nirvana Cushing has put out as a
- 5 vision, are very significantly different from the
- 6 voucher program.
- 7 One is people would still be paying 50
- 8 percent of their income for rent rather than paying
- 9 30 to 40 and, two, there would be nothing about
- 10 housing quality standards. That may be good or bad,
- 11 and may be a future issue which I'm not really going
- 12 to address, but, because the voucher program does
- 13 require that people who use vouchers live in decent
- 14 quality housing, that's one of -- maybe one of its
- 15 benefits. It's also one of its problems to locate
- 16 that housing and pay for it.
- 17 Let me just try to -- this is going to be
- 18 very hard to do in eight minutes but I'm going to
- 19 try. Is the voucher program effective? I would say
- 20 substantially. I think lately the voucher program
- 21 has been getting a bad name because of price run-ups
- 22 in various neighborhoods given the economy. But the
- 23 fact is that even today nationally, a recent study of
- 24 a number of major cities showed that 80 percent of
- 25 the families given vouchers were able to use them to

- 1 rent housing. That's been pretty standard, actually
- 2 for many years now. And the overall percent of the
- 3 vouchers out there that get used, even if a couple of
- 4 families have to try before they succeed, from HUD's
- 5 data looks today like it's at about 85 percent.
- 6 And there are some PHAs that manage to use
- 7 100 percent of their funds even if a couple of
- 8 families have to try first. So is it working as well
- 9 as it could? No. Is it substantially effective?
- 10 Yes.
- I think what's also very important to
- 12 remember about the voucher program is that it is the
- 13 only housing program we have ever thought of that
- 14 grows and changes with family needs. Your family
- 15 grows in size, the voucher grows in amount and you
- 16 can take it to move to a new place. You can't do
- 17 that so easily with project-based programs. Even to
- 18 get a transfer can take years, if ever.
- 19 You get a job on the other side of town,
- 20 the voucher moves with you. I could go on and on,
- 21 but I think that this feature of vouchers is critical
- 22 to their value and is something that housers tend not
- 23 to think about enough. I'm going to leave it to
- 24 Edgar to talk about why I think it's a more cost
- 25 efficient program than project-based solutions. So

- 1 should the federal government expand the number of
- 2 vouchers? Absolutely, yes.
- 3 Whatever we do on the housing production
- 4 side, I would suggest that the best way to make sure
- 5 that some of that supply increase is available to
- 6 people with incomes under 30 percent of median is
- 7 through vouchers. We have to do some things to make
- 8 vouchers work in that context. But this morning,
- 9 whether diplomatically or whether she really believes
- 10 it, Cushing said in response to this question, should
- 11 the subsidy be attached to the building permanently
- 12 or not? And she said, well, it doesn't really
- 13 matter. I happen to think it really does matter. It
- 14 matters a lot that the family can use the voucher in
- 15 that building with security but also leave that
- 16 building and keep their voucher.
- 17 So what do we need to make the program
- 18 work better so more families can succeed, and so they
- 19 can succeed on the potential of the voucher program
- 20 to help them live in better neighborhoods. I would
- 21 suggest that mostly what we need is better
- 22 management. Now, that is really boring but I think
- 23 it's really true. We need some changes in HUD rules
- 24 but not a lot. We mostly need to run the program
- 25 better.

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1 In some places, we also need an increase
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- 2 in housing supply, but we better be careful that that
- 3 be an increase in supply that accepts vouchers or
- 4 we're adding here and leaving the problem unchanged.
- 5 We do not need more devolution. Indeed, I would
- 6 suggest that HUD has created problems that it didn't
- 7 need to by giving too much discretion to local
- 8 agencies over a program that is inherently designed
- 9 for mobility. And it's very difficult to move from
- 10 place to place with a subsidy when the rules of the
- 11 game change when you move.
- 12 You also, I think, do not need to make the
- 13 rules any more landlord friendly than they already
- 14 are. We've been through a series of so-called
- 15 reforms that were designed to make more owners accept
- 16 vouchers. I've heard anecdotes both ways about the
- 17 effect of those rule changes. No evidence that I
- 18 know of. And I think it's interesting that there are
- 19 no more rule changes pro-landlord that are even on
- 20 the table anymore in any big way, and I think that's
- 21 a good thing.
- 22 So what do I recommend? A lot of the
- 23 things that I think need to be improved about the
- 24 voucher program could be done by PHAs if they were to
- 25 do it, but that's not so likely to happen, which

- 1 leads to my recommendations. To improve the local
- 2 administration of the voucher program, HUD should
- 3 increase the amount of training and technical
- 4 assistance it does for PHAs and it should
- 5 publicize -- it should gather information about and
- 6 publicize the best practices. Now, it would also be
- 7 great if the best practice judgments were based on
- 8 some evaluation and assessment.
- 9 HUD has some new policies that I think are
- 10 very powerful sticks, but they're only going to
- 11 operate as sticks to improve local management if
- 12 people know about them. In the new formula for how
- 13 Section 8 funds are renewed, there is really a
- 14 provision that amounts to use it or lose it; that if
- 15 a PHA doesn't use enough of its money, it's going to
- 16 permanently get some of it taken away. There is
- 17 nothing that scares PHAs like that.
- On the other hand, when I've spoken to
- 19 groups of Section 8 administrators, 90 percent of
- 20 them don't know the rule exists. Well, that's not
- 21 going to be an effective stick as similar changes
- 22 could be done in the management assessment tool, but
- 23 fundamentally, nothing I've recommended so far is
- 24 going to make a big difference, and I think we really
- 25 have to confront the need to change the basic

- 1 delivery system for the voucher program.
- 2 To deliver a national income-like subsidy
- 3 for housing through 2,700 local agencies, an average
- 4 of more than 50 per state, in some metropolitan areas
- 5 more than 50 separate agencies, is absolutely
- 6 irrational. No one would ever have designed this
- 7 delivery system if you were to start from scratch
- 8 this way and I don't think that we will get big
- 9 improvement until we fundamentally change it.
- 10 For reasons I can't get into, I don't
- 11 think the answer necessarily is to go to state
- 12 administration, though I once did. If you had asked
- 13 me this question five years ago. I think we need to
- 14 consolidate and regionalize and to get there, I think
- 15 HUD needs to use every means at its disposal. I
- 16 tried to lay out some in the paper.
- 17 Beyond that, I think there are three key
- 18 areas where HUD could make policy changes that would
- 19 help. HUD has already made an important step, I
- 20 think, on the policy that Jeff mentioned in terms of
- 21 increasing the fair market rent in some areas and the
- 22 payment standard FMR relation in others, but it's
- 23 actually not going to amount to much in the way of
- 24 dollars. It's about a \$30 to \$70 increase even for
- 25 the areas that are going to benefit from it. There

- 1 are many areas of the country where costs are
- 2 escalating that genuinely need a larger increase in
- 3 their payment standards. It's important that HUD
- 4 simplify the process of getting exceptions on the
- 5 payment standards approved.
- I think we are likely to see some major
- 7 changes in the rules that govern how vouchers can be
- 8 project-based to support development efforts. I
- 9 won't go into that more because I think it's all
- 10 going to change, but I think that's another very
- 11 important area for growth. And I think we're missing
- 12 an extraordinary opportunity that the current federal
- 13 housing supply programs, tax credit homes, CDBG, now
- 14 all say you can't discriminate against voucher
- 15 holders, but there are no rules that implement those.
- 16 There is no enforcement and, fundamentally, the
- 17 requirement not to discriminate is not enough. We
- 18 need requirements to accept, not just not to
- 19 discriminate.
- 20 That leads into my third recommendation
- 21 of, HUD, in combination with the Department of
- 22 Justice, should be working to enforce the
- 23 antidiscrimination laws, because I think that would
- 24 make a huge -- potentially major impact on the
- 25 acceptance of vouchers if it were done right. I

