

#HousingMobility2018

THE 7TH NATIONAL
CONFERENCE ON
**HOUSING
MOBILITY**
OCTOBER 16 – 17, 2018

WASHINGTON, DC

PRRAC
*Poverty & Race
Research Action Council*

**Mobility
Works** 

CLPHA
Strengthening Neighborhoods. Improving Lives.



National Conference on Housing Mobility, October 16th 2018

A Pilot Study of Landlord Acceptance of Housing Choice Vouchers

Mary Cunningham Martha Galvez Claudia L. Aranda Robert Santos Doug Wissoker Alyse D. Oneto Rob Pitingolo James Crawford



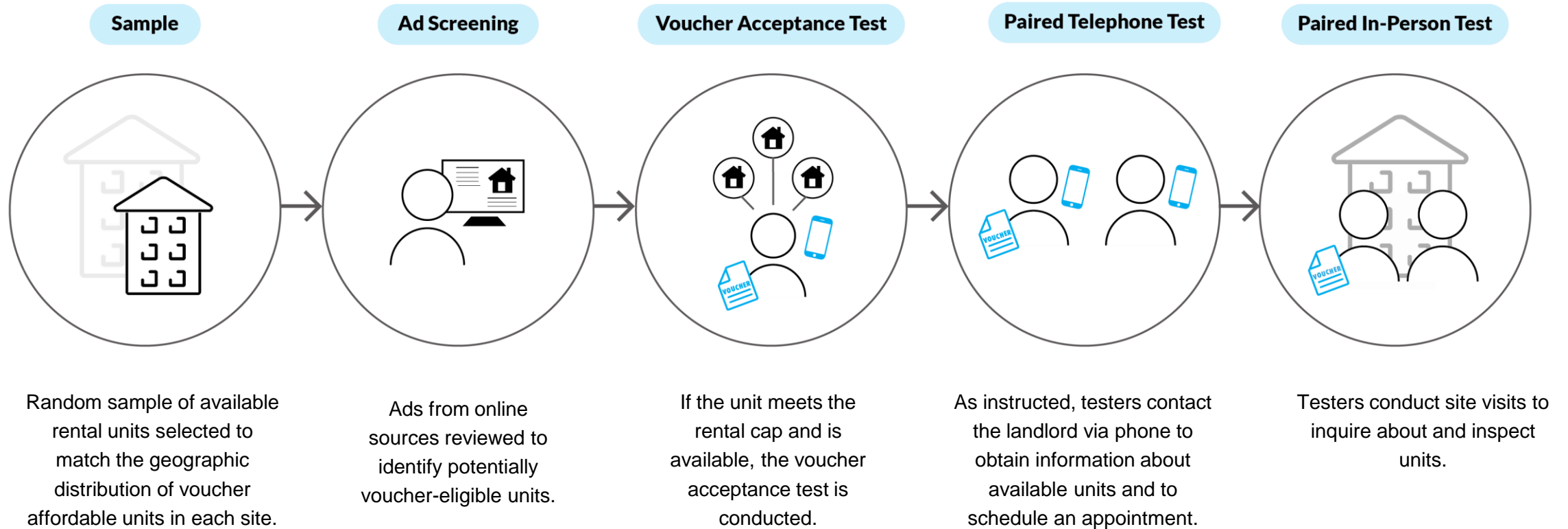
Pilot Study Research Questions

- Do landlords accept housing vouchers?
- Do landlords treat housing voucher holders differently than similar renters?
- What are the types and patterns of differential treatment against those who hold housing vouchers?
- Does the extent of differential treatment based on the source of income differ for black, white, and Hispanic renters? And does it differ by neighborhood poverty level of eligible rentals?
- What are the most appropriate testing methodologies for measuring differential treatment in the rental market for those with a Housing Choice Voucher?









Testing Methodology



Testing Approach



Tester Profiles

							
Female	Single	1–4 children	2 or 3 bedrooms	Credit score	Race and ethnicity	Annual income	Voucher status

Voucher holder	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Equal to 30% area median income	YES
Nonvoucher holder	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Equal to 30% area median income + voucher amount	NO

Test Sites

TX

Fort Worth, TX

South Region

3 public housing authorities

1 county

No voucher protections

CA

Los Angeles, CA

West Region

6 public housing authorities

1 county

No voucher protections

NJ

Newark, NJ

Northeast Region

Statewide program

4 counties

Yes voucher protections

PA

Philadelphia, PA

Northeast Region

2 public housing authorities

2 counties

Some voucher protections

DC

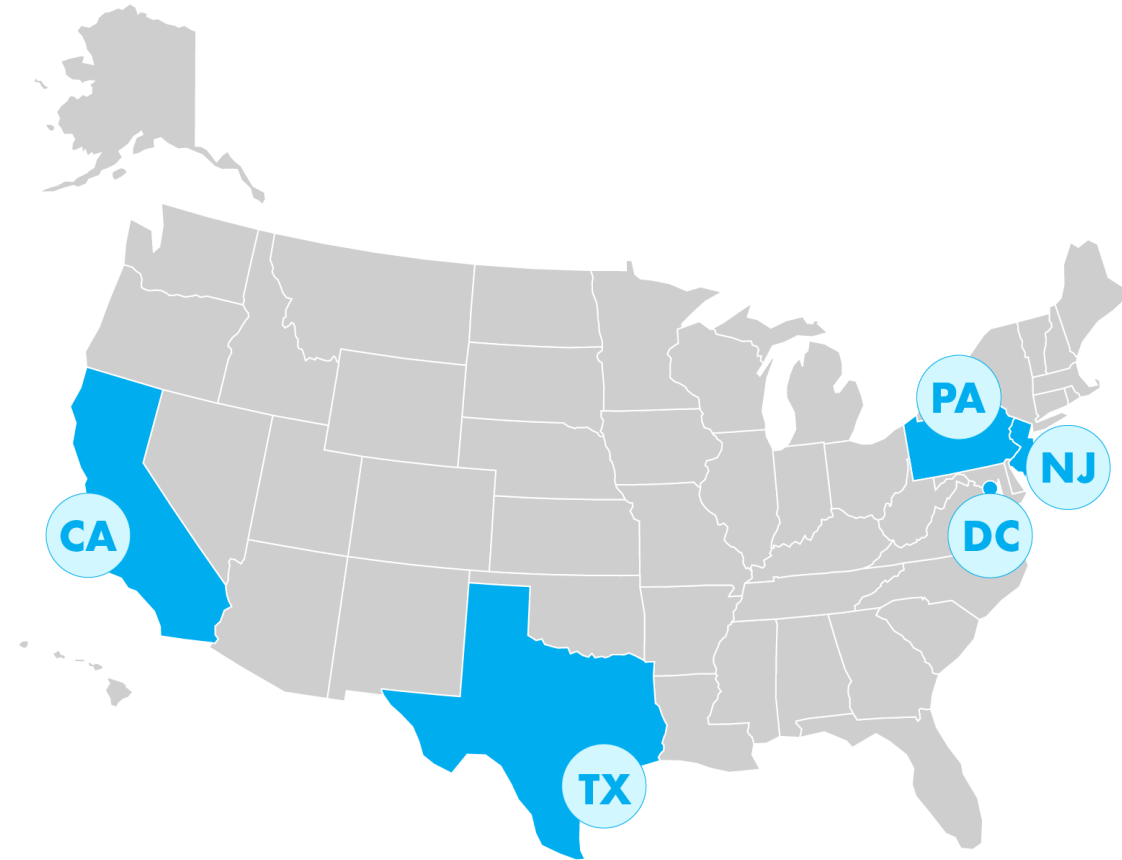
Washington, DC

Northeast Region

2 public housing authorities

2 counties

Yes voucher protections



Over 14 months of testing, the field team

screened over **341,000** online ads across the five study sites;

identified **8,735** ads for rental housing located in our testing zip codes that appeared to be voucher eligible; and

made **16,026** contact attempts across the five sites by phone, email, or text.

