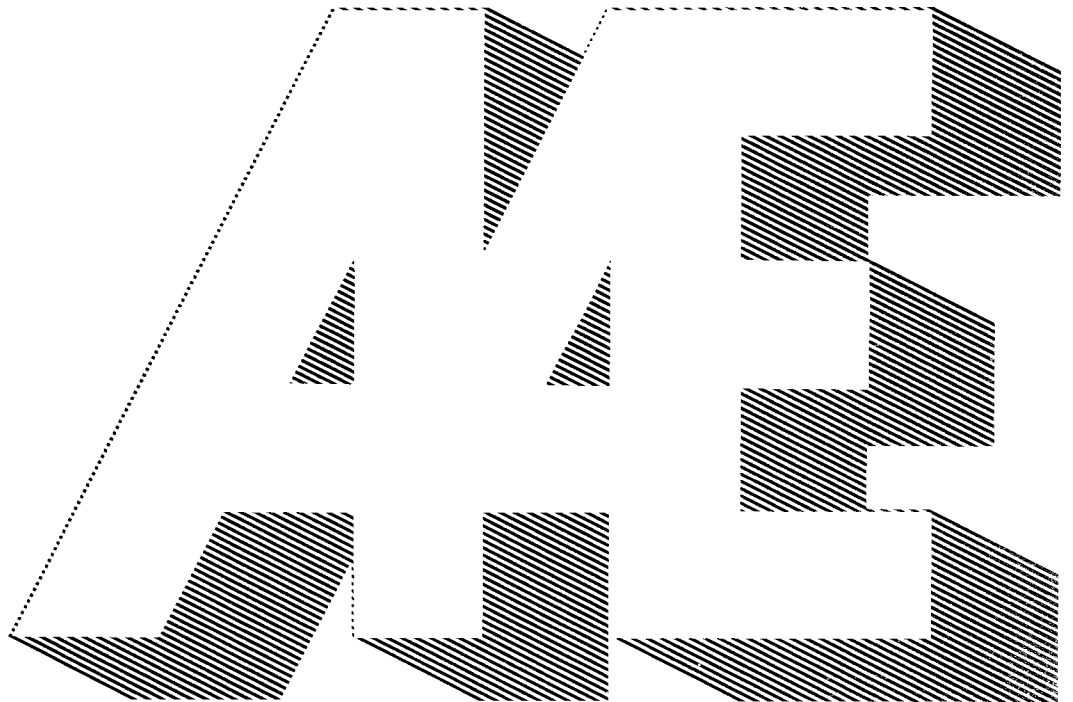

Elderly Participants in the Administrative Agency Experiment

**ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCY EVALUATION
EXPERIMENTAL HOUSING ALLOWANCE PROGRAM**



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IN THE
ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCY EXPERIMENT

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

ELDERLY PARTICIPANTS IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCY EXPERIMENT

The Administrative Agency Experiment (AAE) is one of three experiments being conducted by the Department of Housing and Urban Development to test the concept of a housing allowance program. Designed principally to examine alternative ways of administering a housing allowance program, the AAE involved eight public agencies operating allowance programs for three years. The agencies made monthly payments to participating families to help them pay the rent for decent housing of their own choice.

The agencies attempted to bring a group of families into the program that would be a representative cross-section of the potentially eligible population in their areas. In all, more than 15,000 households applied to participate in the program and nearly 6,000 became allowance recipients. Among the eligible applicants were 2,112 elderly households, of whom 1,229 became allowance recipients.¹ This report examines the experiences of elderly households in the AAE and contrasts them to the experiences of nonelderly households.

Overall, the similarities between the experiences of elderly and nonelderly households were more striking than the differences. Substantial numbers of elderly and nonelderly households applied to the program in the application period, which was limited to about eight months. Most of those who were eligible and selected for participation were able to meet the agencies' housing quality requirements and became recipients.² The housing allowance helped both elderly and nonelderly recipients reduce their rent burden,³ improve the physical quality of their housing, reduce crowded housing conditions, and improve their neighborhood quality. But there were also some significant differences between the results for elderly and nonelderly. They are described below.

¹ An elderly household is defined here as one in which the head of household is 62 years old or older.

² In the AAE, enrolled households had to find (or demonstrate that they already occupied) housing that would meet agency-established standards before they could become allowance recipients.

³ Rent burden is defined as the proportion of total gross income spent on rent, including utilities.

PROGRAM OUTCOMES

Elderly households participated in the AAE at lower rates than the nonelderly. Overall, about 4 percent of the elderly households estimated to be potentially eligible for the program became recipients, compared to 8 percent of the eligible nonelderly. This difference was mainly due to a substantial disparity in application rates: about 6 percent of the potentially eligible elderly households applied to the program, while 22 percent of the eligible nonelderly applied. However, the agencies selected proportionately more elderly applicants for enrollment, and the elderly were more successful than the nonelderly in meeting each subsequent participation requirement. Once they became recipients, the elderly less often terminated from the program before receiving the full 24 months of payments.

A higher proportion of elderly than nonelderly enrollees met the housing quality requirements and successfully became recipients (78 percent of the elderly enrollees, and 69 percent of the nonelderly). This achievement may be surprising, because enrollees had to move to become recipients when their preprogram housing did not meet agency requirements,¹ and previous research has concluded that many elderly persons find it very difficult and unsettling to move. In fact, a much smaller proportion of the elderly than the nonelderly moved in the AAE. Of the elderly recipients, 26 percent moved to qualify for payments; 50 percent of the nonelderly recipients moved.

Among both elderly and nonelderly enrollees, those who planned to move were less successful in becoming recipients than those who planned to stay in their preprogram dwellings.² This factor contributed to the elderly's relatively high success rate. But even among those planning to move, elderly enrollees were more successful than the nonelderly in some locations. Some data suggest that, in tight housing markets, the elderly benefited from preferential treatment in the market; landlords perceived them to be more stable and desirable tenants than the nonelderly, and preferred to rent to them when market conditions allowed a choice.

¹ Enrollees might also secure repairs to the units they already occupied so that the units would meet the standards. This option was infrequently used in the AAE, however.

² Plans to move or stay were based both on enrollees' desires and on at least their general understanding that units would have to pass an inspection to qualify.

Largely because the elderly moved less often, their program benefits differed slightly from those of the nonelderly. The elderly received greater average reductions in their rent burden, and the nonelderly registered greater improvements in housing conditions. However, when the proportion of households moving and the size of the households¹ are taken into account, the benefits measured for the elderly and nonelderly become almost identical.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES

Attracting elderly applicants to a housing allowance or similar program may require different outreach procedures than those used for the nonelderly population. AAE data reveal that elderly households were less aware of the program than the nonelderly, even though they had apparently similar exposure to the media through which program information was communicated. Also, relatively few of the elderly households that were aware of the program applied to it. This response suggests that agencies would have to make special efforts to reach and to persuade elderly households, but the AAE offers no clear example of effective, generally applicable ways to do so. In general, elderly households responded best to outreach using the mass media, but the single most successful campaign involved mailing flyers to elderly households and stationing agency staff members at shopping centers frequented by the elderly to speak with them directly.

Income certification is another point at which special procedures might be used for the elderly. Agencies certified the accuracy of information on participants' income either by accepting participants' declarations or by verifying the information (by examining documents or checking with third parties). Other AAE analysis found verification to be generally more effective in avoiding payment errors than accepting declarations.²

The incomes of elderly AAE participants were less likely to change over time than nonelderly incomes, however; and when they did change, the elderly participants' incomes fluctuated in a narrower range than did those of the

¹ Elderly households were smaller, on the average, than nonelderly households. Smaller households generally had higher rent burdens and were less crowded than larger households, thus exaggerating the differences between elderly and nonelderly households.

² See Donald E. Dickson et al., Certification: Determining Eligibility and Setting Payment Levels in the Administrative Agency Experiment (Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates Inc., 1977).

nonelderly. As a result, income certification for the elderly resulted in smaller average payment adjustments than for the nonelderly, regardless of the procedure used. A policy of not verifying--or postponing verification--of elderly incomes might be practical if administrative resources for this effort were limited. However, compared to the practice of accepting participants' income declarations, verification was more effective in avoiding payment errors for all applicants including the elderly. Even though the payment adjustments for the elderly were relatively small, they might be considered large enough to justify the extra effort and cost of verification.

Most AAE agency staff members felt that the elderly required different supportive services than the nonelderly. They believed that the elderly required more services as enrollees attempting to qualify for payments, and fewer services once they became recipients. Survey data from elderly and nonelderly participants support the latter contention but cast doubt on the former. Because most elderly enrollees stayed in their preprogram units and most supportive services were directed to enrollees attempting to move, the elderly seem to have had less overall contact with the agencies than did nonelderly enrollees. Elderly enrollees themselves reported that they drew on friends and relatives much more than on agency staff for transportation to look at housing and for help in dealing with landlords--the two points most often cited by agency staff as the elderly's special needs. Although the AAE data do not permit firm conclusions about the nature and amount of services required by elderly participants, they do reveal instances in which elderly individuals needed and received extensive help. But they also suggest that, by and large, the elderly do not require more extensive agency services than the nonelderly.

FURTHER RESEARCH

Because the AAE was not primarily designed to examine a housing allowance program for elderly households, it necessarily leaves some important questions unanswered. Perhaps most central is the issue of a housing allowance program's applicability to the special housing needs of the elderly. The AAE experience suggests that a substantial proportion of the elderly population can participate effectively in such a program, and the limited available data do not show major differences between elderly applicants to the AAE and the broader elderly population eligible to participate. But other research has shown that many elderly households face the problem of heavy tax burdens on homes, and the experiment

was limited to renter households. Some elderly persons have also been shown to need housing with special design features or with supporting resources like meals programs and medical care, but the experimental programs included no explicit provisions for dealing with such needs. Research directly examining households with special problems would be required to determine whether particular program design features or administrative procedures might make a housing allowance program serve an even broader range of elderly housing needs.



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I. INTRODUCTION

A housing allowance program gives money directly to low-income households so they may improve their housing conditions. The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) is now testing such a direct-assistance program to determine if it would be an effective way of bettering the housing of the nation's low- and moderate-income families.¹ HUD's test comprises three separate experiments: one to assess the effects of the housing allowance on housing demand, a second to determine the program's influence on housing supply, and a third--the Administrative Agency Experiment--to examine various administrative procedures for running the program.²

HUD began the Administrative Agency Experiment (AAE) in 1972 by selecting eight agencies to design and operate experimental programs. The agencies and some characteristics of the sites in which they operated are listed in Table 1-1. The agencies operated their programs for three years. In the first year, each agency attempted to enroll a group of participant households (900 in most cases) that would be representative of the entire eligible population at the site. For the next two years, the agencies made allowance payments to the participants, transferring them to other housing programs after 24 months of payments.

Both elderly and nonelderly households participated in the AAE.³ This report discusses the program experiences of elderly households and the extent to which they differed from those of the nonelderly.

¹ Most federal housing subsidies for low- and moderate-income families encourage housing suppliers, developers, or financial institutions to provide units to the targeted income groups. The recipient households are not permitted to select a unit for themselves. The new Section 8 Existing Housing Program, authorized by the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974, is an exception that resembles a housing allowance in many ways.

² The experiments are part of the Experimental Housing Allowance Program conducted by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). For an overview of the design and early findings of the experiments, see Housing Allowances: The 1976 Report to Congress (Washington, D.C.: Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1976).

³ In this report, an elderly household is generally defined as one in which the head of the household is age 62 or over. In some cases, comparison with census data requires a definition based on age 65 or older. These instances are noted as they occur.

**TABLE 1-1
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE EIGHT AAE SITES**

Location of Administrative Agency	Contracting Agency	Character of Site			Demographic Characteristics				Housing Market		
		Census Region	Population of Program Area	Geographic Character	% Families Below Poverty	% Minority	No. Eligible Population (Household)	Eligible Households as % of Total Households	% Rental	% Lacking Plumbing	Rental Vacancy Rate
Salem, Oregon	Housing Authority of City of Salem	Pacific West	186,658	Metropolitan area	7.9%	1.7%	5,232	9%	37.3%	1.5%	7.2%
Springfield, Massachusetts	Commonwealth of Massachusetts Department of Community Affairs	New England	472,917	Metropolitan area (4 cities and 15 surrounding towns)	6.6%	5.0%	17,572	13%	41.5%	2.7%	6.2%
Peoria, Illinois	State of Illinois Dept. of Local Government Affairs Office of Housing and Buildings	East North Central	196,865	City of Peoria and Fulton County (rural) and Woodford County (rural)	5.9%	6.3%	5,235	10%	30.9%	3.0%	4.5% ^c
San Bernardino, California	San Bernardino County Board of Supervisors	Pacific West	547,258	Valley portion of San Bernardino County (includes 10 incorporated cities and towns and an equal number of unincorporated places)	9.8%	23.0% ^a	19,745	12%	36.4%	.9%	12.0%
Bismarck, North Dakota	Social Services Board of North Dakota	West North Central	104,187	Four rural counties (Burleigh, Morton, Stark and Stutsman) each with one major city	11.8%	.8%	2,176	9%	31.4%	5.9% ^b	8.1% ^d
Jacksonville, Florida	Jacksonville Department of Housing and Urban Development	South Atlantic	545,900	Metropolitan area (includes all of Duval County)	14.0%	22.9%	17,429	11%	32.7%	4.4%	4.0% ^c
Durham, North Carolina	Durham County Department of Social Services	South Atlantic	132,681	Durham County (includes city of Durham as well as rural portion of county)	14.0%	37.6%	5,620	14%	53.0%	2.9%	6.0%
Tulsa, Oklahoma	Tulsa Housing Authority	West South Central	342,000	Metropolitan area	9.0%	12.5%	8,734	7%	33.0%	1.9%	13.6%

Source: Frederick T. Temple et al., Third Annual Report of the Administrative Agency Experiment Evaluation (Cambridge, Mass., Abt Associates, 1976). Bismarck population and housing figures revised to include full program area, using U.S. Bureau of the Census, *County and City Data Book*, 1972. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973).

^aIncludes 16% "Persons of Spanish Language or Surname."

^bMore recent housing studies of Bismarck indicate that the degree of substandardness in the city's housing is considerably lower than census figures for the full program area suggest.

^cVacancy rates for Peoria and Jacksonville are adjusted for standardness (locally defined).

^dVacancy rate for the city of Bismarck is 6.1%; for the full program area, 8.1%.

HOUSING ALLOWANCES AND THE HOUSING NEEDS OF THE ELDERLY

Housing can be an especially difficult problem for many elderly people.¹ Many live on small and fixed incomes, which limit the money they can pay for shelter. Homeowners often have difficulty paying property taxes and maintaining their houses, and renters are caught between climbing rents and declining real incomes.

In addition, elderly households may have special housing needs. Some need to live in units where there are few stairs to climb. For safety reasons, others may find that they require emergency call buttons, grab bars in the bathrooms, or specially constructed kitchens. Elderly individuals with physical limitations may find it necessary to be housed near stores, sources of medical aid, churches, and friends and relatives.²

Could a housing allowance program alleviate some of the housing difficulties of the elderly? Although it could not be expected to address all their problems, a housing allowance program like that operated in the AAE might assist elderly renters in improving their housing or reducing the burden of their rent payments. In a message to Congress on September 19, 1973, President Nixon said: "...Our principal efforts should be devoted towards determining whether a policy of direct cash assistance--with first priority for the elderly poor--can be put into practical operation." Reflecting continued concern about the housing needs of the elderly, this report describes the experiences of elderly households in an experimental set of housing allowance programs.

DATA SOURCES

Throughout the Administrative Agency Experiment, several types of data were collected. Three types are particularly important for the analysis reported here:

Operating Forms. Agencies routinely filled out application, enrollment, termination, and other operating forms at each stage of every household's program participation. Thus

¹ 1971 White House Conference on Aging, Housing the Elderly: Background and Issues (Washington, D.C.: March 1971).

² For further discussion of elderly households' special housing needs, see Housing the Elderly, op. cit., Section C, and Paul L. Niebanck, The Elderly in Older Urban Areas (Philadelphia, Pa.: The University of Pennsylvania, 1965), Chapter IV.

basic data exist for more than 15,000 applicants (including more than 2,000 elderly households), and nearly 6,000 households (over 1,200 elderly) that received at least one allowance payment.

Surveys. A sample of participants (about 150 at each of the eight locations) was interviewed just after enrollment in the program. Researchers conducted subsequent surveys of those households remaining in the program about 6 months and again about 18 months later. The surveys provide information on the participants' backgrounds, and on their perceptions of and experiences in the program. The housing units the participants occupied at the time of the survey were also examined by specially trained inspectors.

Observational Data. During the first year of each agency's operations, a trained observer (an anthropologist in most cases) submitted monthly accounts of agency procedures and problems to the evaluation contractor. The observer also conducted interviews with participants, agency staff, and interested persons in the program area.

Data less frequently used in this report include monthly cost and labor allocation reports submitted by the agencies, forms recording inspections of participants' housing units, and secondary data from the census and other sources describing characteristics of the eight program areas.

In addition to these data sources, which apply equally to the elderly and nonelderly program participants, the AAE conducted a special survey of some 1,500 elderly people associated with the experiment in some way. Included were some who applied to the program but never enrolled, others who enrolled but never became recipients, and still others who had become allowance recipients. Unlike the other AAE surveys, this one was not designed to study all respondents at one particular stage of participation; it focused on the subgroup of elderly in August 1974, no matter what participation stage they had reached by that date. Questions principally concerned the housing history and experience of the respondents, and their experiences with the program. As in the other surveys, inspectors also assessed the respondents' housing (for a subgroup of the respondents). The results from key portions of the survey are presented in Appendix B to this report.

Comparisons of the elderly and nonelderly participants' AAE experiences are based principally on analysis of the agency operating forms and general surveys. In most cases, these comparative analyses draw upon more detailed general analyses presented in other AAE reports. The special elderly survey provides additional information on the perspective of elderly households.

STRUCTURE OF THIS REPORT

Five areas in which the experiences of the elderly might be expected to differ from those of the nonelderly are the focal points for this report.

Chapter 2 examines the frequency with which elderly and nonelderly households applied for participation in the experimental program. It shows that, as in other assistance programs, proportionately fewer elderly households applied. The outreach procedures agencies used to spread the word about the program to potentially eligible households are also described and assessed in Chapter 2.

Households that applied to the program had to pass through several subsequent steps to become allowance recipients. Of great importance was the requirement that selected and enrolled households find--or demonstrate that they already occupied--housing that met agency standards. Chapter 3 shows that a higher proportion of elderly than nonelderly participants passed each post-application requirement for participation, including the housing quality requirement. The most striking difference between the two groups, however, was that a much greater proportion of those elderly households who became recipients did so without moving from their preprogram units.

Chapter 4 focuses on the supportive services agencies provided participants. It shows that despite their special needs, the elderly used proportionately fewer agency services than nonelderly participants, and that services may actually have been more important to nonelderly participants.

Allowance recipients could benefit from the program in a variety of ways. Chapter 5 compares the benefits derived by elderly and nonelderly recipients. Although, on the average, the elderly had slightly greater reductions in their rent burden and the nonelderly benefitted from slightly greater improvements in housing conditions, the similarities in results for the two groups are more important than the differences.

Chapter 6 examines the hypothesis that the certification of income might reasonably be performed differently for elderly and nonelderly program applicants. Analysis shows that suspending verification of elderly declarations would risk errors in about the same proportion of cases as for the nonelderly, but that the average dollar amount of those errors would be smaller.

Finally, Chapter 7 suggests some related topics on which further research could be beneficial. Particular attention is drawn to the problems of identifying and serving elderly households for whom a housing allowance may not be the appropriate form of assistance. And for those whose needs could be met by a housing allowance, further research might examine the ways an agency can inform them and determine the correct level of supportive services to offer.

II. ELDERLY RESPONSE TO AGENCY OUTREACH

If a housing allowance program is to serve the elderly, those who might be eligible for the program must hear of it and apply for participation. Agencies publicize the program and thus seek applicants through the administrative process called "outreach." AAE agencies publicized their programs in the mass media (for example, with newspaper advertisements and public service announcements on television), and they got in touch with other social service agencies and community groups to encourage referral of their clients or members. Many applicants eventually heard of the program in talking with their friends and neighbors.

As a result of these outreach activities, 1,666 households in which the head of household was more than 64 years old¹ applied to the AAE programs--about 6 percent of the estimated number of eligible elderly households in the program areas. Although this number is substantial, it is smaller than the agencies' projections, and it represents a smaller portion of the eligible elderly population than the figures for nonelderly applicants (of whom 12,438 applied, representing 22 percent of the estimated eligible population). The elderly application rate was the lowest for any major population subgroup in the AAE.²

The relatively low application rate for elderly households is not surprising in light of the experience of other assistance programs. For example, a study of participation in the Food Stamp program shows that the elderly have the lowest application rate of all age groups.³ Other research suggests that the elderly are less likely than younger persons to undertake some activities --especially a change in residence--that might be required to participate in a housing allowance program.⁴

¹ The number of eligible applicants over age 61 was 2,112. In most of this chapter, analysis is based on households whose head was over 64 for comparability with census data.

² Other groups with relatively low application rates included male-headed households, households in the higher eligible income categories, and in some cases nonminority households.

³ Maurice MacDonald, Why Don't More Eligibles Use Food Stamps?, Institute for Research on Poverty Discussion Paper (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin, July 1975).

⁴ See discussion in Chapter 3. The Demand Experiment also found a smaller than average proportion of elderly households willing to participate, sometimes reflecting a difficulty in understanding the program. For example, despite assurances to the contrary, some elderly households refused to participate on the grounds that receipt of the subsidy might affect Social Security benefits.

This chapter examines the application patterns of elderly and nonelderly households in detail and suggests some explanations for the lower application rate among the elderly. It briefly considers whether the elderly applicants to the AAE were representative of the potentially eligible elderly households, and discusses the relative effectiveness of various outreach efforts in attracting elderly applicants.

ELDERLY APPLICATION RATES

At most AAE agencies, elderly households applied at one-third or less the rate of the nonelderly, as shown in Table 2-1. During the AAE outreach campaign, which lasted approximately eight months, 6 percent of all eligible elderly households and 22 percent of the eligible nonelderly households

TABLE 2-1
APPLICATION RATES

	Percentage of Eligible Population Applying ^a	
	Elderly ^b	Nonelderly
Peoria	17.0	52.6
Durham	16.8	22.6
Salem	15.0	62.5
Bismarck	14.9	30.5
Tulsa	7.6	28.2
San Bernardino	3.4	12.4
Springfield	2.7	23.0
Jacksonville	2.5	12.3
Total, All 8 Sites	6.4	22.1

Source: AAE Application Forms, Census Public Use Sample, Census Second Count Data Base: All Eligible Applicants, Estimated Eligible Population

^aApplication Rate calculated on the basis of:

$$\frac{\text{Total Eligible Applicants in Subgroup}}{\text{Estimated Eligible Population in Subgroup}} \times 100.$$

^bElderly defined as 65 and over for comparison with census figures.

applied to the program.¹ At Peoria and Durham, elderly application rates were as high as 17 percent, but even there elderly application rates were below those for the nonelderly.

No household applies to the program until it has first heard of it and then decided to apply.² A special survey administered to eligible households in the Jacksonville program area asked respondents if they were aware of the program, if they had applied to it, and other related questions. This survey revealed that the elderly were less likely to hear of the program than the nonelderly and, once they had heard, were less likely to apply to it. The results are shown in Figure 2-1.

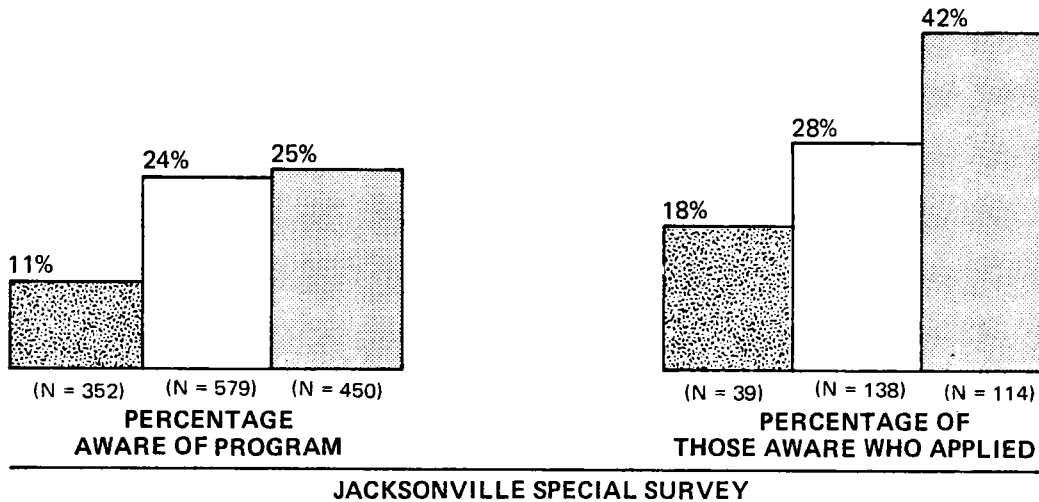
No direct evidence explains why the elderly were less likely to be aware of the program. Elderly respondents to the Jacksonville survey did not have less exposure to the media than other groups. If an outreach message was transmitted through mass media, as many were in Jacksonville, elderly and nonelderly households were equally likely to have seen or heard it. Perhaps the elderly paid less attention to the message, had more trouble understanding it, were less sensitive to its relevance to them, or were less likely to remember it than other people. AAE data are not sufficiently detailed to assess these possible explanations.


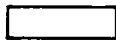
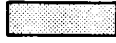
Nor is it clear from AAE data why the elderly were less likely to apply to the program after they became aware of it. When asked in the Jacksonville survey why they had not applied, elderly respondents' answers were indistinguishable from those of the nonelderly. The most common reason given by both groups was insufficient information about the program. Even though the agencies attempted to avoid a "welfare" image, the elderly and the working poor may have been reluctant to participate because of the stigma of accepting

¹ Previous analyses have divided the eligible population into three groups: working poor, welfare, and elderly. The application rates reported here for the nonelderly combine the working poor and welfare application rates. There is a large difference between the working poor application rate (10 percent) and the welfare application rate (67 percent). However, even if figures for the three groups are separated, the elderly continue to be the group with the lowest application rate. See Jean MacMillan et al., Outreach: Generating Applications in the Administrative Agency Experiment (Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates Inc., 1977).