- 1 think there is more potential there than I'm
- 2 convinced is real but we should try.
- 3 I was very struck yesterday in the home
- 4 ownership panel how there seems to be consensus that
- 5 discrimination in mortgage lending is just wrong. I
- 6 mean, we just all believe that. Yet somehow we think
- 7 it's okay for people to say, oh, I don't take
- 8 vouchers, even when we know that the sentence of, oh,
- 9 I don't take vouchers is mostly a proxy for
- 10 discrimination.
- 11 And finally, because my time is up, I just
- 12 want to reiterate the point Jeff made before. I
- 13 think that vouchers have to get coupled more than
- 14 they have been with services to help people actually
- 15 obtain housing and obtain better housing, and we have
- 16 to work at ways to do that.
- 17 MR. LUBELL: Thank you, Barbara. Our next
- 18 speaker will be Jens Ludwig.
- 19 MR. LUDWIG: Thanks, Jeff. After those
- 20 two presentations, my topic is going to be
- 21 embarrassingly small picture and detailed oriented.
- 22 What I'm going to do is spend a couple minutes
- 23 talking about two of the objectives that you might
- 24 want for housing policy. One would be to reduce
- 25 economic segregation; that is, increase access to low

- 1 poverty areas for low income families, and the second
- 2 is to improve the nonhousing outcomes of low income
- 3 families as if you believe that neighborhood
- 4 conditions have causal effects on the behaviors of
- 5 low income families. What can housing policy do to
- 6 improve those outcomes. And specifically what I'll do
- 7 is I'll talk about what we've learned so far from
- 8 HUD's Moving to Opportunity experiment about the
- 9 ability of housing vouchers to achieve both of these
- 10 objectives.
- 11 Let me start by providing you with just a
- 12 very quick overview of MTO. For those of you who
- don't know, MTO has been in operation since 1994 in
- 14 five cities, Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, L.A. and New
- 15 York. Eligibility is restricted to low income
- 16 families with kids living in public housing.
- 17 Families are randomly assigned to one of three
- 18 treatment groups.
- The experimental group gets the offer to
- 20 relocate with vouchers or certificates to private
- 21 market housing. If they move, they have to go to
- 22 census tracts with very low property rates, less than
- 23 10 percent, and then there is a counseling component
- 24 for the experimental group as well. Families can
- 25 also be assigned to Section 8 only comparison group.

- 1 They get a chance to move with vouchers or
- 2 certificates. Their relocation outcomes are not
- 3 constrained.
- 4 And finally, there is a control group that
- 5 gets no additional services under MTO.
- 6 One of the first interesting findings from
- 7 MTO is that relocation rates, in the Baltimore site
- 8 where I've been working, the relocation rate for
- 9 families assigned to the experimental group is just
- 10 over half. Not surprisingly for the Section 8, only
- 11 comparison group families that can move wherever they
- 12 like, the relocation is higher, on the order of 75
- 13 percent. And that general pattern -- those figures
- 14 vary across sites, but the general pattern is quite
- 15 consistent across the five MTO cities.
- 16 The other interesting thing about their
- 17 relocation outcomes in MTO is that Section 8 only
- 18 families who can go wherever they can find housing,
- 19 wherever they would like, wind up going. So what
- 20 this chart shows is this is a proportion of families
- 21 in a treatment group. The dark bar is family
- 22 assigned to the Section 8 only group. The lighter
- 23 bar is families assigned to the experimental group.
- 24 And on this axis, you have the neighborhood poverty
- 25 rate.

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1 And what you can see is these are the
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- 2 lowest poverty census tracts, less than 10 percent.
- 3 These are the census tracts that the experimental
- 4 families, if they move, are required to move into.
- 5 And what you can see is that only about one eighth of
- 6 Section 8 only families who relocate voluntarily go
- 7 to the lowest poverty census tracts. So at least at
- 8 the MTO --
- 9 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Jens, the top group
- 10 was the people who didn't move at all?
- 11 MR. LUDWIG: Yes, that's right. That's
- 12 right. And see, you can see the clustering of
- 13 families who don't move in the baseline very high
- 14 poverty areas. So see, this is a different way --
- 15 let me see if I can get this right. This is a map of
- 16 Baltimore and shows you exactly where the families
- 17 are. The green circles here show the control group
- 18 families. These are the baseline neighborhoods. The
- 19 blue squares here show the post-program locations of
- 20 the families assigned to the Section 8 only group.
- 21 And what you can see is they tend to be clustered
- 22 around the baseline neighborhoods and the red
- 23 triangles show the post-program locations of the
- 24 experimental groups. There is much greater
- 25 dispersion for the experimental group who have some

- 1 constraint imposed on where they move.
- 2 The big question for a lot of people has
- 3 been what are the effects on mobility treatment on
- 4 the outcomes of families. In Baltimore, we have
- 5 obtained arrest data from the Department of Juvenile
- 6 Justice and what you can see here, the dark bar is
- 7 the experimental group, the gray bar is the Section 8
- 8 only comparison group and the light bar is control.
- 9 And what you see is substantial reductions in the
- 10 violent crime arrest rate for kids in Section 8 only
- 11 and the experimental group compared to the controls.
- The change in the violent crime arrest
- 13 rate across treatment groups occurs
- 14 disproportionately among robberies, so these aren't
- 15 just changes in fist fights that wind up in an
- 16 arrest. These are serious crimes. On the other
- 17 hand, you do seem to see some increase in property
- 18 offenses for the experimental group. These are
- 19 disproportionately larceny offense, which involve no
- 20 contact between the perpetrator and the victims and
- 21 no chance of injury. So from a societal perspective,
- 22 I think we would be delighted to trade-off some
- 23 robberies for more larceny thefts, but there are
- 24 obviously distributional issues that are not
- 25 relevant.

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1 We're currently working on a paper right
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- 2 now that lists the effects in the Baltimore site on
- 3 key standardized test scores, and the results will be
- 4 striking to those of us who predicted that there
- 5 would be no effect on standardized test scores on
- 6 kids through the first four years. Same layout for
- 7 the treatment groups. And what you see is an
- 8 increase of about 25 percent in standardized reading
- 9 tests for kids age 5 to 12. What you would need to
- 10 spend in increased school spending to achieve
- 11 increased test scores like this would be absolutely
- 12 enormous. And only for the experimental group do you
- 13 see substantial improvements in math tests for kids
- 14 as well.
- 15 So these are big gains, and only four
- 16 years out. Within the first four years following
- 17 random assignment.
- 18 And finally, we've obtained welfare
- 19 records from the State of Maryland for household
- 20 heads in Baltimore and what you see is no
- 21 statistically significant difference in welfare
- 22 receipt rates between the Section 8 only comparison
- 23 group and the control group, but you do see a
- 24 difference of about 6 percentage points between the
- 25 experimental group and the control group, which is

1 equal to about 15 percent of the welfare receipt rate

- 2 among the controls.
- 3 So that's actually the general overview of
- 4 the findings and I think they raise some difficult
- 5 questions to think about for those of us interested
- 6 in having policy, including it seems to be the
- 7 general pattern that the experimental treatment which
- 8 steers families to lower poverty areas seems to have
- 9 a more substantial effect on families who actually go
- 10 and more substantial effect on average family
- 11 outcomes as well. So bigger benefit to steer
- 12 families to lower poverty areas but lots of other
- 13 both political and housing market difficulties.
- I think the second point that I want to
- 15 make is one of the things that we don't know yet,
- 16 which is obviously important for the overall
- 17 evaluation of MTO as a public policy or housing
- 18 vouchers as a public policy is, what are the effects
- 19 of the increased mobility MTO families on the
- 20 residence of destination neighborhoods. That's
- 21 something we haven't learned yet from the initial
- 22 round of the MTO evaluation but that's something that
- 23 the next round of the evaluation will be looking at.
- 24 And the third thing I want to do is close
- 25 by noting that the MTO program population is

- 1 self-selected population of public housing residence.
- 2 They volunteered for the program. And whether
- 3 these -- these results are absolutely enormous.
- 4 Whether these results generalize to the full
- 5 population of public housing residents in the country
- 6 we don't know and we need to look at more
- 7 representative populations in larger scale studies to
- 8 learn the answer to that question. Thank you.
- 9 MR. LUBELL: Our next speaker is Ed Olsen.
- 10 MR. OLSEN: Well, since my time is short,
- 11 I'll limit my remarks to three important questions in
- 12 housing policy related to vouchers. First, what
- 13 should be the primary goal of voucher policy and
- 14 housing policy generally; second, should we use a mix
- 15 of vouchers and production programs to deliver
- 16 housing subsidies; third, should money from the
- 17 tenant based voucher program be allocated to
- 18 particular projects. If I had more time, I would
- 19 have discussed whether fair market rents under
- 20 vouchers should be increased, but I'll leave that for
- 21 the general discussion.
- In my view, the primary goal of housing
- 23 assistance should be to ensure that all households
- live in adequate housing, no matter what definition
- 25 of adequate housing is used, which problem is most