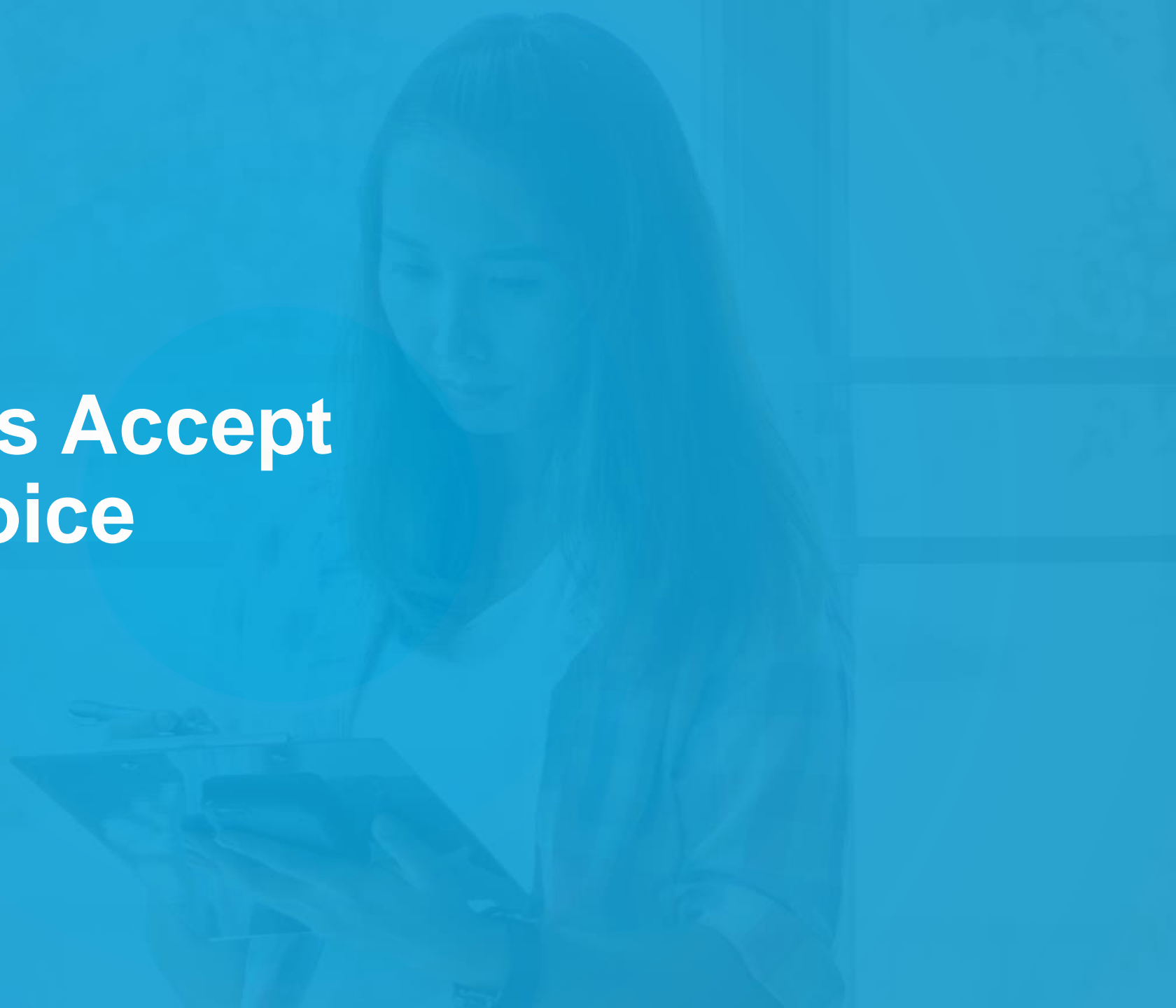


We completed...

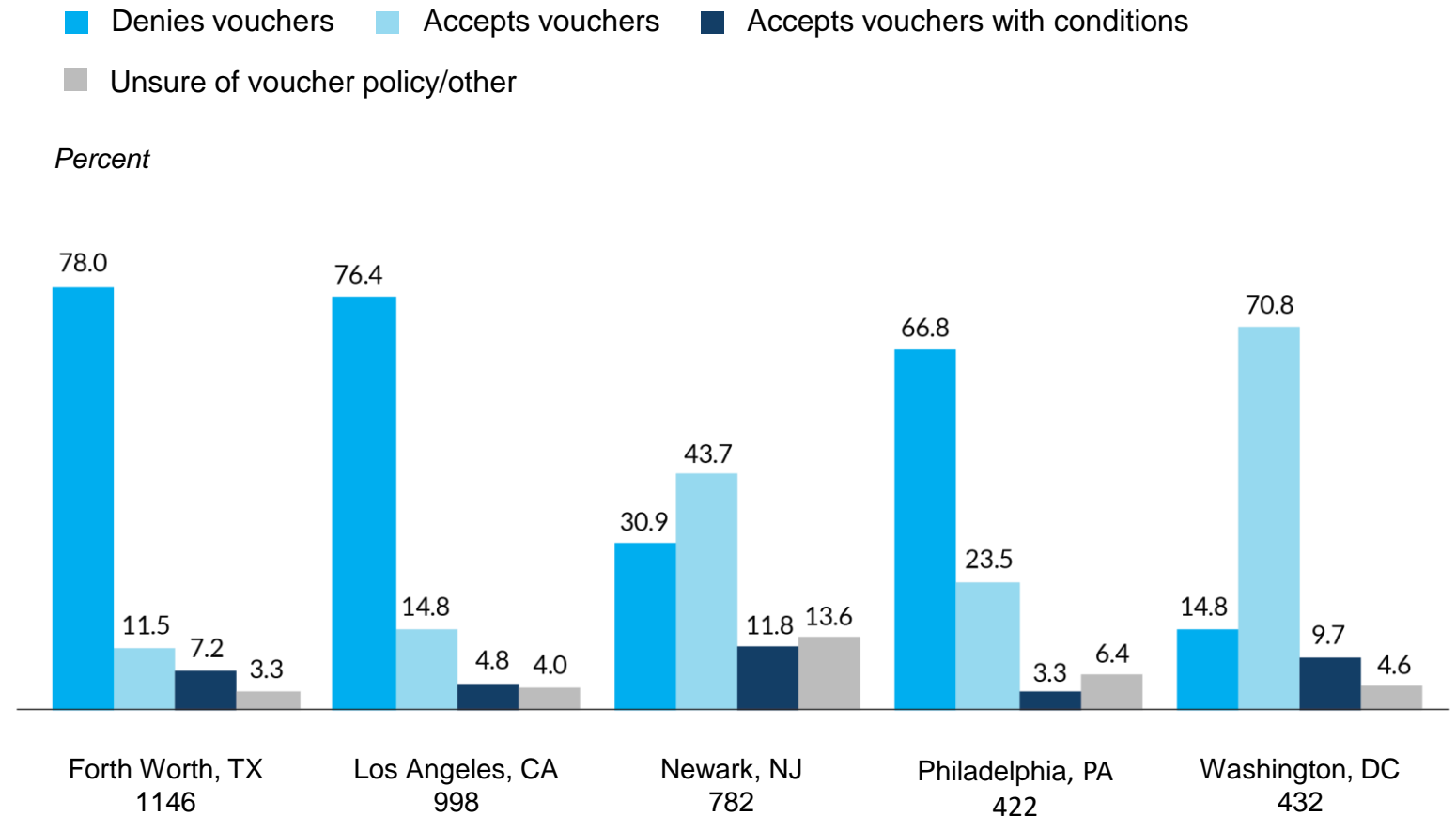
Site	Acceptance Tests	Phone Tests	In-Person Tests
Fort Worth, TX	1,146	142	73
Los Angeles, CA	998	126	62
Newark, NJ	782	426	374
Philadelphia, PA	422	-	-
Washington, DC	432	-	-
Total	3,780	694	509

In-Person Tests by Race of Tester Pair		
Black	White	Hispanic
18	23	32
25	25	12
188	186	-
-	-	-
-	-	-
231	234	44