² For a complete discussion of this issue see MacMillan et al., *ibid.*, Appendix C.

FIGURE 2-1
APPLICATION RATES FOR ELDERLY,^a WORKING POOR,
AND WELFARE RECIPIENTS



 Elderly
 Working Poor
 Welfare

SOURCE: AAE Application Forms, Jacksonville Outreach Survey, conducted during the Jacksonville agency's second enrollment period

DATA BASE: Jacksonville Survey Respondents (N = 1,381; missing cases - 36)

^aElderly defined as 65 and over for comparison with census figures.

public assistance. It is also possible that many elderly people believed that participation would have required a change of residence. But there is little in the survey responses to support either supposition. Physical limitations do not seem to explain limited applications either--many elderly people applied despite such limitations.

REPRESENTATIVENESS OF ELDERLY APPLICANTS

Given the relatively small proportion of potentially eligible elderly households that applied to the AAE program, it is important to ask if the applicants were somehow different from most other elderly people. It is also crucial to determine if the low application rate resulted because the housing allowance program was unsuited to the needs of a substantial segment of the elderly population.

The AAE data afford only a limited opportunity to compare elderly households that applied with those that did not. But the available census information suggests that the applicants were reasonably representative of the potentially eligible population. With respect to other demographic characteristics, the profile of elderly applicants closely resembles that estimated for the entire eligible population of elderly. The close parallels are shown in Table 2-2. The proportions for race, sex, and household size are almost identical. The elderly applicants do appear to underrepresent the very lowest income group: households with annual incomes of \$2,000 or less.¹ However, the difference in this category is too small to indicate that elderly applicants were substantially unrepresentative.

Elderly persons with significant physical limitations might be expected to participate less than others in any program not directed toward their specific needs. Health statistics suitable for a direct comparison of applicants with the eligible population are not available. Nevertheless, general national statistics indicate that approximately one-fifth of the elderly have some trouble getting around alone, need help to get around, or are housebound (see Figure 2-2). A similar proportion of the elderly applicants to the AAE reported severe health problems. However, the AAE data result from questions not strictly comparable to those on which the national figures are based.

It is quite likely that some elderly persons with special housing needs did not apply to the AAE because they decided that the housing allowance program would not meet their requirements. Still, the rough comparisons above suggest that the elderly applicants to the AAE were broadly representative of at least a very large portion of the potentially eligible elderly population.

EFFECTIVENESS OF OUTREACH ACTIVITIES

Previous analyses have categorized outreach methods into three groups: media, referral, and word of mouth. Media outreach generated the largest proportion of elderly applications. Of the elderly applicants, 40 percent heard

¹ This underrepresentation might simply reflect changes in the national distribution of income between 1969 (when the census data were collected) and the period of AAE data collection (largely 1973). However, nonelderly applicants did not show an equivalent pattern.

TABLE 2-2

COMPARISON OF ELDERLY AND NONELDERLY ELIGIBLE APPLICANTS
WITH THE ESTIMATED ELDERLY AND NONELDERLY ELIGIBLE POPULATION

	Elderly ^a Eligible Applicants (N=1,666)	Elderly ^a Eligible Population (N=26,158)	Nonelderly Eligible Applicants (N=12,438)	Nonelderly Eligible Population (N=55,585)
<u>Race of Head of Household</u>				
Minority	13%	12%	59%	30%
Nonminority	87	88	41	70
<u>Sex of Head of Household</u>				
Male	32	31	33	56
Female	68	69	67	44
<u>Income</u>				
\$0-1,999	40	54	18	22
\$2,000-3,999	50	40	41	37
\$4,000-5,999	9	6	27	33
\$6,000 and over	1	0	14	7
<u>Household Size</u>				
1	72	70	9	0 ^b
2	22	24	25	32
3-4	5	5	41	42
5+	1	0	25	26

Source: AAE Application Forms, Census Public Use Sample Census Second Count

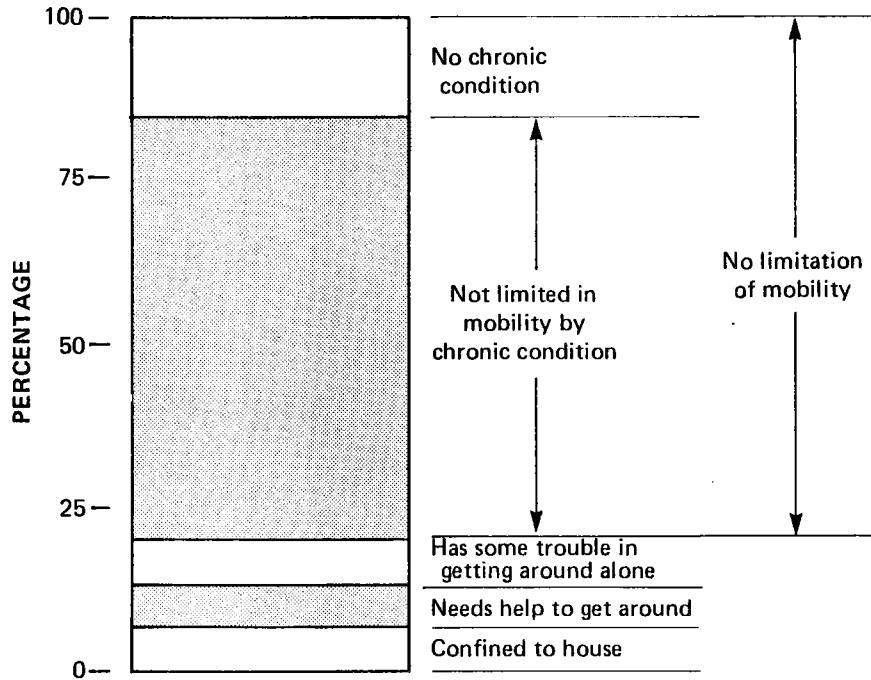
Data Base: Elderly Eligible Applicants (N = 1,666); Estimated Elderly Eligible Population (N = 26,158); Nonelderly Eligible Applicants (N = 12,438); Estimated Nonelderly Eligible Population (N = 55,585)

^aElderly defined as 65 and over for comparison with census figures.

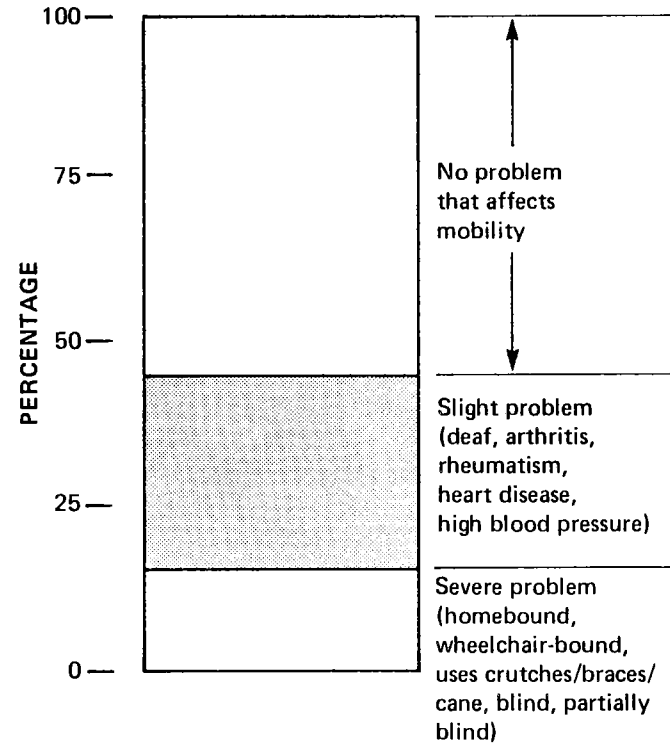
^bInformation on handicapped individuals--the only nonelderly one-person households eligible--is not available.

**FIGURE 2-2
COMPARISON OF MOBILITY AMONG THE ELDERLY POPULATION
AND ELDERLY HOUSING ALLOWANCE PROGRAM APPLICANTS**

**Effect of Chronic Conditions^a on Mobility
of Non-Institutionalized Older People
July 1965 – June 1967**



**Health Problems
of Elderly Eligible Applicants**



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social and Rehabilitation Service, Administration on Aging, "Facts on Aging, AoA Publication No. 146, May 1970, p. 11

SOURCE: Special Elderly Survey

^aChronic conditions are conditions or impairments which have lasted for more than 3 months or those with an onset more recent which appear on lists of medically determined long-lasting conditions. They range from visual impairments corrected by eyeglasses to a completely disabling stroke.

DATA BASE: All survey respondents (N = 1,501; missing cases - 1)

about the program through the media. Thirty-one percent learned of it by word of mouth; 21 percent were referred; and the remaining 7 percent heard from other sources such as community meetings, direct mailings, and phone calls. Nonelderly working-poor applicants were substantially more likely to hear of the program by word of mouth, and welfare recipients were most often referred by other social service agencies.¹ But even though the media were most effective in attracting the elderly, they still attracted proportionately smaller numbers of elderly applicants than nonelderly applicants.

Several sites targeted outreach at the elderly during part of their outreach campaigns. Their special efforts had mixed results. Figure 2-3 shows the number of applications received monthly when outreach was directed toward the elderly.

During its third month of outreach, the San Bernardino agency mailed flyers advertising the program to elderly households. Agency staff stationed themselves in shopping areas frequented by the elderly, distributing information and taking applications. The number of elderly applications received in the third month was almost double that received in any other month.

Tulsa and Jacksonville also made a special effort to attract elderly applicants but were less successful. During the last two months of outreach in Jacksonville, for example, agency staff went to nutrition centers for the elderly and showed a filmstrip advertising the program and encouraging them to apply.² But the number of applications received from the elderly during those two months was smaller than the number received during the previous months, when the agency had conducted an intense but more generalized media campaign.

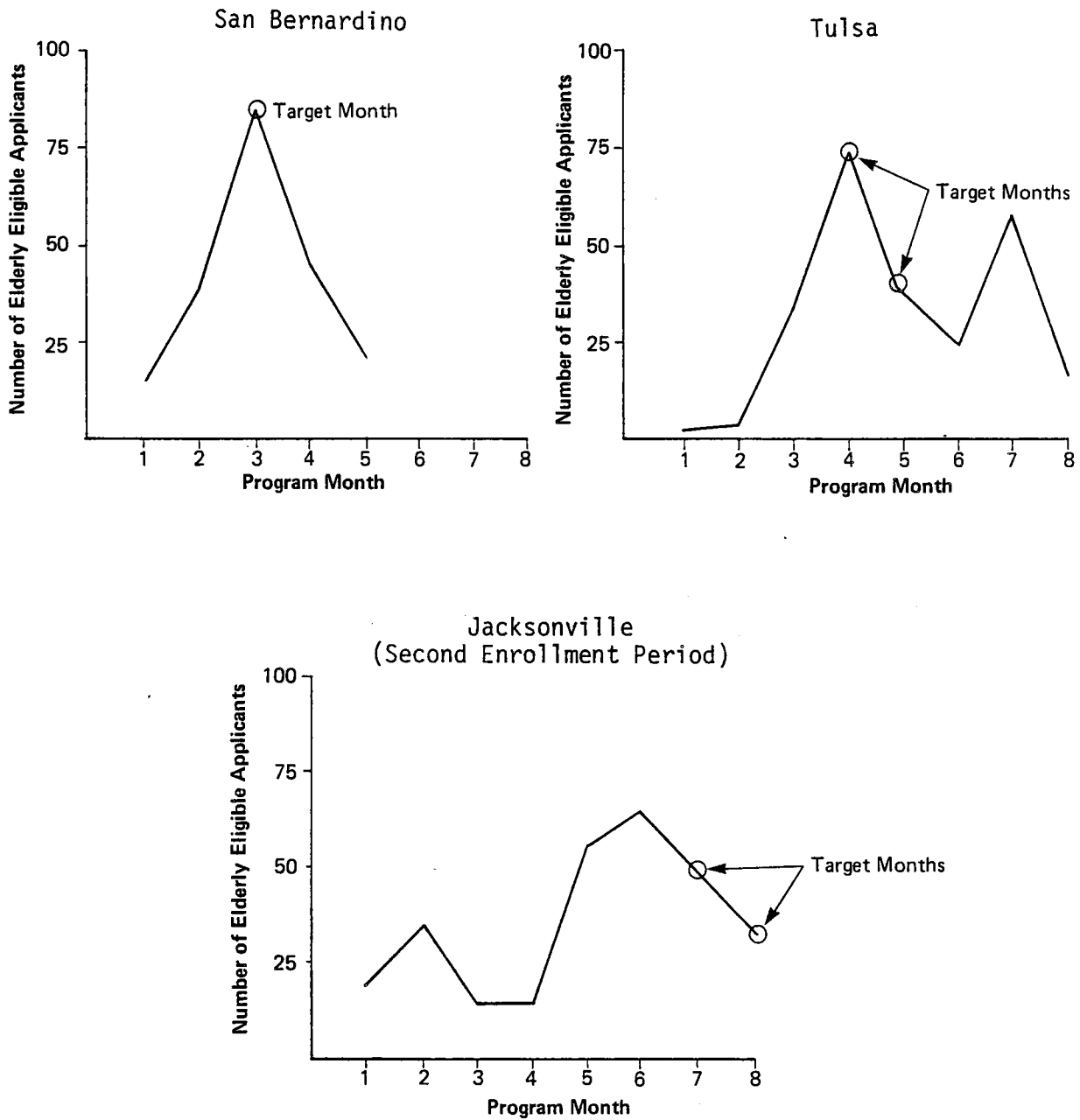
CONCLUSION

The AAE experience indicates that a housing allowance program would be attractive to substantial numbers of low-income, elderly households. An

¹ Among the working poor, 40 percent heard of the program by word of mouth; 32 percent of the welfare recipients were referred by other agencies.

² These data come from Jacksonville's second enrollment period. All other agencies operated only one enrollment period. In this report, except as noted otherwise, analysis includes data only from the first enrollment period in Jacksonville.

FIGURE 2-3
ELIGIBLE ELDERLY^a APPLICATIONS RECEIVED EACH PROGRAM
MONTH AT SELECTED SITES THAT TARGETED OUTREACH TO
ELDERLY HOUSEHOLDS



SOURCE: AAE Application Forms

DATA BASE: Eligible Elderly Applicants at San Bernardino (N = 209), Tulsa (N = 247) and Jacksonville's second enrollment period (N = 286)

^aElderly defined as 65 and over.

estimated 6 percent of all those potentially eligible to participate in the program applied to the AAE agencies within about an eight-month period.

At the same time, the AAE shows that the elderly were slower than other groups to apply for program benefits. The higher application rates for non-elderly persons in the AAE might have been a short-term pattern associated with a new program; over time, the disparity between rates for the elderly and nonelderly might decrease. Elderly respondents to the Jacksonville survey were less aware of the program than the nonelderly, but had the program become more established and widely known in the community that gap in awareness might have narrowed.

Still, some evidence points to a difference in application rates even in an established program. Elderly respondents who were aware of the program were less likely to have applied than the nonelderly respondents. And the elderly do participate less than other groups in many social service programs.

The AAE experience does not identify any outreach techniques that can guarantee elderly application rates equivalent to those for the nonelderly. Special efforts to reach elderly persons and groups directly were only sometimes successful. Media outreach, the most effective means of attracting the elderly, generally yielded a higher response from the nonelderly than the elderly. This result implies that the administrative cost of generating applications from elderly households may be higher than that for other groups: special group campaigns and media outreach are relatively expensive, and media outreach generates many new nonelderly applications for processing as well as those from the elderly.

III. ELDERLY PARTICIPATION IN THE AAE

Hearing of the program and applying to it are only the first steps toward participation. Application patterns alone are useful barometers of the effectiveness of agency outreach, and they indicate the program's appeal for potential participants. But determining the program's effectiveness in serving its population requires analysis of the people who completed all of the participation requirements and ultimately became its beneficiaries.

Most of the steps required for participation in the AAE were similar to those in other income assistance programs. After application, households were selected; their income and other pertinent information ^{was} ~~was~~ certified to determine eligibility; and they had to enroll formally in the program. An additional AAE requirement was that enrolled households find--if they did not already occupy--housing that met agency quality standards. Only after the agency determined that the household's chosen unit was acceptable could the family receive allowance payments.

If any element of a housing allowance program might pose special difficulties for the elderly, it would probably be the housing quality requirement. Previous research has shown that changing residence is a difficult, even traumatic, experience for some elderly persons.¹ The elderly might therefore be less willing or able to move, and hence less able to become allowance recipients if their preprogram housing did not meet the quality standard.

This chapter examines the experience of elderly AAE applicants at each stage of their participation, with particular attention to enrolled households' success in meeting the housing quality requirements and becoming allowance recipients. The AAE data show that no requirement was an unusual obstacle to elderly participation. In fact, the elderly were somewhat more successful than the nonelderly at every step after the initial application.

¹ N. Bourneestom and S. Tars, "Alterations in Life Patterns Following Nursing Home Relocation," The Gerontologist 14 (1974): 506-509; N. Bourneestom and L. Pastalan, Forced Relocation: Setting, Staff, and Patient Effects, Final report to the Mental Health Services Development Branch, National Institute of Mental Health (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Institute of Gerontology, University of Michigan, 1975).

PARTICIPATION RATES

Because relatively fewer elderly than nonelderly households applied to the program, the AAE ultimately served a smaller proportion of the estimated population of potentially eligible elderly households, as shown in Table 3-1. About 4 percent of the potentially eligible elderly households received allowance payments, compared to 8 percent of the nonelderly population.

Elderly households passed post-application requirements with greater-than-average frequency, however, so the disparity in ultimate beneficiary rates between elderly and nonelderly persons was much smaller than the difference in their respective application rates. Only 6 percent of the potentially eligible elderly households applied to the program, compared to 22 percent of the nonelderly; but at each step after application, the gap between the groups narrowed.

TABLE 3-1
PARTICIPATION RATES^a AT VARIOUS PROGRAM STAGES
(Computed as a Percentage of the Eligible Population)

	Elderly ^b		Nonelderly	
	Number	Participa- tion Rate	Number	Participa- tion Rate
Eligible Applicants	1,666	6%	12,438	22%
Selected Applicants	1,511	6	9,205	16
Enrollees	1,265	5	6,830	12
Recipients	983	4	4,754	8
Eligible Population	26,158		55,585	

Source: AAE Application, Enrollment, and Payments Initiation Forms;
Census Public Use Sample Census Second Count

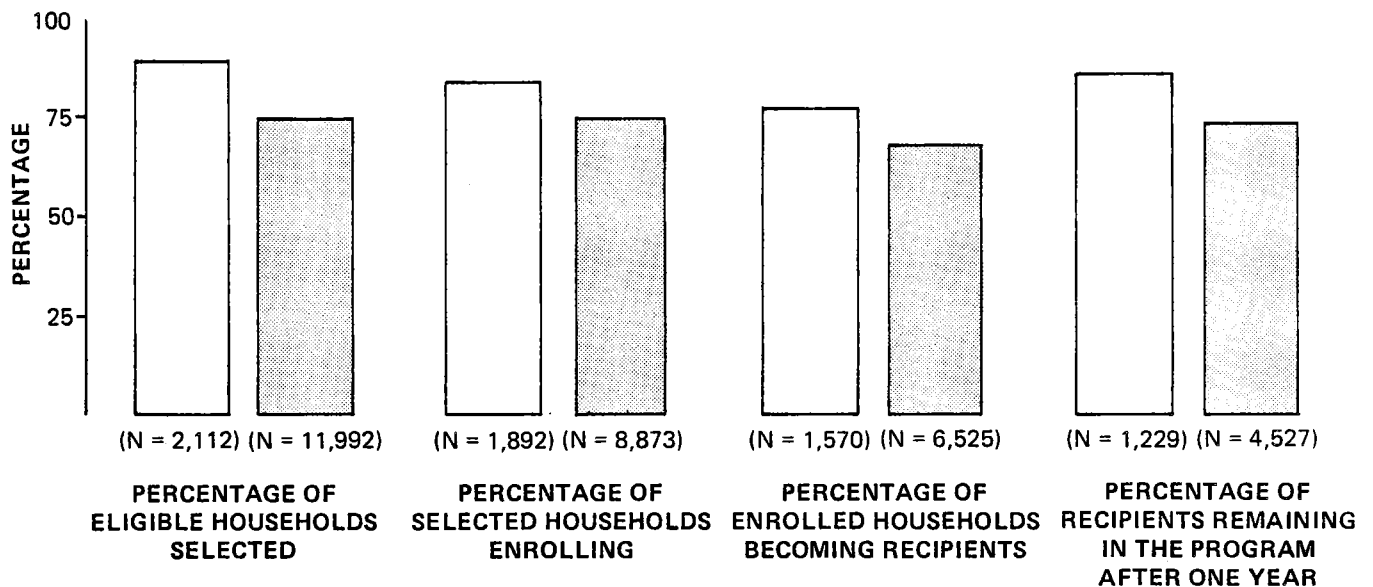
Data Base: Eligible Applicants, Selected Applicants, Enrollees, Recipients,
and Estimated Eligible Population

^a Participation rate defined as:
$$\frac{\text{Number of households in subgroup at each program stage}}{\text{Estimated number of households in subgroup in the eligible population}}$$

^b Elderly defined as 65 and over for comparison with census figures

The elderly applicants' relative success can be explained in part by agency policy: as shown in Figure 3-1, agencies selected a larger proportion of elderly than nonelderly applicants (90 percent compared to 74 percent,¹ respectively). Elderly applicants also tended to drop out of the program voluntarily at a much smaller rate than the nonelderly; and they were more often able to meet agency housing standards and qualify for allowance payments.

**FIGURE 3-1
ATTRITION RATES AT MAJOR PROGRAM STAGES**



SOURCE: AAE Application, Enrollment, Payments Initiation, and Termination Forms

DATA BASE: Eligible Applicants, Selected Applicants, Enrollees, Recipients

Elderly^a
 Nonelderly

^aElderly defined as 62 and over.

¹ This policy was the result of the limited number of program openings in the AAE and agency objectives to serve a representative cross-section of the eligible population. If all eligible applicants had been selected (i.e., if there had been no limitation on program size) while the other attrition rates remained constant, 65 percent of the elderly applicants and 51 percent of the nonelderly would have become recipients. In that case, the program would have served about 4 percent of the potentially eligible elderly households and 11 percent of the nonelderly population, compared to the actual figures of 4 percent and 8 percent listed in Table 3-1.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the participation rates, in light of the expectation that the housing quality requirement might pose special obstacles for the elderly, is the elderly enrollees' relative success in becoming allowance recipients. As Table 3-2 shows, this success was not consistent. Nonetheless, the elderly were seldom less successful than the nonelderly, and in Peoria and Jacksonville they were substantially more successful. The remainder of this chapter explores some of the factors underlying this phenomenon.

TABLE 3-2
 PERCENTAGE OF ENROLLEES WHO BECAME
 RECIPIENTS AT EACH SITE

	Elderly		Nonelderly	
	Number of Enrollees	Percentage Becoming Recipients	Number of Enrollees	Percentage Becoming Recipients
Total All 8 Sites	1,569	78%	6,522	69%
Salem	248	83	859	86
Springfield	147	71	1,061	70
Peoria	319	77	1,125	61
San Bernardino	218	79	786	83
Bismarck	118	82	381	87
Jacksonville	91	47	944	31
Durham	175	79	553	68
Tulsa	253	88	813	85

Source: AAE Enrollment and Payments Initiation Forms

Data Base: Enrollees (N = 8,091; missing cases - 4)

ENROLLEES' PROPENSITY TO MOVE

Gerontological studies show that the elderly are less residentially mobile than young people. They prefer to remain in the same neighborhood and even the same dwelling unit for a variety of physical and psychological reasons, including declining health, a desire to avoid disruption of familiar patterns, and fear of the unknown.¹

This relative immobility was clearly visible in the AAE. Agency staff members asked participants at enrollment whether they planned to stay in their current units or to move to different units before becoming allowance recipients.² Almost 60 percent of the nonelderly enrollees in the AAE planned to move, but only 31 percent of the elderly planned to do so. Of those who became recipients, 50 percent of the nonelderly and 26 percent of the elderly had moved.

Elderly enrollees' lower propensity to move reflects in part that they occupied somewhat better housing than nonelderly enrollees.³ As shown in Table 3-3, the elderly enrollees' preprogram dwelling units had fewer of the commonly observed deficiencies than nonelderly enrollees' units.⁴ The

¹ Calvin Goldscheider et al., "Residential Mobility of Older People," in Patterns of Living and Housing Middle-Aged and Older People, Frances Carp ed., (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, PSPHS Publication No. 1496, 1964); Niebanck, op. cit., 1965); Peter A. Morrison, "The Propensity to Move: A Longitudinal Analysis," U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, January 1971.

² At the time the question was asked, enrollees had been informed that their chosen units would have to meet a housing quality standard (although in most cases the standard had not been explained in detail). Thus an enrollee's plans to move might reflect either a pre-existing desire to move or an assumption that the current unit would not meet the quality standard, or both.

³ For the most part, references to the propensity to move in this discussion are based on enrollees' stated moving plans. Stated plans were closely related to actual moving behavior, especially for enrollees who became recipients. See William L. Holshouser, Jr. et al., Supportive Services in the Administrative Agency Experiment (Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates Inc., 1977), Appendix B.

⁴ This measure includes only deficiencies observed with sufficient frequency to provide reasonably stable measure for cross-sectional analysis. For more discussion, see Frederick T. Temple et al., Third Annual Report of the Administrative Agency Experiment Evaluation (Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates Inc., 1976), pp. 31-34.

elderly were paying higher rents (after adjustments for household size), which may be taken to indicate better housing quality. Furthermore, elderly enrollees were by and large more satisfied with their preprogram units than were the nonelderly. Fully 75 percent of the elderly said they were happy with their units, but only 52 percent of the nonelderly were satisfied.