1 severe for extremely low income households. Housing

- 2 programs can be and have been used to increase
- 3 consumption of other goods by low income households
- 4 by reducing their rent burden.
- 5 However, since we have other programs to
- 6 increase overall consumption of goods such as the
- 7 earned income tax credit, TANIF, supplemental
- 8 security income and increase the consumption of
- 9 specific other goods such as the food stamp program
- 10 and Medicaid, I feel this is a secondary goal of
- 11 housing programs.
- 12 Many argue that we should use a mix of
- 13 vouchers and production programs to deliver housing
- 14 subsidies to low income households. The systematic
- 15 evidence on the cost of providing equally desirable
- 16 housing under different programs lends no support to
- 17 this view. Five major studies have estimated both
- 18 the cost per unit and the mean market rent of units
- 19 provided by housing certificates and vouchers and
- 20 important production programs, public housing,
- 21 section 236 and Section 8 new construction.
- These studies are based on data from a
- 23 wide variety of housing markets and for projects
- 24 built in many different years. Three were
- 25 multimillion dollar studies conducted for HUD by

- 1 respected research firms during the Nixon, Ford,
- 2 Carter and Reagan administrations. They are
- 3 unanimous in finding that housing certificates and
- 4 vouchers provide equally desirable housing at a much
- 5 lower total cost than any project based assistance
- 6 that's been studied, even though all of these studies
- 7 are biased in favor of project based assistance to
- 8 some extent by the omission of certain indirect
- 9 costs.
- 10 The studies with the most detailed
- 11 information about the characteristics of the housing
- 12 provided by the programs found the largest excess
- 13 cost of production programs. One study estimated the
- 14 excessive cost of public housing compared to housing
- 15 vouchers for providing equally desirable housing to
- 16 be 64 percent and 91 percent in the two-city study
- 17 and the excessive costs of section 236 to be 35
- 18 percent and 75 percent in these two studies.
- 19 Another study estimated the excessive cost
- 20 of Section 8 new construction compared to Section 8
- 21 certificates to be 37 percent even when all indirect
- 22 costs of the Section 8 new construction program are
- 23 ignored. And these indirect costs are substantial.
- 24 They include the Ginnie Mae tandem plan intrasubsidy
- 25 for FHA insured projects and the foregone tax revenue

- 1 due to the tax exempt status of the interest on bonds
- 2 used to finance state housing finance agency
- 3 projects.
- 4 The consequence of using these costly
- 5 methods for delivering housing subsidies has been
- 6 that several million of the poorest households who
- 7 could have been provided with adequate housing at an
- 8 affordable rent with the money that Congress
- 9 appropriated for housing assistance have continued to
- 10 live in deplorable housing.
- 11 Although few units have been built under
- 12 HUD's construction programs in recent years, there
- 13 has been a tremendous resurgence in project based
- 14 assistance via the tax system, especially the low
- 15 income housing tax credit, federal block grants to
- 16 state and local governments and substantial
- 17 additional subsidies to public housing and privately
- 18 owned HUD projects in the form of project based
- 19 vouchers and operating and modernization subsidies.
- 20 We already spend enough money to provide
- 21 adequate housing to all poor households at reasonable
- 22 rents. The reason that so many households continue
- 23 to live in deplorable housing is that we spend such a
- 24 large fraction of this money on inefficient delivery
- 25 mechanisms. I see no advantages of project based

- 1 assistance to offset its costs and effectiveness.
- 2 And I agree with Barbara's analysis of the many
- 3 advantages of tenant based assistance.
- 4 And therefore, I don't think we should use
- 5 a mix of vouchers and construction programs. We
- 6 should move as rapidly as is feasible to replace all
- 7 project based assistance with vouchers.
- 8 Since these programs are completed, the
- 9 details of the operation of the older programs have
- 10 changed and additional construction programs have
- 11 been developed. Furthermore, the old studies were
- 12 not designed to answer a key question. That is one
- 13 we still argue about, but we can answer, and that
- 14 question is: Are there any market conditions under
- 15 which construction programs are more cost-effective
- 16 than vouchers, tenant based vouchers? This is surely
- 17 one of the most important unanswered questions
- 18 related to housing policy. Producing a definitive
- 19 answer to this question for all major types of
- 20 project based assistance currently in operation
- 21 should be at the very top of HUD's research agenda.
- I want to say a few words about project
- 23 based -- whether we should use money from the tenant
- 24 based voucher program for projects. I think the
- 25 answer to that ought to be obvious from what I've

- 1 just said but I want to amplify a little bit.
- 2 So what are the consequences of assigning
- 3 a voucher that could be used for tenant based
- 4 assistance to a particular project? To the best of
- 5 my knowledge, it doesn't increase at all the total
- 6 amount of money for housing assistance. It merely
- 7 decreases the number of households who receive
- 8 housing assistance. Instead of one eligible
- 9 household occupying an adequate unit in a private
- 10 market using the voucher and another one occupying an
- 11 adequate unit in a project, one household occupies a
- 12 unit in a project.
- This may enable a recipient to occupy
- 14 somewhat better housing than that household would
- 15 occupy under the tenant based voucher program, though
- 16 previous research indicates that even when they are
- 17 new, the market rents under construction programs are
- 18 not much higher than the market rents of units
- 19 occupied by households with tenant based vouchers.
- 20 Doing this may also provide additional
- 21 profits to developers. I have no interest in doing
- 22 that. When we have so many extremely poor people
- 23 living in deplorable housing, I don't think that
- 24 either of these justifies assigning vouchers to
- 25 particular projects.

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1 Some people argue for providing additional
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- 2 assistance to projects built under construction
- 3 programs in the form of project based vouchers to
- 4 prevent the loss of units from the stock of housing
- 5 permanently devoted to serving low income households.
- 6 Since the estimates mentioned earlier indicate that
- 7 all forms of project based assistance that have been
- 8 studied are cost ineffective, and since tenant based
- 9 vouchers have many other advantages, I don't think we
- 10 should attempt to prevent the loss of these units
- 11 from the permanently subsidized stock.
- 12 At the end of the use agreement, when the
- 13 owner comes to the end of a use agreement -- and this
- 14 wouldn't apply to public housing but to private
- 15 projects. When the owner comes to the end of a use
- 16 agreement, the owner is only going to agree to
- 17 continue in the program if the tenant rent plus all
- 18 of the direct and indirect subsidies is greater than
- 19 or equal to the market rent of the unit. Otherwise,
- 20 they will drop out of the program. Designing
- 21 subsidies to selected suppliers that ensures that the
- 22 subsidies plus tenant rent is just equal and exactly
- 23 equal to the market rent is utterly impossible. You
- 24 cannot design such a program. Any feasible program
- 25 will provide excessive subsidies and therefore be

- 1 cost ineffective.
- The background paper that we've got for
- 3 this session gives several arguments for raising fair
- 4 market rents under the voucher program. I would
- 5 argue for lowering, though not by the same percentage
- 6 everywhere. Under voucher programs, fair market
- 7 rents determine the maximum subsidy available to each
- 8 household. The higher the fair market rent, the
- 9 higher the maximum subsidy. At the fair market rents
- 10 that have prevailed in the past, there are many more
- 11 eligible households that wanted to receive vouchers
- 12 than could be served with the money appropriated.
- To the best of my knowledge, all housing
- 14 authorities have waiting lists and in many, perhaps
- 15 most areas, the waiting lists would be even longer if
- 16 they were not frequently closed. Among the majority
- 17 of eligible households that receive no housing
- 18 assistance are millions of households who live in
- 19 seriously inadequate housing and hundreds of
- 20 thousands of others who live on the street or in
- 21 shelters.
- 22 With a fixed budget, raising fair market
- 23 rents means providing better housing and better
- 24 neighborhoods for those lucky people who are able to
- 25 get vouchers at the expense of people who are

- 1 identical in every respect who are not able to get
- 2 the voucher. It's pouring more people into a smaller
- 3 number of people. I would rather have the money
- 4 spread more evenly among those people who really need
- 5 it.
- 6 MS. CROWLEY: I wonder if Jeff arranged
- 7 for me to follow Ed for some reason. My observation
- 8 about the discourse on low income housing, and then
- 9 ultimately what the policy is on low income housing,
- 10 is that we are fraught with false dichotomies and
- 11 that we spend a lot of time in debates about project
- 12 based versus tenant based, or public housing versus
- 13 assisted housing or vouchers versus production, or
- 14 home ownership versus rental and that people stake
- 15 out their positions on one side of the debate or the
- 16 other and become very fixed in those.
- 17 Although I have seen some people whose
- 18 decisions have switched over time, and switched back
- 19 too, but we tend to have this notion that there is a
- 20 very singular way of looking at things. And I think
- 21 that that's fairly unnecessary and counterproductive.
- 22 The sort of political environment demands that we
- 23 have a strategy de jour. This year it's production,
- last year it was preservation. It's whatever seems
- 25 to be the most salient in the political discourse.