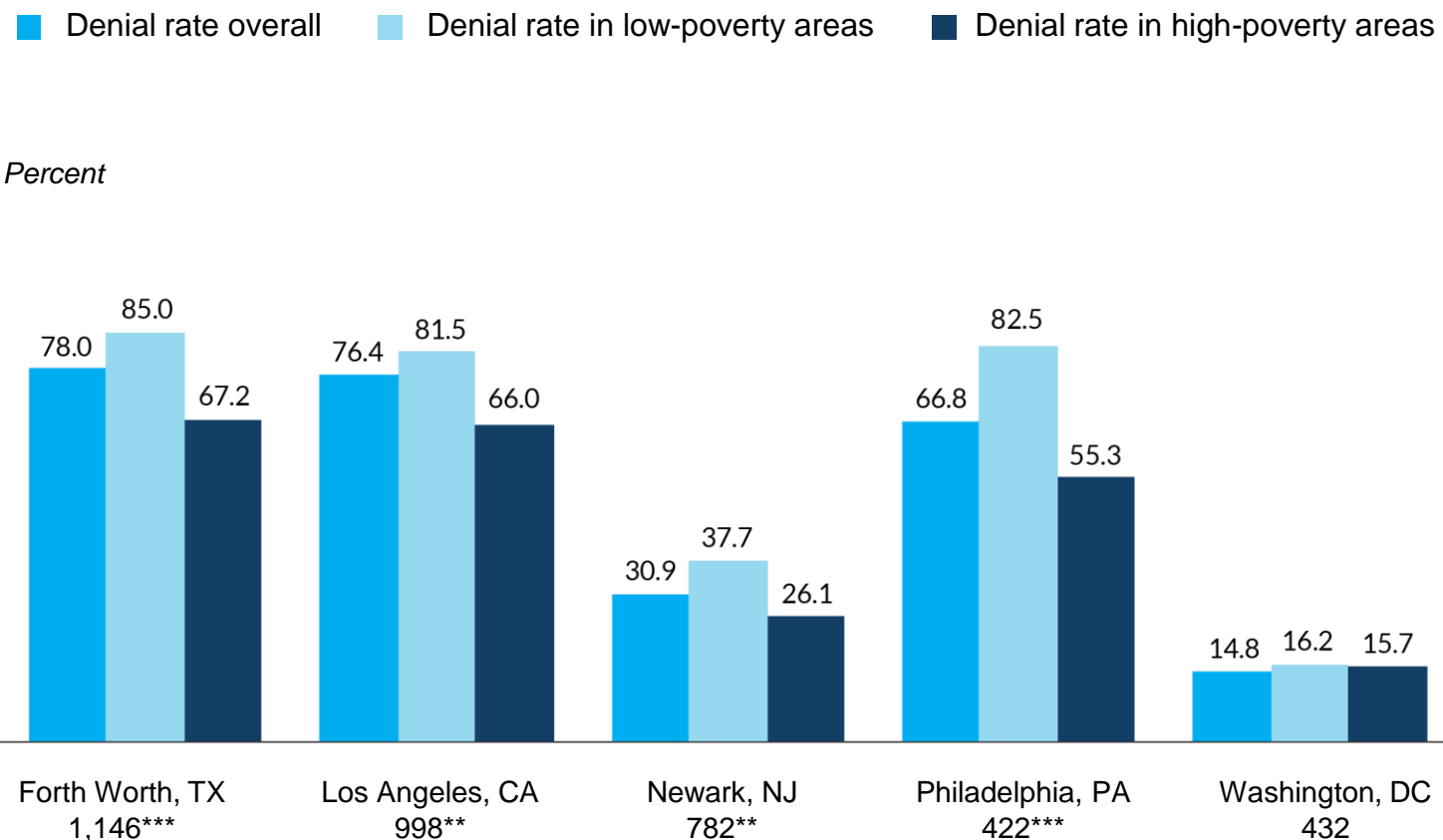
Do Landlords Accept Housing Choice Vouchers?



There is clear evidence of voucher denial in all sites, but denial rates vary widely.



**Voucher denials
more common
in low-poverty
areas than high-
poverty areas.**



*p < 0.10. **p < 0.05. ***p < 0.01

A woman with dark hair, wearing a light-colored top, is standing in a kitchen. She is looking down at a bowl of fruit on the counter. The kitchen has white cabinets and a sink. The image is overlaid with a blue tint.

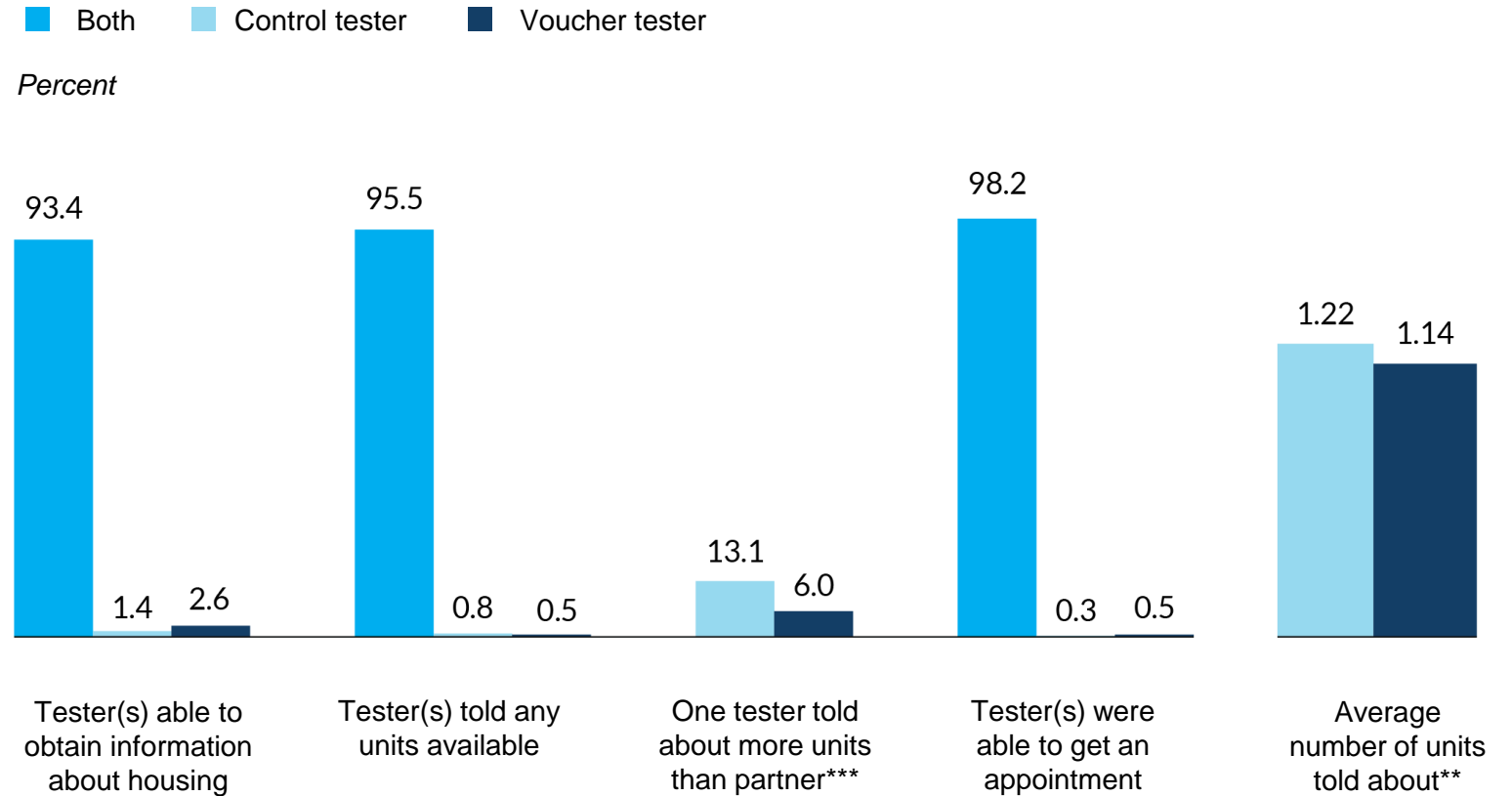
Do Landlords Treat Voucher Holders Differently Than Other Apartment Seekers?

Measures of Differential Treatment

Requirements	Qualifications	Rent, fees, incentives, and move-in costs	Comments
Applicants were told and or instructed to Complete an application Complete a credit check A cosigner is required A background check must be done An eviction check must be done Apply online or given web address Offered a copy of application by agent	Agent requested the following information Marital status Household size/comp Income Source of income Occupation Employer Length of employment Credit standing Rent history, including evictions Contact information Other information	Applicants and or testers were told Fees would go to deposit or rent Higher fees than partner Fees required for any unit About incentives Higher incentives than partner Security deposit required Higher yearly net cost Average rent for any unit Average fees would go to deposit or rent Average fees for any unit Average incentives Average security deposit for any unit Average yearly net cost	Comments from the landlord Requirements If they were qualified to rent the unit Fair housing information Remarks about race or ethnicity Asked how security deposit will be

Newark, NJ Paired phone tests

Paired phone testers received similar treatment



Note: $N = 426$.

