

An Annual Look at the Housing Affordability Challenges of America's Working Households

While economic conditions have been improving nationally, many American workers are still struggling to make ends meet. Even as wages begin to rise, a significant number of households struggle to find homes they can afford.¹ For millions of individuals and families, housing costs account for more than half of their monthly gross income, meaning they are severely housing cost burdened. Spending a disproportionate share of income on housing can leave too little for other necessities like food, health care, transportation, and child care. Households burdened by high housing costs also spend less on non-essential goods and services in their communities, which can curb economic growth both locally and nationally.

Overall, 15.2 percent of all U.S. households (17.6 million households) were severely housing cost burdened in 2013.² Renters face the biggest affordability challenges. In 2013, 24.3 percent of all renter households were severely burdened compared to 10.0 percent of all owner households.

In this report, the term **working households** refers to households where members work a total of at least 20 hours a week on average and household income does not exceed 120 percent of the area median income (AMI).

AMI levels vary by metro area. For example, in the Denver metro area 120 percent of AMI is \$92,040. This means a Denver household containing an electrician and a loan officer would typically earn about 120 percent of AMI combined. In Louisville, however, 120 percent of AMI is \$77,160 or about what the average bookkeeper and nurse (LPN) earn combined.³

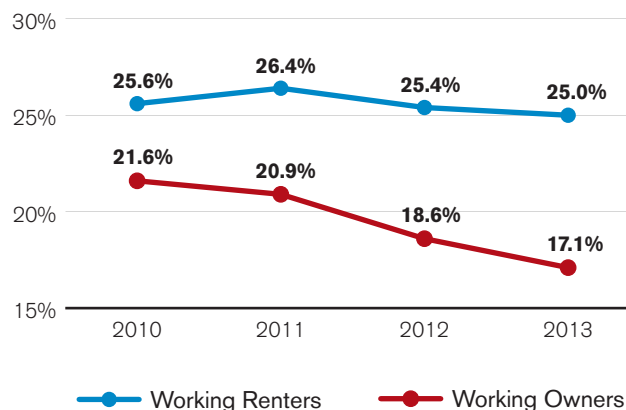
In 2013, there were 45.4 million U.S. households that met this definition of working households, including 21.7 million homeowners and 23.7 million renters. Nearly 30 percent of all U.S. owner households were working households with incomes below 120 percent of AMI. Working renters, who tend to have lower incomes than homeowners, represented 56 percent of all U.S. renter households.

Housing Landscape summarizes the severe housing cost burdens of low- and moderate-income **working households**. (See sidebar for definition.) These low- and moderate-income households include full- and part-time workers who serve our communities and our economy in many capacities. They also are faced with significantly greater affordability challenges than the overall population. In 2013, 21.2 percent of working households were severely cost burdened (9.6 million households). Twenty-five percent of working renters and 17.1 percent of working homeowners paid more than half of their incomes for housing that year.

Since 2010, the overall share of working households with a severe housing cost burden has fallen. This modest decline is the result of a complex combination of factors, including the shift of some higher-income households from homeownership into rental housing. An insufficient supply of rental housing and sustained increases in rents have led to millions of working households having to pay too much for housing or live far from their jobs, in substandard housing, or in poor-quality neighborhoods.

FIGURE 1. A Complex Set of Factors is Responsible for the Modest Decline in the Share of Severely Housing Cost Burdened Households

Percentage of Working Households with a Severe Housing Cost Burden



One in Four Working Renter Households is Severely Housing Cost Burdened

Working renter households have seen sustained reductions in housing affordability challenges over several years. As shown in Figure 1, between 2010 and 2013, the share of working renter households with a severe housing cost burden fell from 25.6 percent to 25.0 percent after a slight increase in 2011. However, at the same time the overall numbers of severely cost burdened working renters has increased. In 2013 there were 5.9 million severely cost burdened working renter households, 175,000 more than in 2010.