TABLE 3-3
ENROLLEES' HOUSING CONDITIONS

	Elderly	Nonelderly
Enrollee units with frequently observed deficiencies ^a		
Percent with no deficiencies	50%	43%
Percent with 1-2 deficiencies	38	40
Percent with 3 or more deficiencies	12	17
Mean standardized rent ^b at enrollment	.95	.82
Satisfaction with housing		
Percent somewhat or very satisfied	75	52
Percent neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	2	5
Percent somewhat or very dissatisfied	23	43

Source: First Participant Survey, First Wave Housing Evaluation Forms, AAE Enrollment Forms

Data Base: Housing Deficiencies: Enrollees who have both First Wave Housing Evaluation Forms and First Participant Surveys (N = 1,149); Standardized Rent: All Enrollees (N = 7,534, excluding 558 households that paid zero cash rent at enrollment); Satisfaction with Housing: All First Participant Survey Respondents (N = 1,194; missing cases - 4)

^aDeficiencies included within this measure are: unvented space heaters, portable electric heaters, or no heat; structural hazards; safety hazards; major plumbing deficiencies; unfit for habitation; leaks and presence of rats or mice.

^bStandardized rent is defined as:
$$\frac{\text{Gross Rent at Enrollment}}{\text{Estimated Rent for Standard Housing}}$$

Although the quality of enrollees' dwelling units and their satisfaction with them were closely related to their plans to move,¹ Table 3-4 shows that the elderly were less inclined to move than other enrollees even after these factors are taken into account. Elderly enrollees consistently planned to stay in their preprogram units more often than the nonelderly in the same categories of housing quality and satisfaction measures.

¹ See Holshouser et al., op. cit., Appendix C.

TABLE 3-4
ENROLLEES' HOUSING CONDITIONS AND MOVING PLANS

	Percentage Planning to Move Among the	
	Elderly	Nonelderly
Presence of frequently observed deficiencies ^a		
none	22%	51%
1-2	27	58
3 or more	39	72
Standardized Rent ^b		
0 - .60	73	89
.61- .80	39	63
.81- .90	23	48
.91-1.10	17	35
over 1.10	13	26
Housing Satisfaction		
satisfied	15	33
dissatisfied	67	86

Source: First Participant Survey, First Wave Housing Evaluation Forms, AAE Enrollment Forms

Data Base: Housing Deficiencies: Enrollees who have both Housing Evaluation Forms and First Participant Surveys (N = 1,149); Standardized Rent: All Enrollees (N = 8,092; missing cases - 3); Satisfaction with Housing: First Participant Survey respondents who were satisfied or dissatisfied (N = 1,145)

^aDeficiencies included within this measure are: unvented space heaters, portable electric heaters, or no heat; structural hazards; safety hazards; major plumbing deficiencies; unfit for habitation; leaks and presence of rats or mice.

^bStandardized rent is defined as: $\frac{\text{Gross Rent at Enrollment}}{\text{Estimated Rent for Standard Housing}}$

ENROLLEES' SUCCESS IN BECOMING RECIPIENTS

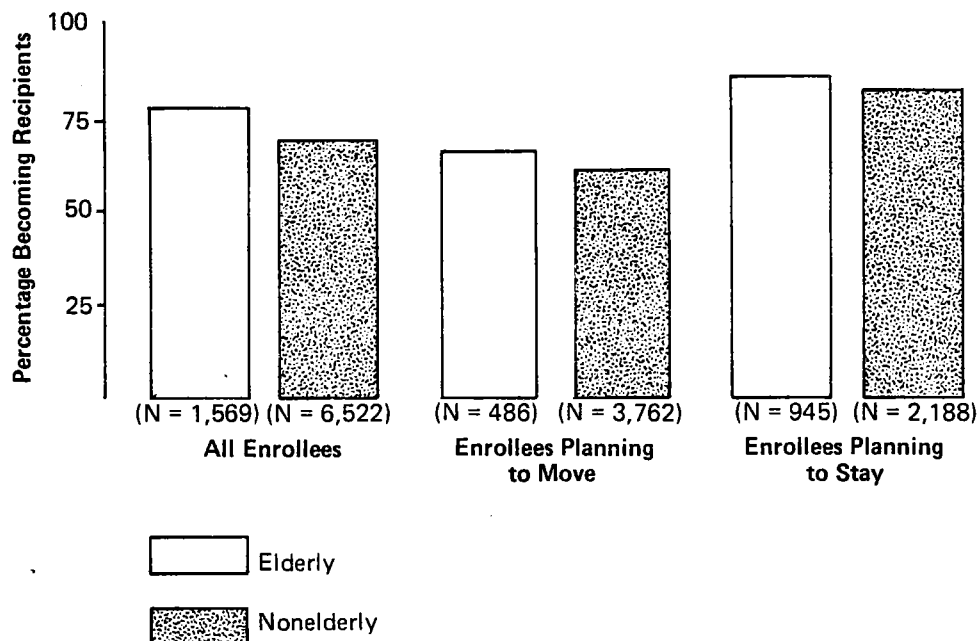
The experience of the relatively small proportion of elderly enrollees planning to move helps explain the greater success all elderly enrollees had in becoming recipients. Throughout the AAE, enrollees who planned to stay in their preprogram units were more successful than enrollees who planned to move: 84 percent of the former group became recipients, compared to 62 percent of those planning to move.

Elderly and nonelderly enrollees planning to stay in their preprogram units were almost equally successful, as shown in Figure 3-2. Among enrollees planning to move, the elderly were slightly more successful, but the difference is smaller than the overall disparity between elderly and nonelderly success rate.

The higher success rate for elderly enrollees planning to move may be surprising. One might expect the elderly to have greater physical or psychological difficulties finding a unit and arranging for inspection and a lease in a limited time. In fact, nonelderly enrollees planning to move did fare

marginally better than their elderly counterparts at some sites, but the overall average was higher for the elderly.

**FIGURE 3-2
ENROLLEES' MOVING PLANS AND SUCCESS
IN BECOMING RECIPIENTS**



Source: AAE Enrollment and Payments Initiation Forms
Data Base: All Enrollees (N = 8,091; missing cases - 4)

Elderly enrollees may have benefited from market discrimination. Multivariate analysis suggests that although the elderly were more successful than the non-elderly in tight housing markets,¹ the nonelderly were slightly² more successful in looser markets.³ Observers reported that some landlords considered elderly families more reliable tenants and would rent to them if market conditions gave them a choice. This market preference may have offset the other difficulties of moving for elderly enrollees.

¹ The definition of housing market tightness used for this analysis is based on 1970 Census vacancy rates, local housing market studies, and other data as available. Tight markets are estimated to have vacancy rates between 4 and 6 percent in the submarkets AAE enrollees used. Loose markets have estimated vacancy rates from 8 to 13 percent.

² The difference was not statistically important.

³ See Appendix A.

In other respects, the factors related to elderly enrollees' chances of becoming recipients are indistinguishable from those affecting the non-elderly. Analysis reported elsewhere identifies the most important of these factors as the tightness of the housing market, the level of the subsidy, the extent of agency supportive services, the stringency of agency inspection procedures, and race.¹ Most of these variables were important for both elderly and nonelderly enrollees.²

Similarly, analysis of the reasons for enrollees' terminations before qualifying for payments reveals no important difference between the two groups. The majority of elderly and nonelderly terminees alike exceeded the time limit for finding acceptable housing. Elderly enrollees who terminated were interviewed on their failure in the special survey of the elderly, but their responses do not reveal substantial problems unique to their groups.³

CONCLUSION

Overall, elderly recipients represented a slightly smaller proportion of the respective potentially eligible population (4 percent) than nonelderly households (8 percent). This lower participation rate was the result of the lower application rate of elderly households. Elderly households that did apply to the program were somewhat more successful than the nonelderly in becoming allowance recipients.

Analysis fails to identify anything in the structure of the AAE housing allowance program that posed special obstacles for elderly would-be participants. It was hypothesized that the housing quality requirement--which forces many households to move to become beneficiaries--might hamper participation by the elderly. In fact, elderly households were substantially less inclined to move than nonelderly households. But regardless of their moving plans, elderly enrollees were about as successful as the nonelderly in

¹ See Holshouser et al., op. cit., Appendices B and C.

² See Appendix A of this report. The analysis reported there considers all of these issues except inspection stringency (because of overlap with market tightness in a binary categorization of the variables) and race (because of the limited number of elderly, nonwhite enrollees).

³ About 9 percent of the elderly enrollees who voluntarily terminated without becoming recipients mentioned illness or poor health. The other responses generally reflect problems also faced by the nonelderly. See Appendix B of this report.

becoming recipients. Some evidence even suggests that the elderly benefited from positive market discrimination--that they were preferred as tenants when landlords could be selective--which may have offset any age-related difficulties. It is also possible that the elderly were able to draw more effectively on the support of friends and relatives, a possibility further discussed in Chapter 4. In other respects, the participation experience of the elderly was virtually indistinguishable from that of the nonelderly.

IV. SUPPORTIVE SERVICES FOR ELDERLY PARTICIPANTS

AAE agencies provided families with supportive services to help them participate effectively in the program. Most services were intended to assist enrollees become recipients. "Formal services" were relatively standardized information sessions covering program rules and hints on housing search. "Responsive services" subsumed a variety of activities, including transportation assistance and help in dealing with landlords. Agencies provided responsive services to individual households as the need arose.¹

Agencies also offered some responsive services to recipients. Most frequently, recipients needed help dealing with the problems of relocation and difficulties with landlords.

Agency staff members generally believed that elderly households in the program faced special problems and needed additional or special services. Some thought the program had a limited capacity to serve the needs of the elderly:

We found that in many cases it just wasn't terribly well suited to the elderly....There are just so many problems that the elderly find in this program. I've had many of my elderly people drop out because they have guarantees in public housing....It's the only public housing that's worth bothering about and it's a good deal for them.

And you have others, they don't want to hassle the landlord, they don't want to move, and sometime [there is] the whole business of senility and confusion. Or immobility--[they] can't get around, transportation, that kind of thing.²

Interviews with staff members at all eight agencies elicited a virtually unanimous feeling that elderly enrollees needed more personalized attention than the nonelderly to become recipients. Especially necessary, they believed, were extra efforts in explaining the program to elderly enrollees, providing them transportation, and assisting in the negotiation of their leases. The elderly were also reportedly more in need of home visits from the staff for enrollment and information sessions. Once an elderly household had become

¹ For a general analysis of the services provided in the AAE and their effectiveness, see Holshouser et al., op. cit. Service strategies pursued by particular agencies are described in *ibid.*, Appendix A.

² Interview with staff member of the Springfield agency, January 1975.

an allowance recipient, however, agency staff members said that it was less likely to require services and generally presented fewer problems than a typical nonelderly family.

This chapter examines some of the services given to elderly AAE participants and discusses their own estimates of their needs. Some of the data presented here contradict the staff members' belief that elderly enrollees required substantial extra services, but other data confirm staff members' opinions that elderly recipients received fewer services than the nonelderly. The chapter also examines the relative effectiveness of services in helping elderly and nonelderly enrollees become recipients.

SERVICES FOR THE ELDERLY: NEED AND USE

Data on participant experiences and perceptions sometimes support and sometimes contradict agency staff reports. Although the data do not permit comprehensive comparison of elderly and nonelderly participants' need for services, they do provide interesting examples of individual services and reveal overall patterns of use.

Staff members reported that the elderly had more difficulty than the non-elderly in understanding the AAE program and its requirements. The survey data concur. Responding to questions about information presented in enrollment sessions a few days earlier, elderly enrollees were consistently less able than other groups to give the correct response. Table 4-1 gives the results.¹ Staff members often altered their presentations to address the needs of the people they were speaking to, and they reported that they often spent more time in presenting material to the elderly. Despite such efforts, elderly enrollees demonstrated lower levels of program understanding at all agencies.² Assuming that an understanding of program

¹ Enrollees planning to move generally were more successful in answering the questions than those planning to stay in their preprogram units, and the elderly fell disproportionately in the latter category. However, even when moving plans are taken into account, the elderly had lower percentages of correct responses.

² When a sample of recipients was questioned six months later on the same subjects, the gap between elderly and nonelderly understanding had become even wider.

requirements makes effective participation more likely,¹ elderly participants would apparently benefit from even more intensive formal informational services than they received in the AAE.

TABLE 4-1
 PERCENTAGE OF CORRECT RESPONSES BY ENROLLEES
 TO PROGRAM INFORMATION QUESTIONS

	Housing Information Requirement	Availability of Housing Information	Time Constraint for Housing Search	Agency Advances for Security Deposits	Availability of Agency Counseling	Total
Elderly (N = 229)	82%	52%	40%	34%	46%	51%
Nonelderly (N = 951)	89	64	68	68	70	72
Total (N = 1,180)	88	62	62	61	65	68

Source: AAE Application and Enrollment Forms; First Participant Survey

Data Base: All First Participant Survey Respondents (N = 1,180; missing cases - 19)

Data pertaining to the need for transportation services reveal a different picture. Agency staff members singled out transportation as an important special need of the elderly. They assumed that without such services, the elderly participants' relative immobility would hinder their participation. Survey data, on the other hand, show that transportation was not a major problem for either the elderly or the nonelderly.

¹ No direct relation was found in AAE data between responses to these questions and enrollees' probability of becoming recipients. However, analysis in the Demand Experiment has suggested that participants' behavior in the program is affected by their understanding of its rules. See Stephen K. Mayo, Housing Expenditures and Quality, Part I: Draft Report on Housing Expenditures Under a Percent of Rent Housing Allowance (Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates Inc., April 1976).

Respondents to the elderly survey included a group of enrollees who said they had searched for housing. Although a third of these people mentioned transportation as a problem, only 6 percent said it was the biggest problem they faced. The major problem, identified by 62 percent of these terminees, was "finding a place you liked and could afford."¹ And among those elderly enrollees who said they moved, only 8 percent reported receiving transportation assistance from the agencies.²

The data show little difference between the elderly and nonelderly participants' need for transportation. Among the enrollees who became recipients, only 13 percent of the elderly and 14 percent of the nonelderly said they had had transportation problems.³ Thus, regardless of the staff perceptions of the elderly enrollees' immobility, and despite the fact that only a small proportion received transportation assistance, transportation did not substantially hinder the participation of the elderly in the AAE.

In considering transportation and other special services, it may be important to distinguish between desirable and necessary services--that is, between services that make participation easier or more convenient and services that make it possible. In the special elderly survey, all enrollees who looked for a new unit were asked about services they "needed" but did not receive. Over half mentioned at least one service, but evidence that the absence of services kept them from participating is limited.

The most commonly cited service needed was a listing of available units (mentioned by 23 percent of the respondents).⁴ Second was transportation assistance (18 percent), and another 10 percent of the respondents claimed a need for someone to look at units for them. Nine percent mentioned they needed someone to take them to look at places. Another group of responses dealt with the move itself. Help with moving expenses, with packing and unpacking, and with arrangements for a mover were cited in 15, 12, and 8 percent of the cases, respectively. Although each of these services was

¹ Appendix B, Table B-6.

² In addition, 9 percent reported that agency staff had helped them by looking at potential units for them. Appendix B, Table B-7.

³ Based on responses to the AAE Second Participant Survey.

⁴ Appendix B, Table B-9.

identified as needed but not available,¹ most of the respondents had become recipients. Those who became recipients were less likely than terminees to name an unmet need for services; 60 percent of the terminees expressed such a need, compared to 41 percent of the recipients. But among all those who mentioned any need, there was little difference between recipients and terminees in the needs mentioned. In other words, the elderly respondents were generally listing services that would have been desirable but which seem likely to have kept only a small minority from program participation.

Not only were the elderly thought to need more services, but staff members agreed that they gave the elderly more help in response to this need. Survey data, in contrast, indicate that the elderly had generally less contact with the agency than the nonelderly.² The figures are in Table 4-2.

TABLE 4-2
PARTICIPANT CONTACTS WITH AAE AGENCIES

Time of Survey	Number of Contacts					Total ^a	N
	None	One	Two	Three	Four or More		
<u>Within One Week of Enrollment</u>							
Contacts at Office:							
elderly	12	31	42	12	3	100	245
nonelderly	2	25	52	15	5	99	953
<u>Six Months After Enrollment</u>							
Contacts at Office:							
elderly	52	8	15	15	10	100	195
nonelderly	29	9	16	20	26	100	681
Contacts by Telephone:							
elderly	50	22	13	9	6	100	196
nonelderly	28	17	20	10	25	100	678
<u>18 Months After Enrollment</u>							
Contacts at Office:							
elderly	74	18	4	1	2	99	160
nonelderly	48	26	11	6	8	99	427
Contacts by Telephone:							
elderly	63	24	9	3	0	99	160
nonelderly	41	24	14	9	12	100	427

Source: AAE Application Forms; First, Second, and Third Participant Surveys

Data Base: Households enrolled for one week (N = 1,198; missing cases - 1);
Households enrolled for six months (N = 976; missing cases - 2);
Households enrolled for 18 months (N = 587; missing cases - 2)

^aTotals may not add to 100% due to rounding.

¹ Some of these services were in fact generally offered, but apparently they were not received by the respondents.

² It should be noted that this pattern could be overstated if elderly respondents less frequently remembered their contacts with the agency. Other research has demonstrated that survey respondents over age 55 are less able to recall events occurring 13 weeks or more before the survey question is asked. See Seymour Sudman and Norman M. Bradburn, Response Effects in Surveys (Chicago, Ill.: Aldine Publishing Co., 1974).

On two points, the elderly's relatively less frequent reported contact corresponds to staff perceptions. At enrollment, most respondents reported one or two visits to the agency. These visits were presumably the enrollment session and an earlier visit to file an application. The higher proportion of elderly respondents reporting no visits or only one visit probably reflects the practice at some agencies of visiting elderly applicants in their homes to conduct enrollment sessions. Even at this point, however, the incidence of multiple contacts is higher for the nonelderly than the elderly.

The pattern of contacts 18 months after enrollment also conforms to staff reports that elderly households required fewer services than the nonelderly after becoming recipients. Services to recipients most frequently dealt with landlord problems or a change of residence. Elderly households were less likely to be found in either situation.¹

Elderly responses six months after enrollment also show relatively little contact with the agency, either at the office or by telephone. This response covers the period between enrollment and first payment, during which agencies provided enrollees with most of their services. Again, the elderly may have received more home visits than the nonelderly, but such visits generally involved some telephone contact and the elderly reported fewer telephone contacts than the nonelderly during this time.

The disparity between elderly and nonelderly contacts is partly because most enrollee services were provided to those attempting to move, and elderly enrollees attempted to move less frequently than others. But the inequality persists even when moving plans are taken into account. Among those who moved, 48 percent of the elderly reported no office visits and 38 percent no telephone contacts six months after enrollment, compared to 25 percent for the nonelderly in both categories.

Records kept by the Springfield agency² support the conclusion that elderly enrollees made less use of agency services than the nonelderly.³ At

¹ During the first 12 months after they began receiving allowance payments, 9 percent of the elderly and 20 percent of the nonelderly moved. Similarly, the elderly were substantially less likely to terminate from the program prematurely: 13 percent terminated in their first 12 months, compared to 24 percent of the nonelderly.

² Springfield was the only agency to keep such records in sufficient detail for the analysis.

³ Note that these data do not depend on participant recall.

Springfield, 51 percent of the nonelderly enrollees attended voluntary information sessions and/or requested individual assistance; 45 percent of the elderly received the same services. However, these figures are influenced by the high proportion of elderly enrollees who planned to stay in their preprogram units. When the analysis is restricted to those planning to move, a somewhat higher proportion of elderly than nonelderly enrollees received voluntary services (58 percent compared to 50 percent). Thus, although some elderly participants did have special needs and some required substantial services, the overall level of service use among the elderly was at least no higher, and perhaps a little lower than for non-elderly enrollees.

EFFECTIVENESS OF SERVICES

In other AAE analyses, responsive services were found effective in helping enrollees become recipients.¹ They were especially helpful for enrollees planning to move in tight housing markets and for black enrollees, regardless of their moving intentions.

Services seem generally effective for both elderly and nonelderly enrollees, but there is some evidence that the benefit is greatest for the nonelderly. Across the AAE sites, as shown in Table 4-3, enrollee success rates were higher where agencies offered higher levels of responsive services. But in the sites offering comparatively lower levels of services, elderly enrollees were more successful than the nonelderly--64 percent of the elderly planning to move became recipients, compared to 56 percent of the nonelderly. When agencies offered higher levels of services, about the same proportion of elderly and nonelderly households planning to move became recipients (see Table 4-3).²

The Springfield agency kept attendance records for both mandatory and voluntary information sessions, and it kept track of requests for individualized agency assistance. Again, a higher proportion of the elderly and nonelderly enrollees who received some voluntary services became recipients,

¹ See Holshouser et al., op. cit., Appendix D.

² For the complete analysis, see Appendix A of this report. In Holshouser et al., op. cit., Appendix D, a similar analysis restricts the data base to enrollees planning to move in tight markets. The same tendency is visible, but it is less pronounced.

but the gain was notably greater for the nonelderly. Among nonelderly enrollees planning to move, the percentage becoming recipients was 22 points higher for those receiving some voluntary services; the difference for the elderly was only 10 percentage points. The number of elderly enrollees in some cells of the table is small, however, so this conclusion on the relative effectiveness of services must be viewed with caution.¹

TABLE 4-3
PERCENTAGE OF ENROLLEES BECOMING RECIPIENTS

	Enrollees Planning to Move		Enrollees Planning to Stay	
	Elderly	Nonelderly	Elderly	Nonelderly
Agencies Offering Substantial Responsive Services ^a	71% (154)	70% (1,297)	87% (363)	83% (849)
Agencies Offering Limited Responsive Services ^b	64 (332)	56 (2,465)	86 (582)	83 (1,339)
Springfield Enrollees ^c				
Those receiving some voluntary services	58 (33)	77 (360)	94 (32)	84 (154)
Those receiving only mandatory services	48 (24)	55 (364)	79 (56)	79 (173)

Source: AAE Application, Enrollment, and Payments Initiation Forms; Site background data

Data Base: All Enrollees (N = 7,381, excluding 710 enrollees who were undecided at enrollment; missing cases - 5)

^a Durham, Tulsa, and Springfield.

^b Salem, Peoria, San Bernardino, Bismarck, and Jacksonville.

^c In order to have a sufficient number of elderly households in the planned mover category, undecided households were combined with the households that planned to move.

¹ Fuller analysis is presented in Appendix A.

If, as the analyses above suggest, agency services have a limited effect on elderly enrollees' chances of becoming recipients, it may be because the elderly have other resources that reduce their need for agency support. AAE data on this point are limited, but they hint that some such resources exist. Table 4-4 compares the assistance elderly households that searched for new housing received from friends and relatives to the help they received from agencies.¹ Among those who moved, about the same proportion reported help from both sources in identifying units. But elderly enrollees reported substantially more help from friends and relatives than from the agencies in overcoming transportation problems and dealing with landlords--the two items agency staff most frequently mentioned as special needs of their elderly clientele.² In some senses, then, agency services may well be relatively minor among the resources available to elderly participants.

CONCLUSION

Many elderly households face problems that could impede their participation in a housing allowance program such as the AAE. Paradoxically, the AAE evidence suggests that the elderly may actually need agency services less than nonelderly participants.

On two counts the data clearly point to a lesser demand for services among the elderly. First, the most extensive agency services to enrollees were designed to aid enrollees planning to move to new units. Elderly enrollees, as noted in Chapter 3, were only about half as likely to plan to move as nonelderly enrollees, so proportionately fewer elderly used mover-oriented services. Second, after they became allowance recipients, the elderly were apparently less likely to find themselves in situations, such as moving and disputes with landlords, that required agency services. Staff perceptions and participant data are in accord on these points. For these reasons, some staff members concluded that in the long term they could handle larger caseloads of elderly than nonelderly participants.

¹ These data are taken from the special elderly survey and are not available for nonelderly enrollees.

² For examples of the operation of these support networks, see the case histories in Appendix C.

TABLE 4-4

PERCENTAGE OF ELDERLY RECIPIENTS REPORTING SEARCH ASSISTANCE

	Help From Friends and Relatives		Help From Agency ^a		
	Recipients Who Searched But Stayed (N=63)	Recipients Who Moved (N=99)	Recipients Who Searched But Stayed (N=59)	Recipients Who Moved (N=95)	
Telling of Available Places	54%	64%	Show List of Places	17%	43%
			Call to Find Available Places	10	16
Drive Around to Look at Places	39	55	Take Around to Look at Places	0	14
			Look at Places for You	7	12
Going in to Talk with Landlord	29	43	Help You Deal with Landlords	15	17

Source: AAE Application and Payments Initiation Forms; Special Elderly Survey. See also Appendix B, Table B-7.

Data Base: All Recipient Searchers who answered both questions (N = 162)

^aEight respondents did not answer this question.

The evidence with respect to elderly enrollees planning to move is conflicting. Agency staff generally believed such participants needed more help than the nonelderly, and they cited the need for transportation and help in dealing with landlords in particular. Responses to the special elderly survey confirm that such problems existed, and they mention as well the difficulty of arranging and making the actual move. Yet there is also evidence that the elderly enrollees' problems were not unique, that they did not use agency services any more than the nonelderly (and perhaps used them less), and that services were more help to the nonelderly than to the elderly in becoming recipients.

The resolution of these conflicting indications rests on two facts. First, many elderly persons did have special problems, and the agency staff were very sensitive to them. Elderly enrollees in general seem to have had more difficulty than the nonelderly in understanding the program, and they required extra effort from the staff in explaining it. In what was probably a minority of cases, agency staff did provide extensive special services to particular elderly households; anecdotal evidence of such cases abounds. Second, many elderly participants in the AAE did not have particular problems, and many were able to call on resources other than those of the agencies to deal with them. Thus, although some elderly people needed extensive services, and sensitivity was generally required of agency staff in dealing with the elderly, on the whole, they did not require extensive supporting services from the agencies.



V. PROGRAM OUTCOMES

Participation in the housing allowance program offered recipient households several potential benefits. Those who moved or secured repairs on their preprogram units often experienced an improvement in the physical quality of their housing. Movers might relocate to better neighborhoods or find less crowded quarters. All of the recipients, but particularly those who stayed in their preprogram units, had a chance to reduce their "rent burden"--the proportion of their income spent on rent.¹

Previous research has indicated that excessive rent burden is the most common problem facing elderly renter households.² Many elderly households live on fixed incomes and even suffer from declining incomes as household members retire from the work force. They continue to live in the housing they occupied when the household income was higher, and the rent may go up with inflation even as the family income goes down. In some cases, family size decreases when children move out to live on their own; then the family begins "overconsuming," because its unit is bigger than it currently needs.