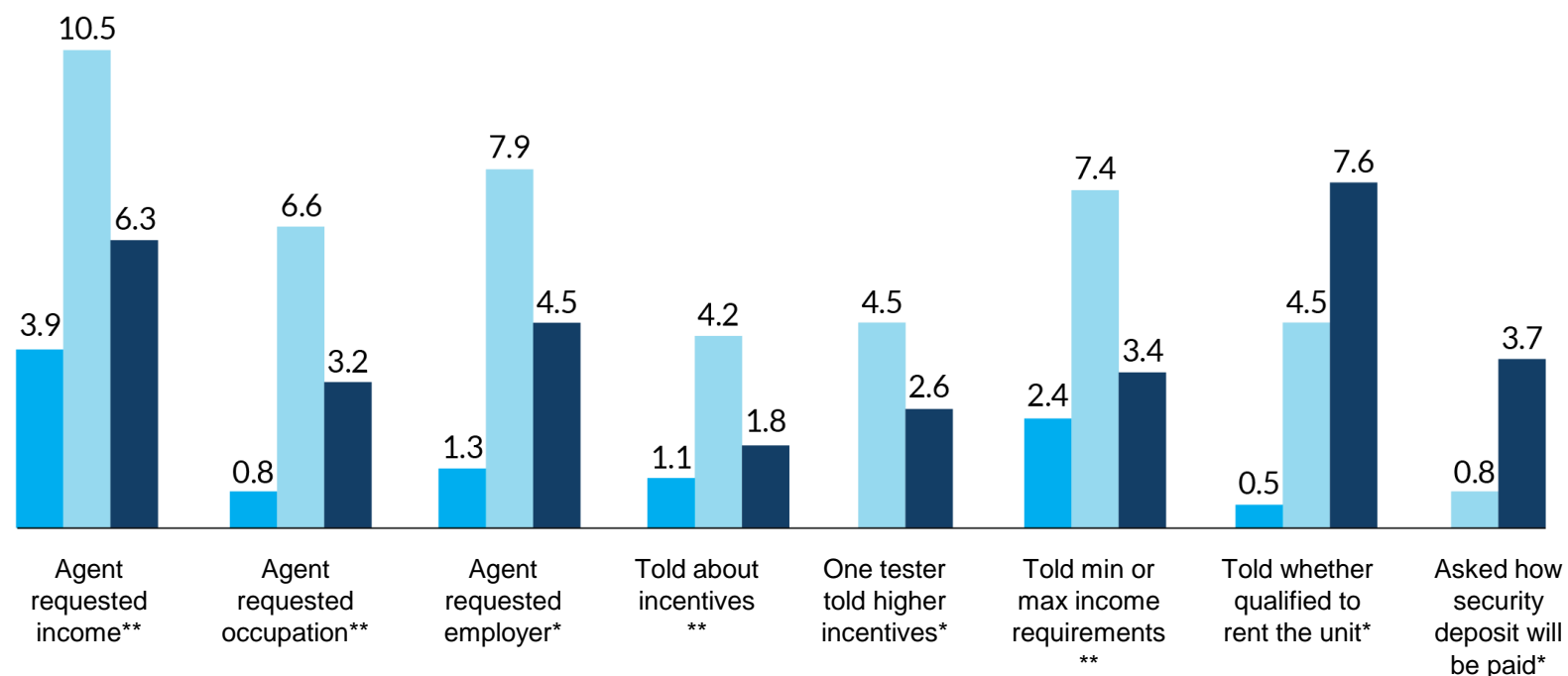
* $p < 0.10$. ** $p < 0.05$. *** $p < 0.01$

Newark, NJ Paired phone tests

Landlords scrutinized nonvoucher holders' ability to pay

Both Control tester Voucher tester

Percent



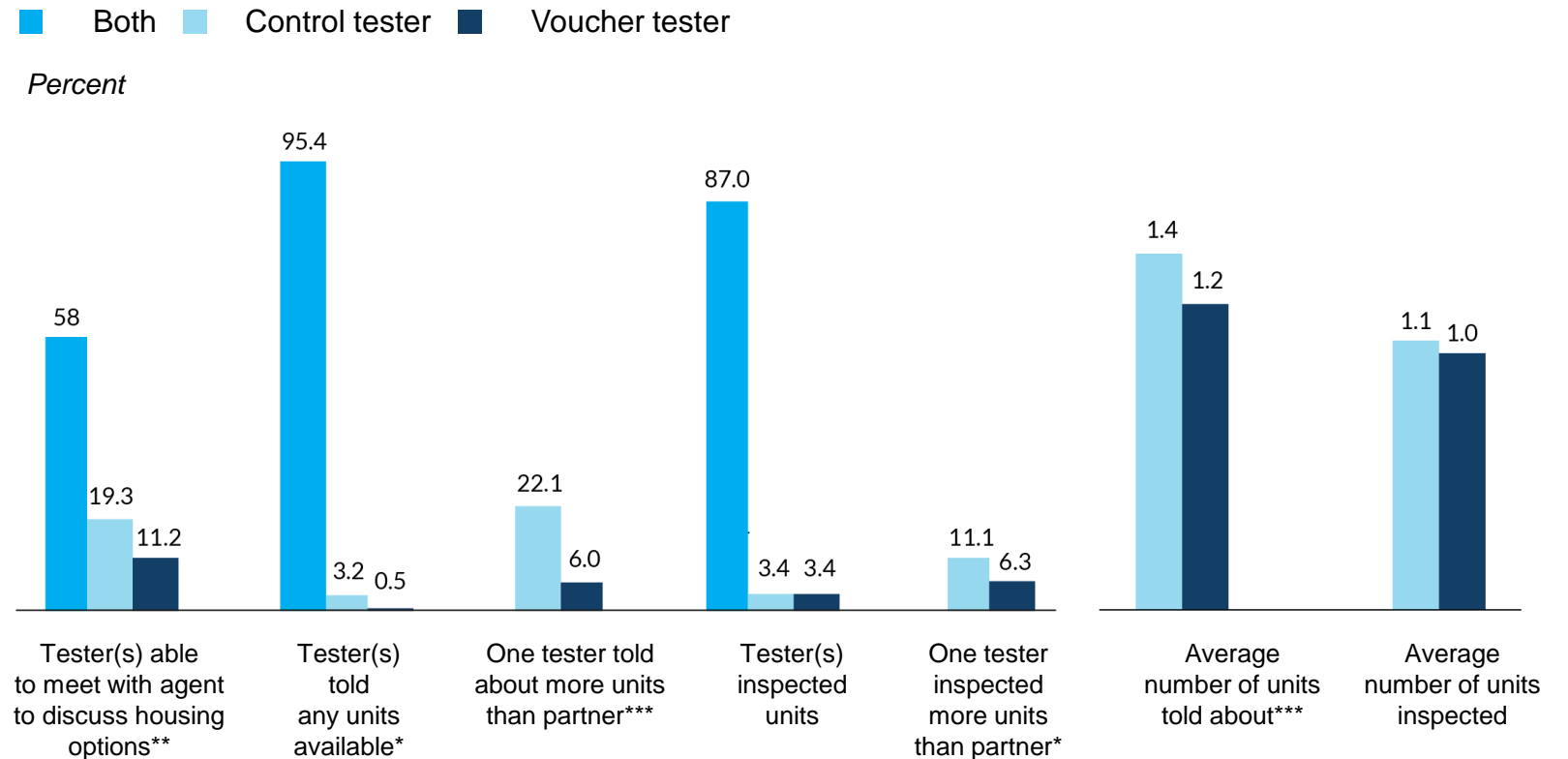
Note: N =

426

*p < 0.10. **p < 0.05. ***p < 0.01

Newark, NJ Paired in- person tests

Voucher Holders Stood Up for Apartment Viewings More Often Than Nonvoucher Holders



Note: $N = 374$.

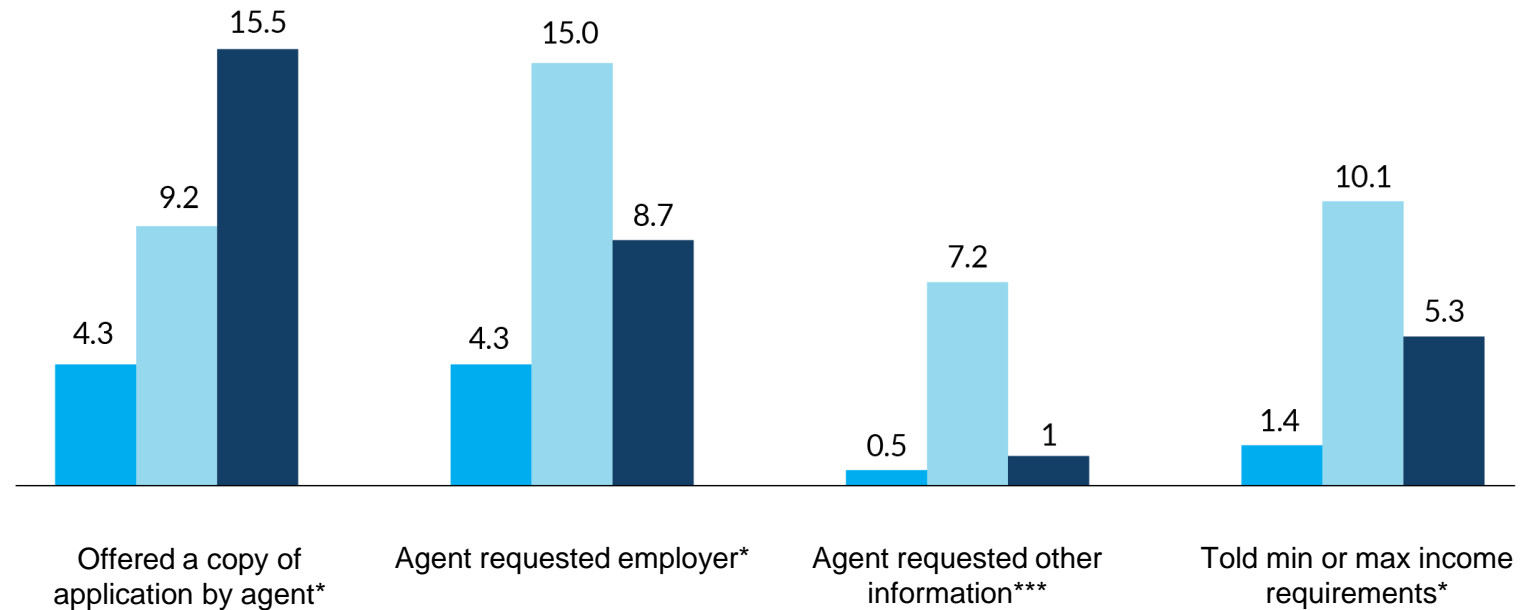
* $p < 0.10$. ** $p < 0.05$. *** $p < 0.01$