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1 My view is that there is no single
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- 2 strategy and that if we -- at least if we start today
- 3 from where we are in our housing policy, then we have
- 4 to look at a multiprong strategy. And the idea is
- 5 basically to try to achieve some level of
- 6 homeostasis, some balance. And when we get out of
- 7 whack, we know that we have to then tinker with one
- 8 piece or the other. And of course we're not in any
- 9 state of homeostasis yet, and that's because we're
- 10 grossly underfunded, we're grossly underresourced.
- 11 But if we got to the level of resources, then how
- 12 could we achieve that.
- 13 The National Low Income Housing
- 14 Coalition's position is that we should be paying
- 15 attention to preservation and that is the
- 16 preservation of both existing public housing units
- 17 and project based units. We do not, in any way,
- 18 advocate maintaining lousy housing and people should
- 19 not be forced to live in housing that is unacceptable
- 20 or in places that they do not want to be. But we, on
- 21 the other hand, as the nation, we have made a
- 22 significant investment in this housing and without a
- 23 guarantee that we would replace all those units, if
- 24 we decided to not have those units today, we would be
- 25 in very serious trouble. So we think that we should

- 1 be proud of what we've done and that those buildings
- 2 should be respected as we respect other public
- 3 buildings.
- 4 Clearly we need new production. One more
- 5 thing about preservation, just as I was listening to
- 6 Ed's remarks. The other thing about preservation is
- 7 that these units are people's homes and they care a
- 8 lot about their homes and the work that we do with
- 9 residents tells us that, regardless of what the
- 10 policy is, this is where they live and this is where
- 11 they want to be and that we need to respect that.
- 12 The second issue is -- the second prong to
- 13 strategy is new production. There is a big new
- 14 production chat going on next door. We think that's
- 15 very exciting. In some form or another, subsidized
- or not subsidized, we have to continue to add to the
- 17 stock of housing if we want it to work.
- 18 The third is of course more vouchers and
- 19 better vouchers. There are lots of problems with
- 20 voucher utilization. There are good solutions to
- 21 fixing vouchers and we need to continue to do that.
- We also need to do continued -- continue
- 23 to work on income based solutions and Cushing has
- 24 outlined several that I think are really exciting, as
- 25 well as the other things that we can work on related

1 to income. And so in any given community, I think the

- 2 emphasis will be different based on what the
- 3 historical housing system has been, and then what
- 4 they see as their housing needs and what's going
- 5 forward. But I think, at the end of the day, we have
- 6 to recognize that in no community are there
- 7 sufficient resources to do anywhere near what needs
- 8 to be done, so people live in a constant state of
- 9 frustration. They're always sort of limping along,
- 10 feeling inadequate, feeling like they're just making
- 11 little, tiny, incremental steps.
- 12 So the question is not whether or not
- 13 vouchers are good or bad per se, or whether we should
- 14 prefer vouchers or not over some other kind of form
- 15 of housing assistance, but what's the right kind of
- 16 mix of vouchers, preservation and production for any
- 17 given community and how well informed are the local
- 18 officials about what their choices are and about what
- 19 the consequences of their choices are.
- 20 When I came to the National Low Income
- 21 Housing Coalition two years ago, my very first
- 22 meeting with our state coalition people, and these
- 23 are folks who are out doing housing work in all the
- 24 states, they were absolutely enraged over the
- 25 problems with voucher utilization. That was just

- 1 absolutely palpable that they had all sorts of
- 2 vouchering outgoing on and that they couldn't get
- 3 anywhere. People were stuck, vouchers weren't being
- 4 used. It was a major issue for these people who are
- 5 doing housing work at the local level.
- 6 So we said, okay, let's get a handle on
- 7 it. So we gathered up all the research that had been
- 8 done about vouchers and voucher utilization. We did
- 9 a major literature review on that, and we had a
- 10 couple of dialogues where we brought together experts
- 11 with varying perspectives. We did a little survey of
- 12 voucher administrators. I'll do an Anthony Downs but
- 13 I won't sell it to you. You can get this study on
- 14 our Web site. But I command it to you.
- What we found, no surprises, are that the
- 16 factors that inhibited voucher use are multiple.
- 17 There are lots of them, and that you cannot make any
- 18 blanket statement about what's inhibiting it in any
- 19 given community. So there is low vacancies, there is
- 20 inadequate stock, there is poor FMRs, there is
- 21 discrimination either against somebody because
- 22 they're poor, but because they're a voucher holder or
- 23 the proxy for race or disability. There is
- 24 objections to doing business with the PHAs. There
- 25 are no incentives to be in the program. There is the

- 1 administrative clumsiness of the nature of
- 2 portability. There are personal issues of tenants,
- 3 either skills or poor credit records. There are
- 4 things like that, lack of security deposit.
- 5 And then there is, as Barbara said, sort
- 6 of inept management that happens at the voucher
- 7 administrator level, PHA or otherwise. The most
- 8 notable one in my life is the Virginia Housing
- 9 Development Authority, which had a significant amount
- 10 of money taken back for failure to put the dollars
- 11 out there. It had nothing to do with whether or not
- 12 they were needed.
- So I think it's very difficult for us to
- 14 structure a national solution that will encompass
- 15 everything in order to improve voucher utilization.
- 16 I think we've got some good starts in increasing the
- 17 FMR and adding the services, the pieces in the C map,
- 18 the lose it or use it, long overdue, long overdue
- 19 policy. I think we clearly need a regional
- 20 administrative structure. The multiple jurisdiction
- 21 structure, as Barbara referenced, is very outdated.
- 22 A couple of pieces, though, that I want to
- 23 add to the mix in terms of solutions -- and I go back
- 24 to some research that I did earlier on implementation
- 25 of federal policy at the local level, specifically

- 1 looking at the consolidated plan and how it is that
- 2 local jurisdictions understood what they were to do
- 3 with the consolidated planning process. It was a
- 4 qualitative analysis. It was looking for meaning.
- 5 And one of the things that I came away
- 6 from that study with, and that has resonated through
- 7 all the discussion with vouchers and other housing
- 8 policy issues, is the lack of, in the context of
- 9 devolution, the lack of a countervailing force at the
- 10 local level. So that we can make all these rules in
- 11 Washington, develop all these policies, send them out
- 12 there and if nobody is paying attention to whether or
- 13 not they get enforced, it is a lot of waste of our
- 14 time.
- 15 And so I have this notion -- it's an idea,
- 16 it's not a proposal yet but a notion about, at the
- 17 local level, there is somebody whose primary motive
- 18 it is to make sure that housing resources get used to
- 19 their maximum advantage. Who knows how many vouchers
- 20 are supposed to be in that community? Who knows what
- 21 the utilization rate is? Who's tracking that? Along
- 22 with a variety of other kinds of things, I think
- 23 that's a very good use of HUD dollars. It should not
- 24 go through local government. It should be a direct
- 25 line to the advocacy community that you would create