This chapter briefly reviews the program benefits received by elderly participants in the AAE, with attention to how they differ from those for non-elderly allowance recipients. Because previous chapters have shown that a substantially higher proportion of elderly than nonelderly recipients remain in their preprogram units, the chapter also examines the effect of this factor on benefits.

REDUCTIONS IN RENT BURDEN

The 1970 Census documented that rent burden is generally higher for elderly households than for younger families. About two-thirds of the elderly renter households paid rents greater than 25 percent of their gross income; about half paid more than 35 percent. In contrast, only about one-third of the nonelderly households had a rent/income ratio greater than 25 percent.³

¹ All of these program outcomes are described for the whole AAE population in Temple et al., Third Annual Report, op. cit.

² U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Older Americans: Facts About Income and Housing, October 1973.

³ U.S. Census Public Use Tapes, Table A-12, in *ibid.*, 1973.

Overall, elderly AAE recipients faced higher rent burdens than the non-elderly recipients, although the difference was not as great as that for the national population.¹ Elderly recipients were paying a median of 47 percent of their income for rent at enrollment, compared to a median of 40 percent for the nonelderly.² The difference between the total elderly and nonelderly groups, however, is mainly due to the smaller average household size among elderly participants.³ As Table 5-1 shows, elderly and nonelderly households of the same size actually had very similar rent burdens;⁴ in fact, the averages for the elderly were slightly lower than those for the nonelderly.

Both elderly and nonelderly households gained substantial reductions in their rent burden through AAE participation. Overall, the gain was slightly greater for the elderly. Their median rent burden of 47 percent fell to a median of 24 percent, while the median for the nonelderly dropped from 40 to 20 percent. Again, however, holding household size constant virtually eliminates any distinction between the gains for elderly and nonelderly recipients, as shown in Table 5-1.

IMPROVEMENTS IN HOUSING QUALITY

By the measures available, elderly households were occupying slightly better housing than nonelderly households before enrollment. Because of this difference, and because fewer of the elderly households moved to new

¹ Because the elderly in the national population have substantially lower average incomes than the nonelderly, but all AAE participants had low incomes, one would not expect so great a disparity between elderly and nonelderly within the AAE population.

² In this analysis, rent burden is defined as the ratio between gross rent (including utilities) and gross income (not taking into account the deductions that were used for computing payments in the program).

³ Program rules excluded one-person households except for the elderly, disabled, or households displaced by public action. Consequently, the proportion of one-person households is much higher among elderly than nonelderly recipients (72 percent compared to 9 percent). However, elderly households in general are smaller than nonelderly households. Thus, 82 percent of the elderly recipient households with more than one person had only two, compared to 26 percent of the nonelderly households with more than one person.

⁴ Within household size categories, both the average incomes and the average rent were very similar for elderly and nonelderly households.

TABLE 5-1

MEAN RENT BURDEN WITHIN HOUSEHOLD SIZE CATEGORIES
AT ENROLLMENT AND FIRST PAYMENT, ELDERLY AND NONELDERLY

Household Size	Mean Rent Burden			
	At Enrollment		At First Payment	
	Elderly	Nonelderly	Elderly	Nonelderly
One	(837) .56	(370) .60	(836) ^a .27	(370) .30
Two	(264) .46	(1,012) .50	(264) .23	(1,012) .27
Three-Four	(50) .39	(1,786) .43	(50) .18	(1,786) .22
Five or More	(8) [.33]	(1,047) .35	(8) [.10]	(1,047) .15
All Households	(1,159)	(4,215)	(1,158) ^a	(4,215)
Mean	.52	.44	.26	.22
MEDIAN	.47	.40	.24	.20

Source: AAE Application, Certification, Enrollment, and Payments Initiation Forms

Data Base: All Recipients (N = 5,374, excluding 383 households who paid zero rent at enrollment or had zero income at enrollment)

^aOne missing observation.

units, the elderly benefited less from improvements in housing quality than did the nonelderly.¹

A rough measure of change in housing quality is provided by a measure based on the presence or absence of the seven most frequently reported deficiencies in units.² Both elderly and nonelderly households showed substantial gains in the proportion living in units with none of the deficiencies--from 52 to 65 percent for the elderly, and from 42 to 59 percent for the nonelderly. Among those who moved, elderly and nonelderly households differed little, either in the quality of their preprogram units or in their new units, as illustrated in Table 5-2. Because more nonelderly households moved, however, the overall increase in the percentage of households occupying units with none of the deficiencies was slightly greater for the nonelderly than for the elderly. Both groups improved their housing, but the disparity between them narrowed.³

The same general pattern is reflected in the standardized rent figure shown in Table 5-3.⁴ Standardized rent can be taken as an indicator of the level of housing consumption, including not only the unit's physical characteristics but also those of the neighborhood or location that affect its value. Overall, standardized rent for the elderly went from 0.98 at the time of

¹ Improvement in housing quality could result either from a move or from repairs to preprogram units. However, the limited scale and duration of the AAE was not conducive to substantial repairs, and relatively few households became recipients in their preprogram units after repairs. Overall, 11 percent of the 4,527 nonelderly recipients and 13 percent of the 1,229 elderly recipients stayed in their preprogram units with repairs. Therefore, 22 percent of the 2,258 nonelderly households and 18 percent of the 909 elderly households that remained in their old units had some repairs done to those units.

² These deficiencies (noted in the First and Second Participant Surveys and the Housing Evaluation Forms) included the presence of leaks or rodents (as reported by participants), the presence of structural hazards, safety hazards, major plumbing deficiencies, major heating deficiencies, and a judgment that the unit was unfit for other reasons (as reported by an independent inspector).

³ Some of this pattern might result from regression on the mean. However, measurement errors are probably slight, so the pattern reflects real change in relative conditions.

⁴ For each location, a panel of experts estimated average rental prices for modest, standard units for various household sizes. The standardized rent figures reported here are the ratio of a household's reported rent to the estimate for a household of that size in that location. A value of 1.00 indicates that a household's rent was exactly equal to the estimate.

TABLE 5-2
 PERCENTAGE OF RECIPIENT MOVERS LIVING IN UNITS
 WITH COMMON DEFICIENCIES AT ENROLLMENT
 AND FIRST PAYMENT

Substandard Attribute	At Enrollment		At First Payment	
	Elderly (N=51)	Nonelderly (N=300)	Elderly (N=51)	Nonelderly (N=300)
Unit has leaks	18%	23%	6%	7%
Unit has rats	14	24	8	8
Unvented space heaters, portable electric heaters, or no heat	12	9	2	2
Unit has structural hazards	18	14	4	4
Unit has safety hazards	31	33	17	20
Unit has major plumbing deficiencies	22	19	4	10
Unit is unfit for habitation	16	16	2	7

Source: First and Second Participant Surveys; First and Second Wave
 Housing Evaluation Forms

Data Base: Recipient Movers in joint samples (N = 351)

enrollment to 1.08 when they became allowance recipients. The change for nonelderly households was larger, from 0.86 to 1.05. Again, households that moved experienced greater changes. Because a higher proportion of nonelderly households moved, the overall change for the nonelderly was greater, and the initial difference between elderly and nonelderly groups was reduced.

TABLE 5-3
MEAN STANDARDIZED RENT
AT ENROLLMENT AND FIRST PAYMENT

	Recipients Who Moved		Recipients Who Stayed		All Recipients	
	Elderly	Nonelderly	Elderly	Nonelderly	Elderly	Nonelderly
At Enrollment	.82 (N=261)	.75 (N=1,998)	1.02 (N=902)	.97 (N=2,241)	.98 (N=1,163)	.86 (N=4,239)
At First Payment	1.18 ^a (N=260)	1.13 (N=1,998)	1.05 (N=902)	.98 (N=2,241)	1.08 ^a (N=1,162)	1.05 (N=4,239)

Source: AAE Application, Enrollment, and Payments Initiation Forms

Data Base: All Recipients (N = 5,402, excluding 355 households who paid zero rent at enrollment)

^aOne missing observation

Some elderly persons might be expected to require special features in their housing because of their physical limitations. If such housing were not readily available in the private market, a housing allowance would be of little value for these people. There is no evidence that this problem existed for any substantial number of AAE participants, however. Relatively few respondents to the special elderly survey mentioned special physical requirements for their units. The most commonly named needs of this type were that all rooms be on the same floor (37 percent) and that the unit have not many stairs to climb (36 percent). Less than 10 percent indicated that they currently occupied housing with special safety or convenience features (such as grab bars) not commonly available on the private market. Although there is no direct evidence of the extent to which elderly recipients were able to satisfy any special housing requirements, 74 percent said they were very satisfied with the units they

occupied under the program; only 57 percent of the nonelderly recipients said they were very satisfied.

REDUCTIONS IN HOUSING CROWDEDNESS

On the average, elderly participants in the AAE occupied units with substantially fewer persons per room than the nonelderly. The mean number of persons per room at enrollment was 0.42 for the elderly and 0.80 for the nonelderly.¹ These figures do not reflect overconsumption, however. As Table 5-4 shows, the disparity in the averages is almost entirely due to the smaller size of the elderly households. Within household size categories, the average number of persons per room for elderly and nonelderly households was very similar.

Changes in crowdedness would be expected almost exclusively for households that moved. Although both elderly and nonelderly households decreased their crowdedness by moving, the improvement was greater for the nonelderly. Again, the program helped equalize the circumstances of the two groups while improving the situation for both.

IMPROVEMENTS IN NEIGHBORHOOD QUALITY

When AAE participants moved, they often improved the quality of their neighborhood as well as that of their dwelling units. Because such improvements obviously depend on moving, it is not surprising to find that non-elderly participants experienced greater overall changes in neighborhood quality than the elderly.

A socioeconomic index (SEI), based on 1970 census data for each census tract, serves as a rough indicator of the quality of the participants' neighborhood.² At enrollment, the elderly lived in tracts of slightly better quality than the nonelderly. The elderly enrollees' average SEI score was 0.834; the average for the nonelderly was 0.805. Both groups improved their average neighborhood quality by the time they became recipients. The elderly average climbed to 0.872, and that of the nonelderly rose to an almost identical 0.870. As Table 5-5 shows, however, the

¹ Computed only for those who ultimately became allowance recipients.

² The index takes into account the levels of income, education, and white-collar employment in the census tract. An "average" tract in each program area would have a value of 1.00 on the index.

TABLE 5-4
HOUSING CROWDEDNESS WITHIN HOUSEHOLD SIZE CATEGORIES,
RECIPIENTS WHO STAYED AND RECIPIENTS
WHO MOVED AT ENROLLMENT AND FIRST PAYMENT

Household Size	Average Number of Persons Per Room					
	Recipients Who Stayed		Recipients Who Moved			
	Elderly	Nonelderly	At Enrollment		At First Payment	
	Elderly	Nonelderly	Elderly	Nonelderly	Elderly	Nonelderly
One	.35 (666)	.35 (223)	.37 (222)	.45 (187)	.32 (222)	.33 (187)
Two	.51 (214)	.53 (603)	.56 (65)	.59 (507)	.50 (65)	.50 (507)
Three-Four	.81 (26)	.74 (956)	.72 (27)	.84 (955)	.66 (27)	.72 (955)
Five or More	-- (5)	1.11 (466)	-- (4)	1.24 (630)	-- (4)	1.06 (630)
Total	.40 (911)	.72 (2,248)	.45 (318)	.87 (2,279)	.42 (318)	.73 (2,279)

Source: AAE Application, Enrollment, and Payments Initiation Forms

Data Base: All Recipients (N = 5,756; missing cases - 1)

improvement in neighborhood quality was actually greater for those elderly households that moved outside their census tracts than for their nonelderly counterparts. In other words, the larger average gains for the nonelderly participants resulted simply because more of them moved.

TABLE 5-5
NEIGHBORHOOD QUALITY

	Recipients Who Did Not Move	Recipients Who Moved Within Census Tract	Recipients Who Changed Tracts	
			At Enrollment	At First Payment
Mean Socioeconomic Index ^a				
Elderly	.857(816)	.659(67)	.803(196)	1.011(196)
Nonelderly	.960(1,923)	.789(432)	.745(1,580)	.908(1,580)

Source: AAE Application, Enrollment, and Payments Initiation Forms;
1970 U.S. Census (4th Count, Population) for SEI components

Data Base: All enrolled households that received an initial payment and
whose enrollment and first-payment census tracts could be
identified (N = 5,014)

^aThe SEI is an index which compares tract measures of income, education, and type of employment with the same measures for the SMSA (in some cases, e.g. Springfield, the SMSA tape contains additional tracts) in which the tract is located. The three measures are weighted equally. A tract with an index score of 1.0 means the census tract had an average socioeconomic level for that area. Any value below 1.0 indicates the census tract fell below the average socioeconomic level; scores above 1.0 indicate an above-average socioeconomic level.

CONCLUSION

Previous research establishes that elderly households have different housing problems from nonelderly households. That conclusion leads one to expect that the elderly would receive different benefits than others from a housing allowance program. The AAE experience only partially bears out this expectation.

As a group, elderly AAE participants had slightly higher rent burdens and occupied somewhat better housing than the nonelderly. They also occupied housing with substantially fewer persons per room. As a result of the program, all of these conditions improved for both the elderly and non-elderly groups. For elderly participants, the reduction in rent burden was slightly larger than that for the nonelderly. Improvements in housing quality, crowdedness, and neighborhood quality were greater for the nonelderly.

Most of the differences between the program outcomes for the elderly and nonelderly recipients can be explained by two factors. First, the elderly had smaller households than the nonelderly. Second, a higher proportion of the elderly became recipients in their preprogram units. When these two factors are held constant, the similarities in measures of housing quality improvement for the elderly and nonelderly households are much more striking than the differences.

VI. CERTIFICATION OF ELDERLY PARTICIPANTS' INCOMES

Before households could participate in the AAE, the agencies had to certify that information related to their eligibility and potential payment levels was correct. Particular emphasis was placed on income and household size information, which determined the value of the allowance payment a household could receive.

HUD permitted agencies to certify income and household size data either by accepting participants' declarations or by verifying the reported information. Other AAE analysis found verification of income data--which involved checking documents submitted by the participant (such as pay stubs) or contacting third parties (such as employers)--to be more effective than declaration in avoiding potential payment errors.¹ The same study showed that verification was also the more expensive procedure.

To minimize errors in payments while limiting administrative costs, income transfer programs have sometimes adopted a policy of selective verification, checking income only when the risk of error appeared high and accepting declarations or postponing certification in other cases.² Some AAE agency staff believed elderly households presented a relatively low risk of error for two reasons. First, many of elderly participants were living on essentially fixed incomes, which are more stable over time than nonelderly households' incomes. Second, some staff members felt that the elderly were more honest than the nonelderly, less likely to misreport their income in an attempt to qualify for higher payments. These staff members were therefore

¹ See Donald E. Dickson et al., Certification: Determining Eligibility and Setting Payment Levels in the Administrative Agency Experiment (Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates Inc., 1977). The analysis was unable to show differences in effectiveness between accepting declarations and verification procedures for household size information; reporting errors and changes in participants' circumstances apparently occurred much less frequently for household size than for income.

² For an indication of the impact of selective verification in ongoing programs, see U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, "Quality Control; State Corrective Action Activities, April 1973-June 1974" (Washington, D.C.: December 1974), and "Use of Error Profiles and Management Controls for Improving Program Operations--West Virginia" (Washington, D.C.: May 1975).

willing to accept declarations from elderly applicants while they continued verifying income information provided by the nonelderly.¹

Overall, income certification in the AAE resulted in smaller changes in the potential payments for elderly than for nonelderly households, as shown in Table 6-1.² On the average, income certification for the nonelderly led to an adjustment (upward or downward) of \$129 per household per year in housing allowance payments. For the elderly, the average annual change was only \$48 per household. Furthermore, adjustments to the elderly applicants' reported income figures made less difference in the total value of allowance payments the agencies would make. For the elderly, adjustments upward nearly balanced adjustments downward and resulted in a net reduction in the average annual

TABLE 6-1
PAYMENT ADJUSTMENTS RESULTING
FROM CERTIFICATION

	Adjustment to Potential Annual Payments Per Household	
	Elderly	Nonelderly
Absolute Adjustment ^a	\$48	\$129
Net Adjustment ^b	- \$ 1	- \$ 22
N	1492	6338

Source: AAE Application and Certification Forms

Data Base: Certified Applicants in all sites except Bismarck (N = 7,830, excluding 262 ineligible households and 10 missing observations)

^aAbsolute adjustments are the sum of payment increases plus payment decreases

^bNet adjustments are equal to payment increases minus payment decreases.

¹ Although there is anecdotal evidence of this practice, it was evidently not widespread. Multivariate analysis did not show age to be strongly associated with agency decisions to verify or not verify applicants' incomes. See Dickson et al., op. cit., Appendix D.

² One potential payment is calculated on the basis of income and household size information provided at application. A second is computed on the basis of the information certified as accurate. These are potential payments because certified applicants might not become recipients and because actual payments could not exceed the rent ultimately paid by the recipient households. Changes in potential payments resulting from certification are defined as the difference between the calculation based on application information and the calculation based on certification information.

payment of only about \$1. The average reduction for the nonelderly was \$22 per year.¹ The remainder of this chapter considers the factors underlying the differences in certification results for elderly and nonelderly participants.

SIZE OF INCOME ADJUSTMENTS

The major reason for the relatively small payment adjustments for elderly applicants was not that the elderly had many fewer adjustments, but that their adjustments were substantially smaller. Among those nonelderly applicants for whom certification produced income information different from what they had submitted, the average change in gross annual income was \$927. The average change for the elderly was \$319. A much higher proportion of the adjustments to elderly applicants' incomes was very small--less than \$48 per year, which would alter allowance payments by less than \$1 per month. As Table 6-2 shows, 28 percent of the adjustments to elderly income data fell in this category, compared to only 10 percent for the nonelderly.

TABLE 6-2
MAGNITUDE OF CHANGES IN INCOME DATA

	Elderly	Nonelderly
Number of Households with Changes	815	3,462
Average Change	\$319	\$927
Percent of Changes larger than \$48	72%	90%
Average Annual Income	\$2,583	\$3,996
Average Change as a Percent of Total Income	12%	25%

Source: AAE Application and Certification Forms

Data Base: Certified Applicants with income changes at all sites except Bismarck (N = 4,277)

¹ When a similar calculation is performed only for those households that became allowance recipients (better reflecting the effect of certification on actual AAE payments), the gap between the figures for the elderly and nonelderly narrows.

In part, this pattern reflects the smaller average incomes of the elderly AAE participants: the larger incomes of the nonelderly would be expected to lead to larger average changes.

However, as Table 6-2 shows, the amount of income explains only part of the differences. The changes for the elderly also represented a smaller proportion of their total income (12 percent, compared to 25 percent for the nonelderly). This finding suggests that elderly incomes are more stable than those of nonelderly participants, not only in that they are less subject to change over time, but also because they fluctuate in a proportionately smaller range.¹

THE INCIDENCE OF ADJUSTMENTS TO INCOME INFORMATION

Certification resulted in income adjustments about as often for the elderly as for the nonelderly, as shown in Table 6-3. The incidence of nontrivial changes (those large enough to affect monthly allowance payments by at least \$1) was slightly higher for the nonelderly, but even this difference was not very large. Forty-nine percent of the certifications of nonelderly incomes led to a nontrivial adjustment, compared to 39 percent of the certifications for the elderly.

These differences are partly attributable to the varying stability of income from different sources. Income changes are least frequent when participants have only grant income (such as welfare), and they are most frequent when the applicant has several types of income (such as grant and earned income).² Table 6-4 shows that these relations hold true for both elderly and nonelderly applicants, and that they account for some of the difference in the incidence of observed changes. Among households with no earned income, for example, elderly and nonelderly households differed little. But a substantially higher proportion of elderly than nonelderly households had no earned income, and the low incidence of changes in this category contributed to the elderly's low overall rate.

¹ This suggestion is supported by regression analyses of the magnitude of certification changes. The regression coefficient for the variable representing elapsed time between application and certification (in ten-day units) was substantially larger in an equation based solely on the nonelderly than in another based solely on the elderly. In fact, the coefficient in the equation based on the elderly population was not judged statistically important. See Appendix D, Tables D-1 and D-2.

² See Dickson et al., op. cit., Appendix D.

TABLE 6-3
INCIDENCE OF CHANGES IN REPORTED INCOME

	Elderly	Nonelderly
Percentage of Cases With Any Change	55%	55%
Percentage of Cases With Changes Greater Than \$48	39	49
Total N	1,494	6,346

Source: AAE Application and Certification Forms.

Data Base: Certified Applicants in all sites except Bismarck (N=7,840, excluding 262 ineligible households).

TABLE 6-4
PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH NONTRIVIAL INCOME CHANGES
WITHIN INCOME SOURCE CATEGORIES - ELDERLY AND NONELDERLY

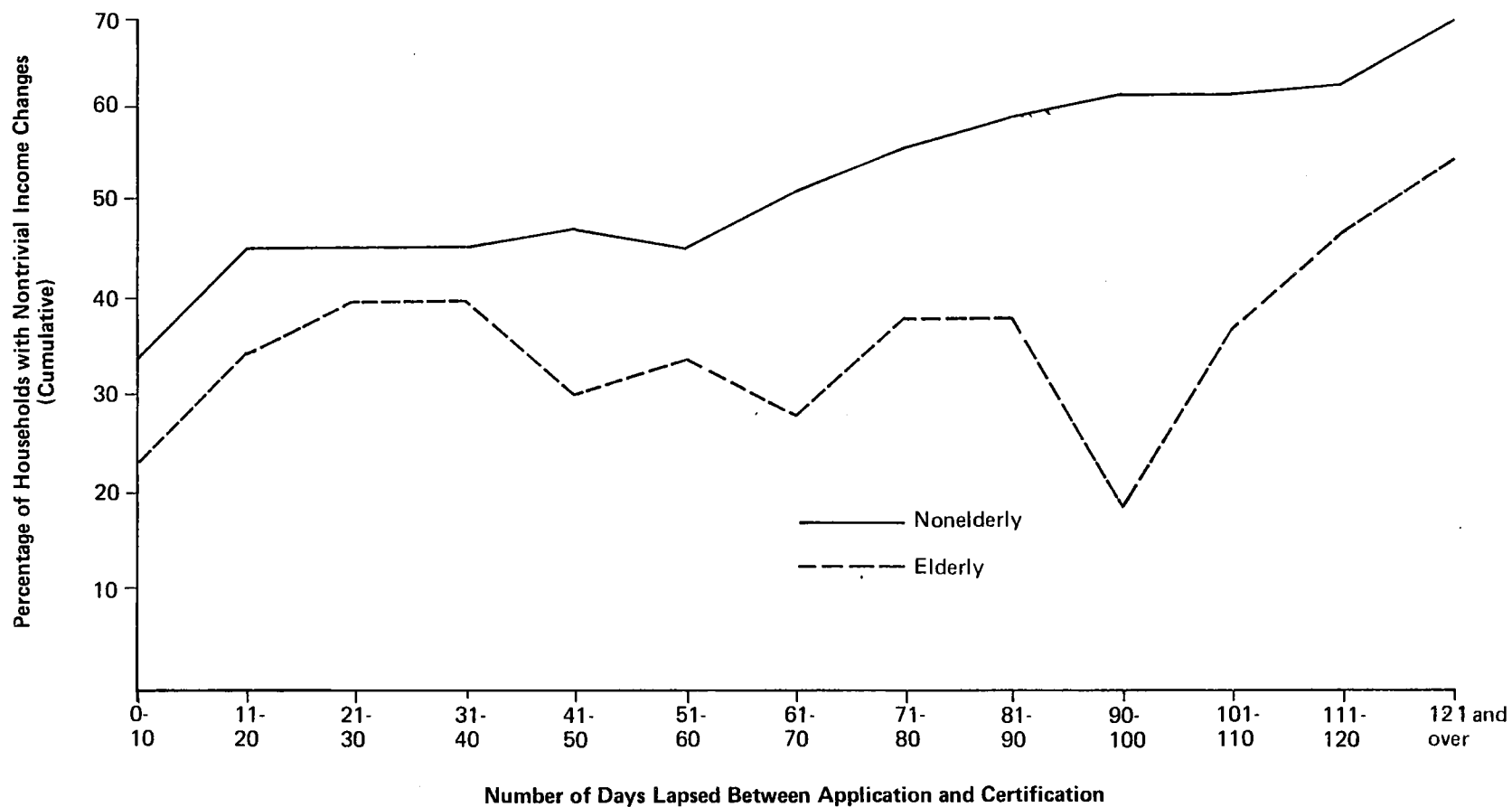
	Income Source		
	Earned Only	Some Earned Income	No Earned Income
Elderly	(63) 44%	(137) 55%	(1,294) 37%
Nonelderly	(2,150) 55%	(1,188) 59%	(3,008) 41%

Source: AAE Application and Certification Forms.

Data Base: Certified Applicants at all sites except Bismarck (N=7,840, excluding 262 ineligible households).

Although the overall differences are small, they do suggest that elderly incomes are less subject to change over time. As Figure 6-1 shows, the incidence of changes for nonelderly households increased steadily as time passed between application and certification. The pattern was much less consistent for elderly households, implying that other factors than the passage of time were more important determinants of change. Multivariate analysis confirms that the incidence of changes is more strongly influenced

**FIGURE 6-1
INCIDENCE OF NONTRIVIAL INCOME CHANGE OVER TIME LAPSED
BETWEEN APPLICATION AND CERTIFICATION**



SOURCE: AAE Application and Certification Forms

DATA BASE: All Certified Applicants Excluding All Bismarck Applicants and Applicants certified ineligible for reasons other than over income (N = 7,840)

by the passage of time for the nonelderly even when other factors, including source of income, are taken into account.¹

CERTIFICATION METHODS

Previous analysis has shown that, in the AAE, income verification was more effective in identifying potential payment errors than was acceptance of participant declarations. Table 6-5 shows this conclusion holds for both elderly and nonelderly participants. Among both groups, the average value of changes in annual payments was substantially larger with verification than when declaration was used. Multivariate analyses confirm that this relation exists among both elderly and nonelderly households when other factors are taken into account.²

TABLE 6-5
EFFECT OF CERTIFICATION METHODS
ON VALUE OF PAYMENT ADJUSTMENTS

Certification Method	Average Absolute Payment Adjustment Per Certified Household	
	Elderly	Nonelderly
Complete Third Party Verification	\$51	\$129
Complete Document Verification	53	143
Complete Verification by Mixed Procedure	122	187
Partial Verification	57	157
Participant Declaration	24	106
N	1,492	6,338

Source: AAE Application and Certification Forms

Data Base: Certified Applicants at all sites except Bismarck (N = 7,830, excluding 262 ineligible households and 10 missing observations)

¹ See Appendix D, Tables D-3 and D-4.