Newark, NJ Paired in- person tests

Landlords Scrutinized Nonvoucher Holders' Ability to Pay

Both Control tester Voucher tester

Percent



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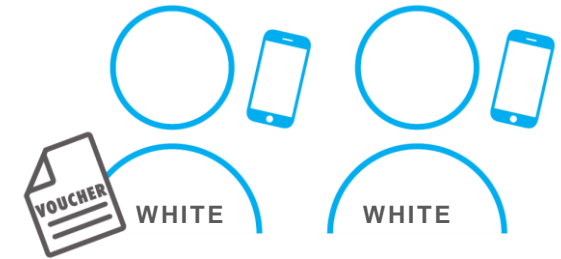
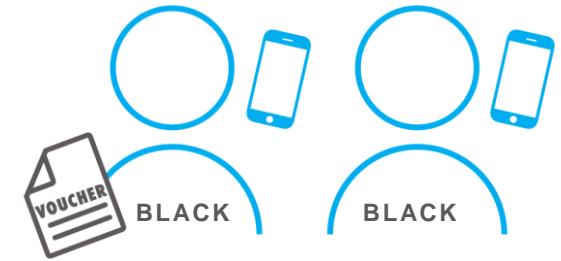
Discrimination by Voucher Holder Race and Poverty

We intended to measure discrimination by race and neighborhood poverty rate using paired in-person tests.

We did not detect differences by race in Newark.

Because of the sample size, we were unable to discern, with any statistical significance, differences in how testers were treated by neighborhood poverty rate.

This should not be considered definitive evidence that no difference in treatment exists.



In brief

- Landlords frequently deny voucher holders.
 - Overall, outright denial was more common in low-poverty neighborhoods than high-poverty neighborhoods.
- Landlords who said they accepted vouchers treated tester similarly in phone calls.
- Landlords were more likely to stand up voucher holders at appointments to view units.
- Once both testers were able to meet with landlords in person, differences in treatment were relatively small.
- Landlords were more likely to scrutinize control testers about factors that relate to their ability to pay the rent.

Recommendations for Future Research

Voucher acceptance tests and in-person paired tests yield the most information.

A future national study using a two-phase approach.

- Voucher-acceptance tests by phone in a large sample of sites.

- Continued acceptance testing in sites with relatively moderate denial.

- Study should include an extended data collection period as a design feature.

Research to understand landlords' perceptions and motivations.

To improve the voucher program, policy makers could...

Encourage landlord participation

- Recruit and attract landlords, particularly in low-poverty areas
- Ensure voucher payment standards meet market rents
- Explore financial incentives for landlords
- Improve program management

Help voucher holders navigate the housing search

- Expand search time
- Provide housing search assistance
- Improve the quality of public housing authority landlord lists

Pursue legal protections for voucher holders

Thank You

We thank the US Department of Housing and Urban Development for funding this project, and our panel of experts for their feedback and guidance along the way. To complete this study, the Urban Institute partnered with the Fair Housing Foundation, the North Texas Fair Housing Center, and the Fair Housing Council of Northern New Jersey. This project could not have been completed successfully without the commitment and hard work of their test coordinators and testers.

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Tempting the Opportunity Landlord