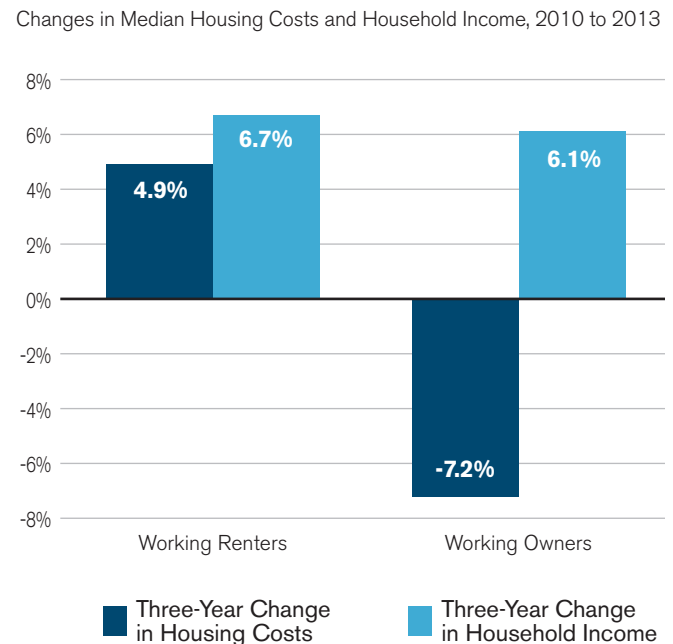
Working owner households experienced greater improvements in housing affordability during this period. The share of working owners with a severe housing cost burden fell from 21.6 percent in 2010 to 17.1 percent in 2013. Despite this improvement, there were still 3.7 million severely cost burdened working homeowners in 2013.

Renters Face Steady Rise in Housing Costs While Owners Have Benefited from Falling Housing Costs

The share of working households with a severe housing cost burden has fallen over the past few years, primarily because incomes among this group rose faster than housing costs. Wages increased among both renter and owner households. As shown in Figure 2, between 2010 and 2013, the median income for working renter households grew by 6.7 percent. This increase outpaced a 4.9 percent rise in median housing costs for working renter households during this period, which reduced the share of renters who spent more than half their income on rent.

Working owners saw a 6.1 percent rise in median household income during this time. Unlike working renters, however, their housing costs declined by 7.2 percent. This drop in owner housing costs resulted in relatively greater reductions in the share of severely cost burdened working owner households compared to renter households.

FIGURE 2. Incomes Rose Faster than Housing Costs for Working Households



Housing Costs Maintain Different Trajectories for Renters and Owners

Several years into the economic recovery, working households face lingering impacts from the foreclosure crisis, including a slowdown in residential construction activity and an increase in the number of renters, which have resulted in rising rents. As Table 1 shows, median rents for low- and moderate-income working households have grown steadily every year between 2010 and 2013. In contrast, working owners have experienced consistent decreases in median housing costs during that time.

These trends in housing costs are related in part to changes in the overall numbers of working renter and owner households and the increased demand for rental housing. Between 2010 and 2013, the number of working owners decreased by more than four percent from 22.6 million to

TABLE 1. Rents Rise While Homeownership Costs Fall

Median Monthly Housing Costs for Working Households

	2010	2011	2012	2013	One-Year Change	Two-Year Change	Three-Year Change
Working Renters	\$830	\$847	\$852	\$871	2.2%	2.8%	4.9%
Working Owners	\$1,037	\$1,024	\$994	\$962	-3.2%	-6.1%	-7.2%

21.7 million. Conversely, the number of working renters increased by 5.6 percent from 22.5 million to 23.7 million during that time. This trend is partly the result of foreclosed owners moving into rental units, and large numbers of renters finding themselves unable to transition into homeownership because of their inability to secure a mortgage or save enough for a down payment. Demographic factors, including the relatively larger size of the millennial population, have also increased demand for rental housing. Along with limited supply of rental housing and lower interest rates on mortgage loans, these dynamics have led to a rise in rents and a fall in homeownership costs around the country.