² Ibid., Tables D-5 and D-6.

The AAE data do not permit a clear distinction between adjustments that result from actual changes in participant circumstances and those that are the consequence of reporting errors, deliberate or inadvertent. One might expect, however, that if reporting errors were less common for the elderly, and if the special strength of verification is detecting errors in reporting, not changes in circumstances, then the value of verification of elderly incomes would be rather small. The AAE data, however, show the difference between verification and declaration to be as great for the elderly as for the nonelderly. Thus, the AAE data can neither support nor directly contradict staff perceptions that elderly participants were more honest in reporting their incomes.

CONCLUSION

Income certification in the AAE led to smaller average payment adjustments for the elderly than for the nonelderly. Three factors contributed to this result. First, elderly incomes were smaller. Second, they were less subject to change over time, in part because comparatively few of the elderly were receiving earned income. Third, when elderly incomes did change, they fluctuated in a proportionately narrower range than those of the nonelderly.

These patterns indicate that the result of not verifying or delaying verification of elderly applicants' incomes--measured in terms of the payment errors that would be overlooked--is smaller than it would be for the nonelderly. However, such a policy would allow a substantial number of errors to go unchecked. Among elderly households, the average annual payment adjustment with third-party verification was \$27 higher per family than the average adjustment with participant declarations. In contrast, the incremental administrative cost of a third-party verification is about \$6.¹ If limited resources forced selective verification, the elderly--at least those without earned income--would be a good group not to verify. In less constrained situations, the benefits of verification --even for the elderly--might well outweigh the costs.

¹ See Dickson et al., op. cit.

VII. CONSIDERATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The Administrative Agency Experiment provides considerable information on the experiences of elderly participants in a housing allowance program. Perhaps most important, it reveals few major differences between the experiences of the elderly and nonelderly, implying no requirement for special program design features or administrative procedures to deal with either group.

But the AAE was not principally designed to investigate the way the program could serve elderly people, and the analysis reported here necessarily leaves some questions unanswered. This chapter deals briefly with three such areas: special housing needs of the elderly that might not be met by a housing allowance program; procedures for effectively informing elderly households about the existence of a housing allowance program; and providing appropriate levels of supportive services to elderly participants.

SPECIAL HOUSING NEEDS

The AAE experience suggests that a housing allowance program can serve substantial numbers of elderly households. Although the proportion of elderly households served in the AAE was smaller than the nonelderly proportion, a substantial number of elderly families did participate. And the limited available evidence suggests that those elderly households served by the program did not differ markedly from the broader elderly population.

Despite these findings, previous research has shown that there are elderly households with special needs that a housing allowance program is not explicitly designed to meet. Two groups are of particular interest: those that need special physical features in their dwellings, and those whose main problem is the cost of property taxes and maintenance of homes they currently own. Many special housing requirements are doubtless impossible to fill on the private market. But AAE data show that many elderly families have relatively limited requirements, such as easy access to the street. Such needs might well be met in the private market--especially if agencies help locate such units or provide additional subsidies to pay for them. A housing allowance program might also be designed to provide elderly homeowners the opportunity to participate and so reduce their shelter burdens.

For neither of these possibilities does the AAE provide enough information to judge the capabilities and limitations of a housing allowance program. To assess them would require research in which homeowners and people with special needs were actively sought for participation in substantial numbers.

A housing allowance program might also have only limited appeal for those elderly persons who live in housing of poor quality but strongly wish to stay where they are. Some evidence suggests that elderly (and some nonelderly) families did not participate in the AAE because they did not desire to move. It is unknown how often the families' assumption that they would have to move was accurate, or how many potentially eligible households in poor housing would be strongly averse to moving. For such households, a housing allowance program might make special efforts to inform them accurately of their housing unit's quality and persuade them to rehabilitate. Anecdotal evidence indicates that both strategies were sometimes tried in the AAE, but more detailed data are necessary to determine how an operating program could best respond to people in this situation.

OUTREACH TO THE ELDERLY

The analysis in Chapter 2 suggests that special outreach procedures would be required to generate applications from the elderly population in proportion to those from nonelderly households. It identifies a twofold problem: the elderly were less aware of the program than the nonelderly, even with equal exposure to media advertising; and those elderly who were aware of the program were less likely to apply than other groups.

The AAE experience does not conclusively show, however, which procedures would be most effective in informing the elderly and motivating them to apply. In general, the highest proportion of elderly households responded to media outreach. On the other hand, the most successful campaign to attract elderly applicants involved mailing flyers directly to elderly households and stationing agency staff members in shopping centers and other public places frequented by the elderly. To determine which procedures would be most generally applicable would require a better understanding of why the elderly tend to be unaware of the program and why those who are aware are reluctant to apply.

SERVICES TO THE ELDERLY

The AAE experience is not conclusive about the level of services that elderly participants require from a housing allowance program. Agency staff members felt that elderly enrollees needed and received substantially more attention than the nonelderly. Other data suggest that the elderly did not get more, but perhaps got even fewer services. And apparently these services were less important in helping the elderly become recipients than they were for the non-elderly enrollees. The contradiction is important not only because it creates difficulty in defining an appropriate level of services, but also because it suggests a potentially major inefficiency. If operating agencies assume that elderly participants require substantial extra services (as AAE staff members did with virtual unanimity), and if the extra services are not really needed, a program might waste a great deal of administrative effort.

The main need for further research concerns services to enrollees, and especially to enrollees planning to move to new units to become allowance recipients. Some elderly enrollees apparently need a great deal of assistance in moving to a standard unit. But if they are only a small minority of elderly enrollees, as the AAE data indicate, information on which enrollee groups need extensive services--and what kinds of services they require --would allow operating agencies to be more sensitive and selective in their assistance to elderly participants.



APPENDIX A

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF ELDERLY ENROLLEES'
SUCCESS IN BECOMING RECIPIENTS

Author

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INTRODUCTION

This appendix examines the experience of elderly enrollees in the Administrative Agency Experiment in becoming housing allowance recipients, using a multivariate analysis to isolate the possible effects of age.

A household enrolled in the AAE must, in order to qualify for allowance payments, find a housing unit which could pass an agency inspection. (This could be the unit which the household already occupied.) The housing quality requirement was sometimes a serious obstacle to participation: overall, 29 percent of the AAE enrollees failed to qualify for payments.

The general experience of AAE enrollees in attempting to become allowance recipients has been analyzed in a previous report.¹ That analysis identified several factors closely related to the probability of qualifying for payments: whether the enrollee planned to move or to stay in the preprogram dwelling unit; the "tightness" of the housing market; the availability of acceptable housing in the area; the level of supportive services offered by the agencies; and the size of the allowance payment for which the enrollee would be eligible.

Age alone was not found to be an important factor in accounting for enrollees' success. Elderly enrollees were somewhat more successful than the nonelderly on average--79 percent qualified compared to 69 percent of the nonelderly--but much of this difference was attributed to the fact that elderly enrollees less frequently planned to move. When those planning to move and those planning to stay were analyzed separately, the age variable was not an important predictor of success.

The earlier analysis did not go on to examine the potential interaction between age and other variables, however. This appendix extends the earlier analysis by testing for interactive effects between age and the factors known to affect enrollee success: moving intentions, subsidy levels, market condition, and level of services.

¹ See William L. Holshouser, Jr. et al., Supportive Services in a Housing Allowance Program (Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates Inc., 1977). See especially Appendix B.

The analytic procedures employed are described in the next section, "Analytic Methods." The principal procedure is a multivariate contingency analysis using the "log linear" approach discussed by Goodman.¹ The third section, "Findings," presents the results of the analysis; there was, in general, little interaction between age and the important determinants of enrollee success in becoming recipients.

¹ Leo A. Goodman, "The Multivariate Analysis of Qualitative Data: Interactions Among Multiple Classifications," Journal of the American Statistical Association 65 (1970): 226-256; "The Analysis of Multidimensional Contingency Tables: Stepwise Procedures and Direct Estimation Methods for Building Models for Multiple Classifications," Technometrics 13 (1971): 33-61; and "A Modified Multiple Regression Approach to the Analysis of Dichotomous Variables," American Sociological Review 37 (1972): 28-46.

ANALYTIC METHODS

The procedures used to analyze the data on elderly success have been described in some detail in previous AAE analyses,¹ and are therefore summarized only briefly here. Essentially, these procedures summarize contingency table data by analyzing the logit of success in becoming a recipient. For the case of two dichotomous predictors A and B, let

$$P_{ij} = P_{ij}(S=1)$$

be the probability of success for a household in category i of predictor A and category j of predictor B.

The equation² defines a model similar to an analysis of variance model:

$$(1) \quad \ln(P_{ij}/(1-P_{ij})) = \alpha_{..}^S + \beta_{i.}^{AS} + \beta_{.j}^{BS} + \beta_{ij}^{ABS}$$

where $\alpha_{..}^S =$ a constant,

$\beta_{i.}^{AS} =$ the effect for row i,

$\beta_{.j}^{BS} =$ the effect for column j, and

$\beta_{ij}^{ABS} =$ the effect for all ij

in the two-way table crossing the categories of A and B. By imposing the usual side conditions,

$$\sum_i \beta_{i.}^{AS} = 0$$

$$\sum_j \beta_{.j}^{BS} = 0$$

$$\sum_j \beta_{ij}^{ABS} = \sum_i \beta_{ij}^{ABS} = 0$$

the parameters of this fully saturated model (all parameters included) are determined.

¹ See Holshouser et al., op. cit. Appendix D.

² Notational conventions used in this appendix are consistent with those used by Goodman, op. cit., 1972.

From the parameters estimated by equation (1), estimates of the cell frequencies for any reduced parameter model can be found. While the fully saturated model (all parameters included) will perfectly reproduce the observed table, the object is to find a reduced parameter model which will still fit the data well. A measure of the "goodness of fit" of the reduced parameter model to the observed data is given by the log likelihood ratio,

$$(2) \quad G^2 = 2 \sum_{i,j,k} f_o^{ijk} \log \frac{f_o^{ijk}}{f_e^{ijk}},$$

where f_o^{ijk} = observed cell frequencies for cell ijk in a three-way cross-tabulation of A, B, and S,
 f_e^{ijk} = cell frequencies for cell ijk generated by the reduced parameter (unsaturated) model.

This ratio is distributed as χ^2 with the appropriate degrees of freedom. In addition, successive models can be fitted by adding each parameter in turn, thereby deriving a χ^2 estimate of the importance of each parameter to the prediction of the logit. These estimates can then be used as guidelines for specifying the appropriate reduced parameter model to be fitted to the table, and for judging the relative importance of any given term in predicting the logit of the dependent variable.¹

Another useful summary statistic is the "reduction in uncertainty" measure reported by Theil.² The reduction in uncertainty, $u(y/x)$, of predicting a variable y from other variables x is defined for the one predictor variable case as:

$$(3) \quad u(y/x) = \frac{H(y) - H_x(y)}{H(y)},$$

where $H(y) = - \sum_i P_i \ln P_i$

and P_i is the probability of being in the i^{th} level of the dependent variable y ;

¹ See Ku and Kullback, "Log-Linear Models in Contingency Table Analysis," American Statistician 8, no. 4 (1974): 115-122.

² Henry Theil, "On the Estimation of Relationships Involving Qualitative Variables," American Journal of Sociology 76 (1970): 103-154. See also Holshouser et al., op. cit., Appendix D.

$$H_x(y) = \sum_i \sum_j P_{ij} \ln P_{.j}/P_{ij} ,$$

and P_{ij} is defined over the i levels of the dependent variable and the j levels of the independent variable (x).

This statistic can be roughly interpreted as a measure of the degree to which the dependent variable is predictable from the included independent variables and their appropriate interaction terms.

The analysis presented in the following section involves six variables:¹

Recipient Status. For each enrollee, a binary variable indicates whether the enrollee became an allowance recipient or was terminated from the program without receiving benefits. This variable generally appears as the proportion who became recipients within any defined group.

Moving Intentions. Enrollees were asked whether they planned to stay in their preprogram units or to move to new units before becoming allowance recipients. Enrollees who were undecided were excluded from the analysis.

Subsidy Level. Each enrollee's potential monthly subsidy was computed from information obtained at certification on income and household size. For this analysis, the subsidy level was divided by the number of people in the household and classified into two categories;² over \$40 per month per capita, and \$40 per month or less.

Market Tightness. Each of the eight AAE locations was classified as "tight" or "loose," on the basis of the rental vacancy rates and other background data. Tight markets have vacancy rates ranging from 4 to 6 percent, while loose market vacancy rates range from 8 to 13 percent.

¹ Two other variables, found important in previous analyses, are not included here. The stringency of agency inspection procedures was considered too compounded with the market tightness and services variables for inclusion in this analysis. (All three are coded only at the site level, and the binary classifications have considerable overlap.) Race was also found important, but such a large minority of the elderly enrollees were white that there was little possibility for meaningful separate analysis of this variable. In the analysis including all of these variables, the patterns for the elderly were consistent with those shown in this analysis.

² This level was chosen to obtain a useable distribution on the variable in both elderly and nonelderly populations.

Services. Each of the eight AAE agencies was classified as offering a "high" or "low" intensity of supportive services to enrollees, based largely on the amount of staff time allocated to the services function.

Age. Enrollees were classified as "elderly" if the head of household was 62 years old or older, and "nonelderly" otherwise.

The data required for these six variables contained on operating forms which were filed for all enrollees. Most of the analysis in this appendix was therefore based on the full AAE enrollee population. Because the Springfield agency kept detailed records of the level of services used by individual enrollees, a separate analysis was performed of enrollee success at that site.

FINDINGS

The analysis presented here involves examination of three four-way contingency tables for all AAE sites combined, and one four-way table for Springfield. All four tables include the recipient status, moving intentions, and age of enrollees. The remaining variables in the three combined-site tables are subsidy level, market tightness, and services, respectively. The services variable is also the fourth element of the Springfield analysis.

Table A-1 shows that, for both elderly and nonelderly enrollees, the intention to move or to stay in the preprogram unit was importantly related to the probability of becoming a recipient. Because fewer of the elderly enrollees planned to move (34 percent, compared to 63 percent of the non-elderly), elderly enrollees overall were more likely to become recipients.

TABLE A-1
 PROBABILITY OF BECOMING A RECIPIENT OF A HOUSING ALLOWANCE
 BY AMOUNT OF EXPECTED SUBSIDY, MOVING INTENTIONS, AND AGE

		Expected Subsidy High (above \$40.00 per month per capita)	Expected Subsidy Low (\$40.00 per month per capita or below)
62 Years and Over (Elderly)	Plan to Move	$P_S = .70$ N = 337	$P_S = .58$ N = 149
	Plan to Stay	$P_S = .87$ N = 630	$P_S = .84$ N = 315
Under 62 Years (Nonelderly)	Plan to Move	$P_S = .69$ N = 765	$P_S = .59$ N = 2,997
	Plan to Stay	$P_S = .85$ N = 398	$P_S = .83$ N = 1,790

Source: AAE Application, Certification, Enrollment, and Payments
 Initiation Forms

Data Base: All Enrollees (N = 7,381, excluding 710 undecided about moving
 at the time of their enrollment)

The table further shows that enrollees who were eligible for high per-capita subsidies tended to be more successful than those qualifying for lower amounts, particularly among those planning to move. Again, because households with elderly heads were in general eligible for higher per-capita subsidies--a result of their relatively lower incomes and small average size¹--the overall success rate for elderly enrollees was increased.

Finally, Table A-1 shows little difference between the elderly and nonelderly, once moving intentions and subsidy level are held constant. In fact, within comparable cells of the table, the percentages of elderly and nonelderly enrollees who became recipients are nearly identical.

Table A-2 presents the results from the log linear chi-squared partitioning of the effects for predicting success from the various main and interaction effects of expected subsidy, moving intentions, and age. From the table it is clear that age, expected subsidy levels, and moving intentions influence the probability of becoming a recipient. However, these effects are mainly additive, as evidenced by the good fit of the main effects model. There are no interactive, age-dependent effects of either moving plans or expected subsidy on the probability of becoming a recipient of a housing allowance.

Table A-3 shows that market tightness is another factor influencing enrollee success, especially for enrollees planning to move. Enrollees planning to move in tight housing markets were, not surprisingly, markedly less successful than their counterparts in loose market areas. This effect is more pronounced for the nonelderly than for elderly enrollees--a difference of 34 percentage points between the two market conditions for the nonelderly compared to 15 for the elderly. This suggests an interaction between age and market tightness, which is further tested in Table A-4.

Table A-4 indicates that the effect of market condition on the probability of becoming a recipient of a housing allowance is in fact age-dependent. This dependency becomes more clear in Table A-5, which is a collapsed version of Table A-4. The elderly were noticeably more successful in tight markets

¹ The formula for computing allowance payments was such that payments were larger for families with smaller incomes (holding household size constant) or larger households (holding income constant).

TABLE A-2
CHI SQUARED PARTITIONING, REDUCTION IN UNCERTAINTIES, AND BEST FITTING MODEL
FOR THE DATA OF TABLE A-1 IN PREDICTING THE LOGIT OF SUCCESS IN BECOMING A RECIPIENT

Term	χ^2	d.f.
Age by Recipient Status	57.36*	1
Moving Plans by Recipient	463.69*	1
Expected Subsidy by Recipient	57.23*	1
Age by Moving Plans by Recipient	0.06	1
Age by Expected Subsidy by Recipient	0.01	1
Moving Plans by Expected Subsidy by Recipient	3.74	1
Age by Moving Plans by Expected Subsidy by Recipient	0.02	1

*p < .001

Model	χ^2	d.f.	Uncertainty Reduction u(y/x)
Main Effects Only	4.36**	4	.0565
Saturated Model	--	--	.0570

** .30 < p < .50

Source: AAE Application, Certification, Enrollment, and Payments Initiation Forms
Data Base: All Enrollees (N = 7,381, excluding 710 enrollees undecided about moving at the time of their enrollment)

TABLE A-3
PROBABILITY OF BECOMING A RECIPIENT OF A HOUSING ALLOWANCE
BY MARKET CONDITION, MOVING INTENTION, AND AGE

	Tight Housing Market	Loose Housing Market
62 Years and Over (Elderly)	Plan to Move $P_S = .58$ N = 237	$P_S = .73$ N = 249
	Plan to Stay $P_S = .84$ N = 446	$P_S = .89$ N = 499
Under 62 Years	Plan to Move $P_S = .48$ N = 2,346	$P_S = .82$ N = 1,416
	Plan to Stay $P_S = .76$ N = 1,081	$P_S = .90$ N = 1,107

Source: AAE Application, Enrollment, and Payments Initiation Forms, Site background data
Data Base: All Enrollees (N = 7,381, excluding 710 enrollees undecided about moving at the time of their enrollment)

TABLE A-4

CHI SQUARED PARTITIONING, REDUCTION IN UNCERTAINTIES, AND BEST FITTING
MODEL FOR THE DATA OF TABLE A-3 IN PREDICTING THE
LOGIT OF SUCCESS IN BECOMING A RECIPIENT

Term	χ^2 Effect	d.f.
Age by Recipient Status	56.90*	1
Moving Plans by Recipient	463.89*	1
Market Conditions by Recipient	599.02*	1
Age by Moving Plans by Recipient	0.74	1
Age by Market Condition by Recipient	28.90*	1
Market Condition by Moving Plans by by Recipient	19.63*	1
Age by Market Condition by Moving Plans by Recipient	2.06	1

*p < .001

Model	χ^2	d.f.	Uncertainty Reduction u(y/x)
Main Effects Only	43.49*	4	.1101
Main Effects, Age by Market Condition by Recipient	14.59**	3	.1133
Main Effects, Age by Market by Recipient, Market by Plans by Recipient	3.07***	2	.1146
Saturated Model	-	-	.1149

*p < .001

** .001 < p < .01

*** .30 < p < .50

Source: AAE Application, Enrollment, and Payments Initiation Forms,
Site background data

Data Base: All Enrollees (N = 7,381, excluding 710 enrollees undecided
about moving at the time of their enrollment)

than the nonelderly. In loose markets there is no statistically meaningful difference, although the nonelderly had a slightly higher success rate.

TABLE A-5
 PROBABILITY OF BECOMING A RECIPIENT OF A HOUSING ALLOWANCE
 BY MARKET CONDITION AND AGE

	Tight Markets	Loose Markets
Elderly	$P_S = .736$ N = 683	$P_S = .837$ N = 748
Nonelderly	$P_S = .568$ N = 3,427	$P_S = .855$ N = 2,523

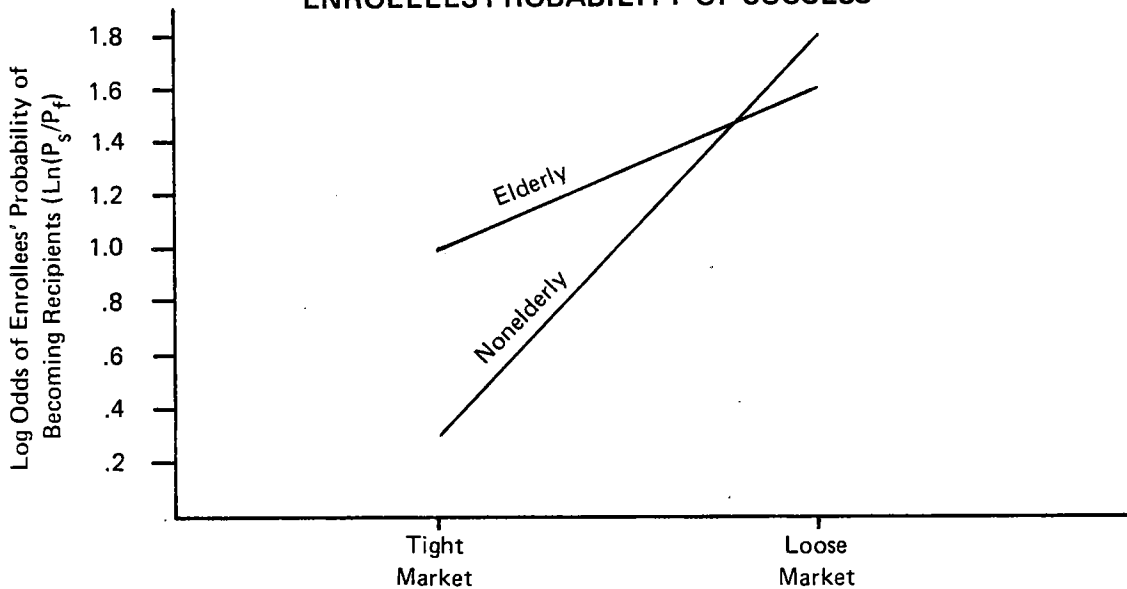
Source: AAE Application, Enrollment, and Payments
 Initiation Forms, Site background data

Data Base: All Enrollees (N = 7,381, excluding 710
 enrollees undecided about moving at the
 time of their enrollment)

In Figure A-1 the logit of recipient status is plotted across levels of market condition for the elderly and nonelderly. This procedure illustrates graphically the age-dependency of the effect of market condition on recipient status. Again, it is clear that the difference between the success rates of the elderly and the nonelderly depends to some extent upon market conditions, the difference being most dramatic in tight housing markets.

The finding that elderly enrollees were more successful in tight markets is rather surprising. With possible physical and emotional limitations on their ability to cope with the housing market, the elderly might be assumed to be at a disadvantage in situations requiring a change of residence. Further, a tight market situation might be expected to accentuate such disadvantages. A possible explanation is offered by the accounts of on-site observers at the AAE agencies. Some observers reported that landlords often regarded the elderly as preferred tenants--in effect, that landlords tended to discriminate against the nonelderly. It may be, then, that the elderly enrollees' image as more stable and reliable tenants offset any physical or other limitations, especially in tight markets where landlords could afford to be more selective.

**FIGURE A-1
INTERACTION OF AGE AND MARKET IN
ENROLLEES PROBABILITY OF SUCCESS**



SOURCE: AAE Application, Enrollment, and Payments Initiation Forms, Site background data

DATA BASE: All Enrollees (N = 7,381, excluding 710 enrollees undecided about moving at the time of enrollment)

It should be noted, however, that the pattern of greater elderly success in tight markets is not entirely consistent within the AAE. Of the four sites classified as tight market situations, three registered higher success rates for elderly than for nonelderly movers, while in one (Springfield), the nonelderly movers fared better. Among the four loose market sites, the nonelderly movers were more successful in three, and the elderly very slightly more successful in the fourth (Tulsa). Further research on this point, with observations beyond those offered in the AAE, would be required to disentangle the effects in a more conclusive fashion.

Table A-6 examines the last of the major variables, the level of services offered to enrollees. It indicates that enrollees planning to move were generally more successful in becoming recipients where the agencies offered higher levels of services. There is little difference between the elderly and nonelderly, particularly at the sites offering relatively high levels of services, although there is some disparity between elderly and nonelderly movers at low-service sites.

TABLE A-6

PROBABILITY OF BECOMING A RECIPIENT OF A HOUSING ALLOWANCE BY
LEVEL OF SERVICE OFFERED, MOVING INTENTIONS, AND AGE

		High Service Sites	Low Service Sites
62 Years and Over (Elderly)	Plan to Move	$P_S = .71$ N = 154	$P_S = .64$ N = 332
	Plan to Stay	$P_S = .87$ N = 363	$P_S = .86$ N = 582
Under 62 Years (Nonelderly)	Plan to Move	$P_S = .70$ N = 1,297	$P_S = .56$ N = 2,465
	Plan to Stay	$P_S = .83$ N = 849	$P_S = .83$ N = 1,339

Source: AAE Application, Enrollment, and Payments Initiation Forms,
Site background data

Data Base: All Enrollees (N = 7,381, excluding 710 enrollees undecided
about moving at the time of their enrollment)

Table A-7 presents the statistical evaluation of the main and interaction effects of services, age, and moving intentions on the probability of becoming a recipient. It appears from these results that age and services do not interact significantly in determining the success of enrollees. In other words, services do not help the nonelderly significantly more or less than they help the elderly. There is a meaningful interaction effect between moving intentions, service level, and recipient status independent of age. That is, those planning to move succeed more often in high-service agencies, whereas service has no effect on success for stayers. These effects are similar across age groups.