Philip ME Garboden

The University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

Eva Rosen

Georgetown University

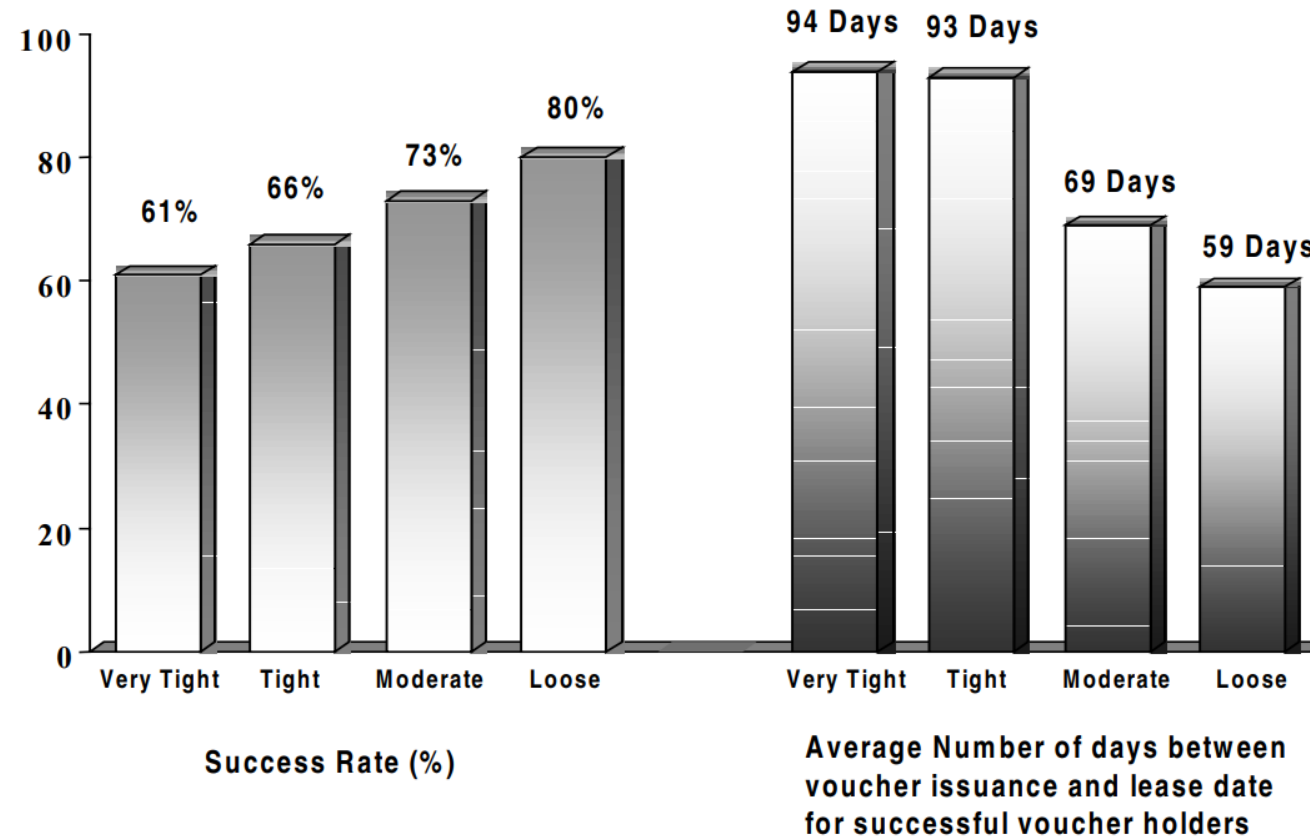
Jennifer Cossyleon

Johns Hopkins University

Housing Mobility Conference, October 2018

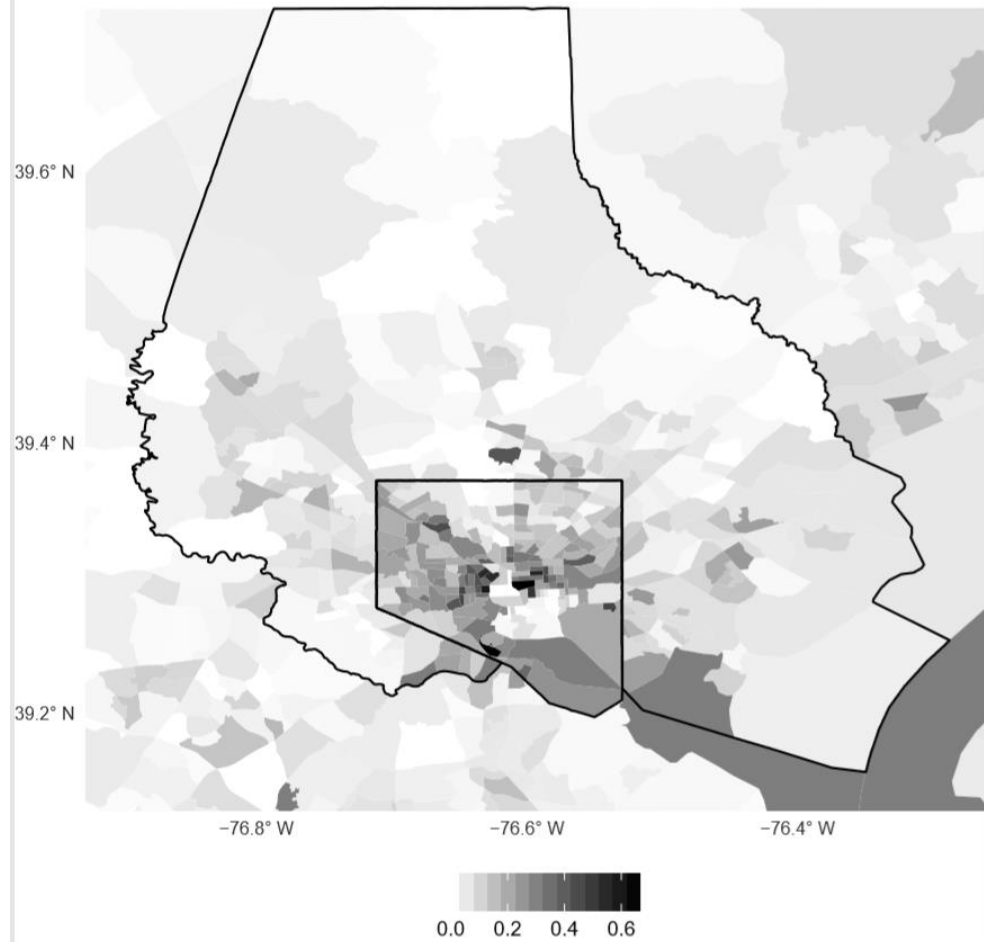
LANDLORDS & VOUCHERS

Exhibit ES-2
Success Rates and Time to Lease by Market Tightness

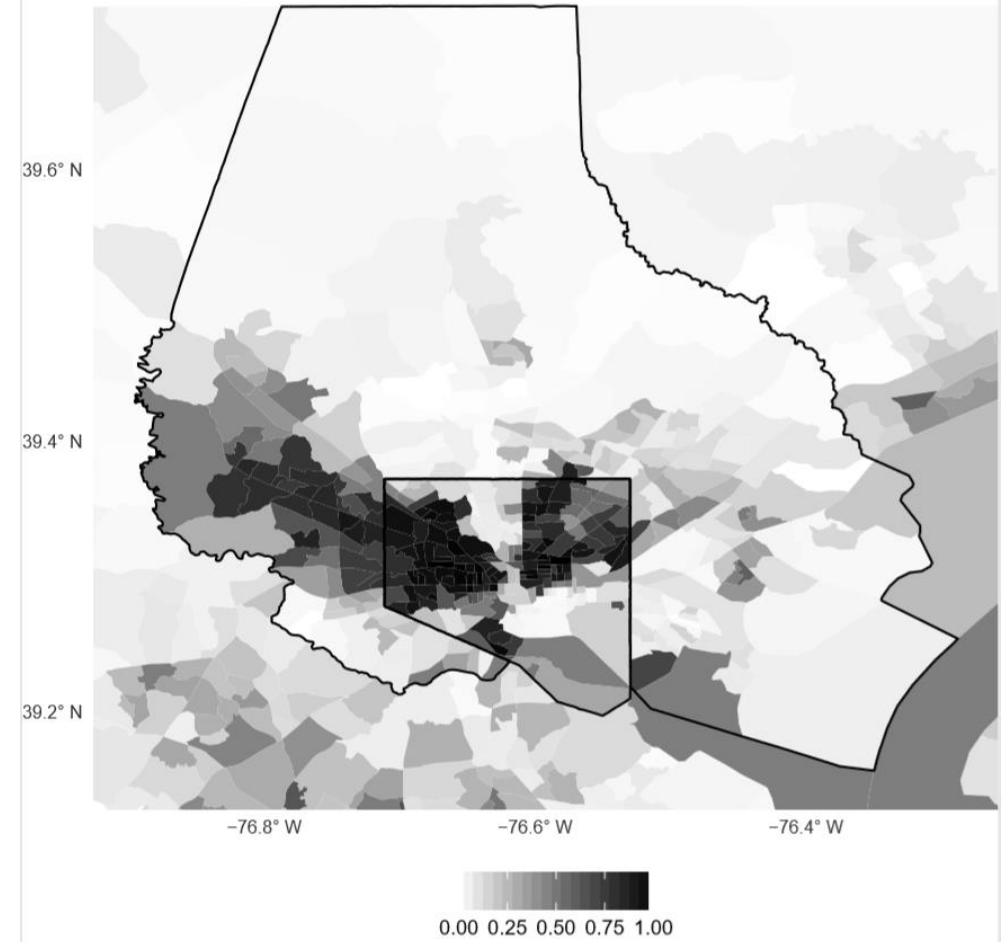


Source: Abt Associates composite vacancy measure and voucher holder tracking system.
Sample: 2609 (1780 successful voucher holders) weighted to reflect national population of vouchers holders in large metropolitan-area PHAs.

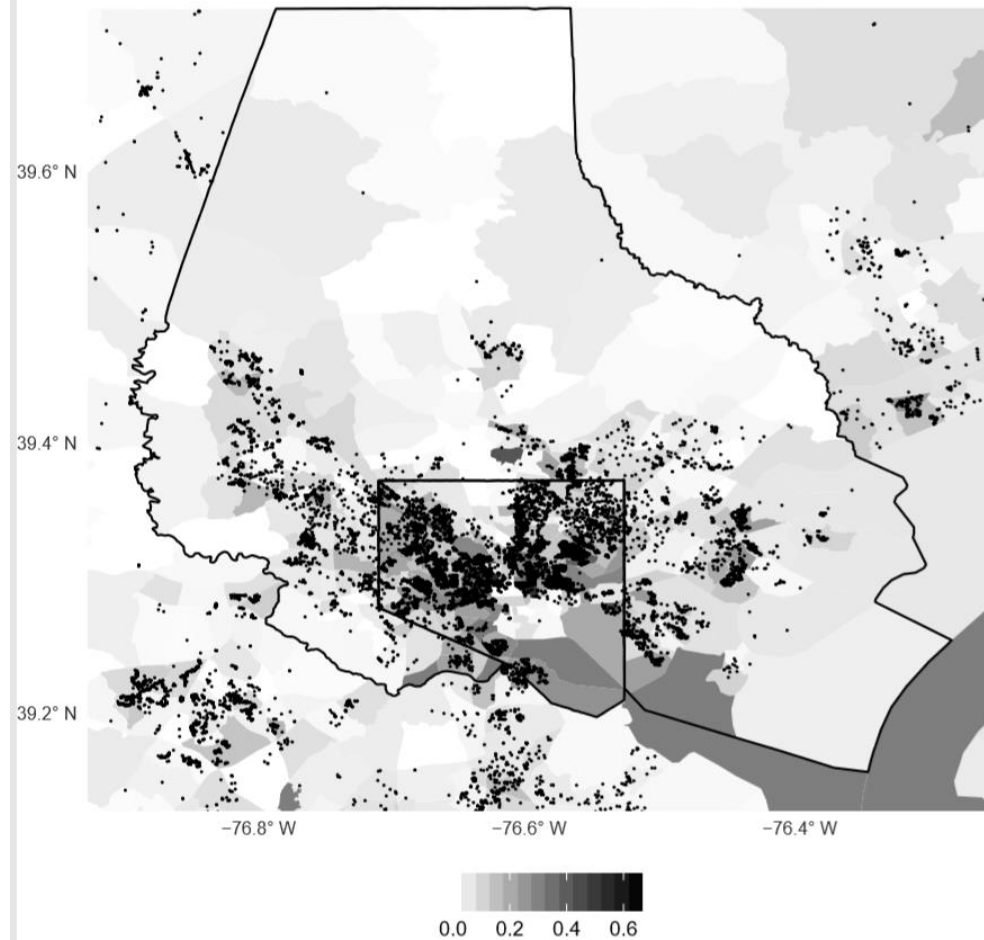
Percentage of Individuals below Poverty Line by Census Tract