As a result of these changes in the numbers of owners and renters and their impact on housing demand, the difference between the median housing costs for working renters and working owners has been shrinking. In 2010, the median monthly housing cost for working homeowners was \$207 higher than the median housing cost for working renters; by 2013, the difference was only \$91.

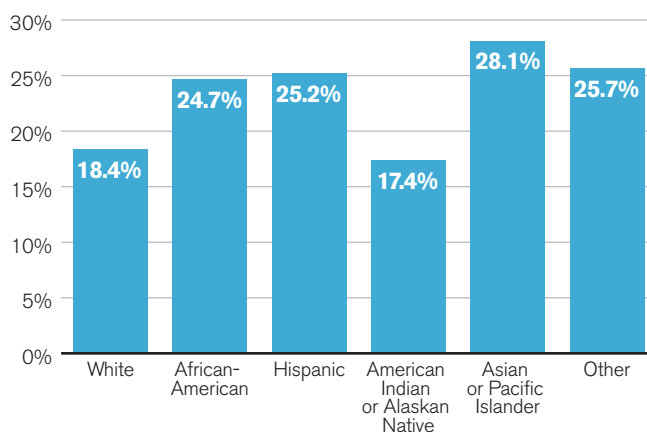
Non-White Working Households are More Likely to be Severely Cost Burdened

In 2013, 18.4 percent of working households headed by a white individual — including both renters and owners—spent more than half their income on housing costs, but for minorities the proportion of severely cost burdened households was significantly greater. About one-quarter of both Hispanic- and African-American-headed working households were severely cost burdened, and the rate was even higher for Asian- and Pacific-Islander-headed households (28.1 percent), as shown in Figure 3. An exception to this pattern is seen for American Indian-headed working households, who were less likely to carry a severe housing cost burden than their counterparts. This difference is likely due to the large number of American Indian-headed households residing on reservations, where housing is somewhat more affordable than in the rest of the country overall (although housing conditions are more likely to be inadequate compared to housing nationwide).⁴

Lower household incomes are the primary reason Hispanic and African-American households face higher housing cost burdens than white households. On the other hand, Asian households had higher median household incomes than white households—but they also had higher housing costs. Much of this housing cost differential is attributable to the higher housing costs found in areas where Asian households are likely to live. Nearly 30 percent of low- and moderate-income Asian working households are located in California, which has relatively high housing costs, compared to just 10.8 percent of all working households. Asian working households are also more likely to live in the higher-cost states of Hawaii, New York, and New Jersey.

FIGURE 3. African-American, Hispanic- and Asian-Headed Working Households Face Higher Housing Cost Burdens Than White-Headed Households

Percentage of Working Households with a Severe Housing Cost Burden by Race/Ethnicity⁵



The Lowest Income Households Face the Greatest Housing Costs Burdens

In 2013, more than one out of every five working households spent more than half of their income on housing costs. However, the nation's lowest-income working households face the most severe challenges. These households include many workers who serve local communities in minimum wage or part-time jobs, including service, agriculture, or low-wage manufacturing positions. In 2013, 62 percent of workers earning minimum wage or less were women, half were age 25 or older, and 64 percent were part-time employees.⁶ In some cases these jobs are stepping stones to better positions with higher wages, but many workers support themselves and their families in these lower-paid positions.