- 1 the kind of relationships and tensions at the local
- 2 level to do that.
- 3 I am going to close by one more thing, and
- 4 this comes both out of our discussions about voucher
- 5 utilization and also my experience with the
- 6 consolidated plan, is that HUD has to be willing to
- 7 use the authority that it has and exercise that in
- 8 very strategic and important ways. And I think HUD
- 9 has many tools that are wasted for lack of the
- 10 political will to use them.
- 11 MR. LUBELL: Thank you, Shelia. And our
- 12 final speaker will be Rod Solomon and we've only got
- 13 about a half an hour for questions.
- 14 MR. SOLOMON: Thanks, Jeff. Since I'm a
- 15 replacement speaker for our housing authority guy
- 16 from Los Angeles, I'll first of all try to even yield
- 17 some time back to the industry representatives and,
- 18 second, mostly talk about implementation issues,
- 19 although Ed Olsen said a number of things where I
- 20 would like to take the bait, though. I'll make one
- 21 comment on one which is on the costs. It's hard to
- 22 tell in these short presentations how far we're going
- 23 or exactly what we're covering but at least in the
- 24 public housing -- ongoing public housing versus
- 25 vouchers, one of the things that we found is that it

- 1 varies enormously by city, region, type of
- 2 development and so on and I urge that we look a
- 3 little -- that the major generalizations -- really
- 4 there has to be more done on it than that.
- 5 -- program back in my earlier days and
- 6 some of this may be drawn from that. In terms of
- 7 implementation issues that I can see since the
- 8 program was overhauled by Congress in 1998, I think
- 9 that the increases in the fair market rents that are
- 10 proposed were and are absolutely essential, that you
- 11 can argue at what level rents the individuals ought
- 12 to be responsible, but in a number of markets, we
- 13 just weren't even getting -- either getting the lease
- 14 ups or being able to have a reasonable
- 15 deconcentration of the units that were able to come
- 16 into the program without that.
- 17 And I also think that, especially in
- 18 markets where there is substantial numbers of
- 19 vouchers going in where, for instance, public housing
- 20 demolition is taking place on a large scale and so
- 21 on, that something to improve the counseling and
- 22 support efforts of the families, either the
- 23 Administration's voucher success fund or something
- 24 just like it has just really got to be added in.
- 25 A couple of things about some of what

- 1 Barbara said, I think that the issue about the
- 2 markets and whether we're getting more units and so
- 3 on is very serious. As Barbara said, we took a
- 4 number of steps like eliminating the so-called take
- 5 one, take all rule that landlords said constrained
- 6 them, eliminating extra notices and so on to try to
- 7 encourage increased landlord participation. I agree
- 8 that it's really not clear whether it's happening.
- 9 And actually, already more proposals in Congress to
- 10 do more of that. We ought to try to get a handle on
- 11 what's happened already.
- 12 I want to emphasize the importance of the
- 13 business issues. It's the antithesis of what Cushing
- 14 was doing. It's the nuts and bolts of, you know, you
- 15 can talk about how many people we're reaching and all
- 16 of that, but whether what we've even got is going to
- 17 work ends up relying greatly on things like how fast
- 18 do the landlords get paid, how promptly can the
- 19 inspections get made when a unit comes up.
- 20 Particularly in the larger cities, in the more recent
- 21 years, can the housing authority respond to
- 22 complaints about what's alleged to be criminal
- 23 activity in the voucher units, whether it really is
- 24 or whether it isn't. Are they doing outreach to the
- 25 landlords to try to get more in? All those nuts and

- 1 bolts things.
- 2 To an extent, HUD can help drive that
- 3 through its management assessment program. Even
- 4 though our management assessment program is just
- 5 starting up, I think in some ways it doesn't do that
- 6 and we're going to have to make some more changes to
- 7 try to make some of those things happen.
- 8 The voucher program has become -- other
- 9 than the home ownership deduction for all of us
- 10 homeowners -- the largest housing subsidy program I
- 11 believe that we have now. So we've really got to
- 12 take the kinds of steps that folks are talking about
- 13 to make this thing work. Thanks, Jeff.
- 14 MR. LUBELL: Thank you, Rod. And I'm now
- 15 going to open the floor up. I know a lot of the
- 16 panelists would probably like to address each other's
- 17 issues, but I would like to get some input from the
- 18 panel and I actually first want to offer an
- 19 opportunity to any PHA directors or representatives
- 20 if they have any comments.
- 21 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: I run a Section 8
- 22 program myself. We are, as you know, the
- 23 intermediaries. CLAP is a group that represents
- 24 about 60 of the largest public housing authorities,
- 25 and collectively they do administer a significant

- 1 portion of the tenant based Section 8 vouchers. And
- 2 everything has been very interesting. Really, we
- 3 have had the same experience and our surveys of our
- 4 memberships on the Section 8 utilization issue really
- 5 reflects a lot of what Shelia has said. It's a very
- 6 complicated issue.
- 7 And the reality is that -- the fact that
- 8 it's so complicated is really not reflected well. In
- 9 the appropriations process, every year, when this
- 10 issue surfaces, there is a lot of hullabaloo about
- 11 the utilization rate and access money and fund
- 12 recaptures and poor management on the part of housing
- 13 authorities. HUD doesn't do much to sort of dispel
- 14 or sort of clarify those issues. In fact, this year,
- during the appropriations process, one of the things
- 16 that surfaced was a list of the worst culprit housing
- 17 authorities, the idea being that there were just a
- 18 few large housing authorities that accounted for the
- 19 bulk of recaptures.
- 20 Well, I think that, in fact, what the
- 21 numbers reflect is simply that the large housing
- 22 authorities, even if they're utilizing 98 percent of
- 23 their vouchers, 2 percent of a very large program
- 24 accounts for a very large pot of money. And it's
- 25 not -- you know, so that sort of -- it also doesn't

- 1 help to clarify the situation for the Congressional
- 2 appropriators.
- 3 There are a lot of issues -- our survey
- 4 has shown, just like Shelia said, that there are a
- 5 lot of factors and it's going to require a lot of
- 6 tools. Our members also really do -- I mean, as
- 7 Barbara said, there is a real serious disconnect
- 8 between the rules and the regulations and the
- 9 incredible amount -- and it's new in the program with
- 10 the mergers and the flexibilities and the devolution.
- 11 There is a real disconnect between that here in
- 12 Washington and at the local level, and our members
- 13 are all saying that they want training. They want
- 14 technical assistance. So I do really think that
- 15 that's a big part of it. And I think the industry
- 16 groups need to be more involved, and I think the PHAs
- 17 need to do a better job but these are -- I think
- 18 these are good lessons.
- 19 MR. LUBELL: Thank you. I just want to
- 20 call people's attention to -- there is a background
- 21 paper in the booklet that actually outlines a lot of
- 22 the changes that have been made over the last few
- 23 years in an effort to improve both success and
- 24 utilization rates and a lot of them are kind of small
- 25 so I'm not going to go through them all now. I mean,

- 1 small in terms of technical, but I think they will
- 2 make a big impact and I agree completely that housing
- 3 agencies are undergoing a lot of changes right now,
- 4 and they need a lot of help and a lot of technical
- 5 assistance and I think HUD can do a better job in
- 6 trying to do training and to make sure that you have
- 7 the tools you need.
- 8 I don't know, Denise, do you want to say
- 9 anything on behalf of the housing authorities?
- 10 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: It's hard to sit
- 11 here and be quiet. I think I sat next to you at
- 12 lunch yesterday. If I had known what you were going
- 13 to say, I might have spilled some iced tea on you.
- 14 But I have to take exception to your theory about it
- 15 being more economical to use tenant based systems and
- 16 you're talking about preserving the project based
- 17 programs. Well, of course landlords are not going to
- 18 stay in the program if they can't get the market
- 19 rent. That's the whole idea behind the Section 8
- 20 programs.
- 21 And as Shelia pointed out, these are
- 22 people's homes. They've lived there maybe 20 years
- or more, and to say to them, we're sorry, we're going
- 24 to voucher out this unit and give you this little
- 25 voucher and you might have to move 20 miles away