TABLE A-7

CHI SQUARED PARTITIONING, REDUCTION IN UNCERTAINTIES,
AND BEST FITTING MODEL FOR THE DATA OF TABLE A-6 IN
PREDICTING THE LOGIT OF SUCCESS IN BECOMING A RECIPIENT

Term	χ^2 Effect	d.f.
Age by Recipient Status	64.88*	1
Moving Plans by Recipient	468.31*	1
Service by Recipient	62.17*	1
Age by Service by Recipient	2.59	1
Plans by Service by Recipient	20.28*	1
Age by Plans by Recipient	0.04	1
Age by Plans by Service by Recipient	1.35	1
*p < .001		

Model	χ^2	d.f.	Uncertainty Reduction (u(y/x))
Main Effects Only	22.14*	4	.0596
Main Effects, Plans by Service by Recipient	1.86**	3	.0619
Saturated Model	-	-	.0621
*p < .001			
** .50 < p < .70			

Source: AAE Application, Enrollment, and Payments Initiation Forms,
Site background data

Data Base: All Enrollees (N = 7,381, excluding 710 enrollees
undecided about moving at the time of their enrollment)

The effect of supportive services can also be examined on an individual level, using data available from the Springfield agency. That agency kept records as to which enrollees attended voluntary information sessions and/or requested individual assistance from agency staff. Table A-8 uses those data to classify enrollees according to whether they received only the mandatory services (information sessions that all enrollees were required to attend), or whether they received additional help.

TABLE A-8

PROBABILITY OF BECOMING A RECIPIENT OF A HOUSING ALLOWANCE
IN SPRINGFIELD BY AGE, SERVICE LEVEL, AND MOVING INTENTIONS

		Under 62 Years (Nonelderly)	62 Years Above (Elderly)
Received Some Voluntary Service	Plan to Move	$P_S = .767$ N = 360	$P_S = .576$ N = 33
	Plan to Stay	$P_S = .844$ N = 154	$P_S = .938$ N = 32
Received Mandatory Service Only	Plan to Move	$P_S = .549$ N = 364	$P_S = .478$ N = 24
	Plan to Stay	$P_S = .786$ N = 173	$P_S = .786$ N = 56

Source: AAE Application, Enrollment, and Payments Initiation Forms,
Site background data

Data Base: All Enrollees in Springfield (N = 1,196; missing cases - 12;
enrollees undecided about moving at the time of their enrollment
are included with those planning to move because of small
numbers for elderly)

Consistent with the patterns observed elsewhere, enrollees planning to move in Springfield were less successful than those planning to stay in their preprogram units. However, enrollees planning to move were more successful if they received some of the voluntary as well as the mandatory services. (An interesting difference from the overall pattern is that more extensive services were also associated with higher success rates for stayers, which was not the case in the aggregate analysis.) The effect of services for movers is noticeably larger for nonelderly than for elderly enrollees. Nonelderly movers receiving voluntary services were about 22 percentage points more successful than those receiving mandatory services only, compared to a gap of only 9 percentage points among the elderly.

Statistical evaluation of the effects of age, service level, and moving intentions on recipient status (based on the data from Table A-8) is presented in Table A-9. These results suggest that although there is no difference between elderly and nonelderly with respect to the probability of becoming a recipient of a housing allowance when aggregated over levels of the other variables (service level and moving intentions), the interaction effect between moving intentions and age on success is statistically important. However, the interaction terms between age and services, and age, services, and moving plans are not significant, indicating that services did not differentially affect the elderly and nonelderly in Springfield.

TABLE A-9

CHI SQUARED PARTITIONING, REDUCTION IN UNCERTAINTIES, AND BEST FITTING MODEL FOR THE SPRINGFIELD DATA OF TABLE A-8 IN PREDICTING THE LOGIT OF SUCCESS IN BECOMING A RECIPIENT OF A HOUSING ALLOWANCE

Term	χ^2	d.f.
Age by Recipient Status	0.02	1
Moving Plans by Recipient	39.52**	1
Service by Recipient	33.43**	1
Age by Moving Plans by Recipient	4.37*	1
Age by Service by Recipient	0.61	1
Service by Moving Plans by Recipient	2.10	1
Age by Service by Plans by Recipient	2.20	1

**p < .001 *p < .05

Model	χ^2	d.f.	Uncertainty Reduction u(y/x)
Main Effects Only	8.51***	4	.0582
Main Effects, Age by Plans by Recipient	4.14****	3	.0599
Saturated Model	--	-	.0603

***.05 < p < .10

****.20 < p < .30

Source: AAE Application, Enrollment, and Payments Initiation Forms, Site background data

Data Base: All Enrollees in Springfield (N = 1,196; missing cases - 12; enrollees undecided about moving at the time of their enrollment are included with those planning to move because of small numbers for elderly)

SUMMARY

Overall, elderly enrollees in the AAE were somewhat more successful than their nonelderly counterparts in becoming housing allowance recipients. This difference was due in large part to the fact that elderly enrollees much less frequently intended to move (and elderly recipients in fact moved less), and all enrollees planning to stay in their preprogram units were more successful than those planning to move. Further, the elderly were, on the average, eligible for higher per-capita subsidies than the nonelderly, because of their small average household size and low average income; higher subsidies were associated with greater success in becoming recipients among both elderly and nonelderly households.

There is some evidence that housing market conditions differentially affect the success of elderly and nonelderly enrollees. Elderly enrollees planning to move fared substantially better than nonelderly enrollees in tight housing markets, contrary to expectations, while the nonelderly were somewhat more successful in loose markets. This may indicate a discrimination in favor of the elderly, who were reportedly viewed as more reliable and therefore preferable tenants. This pattern is not entirely consistent across AAE sites, however, and the finding must be treated as tentative.

Services did not differentially affect the probability that elderly or non-elderly enrollees would become recipients. In both cross-site and single-site analyses there were weak patterns suggesting that services might help nonelderly more than elderly movers, but the relationships were not statistically significant in either case.



APPENDIX B
ELDERLY SURVEY

Author
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INTRODUCTION

This appendix presents the major findings of the special elderly survey conducted as part of the Administrative Agency Experiment. Most of the topics covered here are discussed in the body of this report, where special-survey data supplements data from other AAE sources. This appendix presents in more detail the responses of elderly participants to the special survey, as well as the sampling and field procedures used.

The elderly survey was administered in August 1974 to eligible elderly applicants, including those applicants who never enrolled, those who enrolled but terminated before receiving a payment, and those who became recipients under the housing allowance program. For sampling purposes, "elderly" households were defined as those whose heads were age 62 or older at the time of application. Postpayment terminees were excluded from the sample; this does not substantially affect survey findings, since this group would represent only four percent of the final sample. A discussion of completion rates for applicants, terminees, and recipients is included at the end of this appendix.

Of the 1,501 households surveyed, 65 percent were enrollees who had received at least one housing allowance payment, 13 percent enrolled but terminated before receiving a payment, and 21 percent never enrolled. Since the analysis of housing search problems and agency services is relevant mainly to households enrolled in the program, most of the following discussion excludes respondents who never enrolled. When this group is subtracted, the sample size becomes 1,182, of whom 83 percent are recipients and 17 percent are prepayment terminees. This distribution closely approximates that of the total AAE elderly enrollee population.

The findings of the survey cover four main topics: housing search experiences, supportive services, housing preferences, and reasons for nonparticipation. Housing search experiences are important because the viability of a housing allowance program for elderly households depends partially on whether they can cope successfully with the private housing market. Since the elderly often experience physical limitations, live on fixed incomes, and are reluctant to move, it was suspected that searching for units might be more difficult for them than for the nonelderly. Surprisingly, the survey responses indicate that most elderly households did not encounter great difficulties in searching for housing.

From the notion of special elderly problems in the housing market arises the hypothesis that elderly households would need more supportive services from the agency than nonelderly households. This view was generally held by agency staff, as discussed in Chapter 4 of the report. The survey indicates, however, that elderly households did not need additional agency services. Instead, the elderly tended to draw their support from friends and relatives rather than from agency staff.

An analysis of housing preferences provides some background information on whether a housing allowance program is a policy option suited to the current housing situation and desires of the elderly. Although some elderly respondents expressed preferences for housing situations not likely to be achieved through such a program, these were a minority.

The appendix includes a brief discussion of why elderly applicants did not enroll and why enrollees terminated. Survey responses indicate that an unwillingness to move to another unit was a major reason for nonparticipation.

The final section of this appendix briefly describes several issues that were addressed in the survey but which are not presented in detail in this appendix.

HOUSING SEARCH EXPERIENCES

There are two major reasons why survey responses concerning such topics as previous housing search experience, intensity of search, and problems encountered while searching are important to a discussion of elderly participation in the housing allowance program:

Previous studies have indicated that the elderly often have difficulties in relocating to a new housing unit or neighborhood. It would therefore be reasonable to expect that elderly participants in the housing allowance program would encounter greater difficulties in finding new units than would nonelderly households.

In the AAE in general, attempting to move decreased the probability of receiving allowance payments, and is therefore an important issue regardless of age.

Findings from the elderly survey indicate that searching for new units was not a problem for most elderly enrollees. Only a small proportion of the elderly searched for new housing. Those elderly who did search had difficulties similar to those of nonelderly searchers, such as problems in finding affordable units and inability to pay movers or security deposits. Problems that might be associated with advanced age, such as lack of mobility, did not emerge as particularly important.

Characteristics of Searchers

The analysis defines survey respondents as "searchers" if they indicated either that they had moved or that they had looked at units other than those occupied at the time of the survey. (Survey data do not correspond completely to agency records: 13 percent of the respondents who said they did not search were recorded as having moved.) Since the survey inquired about search experiences only of those respondents who stated that they had searched or had moved, the survey definition of searcher is used in this discussion.

The following terms are used:

Searchers (N=301). Respondents who said they had moved or searched.

--Searchers Who Moved (N=184). Respondents who said they had moved.

--Searchers Who Stayed (N=117). Respondents who said they had looked at other units but did not move.

Program Outcomes

- Move (N=227). Respondents who moved and became recipients, according to agency records.

- Stay (N=753). Respondents who stayed and became recipients, according to agency records.

- Terminate (N=202). Respondents who terminated, according to agency records.

Table B-1 presents information on searching behavior in relation to program outcomes. One-quarter of all respondents searched, and of these 27 percent terminated without becoming recipients. The termination rate for respondents who did not search was much smaller, at 14 percent. About half of the enrollees who searched and became recipients did so by moving, while the other half stayed in their preprogram units.

Table B-2 shows the relationship between moving plans stated at enrollment, reported searching behavior, and program outcomes.¹ A high proportion of enrollees who planned to stay did not search, and did in fact become recipients by staying in their original units. A small majority of respondents who planned to move did report searching, and most of those who searched became recipients by moving. However, 17 percent of respondents who originally planned to move became recipients by staying in their preprogram units.

Previous Housing Search Experience

Among the factors that might handicap households in their search is a lack of experience in the housing market. For example, many elderly-headed households in the general population own their homes. If housing allowance participants had only recently sold their homes and become renters, they might be unfamiliar with the rental market and have difficulty in dealing with it. Lack of recent housing market experience on the part of long-term renters might also hinder successful housing search. However, respondents to this survey did not appear to have had these initial disadvantages. Most respondents had been in the rental market for ten years or more and had recently moved.

¹ The patterns in Table B-2 cast some doubt on the validity of the statements of respondents who had initially planned to move but said they did not search: according to agency records, over half of that group in fact became recipients by moving. For other groups, however, the data from multiple sources are generally consistent.

TABLE B-1
PROGRAM OUTCOMES BY WHETHER RESPONDENTS SEARCHED

	Searched (N=301)	Did Not Search (N=881)
Move	37%	13%
Stay	36	73
Terminate	27	14

Source: AAE Payments Initiation and Termination Forms; Special Elderly Survey

Data Base: All Elderly Survey Respondents who enrolled in the housing allowance program (N = 1,182)

TABLE B-2
PROGRAM OUTCOMES BY MOVING PLANS AND BY
WHETHER RESPONDENTS SEARCHED

	Plan to Move		Plan to Stay		Undecided	
	Searched (N=175)	Did Not Search (N=160)	Searched (N=93)	Did Not Search (N=646)	Searched (N=33)	Did Not Search (N=75)
Move	54%	56%	9%	2%	24%	17%
Stay	14	21	73	88	52	56
Terminate	32	23	18	10	24	27

Source: AAE Payments Initiation and Termination Forms; Special Elderly Survey

Data Base: All Elderly Survey Respondents who enrolled in the housing allowance program (N = 1,182)

Housing Tenure

Table B-3 presents information on the housing history of survey respondents. Almost all respondents were renters at the time they enrolled in the program, although over half had previously owned their homes. The most common reasons respondents gave for selling their homes in the past ten years were the large size of the units, and the work and financial burden of maintenance.

Most of the elderly households surveyed had never lived in special housing for the elderly or in public housing. However, of the 1,048 households who had never lived in public housing, 28 percent had applied for it.

Recent Moves

Eighty-six percent of respondents had moved within the past ten years. Over half of these had moved more than once (the average number of moves was three), and half had lived in their current units for two years or less. Thus very few of the elderly respondents seem to have been severely inexperienced in the rental housing market.

TABLE B-3
HOUSING HISTORY OF ALL RESPONDENTS WHO ENROLLED

Percentage Renting at Enrollment	98%
Percentage Previously Owning Homes	55%
Reasons for Selling Home (those who moved from own home within past ten years - N = 244) ^a	
Too much work to maintain	50%
Too expensive to maintain	50
Place was too large	24
Neighborhood changed	9
Forced relocation due to government action	2
Other reasons	48

Source: AAE Enrollment Forms, Special Elderly Survey

Data Base: All Elderly Survey Respondents who enrolled in the housing allowance program (N = 1,182)

^a Respondent could reply yes or no to each reason

Familiarity with the Housing Market

Another factor which might limit successful housing search is familiarity with only a limited geographic segment of the housing market. If elderly households had never searched in other neighborhoods, then they might not be aware of the range of housing opportunities available. The elderly survey indicates that a substantial number of participants had a rather limited experience in the broader housing market: approximately half had never looked for housing outside of their current neighborhood, while the other half had.

Search Methods

Table B-4 indicates how respondents had located the units they occupied at the time of the survey. For respondents who had moved, the units had been located after enrollment in the housing allowance program. For respondents who had stayed, the current unit was the preprogram unit. For those who had terminated, the current unit was in most cases the one occupied before contact with the program, although some terminees reported that they had moved.

Many respondents, regardless of program status, located units through friends or relatives. Newspapers were the second most common source of information. The housing allowance agency was said to be instrumental by 12 percent of the recipients who moved, a substantially smaller proportion than the 63 percent who relied on either friends/relatives or newspapers.

Search Intensity

"Search intensity" is defined as the number of units visited by respondents who searched for housing. Table B-5 relates search intensity to program outcomes. Those who terminated seem to have been the most active searchers: few of these looked only at one unit, and the average search intensity for terminees, 8.2 units, was higher than that of searcher-recipients. Searchers who became recipients by moving looked at an average of 7.7 units, while searchers who became recipients by staying looked at an average of 4.8 units.¹ These figures indicate that many elderly participants were able to carry out a reasonably intensive housing search, despite any difficulties they may have faced. Even those who ultimately became recipients without moving

¹ One might hypothesize that the elderly would be less mobile and would therefore look at fewer units. However, a survey administered to enrollees of all ages at one agency (Jacksonville) indicated that elderly and nonelderly searchers there looked at a similar number of units.

TABLE B-4
 HOW RESPONDENT LOCATED CURRENT UNIT
 BY PROGRAM OUTCOMES^a

	Move (N=227)	Stay (N=753)	Terminate (N=202)
Applied for Public Housing	3%	1%	9%
Newspaper	24	20	17
Real Estate Agency	6	4	4
Neighborhood Bulletin Board	0	0	0
"For Rent" Sign on Building	11	11	10
Friend or Relative	39	54	48
Social Worker	3	0	2
Housing Allowance Agency	12	0	3
Knew People Who Formerly Lived in Unit	1	4	3
Other	5	6	8
Don't Know	0	0	1

Source: AAE Payments Initiation and Termination Forms; Special Elderly Survey

Data Base: All Elderly Survey Respondents who enrolled in the housing allowance program (N = 1,182)

^a Respondent could name more than one source

TABLE B-5
SEARCH INTENSITY BY PROGRAM OUTCOMES

	Move (N=111)	Stay (N=109)	Terminate (N=81)
Percentage of searchers who looked only at one unit	34%	35%	16%
Percentage of searchers who looked at more than one unit	65	64	84
Mean Number of Units Visited	7.7	4.8	8.2

Source: AAE Payments Initiation and Termination Forms; Special Elderly Survey

Data Base: All Elderly Survey Respondents who enrolled in the program and said they searched for housing (N = 301)

considered several units, and the high average for terminees suggests that there were few cases in which the housing search proved so difficult it had to be quickly abandoned.

Search Problems

Central to a discussion of housing search experiences is the nature of problems encountered by respondents, as well as anticipated problems that might have influenced their behavior. One might expect that the elderly would have physical problems that impede housing search, problems such as arranging transportation to look at units, or problems in finding units that meet special housing needs. Table B-6 summarizes search problems for respondents who searched and also identifies the problems anticipated by respondents who did not search.

Most respondents encountered or expected to encounter some problems. However, the incidence of anticipated problems among nonsearchers was somewhat higher than the incidence of actual problems reported by searchers. For both groups, the most frequently cited problem was finding a place that the respondent

TABLE B-6
SEARCH PROBLEMS

	Biggest Problem Experienced Searchers (N=301)	Biggest Problem Anticipated Nonsearchers (N=881)
<u>General Search Problems</u>		
Getting transportation around the area to look for a place	6%	11%
Finding the time to look for a place	0	0
Finding a place you liked and could afford	62	64
Finding out where there are places available for rent	4	4
Getting someone to help you look for places	1	3
Not feeling well enough to go out and look	6	9
Not being able to speak English well	1	1
Not really knowing how to go about looking for places	2	2
No Problems	19	6
Total	101%	100%
<u>Problems in Finding a Unit that was:</u>		
A place big enough to hold your furniture	5%	4%
A place that would allow pets	7	6
A place in a neighborhood you liked	13	17
A place convenient to transportation	9	11
A place close to your relatives	4	7
A place near friends	1	2
A place convenient to shopping	12	12
A place close to a doctor, clinic, or hospital	3	6
A place convenient to places of worship	1	2
A place where all the rooms are on the same floor	11	14
A place which you can get into easily from the street (elevator/no stairs)	7	8
No Problems	28	11
Total	101%	100%
	Biggest Problem Experienced Searchers Who Moved (N=184)	Biggest Problem Anticipated Nonmovers (N=998)
<u>Moving Problems</u>		
Breaking the lease on your old place	0%	4%
Packing and unpacking your things	15	13
Locating a mover	3	2
Paying for a mover	7	20
Paying a security deposit	10	28
Arranging for change of your mailing address at the post office, Social Security office, or getting the gas/electricity turned on in your new place	8	2
Buying furniture and household goods	3	7
Getting rid of furniture and household goods	3	3
No Problems	50	21
Total	99%	100%

Source: AAE Enrollment Forms, Special Elderly Survey.

Data Base: All Elderly Survey Respondents who enrolled in the housing allowance program (N=1,182).

liked and could afford. Sixty-two percent of searchers said that it was their biggest problem. Fewer than 15 percent mentioned problems that might logically reflect age-related physical limitations, such as special requirements for the location or characteristics of units. Transportation was a problem for only 6 percent of searchers, but 11 percent of respondents who did not search anticipated that it would be a problem. Not feeling well enough to look for units was a problem for 6 percent and 9 percent respectively.

SUPPORTIVE SERVICES

In the AAE generally, enrollees who tried to move to other housing units utilized or needed services the most. Thirty-one percent of all elderly enrollees said at enrollment that they planned to move (compared to 58 percent of nonelderly households), and approximately one-quarter of the elderly survey respondents said they had searched for housing. Since there were fewer elderly searchers, one would anticipate that the elderly, as a group, required fewer services. However, one might still expect that the minority of elderly households who did search for housing would need extra supportive services, since previous research indicates that the elderly have special problems in relocating. In addition, it is possible that elderly searchers received additional services at the initiative of the housing allowance agencies, since agencies anticipated that the elderly would have greater difficulties (see Chapter 4 of this report).

However, survey responses do not support these assumptions. The services for which elderly respondents indicated a need were similar to those desired by nonelderly respondents.¹ Further, a reliance on friends and relatives for help reduced elderly enrollees' requirements for agency support. Elderly respondents were more likely than nonelderly to indicate that they received search assistance from friends and relatives rather than the housing allowance agency.

The following discussion of services looks first at the types of services provided by the housing allowance agency and by friends and relatives, and second at enrollees' stated needs for additional services. Since the elderly survey concentrated on assistance with housing search, the discussion in this section also focuses on the searcher population.

Services Provided

Assistance to Searchers. Table B-7 summarizes the assistance provided to enrollees who searched for housing. Agencies frequently provided respondents with a list of available units: 31 percent of searchers who moved remember being shown such a list by the housing allowance agency. Smaller proportions of searchers who moved said that agencies made telephone calls on their behalf

¹ As recorded in the AAE's Second and Third Participant Surveys.

to locate units and helped respondents deal with landlords. Fewer than 10 percent mentioned that they received transportation assistance. Although 35 percent stated that the agency provided no help, 75 percent of all searchers who moved felt that the agency gave them the right amount of search assistance.

Table B-7 also indicates the help offered by friends and relatives to searchers who moved and to searchers who stayed. Responses from the two groups are very similar. Again, the assistance most frequently provided was notifying the respondent of available units. However, a higher proportion of respondents reported that friends and relatives provided transportation assistance and helped respondents deal with landlords. Relatives and friends were also instrumental in helping respondents make decisions.

TABLE B-7
HOUSING SEARCH ASSISTANCE OFFERED BY FRIENDS OR
RELATIVES AND BY THE HOUSING ALLOWANCE AGENCY

	Help Offered by ^a Friends or Relatives			Help Offered by ^a the Agency
	Searchers Who Moved (N=184)	Searchers Who Stayed (N=117)		Searchers Who Moved (N=184)
Told respondent where there were available units	58%	52%	Showed respondent a list of places	31%
Drove respondent around to look at places	44	44	Made telephone calls to locate units on behalf of respondent	12
Helped respondent deal with landlords	34	38	Drove respondents around to look at places	8
Helped respondent make decisions	27	24	Looked at places on behalf of respondent	9
Lent respondent money to move	12	5	Helped respondent deal with landlords	14
			Provided no help	35

Source: AAE Enrollment Forms, Special Elderly Survey

Data Base: All Elderly Survey Respondents who enrolled in the program and said they searched for housing (N = 301)

^a Respondent answered "yes" or "no" to each type of assistance listed.

Assistance to All Enrollees. Some agencies made home visits to elderly households. This was not, however, a much-needed service since only 15 percent of respondents (searchers and nonsearchers) said they had problems getting to the agency.

Table B-8 presents an overview of respondents' problems and agency assistance with rehabilitating housing units. Only 13 percent of the sample tried to have units repaired, and of these, about half had problems. Although less than half of enrollees who had repair problems received agency help, those who did were satisfied with the amount of assistance provided.

TABLE B-8
PROBLEMS AND AGENCY ASSISTANCE
IN REHABILITATING HOUSING UNITS

	N	%
Number of Enrollees Who Tried to Have Units Repaired by Landlords	157	
As a percentage of all enrollees		13%
Number of Enrollees Who Had Problems Getting Landlords to Make Repairs	79	
As a percentage of all enrollees who tried to have units repaired by landlords		50
Number of Enrollees Who Received Agency Help with Repair Problems	34	
As a percentage of all enrollees who had problems getting landlords to make repairs		43
Number of Enrollees Satisfied with Amount of Agency Assistance	29	
As a percentage of all enrollees who received agency help with repair problems		85

Source: AAE Enrollment Forms, Special Elderly Survey

Data Base: All Elderly Survey Respondents who enrolled in the housing allowance program (N = 1,182)

Assistance Needed

In the survey, all respondents who searched were read a list of potential services and asked to indicate which they had needed but did not find available.¹ Table B-9 summarizes these responses for respondents who succeeded in moving, stayed in their preprogram units, or terminated from the program.

TABLE B-9
SEARCH ASSISTANCE NEEDED THAT WAS NOT AVAILABLE^a

	Move (N=111)	Stay (N=109)	Terminate (N=81)	Total (N=301)
No additional service	64%	54%	38%	54%
Someone to look at places	7	7	18	10
Transportation assistance in housing search	13	13	31	18
List of available rental units	14	19	40	23
Housing search escort	6	6	16	9
Help in dealing with landlords	2	4	22	8
Interpreter	1	1	0	1
Help in arranging for mover	6	6	15	8
Assistance in packing and unpacking	10	14	14	12
Help with moving expenses	8	16	23	15
Assistance in buying/selling household goods	2	4	7	4
Assistance in changing address-notifying utilities	3	1	6	3

Source: AAE Payments Initiation and Termination Forms; Special Elderly Survey

Data Base: All Elderly Survey Respondents who enrolled in the program and said they searched for housing (N = 301)

^a Responses add to more than 100% because respondents could answer "yes" to one or more services.

¹ Some of the respondents mentioned services that were in fact generally available at their agencies. The responses are taken to indicate that the household did not receive the service mentioned, either because the enrollee was not aware of the availability of the service or for some other reason.

As one might expect, the group of searchers who terminated was most likely to desire additional services. Over sixty percent of all searchers who terminated mentioned at least one additional service required, compared with 36 percent of searchers who moved and 46 percent of searchers who stayed. Furthermore, within most service categories, a higher proportion of searcher-terminees stated a need for that service than did searchers who either moved or stayed.

The service need most frequently mentioned by all searchers was a list of available rental units. Also important was transportation assistance. Again, both housing lists and transportation were more frequently mentioned by searchers who terminated than by searchers who either moved or stayed. Assistance with packing and unpacking was the one service mentioned by similar proportions of movers, stayers, and terminees, but the proportion was under 15 percent in all groups.