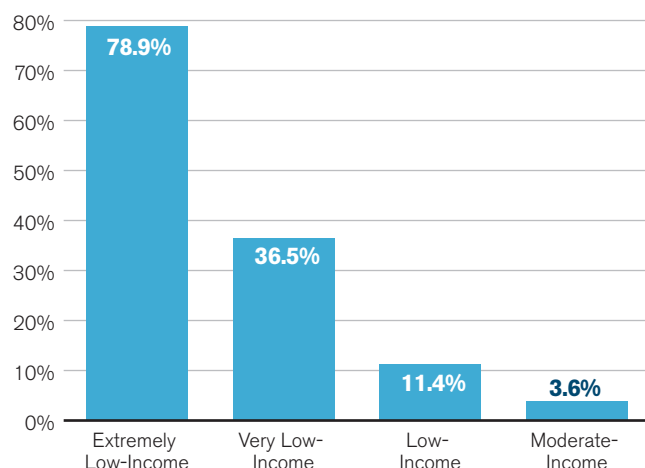
Nearly eight in 10 extremely low-income working households were severely housing cost burdened in 2013. These numbers actually understate the affordability challenges for the lowest income population because this analysis excludes non-working and underemployed households, including many seniors and persons with disabilities who are among our most vulnerable residents and are more likely to have extremely low incomes.

Households with very low incomes are somewhat less likely to be severely cost burdened, though many of these workers face stiff challenges finding affordable housing; about 37 percent of very low-income households spend half or more of their household income on housing costs each month.

It is important to remember that the number of severely cost burdened households would be even higher without

FIGURE 4. The Vast Majority of Extremely Low-Income Households Have Severe Housing Cost Burdens

Percentage of Working Households
with a Severe Housing Cost Burden by Income, 2013



Household Income Levels

Extremely Low-Income: 30 percent of AMI or less

Very Low-Income: 31-50 percent of AMI

Low-Income: 51-80 percent of AMI

Moderate-Income: 81-120 percent of AMI

federal housing programs that generally target assistance to extremely low- and very low-income households. Most federal affordable housing programs cap rent payments for households at 30 percent of household income so that lower-income households will have sufficient money in their budgets for other necessities. The severely cost burdened households in Figure 4, therefore, include the households that are not helped by current housing assistance programs, underscoring the limited reach these programs have at current funding levels. Only about one in four households eligible for federal housing assistance actually receive help.⁷

Affordability Challenges are Greatest on the Coasts and in Recovering Housing Markets

The metro areas with the highest shares of severely housing cost burdened working households are typically located in coastal states with high-cost housing markets. However, some states generally characterized by moderate housing affordability challenges contain metro areas with substantial shares of severely cost burdened households. For example, at least one in five working households is severely cost burdened in the New Orleans, Milwaukee, Virginia Beach, and Seattle metro areas; however, the shares of severely cost burdened households in Louisiana, Wisconsin, Virginia and Washington are below the national rate.

Overall, housing affordability improved in 27 metro areas and 25 states between 2010 and 2013 (see Appendices A and B). The share of working households with severe housing cost burdens remained unchanged in the remaining states and large metro areas.

Policy Implications

Although housing affordability improved somewhat for working households from 2012 to 2013, millions of working households continue to face great difficulty in finding affordable housing. The ongoing economic recovery and rising incomes have resulted in only slight improvements to the widespread problem of housing affordability. In order to substantially improve housing affordability for working households, policies must address the complex issues involved, including access to housing as well as its overall cost.

The share of severely cost burdened homeowners has decreased since 2010 as a result of the falling cost of homeownership, but at the same time accessing homeownership has become increasingly difficult for many households. Additionally, while there were improvements in housing affordability for working renters between 2011 and 2013, challenges persist. Rents continue to rise, due in part to growth in the number of renters. While the demand for rental housing is increasing, the supply of affordable rental homes is not keeping pace.

Rising rents across the country demonstrate the need for policies that make rental housing more affordable, particularly for those with very low and extremely low incomes. Existing rental subsidies and public housing units are important sources of support, but the need far exceeds supply. Due to limited federal funding, wait lists for housing choice vouchers, public housing units, and property-based rental assistance are lengthy. Currently, the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) program is the primary means by which new affordable rental housing is built. While block grant programs like CDBG and HOME also incentivize the development of affordable housing through subsidies to local governments and non-profit developers, the LIHTC is unique because it increases the housing stock available to working households by leveraging private capital sources in place of drawing on public funds. Despite its effectiveness, however, the overall cap on the LIHTC program limits how much affordable housing it can produce.