- 1 because that's the closest neighborhood where a
- 2 landlord will rent to you is not, I don't think, good
- 3 housing policy.
- 4 MR. LUBELL: I think a smooth transition.
- 5 I'm not talking about -- under the Section 8 program,
- 6 they have things called sticky vouchers that you can
- 7 either stay in place and get something or you can
- 8 move and you have the option.
- 9 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: And that's fine but
- 10 ultimately the stock goes away.
- 11 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: No, it doesn't
- 12 actually.
- 13 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Yes, it does go
- 14 away. Once that family moves from that unit with
- 15 that voucher, then if another enhanced voucher order
- 16 comes to that building, it's a regular subsidy
- 17 voucher. It's not enhanced anymore. So the stock
- 18 goes away from those people that were in there
- 19 previously. There is still physical stock there but
- 20 it's not affordable to the same people. So
- 21 preservation is a big concern and it's clearly
- 22 cheaper to preserve those units that were built 20
- 23 years ago and are in excellent condition than to
- 24 build new.
- 25 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Do you have any

- 1 evidence on that? Any empirical evidence?
- 2 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: I think we can find
- 3 some. But I also agree with what CLAP is saying,
- 4 because clearly our housing authority members strive
- 5 to operate significant voucher programs in compliance
- 6 with the rules, but the rules are complicated and
- 7 every year their fees have been cut. The same
- 8 appropriators that complain that PHAs don't know what
- 9 they're doing in operating the program are the same
- 10 people who took away the preliminary fee that helps
- 11 to counsel the tenants on where the units are and how
- 12 to move there.
- So people talk out of both sides of their
- 14 mouth, and I think while there are some housing
- 15 authorities that probably can use some training or
- 16 maybe should lose their voucher assistance and it
- 17 should go to somewhere else, I think the majority of
- 18 PHAs, and by the way, of the 3,300 public housing
- 19 authorities, there are about 1,300 that don't have
- 20 public housing. They just administer the Section 8
- 21 program. I don't think that's a well-known fact, but
- 22 I'll shut up.
- 23 MR. LUBELL: Thank you, Denise. And I
- 24 would like to hear from this gentleman here and then
- 25 Ted Van Dyke from PHADA and then Chris. That will be

- 1 the order. Please go ahead.
- 2 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Two brief comments.
- 3 The first is, I think in a lot of ways the most
- 4 interesting thing going forward is to learn more
- 5 about the issues that have been raised about
- 6 utilization, and I'm eager to download this study
- 7 that Shelia Crowley referred to because I think we
- 8 need to --
- 9 MS. CROWLEY: We'll even sell it to you
- 10 too.
- 11 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: But secondly, on
- 12 this issue, I think we began to talk as if this is
- 13 some ideological thing of vouchers versus supply side
- 14 programs. And I don't think it is unless
- 15 cost-effectiveness is viewed as an idealogy and
- 16 unless you view being able to help more people with a
- 17 fixed budget, and unfortunately we live in a world of
- 18 fixed budgets, as an ideological point of view.
- 19 Yesterday as well as today I've heard a
- 20 number of people say we need to preserve a mix of
- 21 housing programs but not really able to articulate
- 22 exactly why that is other than we currently have a
- 23 mix. And going forward -- I mean, I would agree -- I
- 24 think this is what Ed is saying and I would agree
- 25 that -- I'm not saying turn down a public housing

- 1 unit, throw people out of every supply side unit we
- 2 have but going forward, I think vouchers and demand
- 3 side programs are the way to go, not because I have
- 4 an ideological ax to grind, but because every study
- 5 that has been done, as Ed says, that has looked at
- 6 the costs and benefits of providing housing
- 7 assistance says that for a given dollar of
- 8 expenditure, you can help more people or help a given
- 9 individual more with a voucher or some other demand
- 10 side subsidy than a supply side subsidy.
- 11 And when I see credible evidence that
- 12 there are conditions under which that's not so, then
- 13 I'm wrong and I change my mind.
- MR. LUBELL: Thank you. Ted?
- MR. VAN DYKE: I just wanted to make a
- 16 couple of comments. One is, as was mentioned earlier
- 17 today, the public housing authorities are the
- 18 organizations that are providing the affordable
- 19 housing to the really lowest, poorest people in the
- 20 country, and they're the only players out there so
- 21 you have to be very careful. There is a symbiosis
- 22 for more housing authorities between the Section 8
- 23 and the low income public housing program, and to do
- 24 something like hold a Section 8 program away from the
- 25 public housing authorities would do irremediable harm

1 to them and would affect the whole delivery system of

- 2 affordable housing.
- 3 Secondly, on that voucher utilization,
- 4 it's a difficult program to run a Section 8. It's
- 5 not something where you actually have X number of
- 6 units that you've got to fill. It's this thing where
- 7 you pass out these certificates and some people can
- 8 find people, some people can't find them. It
- 9 fluctuates over time, and the natural reaction is to
- 10 be somewhat conservative. You don't want to issue
- 11 more certificates than you can actually house people,
- 12 so you have to be very careful and if difficulties
- 13 emerge, then your utilization rate drops.
- 14 So it's a tricky program to run from that
- 15 perspective as well.
- 16 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Let me add one
- 17 thing. And this is something we would love to work
- 18 more with the industry groups to get the word out but
- 19 there are two things -- a couple of things that
- 20 should be helping housing authorities deal with that
- 21 particular problem. One is that the MTCS system, the
- 22 tenant reporting system, is now going to report
- 23 voucher issuances as well as voucher lease-ups. That
- 24 will enable you to accurately record your success
- 25 rate so you will know how many vouchers you need to

- 1 issue at any given time in order to fully utilize
- 2 your funds. So it's very important that people start
- 3 following that and start using that system because I
- 4 think it will be very helpful.
- 5 Second, as you'll see in the background
- 6 paper, is there are some new protections for
- 7 overexpenditure of funds. If you inadvertently
- 8 expend some of your firms, you can tap your reserve
- 9 funds so you don't need to be quite as cautious as
- 10 you did in the past about shooting for the 100
- 11 percent utilization factor.
- 12 So part of the answer to this expenditure
- 13 of fund things are these somewhat technical kinds of
- 14 things that are described in the background paper and
- 15 that may or may not be well-known out in the field.
- 16 And part of I think our challenge is to provide that
- 17 assistance and get the word out.
- 18 Ed, I'm going to give you 30 seconds to
- 19 respond.
- 20 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: That's fine. This
- 21 is just a suggestion. I think this reserve fund is a
- 22 very good idea. Just give the authorities enough of
- 23 a reserve so they can overcommit. It's just like
- 24 college admissions offices do. They want so many
- 25 people, they know that they're not going to get

- 1 everyone so that they can pretty much keep all of
- 2 your vouchers in use and get as much money as you can
- 3 for the vouchers allocated.
- 4 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: And the reserve
- 5 idea is a very good idea. It needs to be a little
- 6 bit larger to make this go.
- 7 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: -- hold back the
- 8 reserves.
- 9 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Well, they're down
- 10 to two months. You have two months.
- 11 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: We'll have to see
- 12 how the authorities get reimbursed, I think.
- MR. LUBELL: Thank you. Chris.
- 14 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: I have a sort of
- 15 basic question. I've heard around the country that
- 16 individual communities like cities and counties could
- 17 decide not to accept Section 8 vouchers. All they
- 18 have to do is pass a resolution and then HUD backs
- 19 out of that community.
- 20 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: They can decide not
- 21 to administer the loan, but they cannot, as far as I
- 22 know, decide not to allow people to live with
- 23 vouchers in that community.
- 24 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: The law says that
- 25 if there is no housing authority that is able and

- 1 willing to administer the program, then HUD would
- 2 administer the program, which, in practice, we would
- 3 do it through a contractor. In reality, I can't
- 4 think of a place where we're having to do that except
- 5 where a well-known agency is not unwilling to, but
- 6 unable, to administer.
- 7 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Chris, are you
- 8 asking about people -- actually like a zoning law
- 9 saying no Section 8s can live there? Because I've
- 10 never heard of such a thing.
- 11 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: I don't have a
- 12 legal authority on rules but numerous cities in the
- 13 metropolitan Atlanta area have passed city council
- 14 resolutions saying that they will not accept Section
- 15 8 housing.
- 16 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Who will not accept
- 17 Section 8 housing?
- 18 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: City of Conyers.
- 19 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: No, I'm sorry. No
- 20 private landlord can accept a Section 8 voucher in
- 21 that city?
- 22 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: That's what I'm not
- 23 clear about and I thought maybe somebody here would
- 24 have the answer to that.
- 25 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: In the state of