HOUSING PREFERENCES

Participation in the AAE was available only to renters in private, nonsubsidized housing units. A series of questions in the survey was designed to indicate whether such housing situations were satisfactory, or whether elderly participants would have preferred other arrangements. Most elderly households in the United States either own their homes or were previously homeowners.¹ One might hypothesize that declining resources have forced some elderly persons to sell their homes and move into rental units, but their preference would continue to be for homeownership. In contrast, other elderly persons might find it difficult to continue living independently and prefer instead a congregate living situation that would provide meals and health care.

Survey responses indicate in general that the housing allowance program suited the housing preferences of most elderly enrollees.² Their satisfaction with their housing and neighborhood was high, preferences for housing situations not available through the housing allowance program were few, and special housing features that are not easily obtained on the private market were not frequently required. If given additional income, most respondents said they would not use it to improve their housing, but would spend it for nonhousing purposes. These points are detailed in the following sections.

Housing and Neighborhood Satisfaction

Table B-10 indicates unit and neighborhood satisfaction among respondents who moved, stayed, or terminated. For movers, the unit and neighborhood referred to are those to which they moved after enrollment in the housing allowance program; for stayers, the table refers to the preprogram unit and neighborhood; and for terminees, the table may refer to either the situation at the time of enrollment or to a subsequent move. In general, there was a

¹ Sixty-five percent of persons 65 and over live in households where the head of household is over 65 and owns the housing unit. U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Older Americans: Facts About Incomes and Housing, October 1973, p. 17.

² Such preferences might be expected to depend in part on local housing and neighborhood conditions. The AAE sites appear generally representative of most urban areas in the United States, but do not include any extremely large cities or completely rural program areas, where conditions might differ somewhat. See Second Annual Report of the Administrative Agency Experiment Evaluation (Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates Inc., 1974).

high level of satisfaction with both the unit and the neighborhood. However, terminees were more dissatisfied than movers and stayers with both their unit and neighborhood.

Elderly survey respondents had generally favorable impressions of their current neighborhoods. Most respondents said that their neighborhoods had nearby places of worship and people of similar background. Their neighborhoods had a pleasant appearance and were safe and friendly. Some respondents mentioned that their relatives did not live in the neighborhood, but over half of those respondents did not feel that it was important. A few respondents complained about neighborhood noise.

TABLE B-10
UNIT AND NEIGHBORHOOD SATISFACTION BY PROGRAM OUTCOMES

	Move (N=227)	Stay (N=753)	Terminate (N=202)
<u>Unit Satisfaction</u>			
Satisfied	87%	88%	67%
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	4	2	5
Dissatisfied	8	9	27
<u>Neighborhood Satisfaction</u>			
Satisfied	90	88	78
Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	4	4	5
Dissatisfied	5	7	16

Source: AAE Payments Initiation and Termination Forms; Special Elderly Survey

Data Base: All Elderly Survey Respondents who enrolled in the housing allowance program (N = 1,182)

Expenditure Choice

A further indication of the level of elderly participants' satisfaction with their housing is provided by a question on how they would spend additional income. If elderly households would generally use additional income to improve some aspect of their housing situation, this might indicate that the program was not completely meeting their needs.

Table B-11 lists expenditure choices among elderly respondents. About one-quarter of all respondents would use an additional \$25.00 per month to pay back medical bills, another quarter would put it in savings, and 17 percent would increase their expenditures for food. Only 5 percent of all respondents would use an additional \$25.00 per month to move to a nicer apartment or house, and 3 percent to fix up their current place. These data offer no indication that the choice of housing or the level of subsidy available under the AAE was unsatisfactory to many participating households.

TABLE B-11
EXPENDITURE CHOICE

Suppose you won a contest which gave you an extra \$25.00 every month to add to your present income, and you could only spend it on one of the things on this list, which one would you choose to spend it on?

Save it up for a vacation	.05
Move to a nicer apartment/home	.05
Fix up this apartment/home	.03
Buy better quality or more varieties of food	.17
Buy things for the house like furniture or a new T.V.	.04
Save it for a rainy day	.24
Use it for extra spending money to buy little things for yourself and others, or go to the movies or out to eat or things like that	.11
Pay back medical bills or take care of medical or dental things you couldn't afford before	.27
Multiple Response	.01
Don't Know	--

Source: AAE Enrollment Forms, Special Elderly Survey

Data Base: All Elderly Survey Respondents who enrolled in the housing allowance program (N = 1,182)

Housing Choice

Table B-12 presents survey responses concerning three housing situations not generally available under the housing allowance program. The first is public housing. According to program regulations, housing allowance participants could not live in public housing, although agency staff indicated that in some cases public housing seemed more suited to the needs of elderly participants. However, only 8 percent of all respondents preferred public housing.

TABLE B-12
HOUSING PREFERENCES

	Percentage
Public Housing	8%
Private Housing	82
No Preference/Don't Know	10
Live With Own Age Group	28
Live With All Age Groups	52
No Preference/Don't Know	20
Live Where Meals Were Provided in Central Dining Room	35
Live Where Meals Were Not Provided	56
No Preference/Don't Know	9

Source: AAE Enrollment Forms, Special Elderly Survey

Data Base: All Elderly Survey Respondents who enrolled in the housing allowance program (N = 1,182)

The second situation is age-segregated housing. Most multifamily housing that is restricted to elderly households is subsidized either by local housing authorities or by HUD, and was therefore usually excluded from the range of housing choices available to AAE participants. Some age-segregated housing is unsubsidized, but such housing is frequently built with congregate dining facilities and often operated as condominium developments. It is thus excluded either by the rental requirement or by the need to have a complete kitchen in each unit which was generally one of the housing-quality requirements. Thus, most age-segregated housing was in effect excluded from the

housing allowance program. This does not appear to conflict with the housing preferences of most elderly respondents, although some 28 percent of the respondents did say they preferred living exclusively with their own age group.

A third question concerned whether respondents preferred to live where meals were provided in central dining rooms. Thirty-five percent of respondents indicated a desire for such an option. However, while central dining rooms and complete kitchens are not unknown in the same private multifamily project, the combination is rare. A substantial minority of respondents thus indicated some preference for a situation not likely to be achieved in the AAE.

Special Housing Needs

Most private rental housing does not provide special features for the elderly such as grab bars in the bathroom, specially-designed kitchens, or ramps leading into the building--features which are intended to compensate for the physical limitations of some elderly persons. Forty-five percent of elderly respondents reported physical problems which made it difficult to get around, but few were unable to leave their homes or were confined to wheelchairs. (As mentioned in Chapter 2 of this report, the types of physical problems reported by elderly respondents seem reflective of those present in the elderly population in general.)

Table B-13 indicates the special housing needs of elderly respondents. Over half reported they had no problems that limited their mobility. Of those respondents who mentioned mobility problems, the special housing features most frequently cited were those of having all the rooms on the same floor or not having many stairs to climb. About one-third of the sample mentioned one or the other of these features. Less than 5 percent said that their current units had grab bars, ramps, or specially designed kitchens or bathrooms. Since many units which have all the rooms on one floor or do not require climbing many stairs are supplied by the private rental market, these frequently expressed needs were not incompatible with the program.

TABLE B-13
SPECIAL HOUSING NEEDS OF ELDERLY RESPONDENTS

	Percentage
Need to live in a place where all the rooms are on the same floor	37%
Need to live in a place where there are not many stairs to climb	36
Special facilities of current unit:	
Grab bars	4
Ramp outside unit	1
Specially-designed kitchen	-
Specially-designed bathroom	1
No mobility problems	55

Source: AAE Enrollment Forms, Special Elderly Survey

Data Base: All Elderly Survey Respondents who enrolled in the housing allowance program (N = 1,182)

REASONS FOR NONPARTICIPATION

The elderly survey provides some information on why selected applicants never enrolled,¹ and why some enrollees terminated voluntarily prior to receiving a payment. Principal among the reasons for attrition among elderly households was a desire to stay where they were currently living. This tendency is also reflected in both the moving plans of elderly enrollees and the actual moving behavior of elderly recipients (as discussed in the body of this report).

Applicants Never Enrolled

Of the 319 elderly survey respondents who never enrolled, 35 percent remembered being offered the opportunity to enroll. Since 56 percent of these respondents had actually been selected for enrollment, it is clear that many of them either never received notification of their selection or had forgotten about it in the months that intervened between selection and the survey.

Table B-14 lists the reasons given by selected applicants for not enrolling.² The reason most frequently mentioned was a desire not to move. Also important were respondents' preferences for subsidized housing and their fear that the program would change or end.

However, applicants continued to have a favorable attitude toward the program. Sixty-four percent said they would reapply.

Enrollees Terminated Before First Payment

Most enrollees who terminated did so voluntarily, either on their own or after consultation with the agency. Of the 71 respondents who said the agency decided to terminate them from the program, almost three-fourths remembered being told why, and the most frequent reason was exceeding the 90-day time limit for meeting the housing quality requirement.

Table B-14 summarizes the reasons for which enrollees terminated voluntarily. Eighteen percent said that they terminated because they thought they would have to move and did not want to, and another 15 percent because they thought they would have to move and could not do so.

¹ In all other sections of this appendix, the data from elderly survey respondents who never enrolled are excluded from discussion.

² Only those respondents who remembered being selected for enrollment were asked why they had not enrolled.

TABLE B-14
 REASONS WHY APPLICANTS NEVER ENROLLED AND
 REASONS WHY ENROLLEES TERMINATED VOLUNTARILY

Reason ^a	Selected Applicants Who Never Enrolled (N=112)	Enrollees Who Terminated Voluntarily (N=124)
Illness or Poor Health	5%	9%
Wanted to Stay in or Move to Subsidized Housing	13	6
Thought Enrollment Necessitated Moving and...		
Respondent Did Not Want to Move	22	18
Respondent Could Not Move	8	15
Thought Enrollment Meant the Landlord Would Have to Make Repairs and...		
Respondent Did Not Want to Ask the Landlord	1	1
Respondent Could Not Get the Landlord to Do So	3	5
Thought Benefits From Other Programs Would Be Reduced	4	2
Afraid Program Would Change Or End	12	7
Other Reasons	46	46

Source: AAE Application, Enrollment, and Termination Forms; Special Elderly Survey

Data Base: Elderly Survey Respondents who remembered being selected for enrollment but never enrolled (N = 112); Elderly Survey Respondents who enrolled and terminated voluntarily (N = 124)

^a Respondents could answer with more than one reason.

SURVEY FIELD PROCEDURES

AAE Interviews and Housing Evaluations

For all interviews and housing evaluations, certain basic procedures were established. These were followed at all sites and were monitored for consistency and quality.

Interviewers were instructed not to interview anyone who was in a hospital or nursing home.

Respondents received a \$5.00 cooperation payment for the interview and \$5.00 if they were selected for and agreed to a housing evaluation.

Interviewers visited respondents without an appointment only if respondents did not have telephones or could not be reached by telephone.

Letters requesting the respondent to call the interviewer were left at the homes of respondents when interviewers and housing specialists visited and found no one at home.

Interviewers were instructed not to offer opinions or answer any questions about the Experimental Housing Allowance Program. Respondents were told to call the local EHAP agency if they had any questions about the program.

An interview was completed before a housing evaluation was performed by a trained inspector.

Supervisors validated 20 percent of each interviewer's and evaluator's work.

The Special Elderly Survey

Interviews for the special elderly survey were conducted by subcontracted interview personnel under the supervision of the evaluation contractor. The field service organization which conducted the AAE participant interviews was also used for the special elderly survey.

Before beginning the survey, field supervisors received a package of preparatory materials. Included were:

A set of supervisors' instructions which explained the purpose and background of the study and described how interviews were to be conducted.

A training manual for each interviewer giving an overview of EHAP, details of the AAE, and specific instructions on conducting the special elderly survey.

Sampling control sheets containing the respondent's identification number, and the name, address, and telephone number of the head of the household.

Field supervisors were responsible for briefing and training all interviewers, using materials and instructions provided by the evaluation contractor. It was also the supervisors' responsibility to review completed interviews.

After one week of interviewing, evaluation contractor staff conducted observations of interviews at all sites. An attempt was made at all sites to observe every interviewer conducting one interview. It was found that the interviewing was in general of high quality; in only one case was it necessary to dismiss an interviewer.

SPECIAL ELDERLY HOUSING EVALUATIONS

As part of the special elderly study, the evaluation contractor performed housing evaluations of a sample of elderly survey respondents' units. The housing evaluations were conducted in August 1974 and therefore included units occupied by households in varying stages of participation. This design was intended to provide "preview" data on elderly housing circumstances before the regular AAE housing evaluations were available. Because the later data set is now available, and because it allows comparisons of elderly and nonelderly participants, it is used exclusively in this report.

ELDERLY SURVEY AND HOUSING EVALUATION COMPLETION RATES

Tables B-15 and B-16 indicate completion rates for the elderly survey and the housing evaluations. Survey completion rates were generally of an acceptable level given the mobility of the population surveyed. Surveys with recipients were understandably completed at a higher rate. Completion rates for housing evaluations were less satisfactory for applicants who had not been selected for enrollment and enrollees who had terminated because their refusal rates were rather high. Table B-17 shows the age distribution of elderly respondents.

TABLE B-15
SURVEY SAMPLE SIZES AND COMPLETION RATES

	Number of Surveys Assigned	Surveys Completed	
		N	% of Assigned
Applicants who never enrolled	534	319	60
Enrollees who terminated	320	218	68
Recipients	1,080	964	89
Total	1,934	1,501	78

Source: AAE Application, Payments Initiation, and Termination Forms; Survey Records

Data Base: All Elderly Eligible Applicants (N = 1,966, excluding recipient households who terminated prior to August 1974)

TABLE B-16
HOUSING EVALUATION SAMPLE AND COMPLETION RATES

	Housing Evaluations Assigned	Housing Evaluations Completed	
		N	% of Assigned
Applicants who never enrolled	197	105	53
Enrollees who terminated	128	74	58
Recipients	386	320	83
Total	711	493	70

Source: AAE Application, Payments Initiation, and Termination Forms; Survey Records

Data Base: Sample of Special Elderly Survey Respondents (N = 711)

TABLE B-17
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF ELDERLY SURVEY RESPONDENTS

Age	Total (N=1,496)	Program Status		
		Applicants (N=319)	Recipients (N=975)	Terminees (N=202)
64 years and under	16%	22%	14%	15%
65-74	53	54	53	53
75-84	26	20	28	24
85 years and over	5	4	4	7

Source: AAE Application, Enrollment, Payments Initiation, and Termination Forms; Special Elderly Survey

Data Base: All Elderly Survey Respondents (N = 1,501; missing cases - 5)

APPENDIX C
CASE STUDIES OF ELDERLY PARTICIPANTS

Author
M. G. Trend



CASE STUDIES OF ELDERLY PARTICIPANTS

As part of the evaluation of the Administrative Agency Experiment, a trained observer resided at each of the eight sites for the first year of operations. Although the observers' main responsibility was to record information on administrative procedures and operations, each observer conducted a series of in-depth interviews with a few participants in the program. The interviews involved several visits with the participants during the course of the year. And after a year away from the sites, the observers went back for a brief visit which generally included a last interview with the participants. Material from these interviews makes up the brief case studies presented here. Each study describes the experiences of one household participating in the AAE, although names and some other details have been altered to maintain confidentiality.

The case studies provide a useful perspective on several patterns noted in the main body of the report. None of the three participants sought out the housing allowance program as a means of improving their housing. Only one of the three moved, and that move was required because the preprogram unit would not meet the agency standard. All three saw the reduction in rent burden as the main benefit of the program. Perhaps most interesting, the case studies help shed light on the conflict between agency staff opinions that elderly participants had more need for supportive services than the nonelderly and survey data indicating that the elderly on the average received somewhat fewer services. In all three cases, the program participants received substantial assistance from sources outside the agency, and in two cases it seems likely that participation would have been impossible without that support. Like the report, the case studies suggest that a substantial number of elderly persons could participate successfully in a housing allowance or similar rent supplement program.



GERALD AND LYDIA HARTWICK

"We're not poor people We're just short of funds."

After three years of living on retirement income, the Hartwicks see themselves as members of the "mainstream" of American society who have met "hard times." They cite high medical expenses, increased food prices, and the general state of the economy for their financial difficulties. "If the economy had stayed where it was twenty years ago, we'd be in darn good shape now," Lydia Hartwick remarks.

Originally from Muskogee, a town not far from Tulsa, the Hartwicks have lived in several Oklahoma towns and cities. Gerald was a field accountant for a construction company and had to "go where the job was." Their longest continuous stay was 16 years in Tulsa. There they owned and became much attached to a "lovely three-bedroom brick house." When Gerald was transferred, they had sold it, thinking they probably would not be sent back to Tulsa. However, Gerald was transferred back to that city in 1970; he retired there in 1972.

Upon their return to Tulsa, the Hartwicks decided to rent a house. "We were too old to own a home," Lydia explains. "When you're older, you don't want a neighborhood with a lot of kids or a large back yard. It's too hard to keep up a yard. And we didn't want to saddle our kids with house payments after we're gone."

The house they eventually decided upon was small and located in a middle-income area close to where they had lived for 16 years. They liked the familiarity of the neighborhood and had sought it out. The rent was \$130 per month, plus utilities. For this, they got six rooms and a bath. Since Gerald retired, the Hartwicks have been living on an annual income of about \$3,000, a combination of Social Security and a small pension from the company.

The Hartwicks read about the housing allowance program in a newspaper article. They didn't think at first that they would qualify. "I was sure it was for the colored people," Mr. Hartwick says. But he felt they needed assistance, since they were barely coping financially. Lydia had injured her back and had also suffered a heart attack two years before. Because she was under 60, she was not eligible for Medicare. Their health insurance covered some

of the medical and hospital bills, but they had used most of their savings in paying the rest.

Neither of the Hartwicks had ever considered applying for public assistance. "If a person can work, there's no reason why he shouldn't," Mr. Hartwick says. "Leave food stamps to those who need them." The Hartwicks do not view the HAP as welfare. "This is just a rent supplement program, to help us with our rent," Mr. Hartwick explains. To his mind, he deserves this program because he had been a good citizen and had paid his taxes.

On the day the application center opened, Gerald drove to the HAP office. He explained that he was "curious about this HAP deal," and that he had never "signed up for anything before in my life." He remembers that he was the very first person to apply for the new program and that, unlike some of the other people who came into the office, he had no trouble with the application form.

Three weeks after Gerald applied, the Hartwicks were notified that they had been selected. Their first "enrollment" interview was held a month later, in October, 1973. The counselor came to their house and explained the program to them. As they recall, the counselor presented everything clearly, and they had few questions. She had reassured them that the program was intended to help people like themselves. By participating in the experiment, she explained, they were actually helping the government.

The Hartwicks decided to remain in the same house. Later in the month, the counselor returned for a second, or "counseling," session and to perform the inspection. The meeting was very short. The counselor found that the house was in excellent condition. All that was required was the installation of a pressure relief valve on the hot water heater.

Gerald contacted the landlord personally, as he saw no reason why he should rely on the counselor to do what he could do for himself. The landlord readily agreed to participate in the program--a surprise to the Hartwicks. However, they realized that they had been good tenants and felt that the landlord probably didn't want to lose them.

Although the Hartwicks were pleased to get the extra financial help from the HAP they were bothered by a few things. First, their landlord had raised their rent \$10 per month. Although he assured them that he had been planning

to do this anyway because of an increase in property taxes, Gerald recalled that the old lease had had four more months to run. "He got us for \$40," he concluded.

Gerald had also understood from the original newspaper article that they might receive as much as \$80 or \$90 in rent payments. He now says, "If I had known the payment was going to be only \$54, I probably wouldn't have gone down to the office."

Finally, he would have preferred to have the checks come a few days before the end of the month, so that he could pay the rent on time. As it is, he has to endorse the two-party HAP check and mail it along with the balance to the landlord. Since the Hartwicks receive the check on the first, they are always a few days late with the rent.

Gerald plays golf regularly and also gets exercise by doing yard work. From time to time, however, he thinks about moving to an apartment, where he wouldn't have to do quite so much. Lydia, for her part, occupies herself by working jigsaw puzzles and cleaning an already spotless house. It was so clean that the Hartwick's counselors noted on an inspection form,

House is very well kept, very clean. Yard is in excellent condition....[They] have maintained the home in the best condition I have seen since starting the program.

Inside of the house, the only flaw appears to be a small patch of peeling paint in the corner of one bedroom. The landlord had promised to fix this but somehow never got around to it.

Although the Hartwicks spent a very quiet first year in the HAP program, it was not without its anxieties. Early in 1974, they received a letter explaining that the TURA subcontract had been terminated.¹ Like many participants, they did not understand the relationship of the HAP agency to TURA and feared that the program had been cancelled. They were assured that this was not the case. In July, Gerald again called to find out if the program was affected when an article entitled "HAP NO ANSWER HERE" appeared in a local newspaper.

¹ The Tulsa agency had subcontracted counseling to the Tulsa Urban Renewal Agency (TURA).

Increased medical bills for Lydia, and funeral bills after the death of Gerald's mother that summer, meant that the Hartwicks' financial status again deteriorated. Gerald wanted to take a part-time job selling buckets of golfballs at the local driving range, but feared that the additional \$40 per week would reduce his housing allowance payment. Further, his Social Security benefits had been raised and they both worried that this too would mean a decrease in their housing allowance, once it was time for annual recertification.

Another concern was that the landlord might raise the rent again. Gerald said that he would refuse to pay the increase. He had begun to think of moving to an apartment. He had considered this before, but Lydia's arguments against this had prevailed. She did not like the noise and lack of privacy that apartment living entailed. There were also the moving expenses to consider, she had said. Both of them were adamant that they would never move to an apartment in an elderly housing project. Gerald was especially emphatic:

I know a fellow who lives in one of them. He's never clean and he drinks all day There's a difference between "poor" and "trash." I just don't care to associate with trash. I've got some pride.

By the end of their first year of participation, the Hartwicks had few reservations about the program. They did feel that their rent had been raised as a result of HAP and wondered if they could continue to pay the new rent once the program was over. Both felt that their payment should not be reduced if Social Security benefits were increased: "You don't get anywhere that way," one of them pointed out. Both also felt that more programs should be directed toward the elderly. In particular, they felt that the elderly should have special health care privileges that reduced the price of prescription medicines for them. Lydia noted, with a trace of bitterness, "We're not able to save money, with prices so high and medical bills."

Epilog

The site observer visited the Hartwicks in January, 1975, and again in May of the same year. They had been recertified the previous October. As they had expected, their payment was reduced. Social Security benefits had gone up to \$305, which meant that the HAP payment was now \$46. On the positive side, the rent had not been raised after all.

Just before the January visit, the Hartwicks had received a letter from the agency which said that they would continue to receive housing assistance benefits after the end of the two-year experimental period. Gerald called the agency and asked what it all meant.

The counselor explained that HAP would show them three houses at the end of two years. They would have to choose one of the three. The government would lease the house from the landlord and be responsible for its maintenance. The Hartwicks felt that, if it could possibly be arranged, they would prefer to remain where they were, but they were sure that the landlord would not agree to a lease with the government. They were also concerned that the three houses might not be in neighborhoods where they would want to live. Mr. Hartwick was concerned about "the colored" in some parts of town.

The counselor assured them that houses would be available all over the city, and they could choose an apartment if they liked. Gradually, they came around to the idea of apartment living.

By May, their plans had changed. Their elder son had accepted a position with his company in London, England. He wanted to invest the money he received from selling his Louisiana house, and thus proposed to buy a place for his parents.

The house he eventually chose was all brick and had three bedrooms. It also had central air conditioning and a two-car garage. The Hartwicks acknowledged that, if it were up to them, they would have taken a less expensive home. Since it was their son's investment, however, they would do whatever he liked.

The Hartwicks said they had considered turning down the offer of the house because they didn't like the thought of their son's buying it for them. "We haven't asked our boys for a thing," they said. But they realized that they would be helping Jim by taking care of his investment.

They were happy at the thought of their new house. "We'll be able to fix up the house and yard the way we want them." Lydia said.

Her husband added, "We'll also be able to start planning for the future and saving money again."



THAD BOSTON

"Everything is different now..."

Thad Boston is a 71-year-old black man. He is barely five feet tall and looks slightly shrunken in his baggy trousers and wrinkled cotton shirt. He squints through his glasses and rubs his palm over his bald head now and then when he is trying to recall something. He says that he often feels confused these days. He is getting older and, in the last few years, life has changed a great deal. He spends most of his time taking care of his sister and thinking about the old days when his wife was alive and he worked at the sausage factory. Sometimes he just can't remember details. "I don't know about that--you'll have to ask my niece Trudy," he often says. When Thad talks to visitors, he sits next to the picture window and occasionally peers around the heavy drapes to watch the street outside.

He lives with his older sister Gladys. They have always been close to one another, and when she got sick about three years ago, he agreed to move in with her to help. She is dying of cancer, and Thad feels he should take care of her as long as possible. Each day, he gives her medicine and tries to make her feel comfortable. He also prepares their meals and carefully cleans the apartment.

I pick up in the morning and then do a little dusting. I do the wash, too--everything except the sheets and towels. Gladys' daughter Trudy washes them every couple of weeks. I don't have no washing machine. You know, you can get things clean in the sink. You just have to rub the dirty spots a little harder.

The rest of the day is spent doing a few errands, watching TV, or sitting by the window.

Although he watches the neighborhood's activities regularly, he rarely talks to anyone. He is black and feels that his white neighbors avoid him. They won't speak to him at the bus stop or on the street. "I don't like the people around here anyway. Well, maybe they're all right, but I know they don't like having black folks around. So I just set here. I've got an air conditioner, and I can stay cool as a cucumber." Thad keeps all the drapes drawn and rarely opens the doors or windows. "You never know who's looking through them windows," he says. The house has a heavy, musty odor in spite of his thorough housework.

Thad and Gladys moved to this apartment three years ago. Thad's former landlady had sold her rooming house, and he had had to leave when the new owner began to renovate the building. Trudy found them a two-bedroom unit in a one-story brick duplex built about six years ago. The apartment is spacious and modern. New copper-colored appliances have been installed in the kitchen, and the floors were refinished before they moved in. The rent is reasonable--\$95 a month.