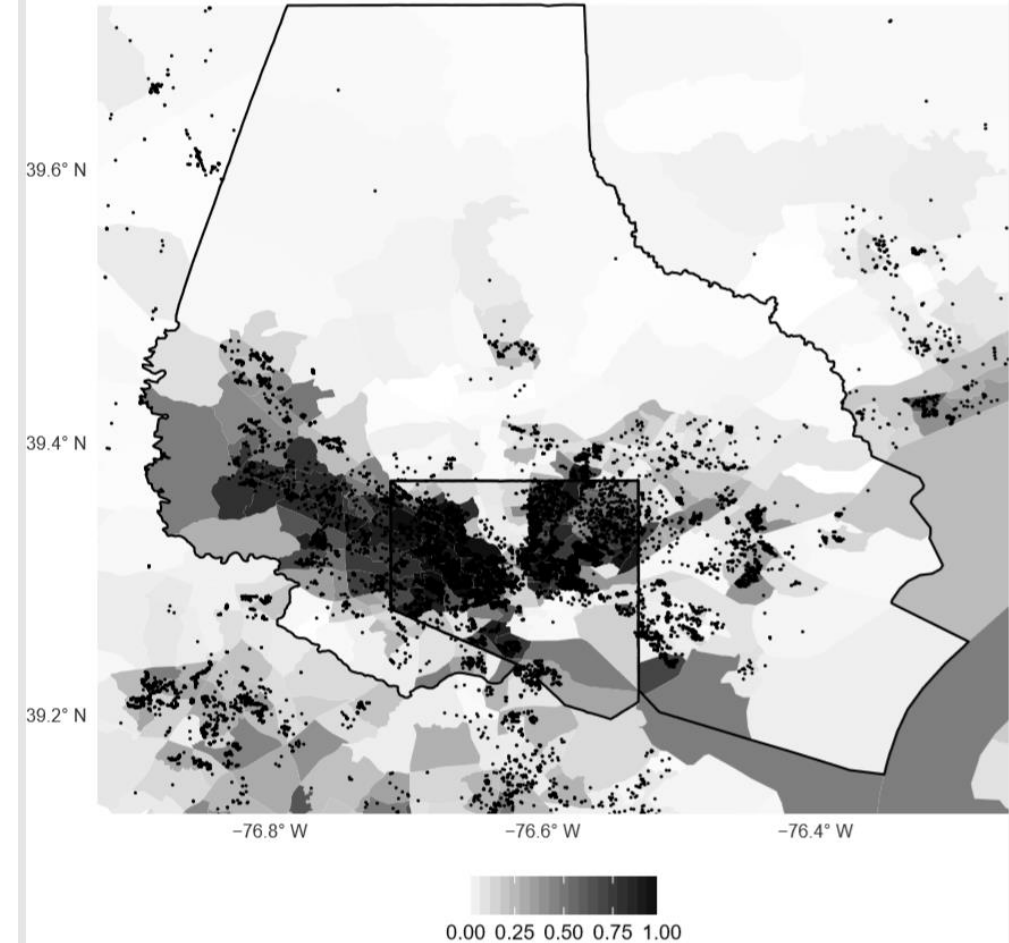
Percentage of Black Individuals by Census Tract



Percentage of Individuals below Poverty Line by Census Tract

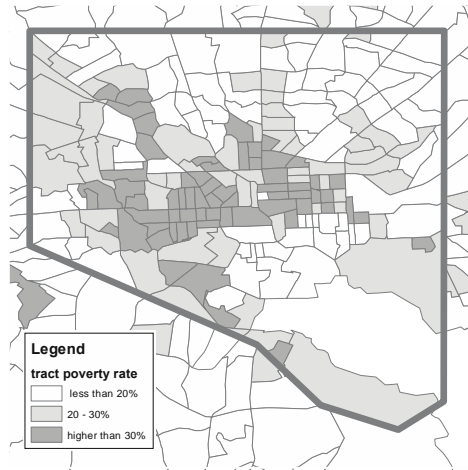


Percentage of Black Individuals by Census Tract

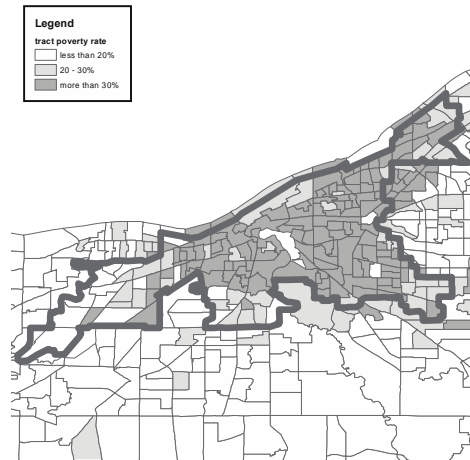


METHODS

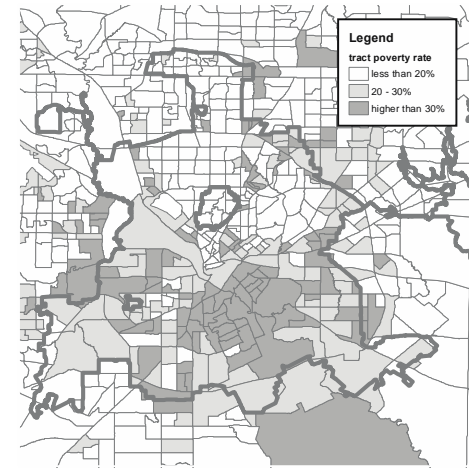
Data & Methods



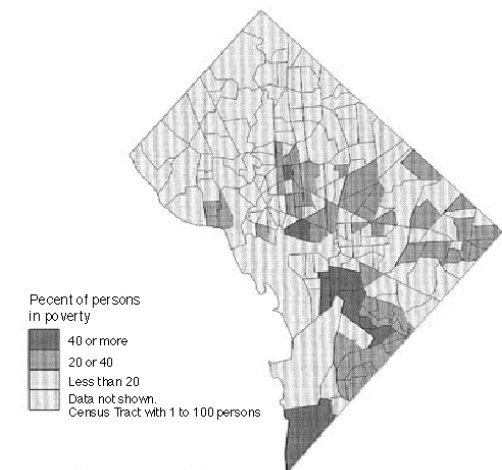
BALTIMORE, MD



CLEVELAND, OH



DALLAS, TX



WASHINGTON, DC

Data & Methods

INTERVIEW SAMPLING

Voucher Marketing

Subsidized

(listings on gosection8.com or housingcleveland.org)

Unsubsidized

(listings on craigslist)

Neighborhood Poverty

High-poverty

(>20 percent poverty)

Low-poverty

Neighborhood Racial Plurality

White

Black

Hispanic

(Dallas)

Data & Methods

Interview Sample Distribution

	Random Sample	Field Sample	Total
Dallas	26	9	35
Cleveland	36	20	56
Baltimore	18	18	36
Washington	27	4	31
Total	107	51	158

Data & Methods

Family Report		U.S. Department of Health and Human Services		OMB Approval Number 2710-0046	
		Office of Public and Indian Health			
1. Agency					
1A. Agency name					5
1B. PHA code					2
1C. Project name	PHHS Training (Co-1) Co-Ethnicity (Co-1a) Ethnicities (Co-1a) Ethnicities (Co-1a) Ethnicities (Co-1a) Ethnicities (Co-1a)				2
1D. Project number (Public Hearing only)					2
1E. Building number (Public Hearing only)					2
1F. Building address number (Public Hearing only)					2
1G. Unit number (Public Hearing only)					2
2. Action					
2A. Type of action					2
2B. Effective date (calendar year) of action					2
2C. Comment 1 (1000-1000)					2
2D. Comment 2 (1000-1000)					2
2E. Comment 3 (1000-1000)					2
2F. Comment 4 (1000-1000)					2
2G. Comment 5 (1000-1000)					2
2H. Comment 6 (1000-1000)					2
2I. Comment 7 (1000-1000)					2
2J. Comment 8 (1000-1000)					2
2K. Comment 9 (1000-1000)					2
2L. Comment 10 (1000-1000)					2
2M. Comment 11 (1000-1000)					2
2N. Comment 12 (1000-1000)					2
2O. Comment 13 (1000-1000)					2
2P. Comment 14 (1000-1000)					2
2Q. Comment 15 (1000-1000)					2
2R. Comment 16 (1000-1000)					2
2S. Comment 17 (1000-1000)					2
2T. Comment 18 (1000-1000)					2
2U. Comment 19 (1000-1000)					2
2V. Comment 20 (1000-1000)					2
2W. Comment 21 (1000-1000)					2
2X. Comment 22 (1000-1000)					2
2Y. Comment 23 (1000-1000)					2
2Z. Comment 24 (1000-1000)					2
2AA. Comment 25 (1000-1000)					2
2AB. Comment 26 (1000-1000)					2
2AC. Comment 27 (1000-1000)					2
2AD. Comment 28 (1000-1000)					2
2AE. Comment 29 (1000-1000)					2
2AF. Comment 30 (1000-1000)					2
2AG. Comment 31 (1000-1000)					2
2AH. Comment 32 (1000-1000)					2
2AI. Comment 33 (1000-1000)					2
2AJ. Comment 34 (1000-1000)					2
2AK. Comment 35 (1000-1000)					2
2AL. Comment 36 (1000-1000)					2
2AM. Comment 37 (1000-1000)					2
2AN. Comment 38 (1000-1000)					2
2AO. Comment 39 (1000-1000)					2
2AP. Comment 40 (1000-1000)					2
2AQ. Comment 41 (1000-1000)					2
2AR. Comment 42 (1000-1000)					2
2AS. Comment 43 (1000-1000)					2
2AT. Comment 44 (1000-1000)					2
2AU. Comment 45 (1000-1000)					2
2AV. Comment 46 (1000-1000)					2
2AW. Comment 47 (1000-1000)					2
2AX. Comment 48 (1000-1000)					2
2AY. Comment 49 (1000-1000)					2
2AZ. Comment 50 (1000-1000)					2
2BA. Comment 51 (1000-1000)					2
2BB. Comment 52 (1000-1000)					2
2BC. Comment 53 (1000-1000)					2
2BD. Comment 54 (1000-1000)					2
2BE. Comment 55 (1000-1000)					2
2BF. Comment 56 (1000-1000)					2
2BG. Comment 57 (1000-1000)					2
2BH. Comment 58 (1000-1000)					2
2BI. Comment 59 (1000-1000)					2
2BJ. Comment 60 (1000-1000)					2
2BK. Comment 61 (1000-1000)					

50058 Data

All HCV subsidized units in the Baltimore, Cleveland, and Dallas metropolitan areas, 1994 and 2015.