In light of recent declines in housing costs for owner households, there currently exists an opportunity to broaden access to homeownership by expanding policies and programs that facilitate home buying for working families and individuals. Among the most common barriers for low- and moderate-income working households making the transition from renting to ownership are a lack of access to credit and a lack of accumulated wealth for a down payment. Policies aimed at helping to reduce these barriers, such as Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac's recent

decision to reduce down payment requirements to three percent for first-time homebuyers, could help more working families access homeownership and build wealth.

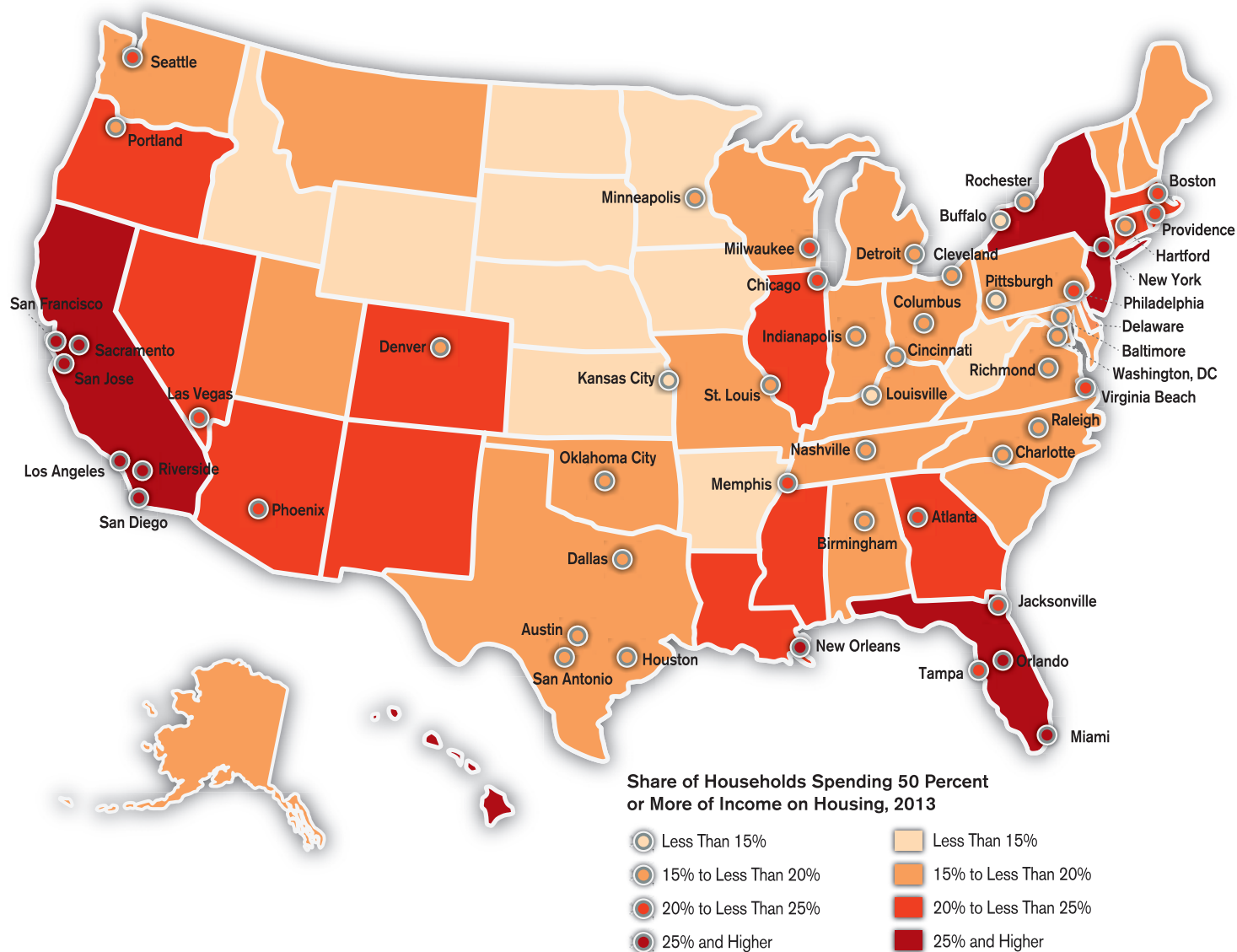
Further, in a more localized context, housing market conditions play an important part in affordable housing availability. Municipal policies related to land use and inclusionary housing can help address affordable housing needs by facilitating affordable housing production.⁸