However, the building is unusual for the neighborhood. Most of the other houses are single-family, wood-frame homes that were built about thirty years ago. They have large yards with some full-grown trees and bushes. Thad and Gladys's home is built on a gravel plot. No landscaping has been done, and the open cement block stoop is not an inviting place to sit. Thad misses the yardwork that he could do at his other apartments. "I like to work in the soil. I used to do that all the time at my other place. Here you can't plant anywhere. But I guess the damn kids would only wipe it out."

Some aspects of Thad's life are not very clear to him. He is not sure where he gets his income or how the bills are paid. "I get two checks each month from the government, but I don't know why. You'd have to ask Trudy about that. And then there's the check with the tree on it.¹ I give that to Trudy. She cashes it and pays the rent."

Thad tries to recall how he heard about the housing allowance program. After reflecting for a moment, he decides that he heard about it on the radio sometime in the fall of 1973. "They said something about a new housing program for the elderly,² but I thought there was a gimmick. And I couldn't be bothered with welfare."

A few days after the radio program, Trudy mentioned that she had read about housing allowances in the paper. She wanted to apply herself and was sure that Thad and Gladys could qualify, too. "I told her I didn't want to be bothered, but she could do what she wanted. She brought me some papers to sign, and that was it. That must have been in November."

¹ Durham EHAP used a tree as a logo on its stationery and allowance checks.

² EHAP did not advertise on the radio until December. He may have heard a discussion about public housing instead.

Thad says he never visited the EHAP office. He doesn't recall an enrollment session or any discussion with a counselor. He doesn't remember the lease and assumes that Trudy must have arranged it with the landlord. "I do remember that two white ladies¹ came to my house and asked if they could look around. I let them in, and they poked here and they poked there. I guess they wanted to make sure the house was clean. Then they said my place had passed. I guess that meant it was okay."

By February, 1974, the allowance checks began to arrive.

I get \$63 a month, and I pay \$95 for rent plus some more for utilities. Sure, I like getting the money. Lord knows I do. But I don't need it. We have what we need. I got my sister insured. We don't pay no doctor bills. And I'm healthy, thank the Lord. Once in a while, my arthritis gets to me, but I just put a heating pad on my arm and it gets better. We're not eating too much these days--especially her. [He nods towards Gladys's room.] And I don't go out hardly at all.

His only complaint about the program is that "people keep pestering me about housing. I don't know who's been here. Lots of people. Always asking me what I think about this and that. I tell them I don't know anything, but they still ask. Can't them folks understand and leave me alone?"²

His attention is diverted by the doorbell. It is the insurance agent, who has come to collect the \$10 monthly premium for Gladys's health insurance. The man tries to be friendly, but Thad just looks at him dully as he gets out the money. "She'll be gone soon, but I expect I'll be here. She ain't got too long to go now." As the agent leaves, Thad remarks, "You know, that extra money from the housing program means I can keep up her insurance. That's a help, I guess."

Thad prefers to talk about the past. He sits back in his armchair and clasps his arms around his small body. His eyes close, and he thinks about the earlier days of his life. He speaks slowly, and his drawl becomes more pronounced.

¹ It is not clear whom he remembers. The agency inspector usually did the inspections, but counselors occasionally did them as well.

² Thad may have been interviewed several times by the evaluation contractor.

Thad grew up just east of Durham. His father was a tenant farmer who helped the farm owner raise livestock and grow vegetables. As soon as Thad was old enough, he joined his father and his brothers and sisters in the fields. He wore his brothers' clothes until he was old enough to share his father's. Recalling those days, he whispers, "Sure, we was poor. But we had warmth, and we was thankful to the Lord for his blessings. There was plenty of food, clothes to cover us and a decent roof over our heads. I had seven brothers and sisters. We took care of each other."

In 1918, Thad's father decided to take the family to the city. Some of his relatives had settled in Durham, and urged him to move there too. He hoped that he and his older sons could earn more money in town and that the young children could go to school. Thad was fifteen at the time. He looked for work and found several short-term jobs. Within a year, he had located a steady position as a meat cutter at a local processing plant. "My daddy was real proud of me. I was making eight dollars a week, and that was real good money in those days." He also liked the work, and stayed at the same job until he retired in 1966. "I liked being able to cut fast and neat. It got so I didn't have to think about what I was doing. I could just let my mind wander anywhere I wanted it to go."

Thad lived with his family until he was 22. During those years, his father carefully saved his money to buy a house. Some of Thad's earnings were used for the mortgage payments. "My daddy really wanted his own house. He didn't want people telling him what to do in his home. I didn't mind helping him out. Wasn't much else to do with the money anyway."

In 1925, he met his future wife, Sarah, at one of the socials given by the A.M.E.¹ church down the street. A year later, they got married and moved into a little apartment near his family.

She was a good woman. She cooked and cleaned till the day she died. Never complained about nothing. Never said a bad word about anybody. She'd get up every Sunday and go to church. I hardly ever went with her, though. I was always too tired to listen to some preacher whooping and hollering up in the pulpit. She used to tell me, "Thad, you got to go to church. The Lord is sure disappointed in you." But I didn't have no time for church. I guess I should have been at her side. I sure do miss her now.

¹ African Methodist Episcopal.

They never had any children. Thad says he didn't think he could support a big family, and did not think it was right to have only one or two children. When Sarah had passed fifty, she hinted that it might have been nice to have children and grandchildren; then she and Thad would always have a house full of people and they wouldn't be lonely in their old age.

Sarah died in 1965, and everything began to change. Thad decided to move out of the East Durham apartment they had lived in for 39 years. It seemed strange and empty without her. He found a room in a boarding house a few blocks away. He knew the owner and some of the neighbors, and he hoped he wouldn't be so lonely there. About a year later, he retired, after having worked at the sausage factory for 47 years. It seemed odd to be out of work.

To fill up the long days, he occasionally worked for his neighbors, trimming lawns and hedges and doing small carpentry jobs. On summer evenings after supper, he sat on the front porch with his landlady and friends. "I was real happy there," he recalls. "People depended on me and looked after me. The kids used to call me Granddaddy. I felt like they was all my family. It didn't matter that I only had one little room with a hot plate and a toilet."

When he moved out of there and in with Gladys, he resigned himself to yet another new way of life. He realizes that the old days are gone: "I don't see anyone anymore. Everything is different now."



OKSANA ERKO

"My history is very poor."

For Oksana Erko, an 81-year-old widow in ill health living in Dickinson, North Dakota, the benefits of being in the housing allowance program have been limited. She is without doubt better housed than before. However, her new apartment is not the kind she wanted--on the first floor and close to downtown--and her story makes it clear that receiving a housing allowance is not a cure-all.

Before she enrolled in the program, Mrs. Erko's income was less than \$130 per month. The bulk of this came from Social Security, and the rest was from the Stark County Welfare Office.

Most of Mrs. Erko's life had been spent trying to work a homestead farm of less than 200 acres--far too small to turn a profit in ranching country. When she was almost 60 years old, she signed the deed over to her eldest son Stephen. Of her five children, he is the only one who has remained in North Dakota.

She moved to Dickinson and took odd jobs--cleaning houses, taking down people's storm windows, washing them, and mowing lawns. She went on welfare when her health failed: "My history is very poor. I never had any luck in my life. Something always happens. Worry and worry and sickness." At some point in her life, one of her employers had included her in the Social Security program, which now enables her to qualify for the minimum amount.

Mrs. Erko was brought to the satellite center office¹ by her welfare case-worker, Mrs. Green. Mrs. Green had heard about the housing allowance program from the county welfare director and considered Mrs. Erko a good candidate for the program. This was in August, 1973, during the first month of enrollment.

At the initial interview, Mrs. Green acted as an interpreter. Mrs. Erko was born in the Ukraine, grew up in a North Dakota Ukrainian community, and speaks English poorly.

¹ The Bismarck program area consisted of four counties. Those farthest away from the central office were served by "satellite centers," each staffed by a single counselor.

Agency records indicate that the application was certified almost immediately. In less than a week she was chosen for enrollment. The enrollment session was held in September. By coincidence, Mrs. Erko's eldest daughter, Katia, was visiting from Idaho. She drove her mother to the session and acted as interpreter. Even with this help, the session lasted an hour, twice the usual length.

From Mrs. Erko's description of her apartment, it was clear that the unit would not meet the agency's standards. It lacked a complete bathroom and she had to haul pails of water from the basement. It did have two advantages, however. The rent, not including electricity, was only \$65 per month. In addition, the location was conveniently in the middle of downtown--the center of Mrs. Erko's activities. Every afternoon when the weather was good, she would look at the displays in the store windows. The clinic was also close by. Once or twice a week she would walk the three blocks to the post office to purchase stamps. The mails had been her means of communication with her relatives.

It was explained to Mrs. Erko that she would have to move, and she was agreeable. She specified that she wanted a place on the first floor, in order to avoid climbing stairs. In addition, she required a hot water heating system. Forced air furnaces, she felt, provided "bad heat," were dangerous, and caused headaches.

During the counseling session, held a week later at her home, Mrs. Erko said that she had been looking for a new place, but hadn't yet found anything. The counselor offered to explain the project to the prospective landlord, when the time came. After the meeting, the counselor called Mrs. Green at the Stark County Welfare Office to tell her about the assistance Mrs. Erko would need.

Although she had 90 days in which to find housing, Mrs. Erko barely met this qualification in time. Her insistence on steam heat automatically eliminated from consideration most available units. Both Mrs. Green and the HAP counselor tried to help Mrs. Erko with her search. At first, the help consisted of scanning newspaper ads and telephoning suggestions to Mrs. Erko. These early attempts brought no results. Many of the advertised units were already rented, or so the voices at the other end of the line said. Yet, some of the ads remained in the paper for another week or more.

It became obvious that Mrs. Erko would require additional help. Her case-worker had many other clients whom she visited on a rotating basis. In contrast, the workload at the Stark County satellite center was light. Gradually, the HAP counselor was drawn into the search process.

The counselor later estimated that she had driven the enrollee to a dozen or more places by the time a suitable unit was found. Although the \$61 housing allowance payment would increase Mrs. Erko's income by nearly 50 percent, many of the units were still beyond her reach.

It was Mrs. Green who finally located an apartment on the west side of the city. Mrs. Erko's private standards had to be lowered because the 90-day housing search period was about to expire. The rent was comparatively high --\$110 per month, not including electricity--which meant that she would be only about \$15 ahead by moving into the new place. Moreover, it was a basement apartment, almost a mile away from downtown. Mrs. Green and the counselor both felt that Mrs. Erko should rent it so that she could stay in the program. When a more convenient apartment became available, she could then move.

The next counseling session was held at the new landlady's house. The counselor witnessed the lease and helped with the inspection.¹ She sent the necessary forms to the Bismarck office and recommended that a check for two months' rent be written so that Mrs. Erko could move as soon as possible. Then she began to think of whether Mrs. Green could provide help with the moving. This proved to be unnecessary, however. Mrs. Erko's grandson was sent over by his father to assist her.

From the beginning, Mrs. Erko expressed displeasure with the apartment. It was too far away, it was too dark, it was in a basement, it bothered her arthritis. The only thing she really liked about the apartment was that it had the hot water heat upon which she had insisted.

To others, however, the apartment was fairly impressive. It was part of a new, ranch-style home. All of the rooms had been recently paneled, but

¹ The Bismarck agency had the participants inspect their own units and generally offered few responsive services. The help Mrs. Erko received with housing search and inspection of the unit was an exception to the general pattern observed at this site.

Mrs. Erko did not consider this an advantage. The wood had been stained a dark color, and she worried about the light bill. She resigned herself, however, to staying through the winter:

I have to like it... but it's in a basement....I've got arthritis and rheumatism and [trouble with] my blood pressure. Maybe in the summer I can look for a new place. The doctor says I need lots of sun. I can do that, I hope?

Mrs. Erko also complained about how isolated she felt in the new apartment. She noted that no one was interested in seeing an old widow. Sometimes an elderly couple would stop by after church, but they didn't do that much anymore. The same was true of another Ukrainian friend, whose grandson used to bring her over. "Now the style is different," Mrs. Erko noted. "Young people don't like old people. Everybody busy." Then she said, "You and your wife, that's people. But if there's just you that's not people."

Mrs. Erko's major complaint about the new apartment was not the lack of companionship, however. The problem, she said, was that she had become dependent upon people for rides. She noted that one of the parishioners now drove her to mass every Sunday, and that a nurse who had befriended her during a stay in the hospital was good about giving her lifts downtown. The counselor also gave her rides whenever possible. Mrs. Erko had her over for dinner as a way of repaying her.

Throughout the winter, the search for the ideal apartment continued at a slower pace. She wanted "a little raise" in her allowance payment and felt that with just a few more dollars, she could be satisfied.

The satellite center counselor left for a new job at the end of February, 1974. She offered Mrs. Erko her apartment, which was closer to the center of town. "Looks to me too tight," Mrs. Erko said. "And it's still a basement." She was more concerned that the counselor was leaving: "She help me."

Mrs. Green was having no luck with the search either. Maybe in the spring, she thought, when things opened up a little. Rising prices began to hurt Mrs. Erko. SSI¹ had come into effect, and her income increased. Because of this, the price of her food stamps almost doubled. She was now paying

¹ Supplemental Security Income.

\$34 for \$41 worth of stamps. They were too expensive, she decided, and she did not buy any for the first few months of the new year.

In March, Mrs. Erko had a gall bladder attack and had to have emergency surgery. She made a rapid recovery, which her physician attributed to her being in relatively good physical condition despite her high blood pressure. Her daughter, Katia, flew in to attend to her during her recuperation. She worried that she could only stay two weeks but was reassured that a homemaker would be buying groceries for her mother.

Both mother and daughter were disappointed on other counts. The HAP satellite center was now serviced only once a week by a counselor from the Bismarck office. Katia had called the center on Wednesday and the counselor had explained that Mrs. Erko was already getting as much as she could from the program. There would be no "little raises" forthcoming.

Katia had meanwhile located another apartment for her mother. This one was on the ground floor, and currently rented to college students whom the landlord wanted to leave. They made too much noise, and he felt that older people made better tenants. But again, the issue was price. Even with the raise in her Social Security benefits, Mrs. Erko could not afford the rent.

Another disappointment was that her original landlady had fixed up her old apartment, and now rented it for \$100 a month--ten dollars less than her present place. She had wanted to move back, and her former landlady wanted her back, but Mrs. Erko had gotten sick and another tenant had taken the apartment.

Katia drove up to look at the senior citizens' residence on the outskirts of town. The model unit seemed too small. Also, her mother was very withdrawn and would probably be even more unhappy there, she felt. Mrs. Erko heard that "they have 50 people in one room,"¹ and wanted no part of congregate housing.

Mrs. Erko felt that the agency had given her help, but that she was "not finished yet." She still wanted to move to that as-yet-unlocated apartment that was close in, cheap, on the ground floor, and had steam heat. She was

¹ This is apparently a reference to the senior citizens' center which, in Dickinson, was located in the administrative building of the housing authority.

also worried that the program would end. If it did, she would no longer be able to afford her apartment.

Before she left, Katia asked some other Ukrainians if any of them had an apartment for rent. None did. Katia and her husband had offered to take Mrs. Erko in several times before. She offered again and her mother again declined. Mrs. Erko said she couldn't travel and was afraid of flying. Also, she wanted to be buried next to her husband, and it would cost money to ship her body back to North Dakota when she died.

In the meantime, she felt she could remain in her new apartment if she could get transportation. The kind of aid she pictured was more than an occasional escort service: "Sometimes I have to go downtown, to cleaners, to hospital, to church."

Although her landlady upstairs had offered to have her son run errands for her, she had never asked: "I don't know...I not ask...maybe if I ask, they help."

Epilog

In early 1975, the observer visited Mrs. Erko again. She still was unable to find another apartment. The story was the same: "Too high priced...is basement." Even during the summer, when there were supposedly more units available, she had been unable to find anything she could afford. She had checked the papers and had called.

Mrs. Green also had left the welfare office. Her new caseworker is a man and is not as friendly: "Nobody calls me," she says. She remembers how Mrs. Green and the agency counselor had taken her around to look for apartments.

That's a very nice help for me, that's good help. Except I make a mistake, I move too far. The girl says, "No time." Three days and I miss that program. She says to move in, and we steady-look for something better. After that one moves here, the other moves there...

Because her Social Security payments had increased, Mrs. Erko's housing allowance was reduced by \$7 after the annual eligibility redetermination. Nevertheless, she was still \$36 ahead of her status before this double re-adjustment. Some time before, she had begun to use food stamps again.

Since the observer's last visit, she had become involved with the Senior Citizens' Club. They run a bus service and she uses it to go downtown. "I can't walk or nothing. That's all I have," she said. To use it, she calls ahead of time, and the bus stops by the house.

Once, the bus went to the senior citizens' residence to pick up more passengers. It was the first time she had seen the residence. "It's too far. That's so sad. It's like on the prairie. No garden, no flower, no nothing."

Recently, her landlady rented the adjoining basement apartment to some college boys. This upset Mrs. Erko: "Too much drink, too much fight...too much company...too much dirt. I have to scrub steps everyday. This not help. This not help...I like to move to some better place."

She had also begun to feel rundown. "I think it is because I am too old," she said.

The one thing which now pleases her about the apartment is that it is warm. There had been a blizzard in January. She had turned the heat up and it was fine.



APPENDIX D
MULTIVARIATE ANALYSES
RELATING TO INCOME CERTIFICATION



MULTIVARIATE ANALYSES
RELATING TO INCOME CERTIFICATION

A previous AAE report has analyzed the results of income certification in some detail.¹ In general, the analyses presented in that report did not show age to be closely related to the results of certification, although there was evidence that certification resulted in smaller adjustments to income for elderly than for nonelderly households.

The regression analyses presented in the following tables are based on the general model developed in that earlier analysis, omitting some of the less important independent variables. For convenience, ordinary least squares regression is used in all three of the models tested here, including that analyzing a binary dependent variable (Tables D-3 and D-4). Ordinary least squares regression has been shown to be a relatively robust technique with binary dependent variables whose distribution approximates 50-50; in the current instance, the split is 51-49 for the nonelderly and 61-39 for the elderly. In the earlier work, the equivalent analysis was performed using a logit model.

The models tested here contain seven independent variables: the household's gross annual income as reported on the certification form; the proportion of income that was earned (as opposed to welfare, social security, etc.); the length of time between application and certification; and four dummy variables representing those certification procedures in which income was independently verified.² Participant declaration is the excluded category in the set of dummy variables.

Since the analysis is based on a population rather than a sample, the normal concept of statistical significance is not strictly applicable. However, as a guide to assessing the relationships, an F value equal to or greater than that required for a significance level of 0.01 is considered to indicate a potentially important relationship.

¹ See Donald E. Dickson et al., Certification: Determining Eligibility and Setting Payment Levels in the Administrative Agency Experiment (Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates Inc., 1977). See especially Appendices D and E.

² In the earlier analysis, the various techniques involving verification of some but not all income items reported by a household were treated separately. Because of the small number of elderly cases, those techniques are grouped here as "partial verification."

Tables D-1 and D-2 analyze the absolute magnitude of adjustments to gross income in those cases where any adjustment was made. Particularly interesting in these tables is the elapsed time variable, with a coefficient of 25 for the nonelderly and 9 for the elderly, and a low F value in the latter case. This suggests that over time the likely size of changes in income increases much more for the nonelderly than for the elderly.

Tables D-3 and D-4 examine the incidence of nontrivial adjustments to income (adjustments of at least \$48 per year, which might affect monthly payments by at least \$1). Again the passage of time appears to be more important for the nonelderly than for the elderly, the former group having a larger and more statistically important coefficient. All four of the verification techniques are substantially more likely than participant declaration to lead to adjustments in income information for both elderly and nonelderly populations.

Tables D-5 and D-6 concern the adjustment to the potential payment, as opposed to the adjustment to income information alone. (Changes in potential payment reflect adjustments in data on household size and deductions, as well as gross income, but gross income is the largest contributor to the overall change.) The same patterns seen in previous tables reappear: the passage of time has a greater effect on payment adjustments for the nonelderly than for the elderly, and verification leads to greater adjustments than declaration for both elderly and nonelderly. Since the value of the payment adjustment may be regarded as the potential annual value of payment errors (overpayments and underpayments) that might have occurred in the absence of certification,¹ it is interesting to note that the coefficients of the verification method variables are very similar for elderly and nonelderly groups--that is, the incremental value of verifying income information rather than accepting a participant's declaration is nearly the same for elderly and nonelderly, even though the average adjustments are smaller for the elderly.

¹ For more discussion of this concept see Dickson, op. cit., 1976, Appendix E.

TABLE D-1
 ANALYSIS OF THE SIZE OF CHANGES IN INCOME
 BETWEEN APPLICATION AND CERTIFICATION
 ELDERLY CERTIFIED APPLICANTS WITH INCOME CHANGES

Multiple R = .29
 Adjusted R² = .08
 N = 812

	Regression Coefficient	Standardized Coefficient	F value
Amount of total income (in thousands)	78.06	.17	21.72*
Income source (earned income divided by total income)	306.41	.14	15.45*
Amount of time elapsed between application and certification (in 10-day intervals)	8.62	.07	4.60
Complete third-party verification	-15.70	-.01	.06
Complete documentation verification	-28.47	-.02	.12
Complete mixture of documen- tation and third-party verification	205.71	.09	4.62
Partial verification	-57.42	-.03	.52
Constant	58.02		

Source: AAE Application and Certification Forms

Data Base: Certified Elderly Applicants with income changes at all sites
 except Bismarck, excluding ineligible households (N = 812)

*Considered statistically important.

TABLE D-2
 ANALYSIS OF THE SIZE OF CHANGES IN INCOME
 BETWEEN APPLICATION AND CERTIFICATION
 NONELDERLY CERTIFIED APPLICANTS WITH INCOME CHANGES

Multiple R = .20
 Adjusted R² = .04
 N = 3,456

	Regression Coefficient	Standardized Coefficient	F value
Amount of total income (in thousands)	-5.54	-.01	.25
Income source (earned income divided by total income)	356.06	.15	51.77*
Amount of time elapsed between application and certification (in 10-day intervals)	24.82	.10	39.34*
Complete third-party verification	-322.21	-.14	43.14*
Complete documentation verification	-291.73	-.11	25.44*
Complete mixture of documen- tation and third-party verification	-250.87	-.04	6.12
Partial verification	-140.76	-.04	4.26
Constant	859.02		

Source: AAE Application and Certification Forms

Data Base: Certified Nonelderly Applicants with income changes at all
 sites except Bismarck, excluding ineligible households
 (N = 3,456)

*Considered statistically important.

TABLE D-3
ANALYSIS OF THE INCIDENCE OF NONTRIVIAL INCOME CHANGE
BETWEEN APPLICATION AND CERTIFICATION

ELDERLY CERTIFIED APPLICANTS

Multiple R = .38
Adjusted R² = .14
N = 1,489

	Regression Coefficient	Standardized Coefficient	F value
Amount of total income (in thousands)	.01	.03	1.68
Income source (earned income divided by total income)	.10	.05	4.20
Amount of time elapsed between application and certification (in 10-day intervals)	.01	.05	4.97
Complete third-party verification	.39	.40	173.17*
Complete documentation verification	.12	.08	8.44*
Complete mixture of documen- tation and third-party verification	.55	.22	74.71*
Partial verification	.39	.24	76.66*
Constant	.06		

Source: AAE Application and Certification Forms

Data Base: Elderly Certified Applicants at all sites except Bismarck
excluding ineligible households (N = 1,489)

*Considered statistically important.

TABLE D-4

ANALYSIS OF THE INCIDENCE OF NONTRIVIAL INCOME CHANGE
BETWEEN APPLICATION AND CERTIFICATION

NONELDERLY CERTIFIED APPLICANTS

Multiple R ₂	=	.32
Adjusted R ²	=	.10
N	=	6,325

	Regression Coefficient	Standardized Coefficient	F value
Amount of total income (in thousands)	-.02	-.09	36.84*
Income source (earned income divided by total income)	.20	.19	152.53*
Amount of time elapsed between application and certification (in 10-day intervals)	.02	.22	320.64*
Complete third-party verification	.20	.19	174.81*
Complete documentation verification	.15	.12	72.45*
Complete mixture of documen- tation and third-party verification	.36	.12	88.83*
Partial verification	.24	.14	112.66*
Constant	.23		

Source: AAE Application and Certification Forms

Data Base: Nonelderly Certified Applicants at all sites except Bismarck,
excluding ineligible households (N = 6,325)

*Considered statistically important.

TABLE D-5

ANALYSIS OF THE SIZE OF PAYMENT CHANGE
BETWEEN APPLICATION AND CERTIFICATION

ELDERLY CERTIFIED APPLICANTS

Multiple R = .24
Adjusted R² = .05
N = 1,489

	Regression Coefficient	Standardized Coefficient	F value
Amount of total income (in thousands)	11.12	.12	21.02*
Income source (earned income divided by total income)	26.30	.06	4.99
Amount of time elapsed between application and certification (in 10-day intervals)	1.65	.07	6.82*
Complete third-party verification	33.44	.16	24.86*
Complete documentation verification	34.43	.11	13.90*
Complete mixture of documen- tation and third-party verification	88.56	.16	37.02*
Partial verification	32.54	.09	10.16*
Constant	-18.25		

Source: AAE Application and Certification Forms

Data Base: Elderly Certified Applicants at all sites except Bismarck,
excluding ineligible households (N = 1,489)

*Considered statistically important.

TABLE D-6
ANALYSIS OF THE SIZE OF PAYMENT CHANGE
BETWEEN APPLICATION AND CERTIFICATION

NONELDERLY CERTIFIED APPLICANTS

Multiple R = .22
Adjusted R² = .05
N = 6,325

	Regression Coefficient	Standardized Coefficient	F value
Amount of total income (in thousands)	-2.84	-.02	2.68
Income source (earned income divided by total income)	73.86	.15	92.68*
Amount of time elapsed between application and certification (in 10-day intervals)	8.94	.17	180.33*
Complete third-party verification	31.48	.07	20.88*
Complete documentation verification	25.09	.04	9.12*
Complete mixture of documen- tation and third-party verification	71.18	.05	16.17*
Partial verification	52.67	.07	25.89*
Constant	40.44		

Source: AAE Application and Certification Forms

Data Base: Nonelderly Certified Applicants at all sites except Bismarck,
excluding ineligible households (N = 6,325)

*Considered statistically important.