Field Observations

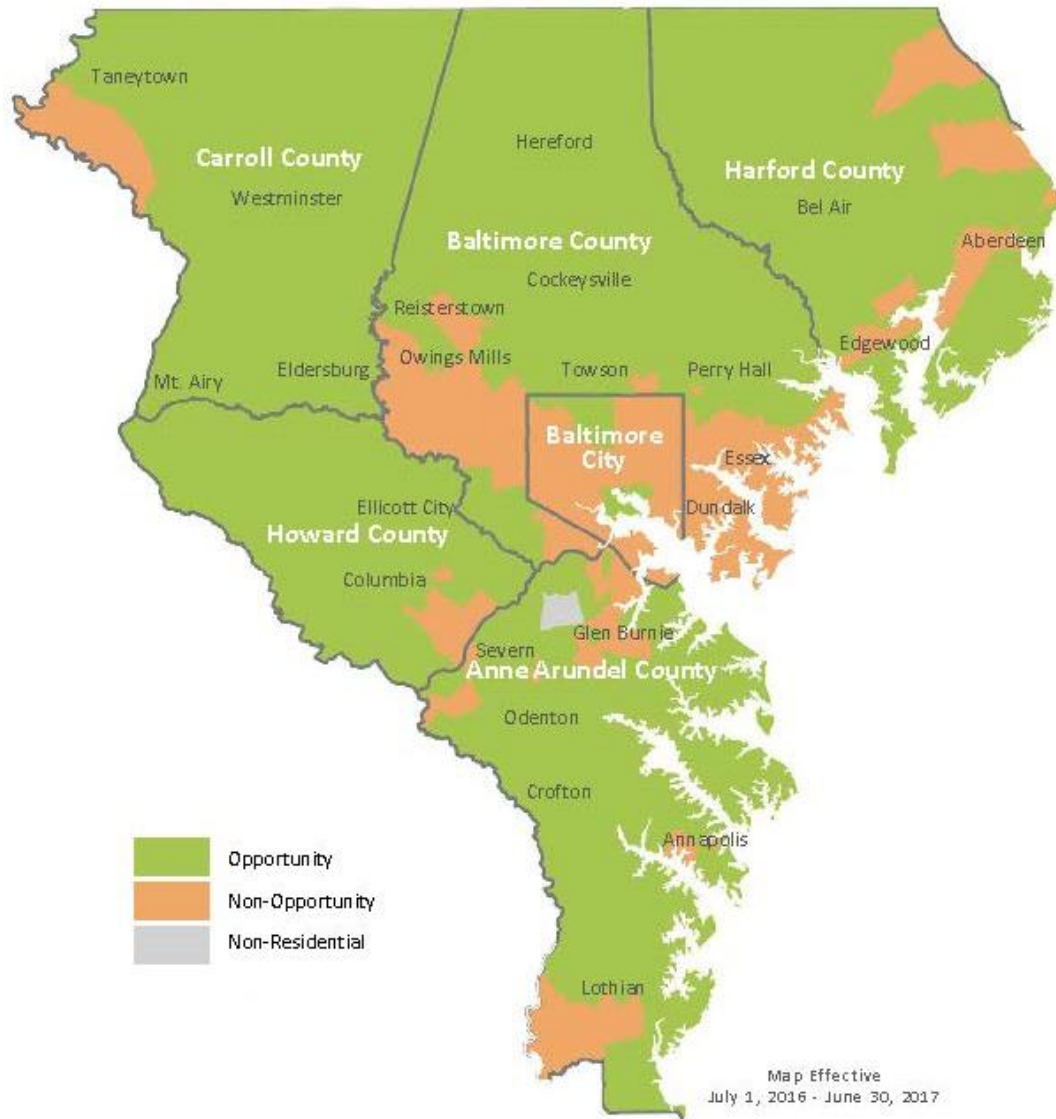
Time in housing court, sheriff's ride alongs, stakeholder meetings.



Ethnographic Data

Accompanying landlords going about their day-to-day, observation of REIAs.





Opportunity Landlord Extension Summer-Fall 2018

Interviews with landlords renting eligible
properties within opportunity areas.

28 Landlords (and counting)

14 from craigslist

14 from BRHP sample



FINDINGS

context matters: the counterfactual tenant



BALTIMORE, MD

The Voucher Specialist

“Landlords who have horror stories and then say Section 8 is terrible. Well Section 8 is not terrible; you’re actually a terrible landlord.” (Owner Rutherford Properties)



DALLAS, TX

The Institutional Investor

“[It’s a] tax credit property, which is based off your income... [I] take [the tenants’ kids] on field trips, take them to the pool, just different things with them to keep them active and instead of being in trouble.” (Manager, Breezewood Estates)



CLEVELAND, OH

The Struggling Mom and Pop

“I could schedule five people to come and look at it this afternoon and a very low percentage [would] show up. So I end up going down there basically for nothing. So I just got on the Section 8 list and if they call me that means they’re interested they want to see you.” (John)

Housing Choice Voucher Unit Type and Ownership Concentration

		Baltimore City	Cleveland City	Dallas City
<i>number of HCV units in portfolio</i>				
huge (100+ units)	%	0.12	0.07	0.29
large (31-100 units)	%	0.18	0.10	0.31
medium (6-30 units)	%	0.27	0.26	0.21
small (1-5 units)	%	0.42	0.57	0.19
<i>structure type</i>				
Single Family Detached	%	0.56	0.43	0.19
Semi-detached	%	0.02	0.31	0.04
Rowhouse/Townhouse	%	0.26	0.01	0.13
Low-rise	%	0.12	0.16	0.62
High-rise with elevator	%	0.03	0.09	0.03
Manufactured home	%	0.00	0.00	0.00

Source: HUD Administrative Data

experience matters: the “broken” partnership

70% of non-participating landlords in our random sample with units $< 150\%$ FMR had participated in the past.


Antwan

I guess somehow Section 8 she said I wasn't doing what I needed to do. You know? They wanted me to fix some things and I was trying to make them understand that I would do this, but the tenant needs to be responsible for some of this. And they were like no, well if you don't do certain things as the landlord they'll let them get out of the lease.

[The tenant] can say I don't like the way things are going over here and Section 8 doesn't really say, 'Well you can't keep moving every year.'

TEMPTING THE MARGINS

rebrand the voucher program


HomeCommitmentProducts and ServicesCommunityContact

Established 1852. Re-established 2018


with a recommitment to you.

From day one, we always came through for our customers. Today, we're renewing our commitment to you—and working to earn back your trust.


See what's new at Wells Fargo:




Building a better bank



Putting service first



Upgrading our banking features



Increasing community impact

retention: do the basics well

pay them more

answer the phone

have someone familiar with the client for landlords to talk to

inspection standardization

implement screening or tenant readiness training

“They [BRHP] teach tenants about budgeting and how to manage their money and pay bills on time. They teach them how to build their credit. So, it is good things for the landlord. [I’m more willing to accept late rent because] “they showed me their budget book. Rent comes first and [then] all the other bills.” (Sarah)

share the opportunity mission

“Right, as long as you wanna live in a better environment and have a better school for your children and have a better neighborhood to help raise your children up then. So, it’s important. It’s gotta be important to them.” (Jean)

thank you

funders

PRRAC, Department of Housing and Urban Development
Annie E. Casey Foundation, NYU Furman Center

collaborators

Stefanie DeLuca, Meredith Greif, Kathryn Edin

Disclaimer: The work that provided the basis for this publication was supported by funding under a grant with the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. The substance and findings of the work are dedicated to the public. The author and publisher are solely responsible for the accuracy of the statements and interpretations contained in this publication. Such interpretations do not necessarily reflect the views of the Government.