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1 Georgia, there are astonishingly few local housing
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- 2 agencies. It's almost all administered by the state.
- 3 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: So they can tell
- 4 the state they don't want them?
- 5 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: No.
- 6 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: If you find out
- 7 more about that, you should let us know because that
- 8 sounds like an anomaly.
- 9 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: I have something to
- 10 add. I live in the city of Fredericksburg, Virginia,
- 11 which has Section 8 vouchers administered by the
- 12 Department of Social Services and is in the throes of
- 13 a bunch of opt-outs at this point, which means that
- 14 there is going to be a whole bunch of people whose
- 15 housing was project based and, therefore, not -- the
- 16 local department of social services had nothing to do
- 17 with it. Well, now they're going to be getting
- 18 vouchers and it means that the voucher management
- 19 system in the department of social services is going
- 20 to be sorely taxed because they're going to have a
- 21 whole bunch more vouchers to administer. And in that
- 22 case, the city government so far has said we're not
- 23 going to administer any more vouchers. We won't do
- 24 it.
- 25 And so, although they're getting

- 1 persuaded, and the ministers are talking to them and
- 2 all that, butted in that case, it would fall back to
- 3 the Virginia housing development authority. But it
- 4 has to do with not accepting new vouchers. It has to
- 5 do with the transfer of the management of the subsidy
- 6 from HUD and its relationship with the project based
- 7 owners to the vouchering out and then needing
- 8 somebody at the local level to manage the new
- 9 vouchers.
- 10 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: What about the
- 11 project based? If a private person wants to build an
- 12 apartment building and have a certain number of
- 13 Section 8, is there not a review process where the
- 14 community has to vote to accept the Section 8
- 15 physical units before HUD supports these vouchers in
- 16 that area?
- 17 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Well, we haven't
- 18 had much new project basing in so long that it's --
- 19 or, yeah, a few Section 8 project based certificates.
- 20 The only thing I can think of like this is we have
- 21 had a few communities across the nation who have
- 22 said, for various reasons, I don't want to run the
- 23 voucher program. In instances I can think of, it was
- 24 anymore. And in those instances, HUD has to
- 25 either -- has to find someone to run them with

- 1 respect to the individual vouchers. And this has
- 2 already been said. I don't think they can -- I'm not
- 3 aware of ordinances trying to say that vouchers can't
- 4 be used somewhere.
- 5 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Actually, you raise
- 6 an interesting point about the difference between
- 7 vouchers and production in that sense because I think
- 8 what you might be referring to is 213(d). And if you
- 9 want -- and the local government does have to accept
- 10 a production program.
- 11 MR. LUBELL: Barbara?
- 12 MS. SARD: I'm not sure this is helpful,
- 13 but one thing I wanted to add, because it's been a
- 14 real issue in Massachusetts, which may get at part of
- 15 this kind of issue, is when there are new vouchers
- 16 out there for which housing agencies can apply. One
- 17 issue that importantly affects the people in that
- 18 community is, does their agency seek those new
- 19 vouchers. And there are many cases where there is a
- 20 political decision made frequently when the housing
- 21 agency is either technically part of local government
- 22 or the local government still controls the appointees
- 23 to the housing agency, there is a conscious political
- 24 decision made that we don't want any more of these.
- 25 And that's a local decision about which HUD can do

- 1 nothing in its current structure.
- 2 And I would suggest indeed that's one more
- 3 reason why you shouldn't have so many local agencies,
- 4 because if you had an agency that operated on a
- 5 regional basis, the people of that particular town
- 6 would not get injured by that kind of decision.
- 7 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: I want to follow up
- 8 on that. In Atlanta, years ago the housing authority
- 9 was formed. The state law said that authority could
- 10 operate anywhere in the metropolitan area unless
- 11 other PHAs came into existence. And so everybody did
- 12 their own PHA, happened to not have any units or any
- 13 vouchers, as far as I know, simply to keep PHAs out
- 14 of there. Is that legal, that PHAs be formed and not
- 15 do any work?
- 16 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Sounds like a
- 17 guestion of state law and it sounds like the answer
- 18 is yes.
- 19 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Except that it
- 20 probably violates fair housing law and could be
- 21 effectively challenged.
- 22 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Should refer that
- 23 to FHE&O.
- MR. LUBELL: I want to ask a question,
- 25 which is is anyone here involved in any of the dozen

- 1 or so Section 8 home ownership demonstration sites?
- 2 There have been about a dozen Section 8 home
- 3 ownership sites that have been experimenting with the
- 4 use of Section 8 vouchers for home ownership and I
- 5 was just wondering if anyone had experience?
- 6 Well, I'm going to open it up. We have
- 7 about 10 more minutes for questions. Go ahead.
- 8 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: How long is the
- 9 guarantee? Is it part work and affordable?
- 10 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: In the final rule,
- 11 the voucher on a mortgage of 20 years or more, the
- 12 guarantee will extend for 15 years. That's more than
- 13 the proposed rule. The proposed rule had been for 10
- 14 years. And in a mortgage that's less than 10 years,
- 15 the guarantee is 10 years. These are standardized
- 16 times so they're not going to vary from place to
- 17 place. And as for portability, Rod, do you want to
- 18 answer that question?
- 19 MR. SOLOMON: Yes. The program is
- 20 portable where the jurisdiction that the person wants
- 21 to live has a home ownership program. If they don't,
- 22 then it isn't. On that rule, since we just put it
- 23 out, of course now the question is, okay, how broadly
- 24 is this going to be used and is it -- how useful is
- 25 it and so on. I think the GSEs always, to some

- 1 extent, can push it along or not.
- 2 One of the things -- the biggest issue
- 3 that we had in discussions about the final rule -- we
- 4 may find other things that we didn't think enough
- 5 about, but HUD felt that you needed a -- that at
- 6 least in the early years, if there was going to be a
- 7 resale, you needed a subsidy recapture. The way it
- 8 works, it phases down over 10 years. And also the
- 9 way it works is if a homeowner reinvests in more
- 10 housing in another home or in improvements for their
- 11 own home, there is no recapture. So it should be --
- 12 it shouldn't get in the way but the question is going
- 13 to be, people need to understand it and figure out
- 14 how it works and all of that.
- 15 And at least in our preliminary
- 16 conversations, that's been something where there are
- 17 many, many programs across the United States that do
- 18 that kind of thing. It shouldn't be a problem, but
- 19 that will be one of the things we're watching as this
- 20 program starts to be implemented around the country.
- 21 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: So when is there
- 22 recapture?
- 23 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: The way it works is
- 24 there is a recapture if you were -- if the homeowner
- 25 sold or refinanced in the first 10 years and didn't

- 1 buy another home, didn't reinvest.
- 2 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Or skims the
- 3 equity.
- 4 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Basically.
- 5 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: But let's say
- 6 you've got a home equity loan, you can skim from
- 7 that.
- 8 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: I wouldn't
- 9 characterize it, no, but the recapture would be if
- 10 it's not going back into housing one way or the
- 11 other.
- 12 MR. LUBELL: Okay, thanks. One of the
- 13 interesting questions in that program, for those of
- 14 you who don't know, essentially says that where the
- ongoing costs of purchasing of home are less than or
- 16 equal to the cost of renting, then if you get a
- 17 mortgage, you can use a voucher to buy a home. So it
- 18 doesn't provide any funds for down payment. So
- 19 that's one of the issues.
- 20 And also, these families are obviously
- 21 very low income or extremely low income families, and
- 22 there are going to be some concerns about the extent
- 23 to which they can sustain changes in income and
- 24 changes in repair costs, and part of the challenge of
- 25 this program is going to be able to make sure that we

- 1 provide the supports that are necessary to make the
- 2 program work. But I'm very excited about it even as
- 3 I'm sort of, I have to say, a little scared.
- 4 Any family with a voucher who has income
- 5 in excess of the minimum wage full time income is
- 6 eligible to participate. There is no upper income
- 7 limit other than the Section 8 limits. Up to 80
- 8 percent is the limit on who you can give a voucher
- 9 to, although at least 75 percent of vouchers have to
- 10 go to below people 30 percent of area median. The
- 11 limit on when you lose your voucher is different.
- 12 The limit on when you lose your voucher is when 30
- 13 percent of your adjusted income is greater than the
- 14 subsidy and stays that way for six months.
- 15 You could potentially lose your subsidy,
- 16 but at that point, you would have ability to pay.
- 17 Those are also not included within the subsidy. So
- 18 part of the challenge here in making this program
- 19 work is to ensure that there are -- I mean, you have
- 20 CDBG funds, and you have potentially TANIF funds and
- 21 you have home funds, other sorts of locally
- 22 controlled funds. There is a provision in HR 1776 to
- 23 provide grants for these kind of costs but that
- 24 hasn't been enacted at least as of today.
- 25 (Inaudible.)