Affordable housing is essential to the wellbeing of individuals and families and offers benefits for the communities in which they live. Without access to suitable housing that is affordably priced, low- and moderate-income workers must forego other necessities in order to remain in their homes. Some are forced to move farther away from their jobs and other services, resulting in higher spending on housing-plus-transportation costs.⁹

When individuals and families have access to affordable housing in their own communities, they are able to use more of their income for other important needs including food, health care, child care, and transportation. They are also enabled to pursue better health and educational outcomes. The overall picture in housing affordability for low- and moderate-income working households has improved slightly, but the basic mismatch between housing need and housing affordability remains. It is crucial that current efforts continue in order to improve access to affordable housing for households at the lowest income levels. As housing markets continue to adjust to the upheaval of the housing market downturn and recovery, there remains a high need for existing housing subsidy programs, the addition of new affordable units, improved access to mortgage credit, and other policies aimed at reducing barriers to homeownership for low- to moderate-income working households nationwide.

FIGURE 5. In Many of the Nation's Largest Metro Areas, More than a Quarter of Working Households Are Severely Housing Cost Burdened

Share of Working Households with a Severe Housing Cost Burden, 2013



STATE	2013 WORKING HOUSEHOLDS		% WITH SEVERE HOUSING COST BURDEN		SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE	
	Total	With Severe Housing Cost Burden	2010	2013	2010–13	
Alabama	641,514	112,746	20.2%	17.6%	-2.6	*
Alaska	118,426	18,468	18.5%	15.6%	-2.9	
Arizona	896,178	201,208	25.4%	22.5%	-3.0	*
Arkansas	410,095	58,887	17.2%	14.4%	-2.9	*
California	4,916,996	1,533,668	33.9%	31.2%	-2.7	*
Colorado	868,868	178,952	22.9%	20.6%	-2.3	*
Connecticut	524,689	110,068	24.7%	21.0%	-3.7	*
Delaware	131,298	25,311	24.4%	19.3%	-5.1	*
District of Columbia	117,478	30,166	23.7%	25.7%	1.9	
Florida	2,529,871	692,471	32.5%	27.4%	-5.1	*
Georgia	1,391,876	308,089	25.7%	22.1%	-3.5	*
Hawaii	187,559	50,307	29.7%	26.8%	-2.9	
Idaho	242,273	34,612	20.2%	14.3%	-5.9	*
Illinois	1,899,045	403,855	24.2%	21.3%	-2.9	*
Indiana	992,687	154,594	16.8%	15.6%	-1.2	
Iowa	532,159	66,695	13.1%	12.5%	-0.5	
Kansas	471,955	63,973	14.9%	13.6%	-1.4	
Kentucky	607,757	96,372	19.0%	15.9%	-3.1	*
Louisiana	648,059	131,708	20.7%	20.3%	-0.4	
Maine	202,454	36,042	15.7%	17.8%	2.1	
Maryland	942,747	185,118	20.9%	19.6%	-1.3	
Massachusetts	983,518	207,988	23.7%	21.1%	-2.6	*
Michigan	1,388,179	263,226	22.1%	19.0%	-3.1	*
Minnesota	896,711	131,646	17.3%	14.7%	-2.7	*
Mississippi	370,969	79,753	23.8%	21.5%	-2.3	
Missouri	939,994	154,232	17.5%	16.4%	-1.0	
Montana	164,586	29,399	18.2%	17.9%	-0.4	
Nebraska	314,695	44,230	14.7%	14.1%	-0.7	
Nevada	391,179	90,367	28.7%	23.1%	-5.6	*
New Hampshire	223,462	38,139	18.4%	17.1%	-1.3	
New Jersey	1,154,447	347,914	31.6%	30.1%	-1.5	
New Mexico	270,927	54,334	21.8%	20.1%	-1.8	
New York	2,827,179	793,811	28.3%	28.1%	-0.3	
North Carolina	1,446,895	268,310	21.5%	18.5%	-3.0	*
North Dakota	135,647	15,251	10.8%	11.2%	0.5	
Ohio	1,721,543	283,880	19.2%	16.5%	-2.7	*
Oklahoma	573,679	89,636	17.0%	15.6%	-1.3	
Oregon	574,837	125,911	25.6%	21.9%	-3.7	*
Pennsylvania	1,881,654	328,286	18.3%	17.4%	-0.9	
Rhode Island	154,568	37,161	25.7%	24.0%	-1.7	
South Carolina	673,696	124,999	21.8%	18.6%	-3.2	*
South Dakota	151,450	16,415	12.9%	10.8%	-2.0	
Tennessee	947,733	178,844	20.1%	18.9%	-1.2	
Texas	3,882,772	716,229	21.3%	18.4%	-2.9	*
Utah	407,281	64,943	19.1%	15.9%	-3.2	*
Vermont	101,804	19,724	18.4%	19.4%	0.9	
Virginia	1,225,800	229,947	20.4%	18.8%	-1.6	*
Washington	1,052,426	209,509	21.7%	19.9%	-1.8	*
West Virginia	232,716	33,750	13.2%	14.5%	1.3	
Wisconsin	930,742	153,410	19.1%	16.5%	-2.6	*
Wyoming	101,030	12,434	13.8%	12.3%	-1.4	
United States	45,396,103	9,636,988	23.6%	21.2%	-2.4	*