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1 MR. LUBELL: Well, that's a very good
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- 2 question. I know there have been discussions --
- 3 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Well, there have
- 4 been discussions both with lenders and the GSEs, as
- 5 the rule was developed. The rule also says that --
- 6 it has some rules about housing authorities having
- 7 capacity to do this because this is actually a deeper
- 8 subsidy than even the old section 235 program. It
- 9 needs a lot of care, needs concerns about counseling
- 10 the families, loan terms, et cetera, et cetera. The
- 11 housing authorities either need to have some
- 12 experience with this or need to partner with people
- 13 who do. There are really many things to watch as we
- 14 try to get this going.
- 15 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Are you worried
- 16 that the two-tier FMR that you're installing is going
- 17 to have an unfair aspect in this home ownership
- 18 program that Section 8 participants in certain areas
- 19 of the country will be able to have higher -- would
- 20 be able to buy houses at the 50th FMR percentile
- 21 while participants in other areas of the country will
- 22 only be able to buy houses at the 40th percentile and
- 23 some participants are going to be able to buy better
- 24 houses than others?
- 25 MR. LUBELL: I'm actually not worried and

- 1 I'll tell you why. The first is that FMRs already
- 2 vary by area. So it is already the case that someone
- 3 in New York City is going to be able to afford a much
- 4 larger mortgage with their voucher than someone in a
- 5 rural area, for example. It's also the case that
- 6 housing and rental costs don't necessarily track each
- 7 other. So that may be an inefficiency in the
- 8 program, but it does mean that we can't predict with
- 9 any accuracy what the effect of raising FMRs by about
- 10 \$50 or \$70 is going to be. It's not necessarily the
- 11 case that it's going to be unfair.
- 12 The organization that I was before, the
- 13 Center of Budget and Policy Priorities, was doing
- 14 some analysis in connection with NAR of home prices,
- 15 and we found essentially that there are about half
- 16 the metropolitan markets where the FMR was adequate
- to buy an adequate home and about half of it wasn't.
- 18 And it's not necessarily the case that 50th or 40th
- 19 is the right answer to that. It's the case that
- 20 there is a different relationship between rental and
- 21 housing costs in different markets. And I think
- 22 that's the major inequity, if you may, in terms of
- 23 how this is made is that we're tracking a rental
- 24 program and not a home ownership program but there
- 25 are some good reasons for that. We don't necessarily

- 1 want to create a whole new program for those.
- 2 MS. SMITH: I'm from the Housing
- 3 Assistance Council, and I just want to make a couple
- 4 of points and ask a couple of questions about
- 5 vouchers in rural areas. First off, we were doing
- 6 a -- we recently completed case studies of vouchers
- 7 in rural areas and we were calling around trying to
- 8 find areas to study and we found out there are plenty
- 9 of areas in the country where there is no voucher
- 10 program. And maybe there is. Maybe it's a statewide
- 11 program, but the word doesn't get out and the local
- 12 authority doesn't even know that a person wanting
- 13 voucher assistance can go to the state capitol.
- 14 So we shouldn't assume that it's a program
- 15 that is not only not accessible to everybody because
- 16 of waiting lists. It's not accessible to everybody
- 17 just because of geographic disparities.
- 18 The other thing is that we found that
- 19 supply is a real issue in rural areas. I'm wondering
- 20 if any of the class efficiency studies that looked at
- 21 the efficiency of demand versus supply programs were
- 22 looking at rural areas.
- 23 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: No, they were in
- 24 all urban areas.
- 25 MS. SMITH: So that might be an area where

- 1 supply program --
- 2 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: That's a good
- 3 question and we should have a careful study on this
- 4 issue.
- 5 MS. SMITH: The other question I had is,
- 6 are any of the ownership demonstrations in rural
- 7 areas or nonmetro areas?
- 8 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: That would help the
- 9 rural areas a lot.
- 10 MR. LUBELL: Why don't you start by -- you
- 11 wanted to address one issue.
- 12 MS. SARD: At the risk of being very
- 13 unpopular to those representing rural interests, I
- 14 think the history of the Section 8 program has been
- 15 to overfund rural areas. Now, there may be serious
- 16 problems in people in those rural areas knowing where
- 17 to apply. Those are two different questions.
- 18 Until 1998, the housing statute required a
- 19 set-aside of 25 percent of all new vouchers to
- 20 nonmetropolitan areas and I'm not sure what HUD's
- 21 analysis of recent data has shown, but when I looked
- 22 at some of this earlier, one of the problems in
- 23 utilization of vouchers nationally is that the
- 24 population has shifted away from where historically
- 25 vouchers had been allocated to lead to an oversupply

- 1 relative to need in rural areas.
- Now, I'm not saying that there aren't
- 3 distribution issues and access issues, but it isn't
- 4 an inequity in funding.
- 5 MR. LUBELL: Rod, do you know if there are
- 6 any demonstrations in rural areas?
- 7 MR. SOLOMON: Well, there are several
- 8 demonstrations that are statewide. I know that.
- 9 Colorado is one that comes to mind that's
- 10 specifically for persons with disabilities. There
- 11 are a number of regional ones. But I think now that
- 12 there is a final rule, that demonstration were --
- 13 they mostly were approved in the last six months in
- 14 any event and that now any housing authority in the
- 15 country can undertake this program. So more
- 16 importantly is what's going to happen now.
- MS. SARD: And I do suggest that rural
- 18 areas will be able to benefit from the homeowner's
- 19 programs.
- 20 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: I'm not sure what
- 21 the basis is of you saying that there is an
- 22 oversupply of vouchers in rural areas.
- MS. SARD: I think they oversupply
- 24 relative to need, I said, in those rural areas. But
- 25 poor people -- per poor person or per needy person in

- 1 rural areas, my data shows there is more vouchers
- 2 than is true in urban and suburban areas.
- 3 MR. LUBELL: We have exactly three minutes
- 4 and I'm going to give the panel -- I'm sorry. Okay.
- 5 Very quickly.
- 6 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: The current status?
- 7 Is project basing possible and is that only allowed
- 8 in unimpacted areas?
- 9 MR. LUBELL: Why don't we have Rod first
- 10 and then Barbara on this question and then we'll
- 11 conclude. That's actually a good question on which
- 12 to conclude.
- 13 MR. SOLOMON: It's possible under the laws
- 14 to project base up to 15 percent of the housing
- 15 authority's vouchers. There have been substantial
- 16 complaints about whether the system is very workable
- 17 the way it is now in the regulations and Barbara,
- 18 among others, has been working with many of us to see
- 19 if we can improve that situation.
- 20 MS. SARD: What was the rest of your
- 21 question?
- 22 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Is it only allowed
- 23 in unimpacted areas?
- MS. SARD: HUD's reg, which was issued
- 25 under the old project based certificate program that

- 1 has since been eliminated, and there hasn't been a
- 2 new reg because it's on a long list of regs to be
- 3 issued, does have site and neighborhood standards, if
- 4 you're familiar. There is nothing in the statute
- 5 that says one way or another. I'm not real familiar
- 6 with how site neighborhood standards work, but my
- 7 sense is if you do it right, you can always get
- 8 around it to site anywhere you want.
- 9 And I do think there is some likelihood
- 10 that this will all change in the current
- 11 appropriations act and we don't know what the shape
- 12 of that will be.
- MR. LUBELL: That's a very uncertain note
- 14 on which to end, but if we had had this conference
- 15 two days earlier, if they had gotten their act
- 16 together on the bill, they would have gotten the act
- 17 passed on time, we would have been able to have a
- 18 more substantive conversation on that area. But I
- 19 want to thank all of you and I look forward to
- 20 hearing your input and feel free to send us e-mails
- 21 and call us and let us know any further thoughts that
- 22 you didn't get a chance to express today. Thank you.

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