*Where estimate of the change in the percentage of working households with a severe housing cost burden is deemed significantly different from zero (at the 90% confidence level).

Source: Center for Housing Policy tabulations of American Community Survey PUMS files.

METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREA	2013 WORKING HOUSEHOLDS		% WITH SEVERE HOUSING COST BURDEN		SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE	
	Total	With Severe Housing Cost Burden	2010	2013	2010–13	
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Roswell, GA	814,527	184,649	28.0%	22.7%	-5.3	*
Austin-Round Rock, TX	340,749	66,752	24.4%	19.6%	-4.8	*
Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	422,604	80,879	19.8%	19.1%	-0.6	
Birmingham-Hoover, AL	156,894	27,235	21.5%	17.4%	-4.2	*
Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	732,272	153,355	24.0%	20.9%	-3.0	*
Buffalo-Cheektowaga-Niagara Falls, NY	170,294	24,965	16.4%	14.7%	-1.8	
Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	358,384	61,935	21.7%	17.3%	-4.4	*
Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	1,388,179	333,466	27.4%	24.0%	-3.4	*
Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	325,116	56,265	18.1%	17.3%	-0.8	
Cleveland-Elyria, OH	317,490	54,987	20.9%	17.3%	-3.6	*
Columbus, OH	301,757	46,455	20.1%	15.4%	-4.7	*
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	1,061,660	195,898	21.4%	18.5%	-2.9	*
Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	474,172	93,935	21.8%	19.8%	-2.0	
Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI	585,587	116,459	23.6%	19.9%	-3.7	*
Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT	180,013	33,543	20.0%	18.6%	-1.4	
Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	956,113	186,316	23.5%	19.5%	-4.1	*
Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson, IN	309,705	51,044	18.8%	16.5%	-2.3	
Jacksonville, FL	204,319	42,220	25.6%	20.7%	-5.0	*
Kansas City, MO-KS	363,984	54,175	16.9%	14.9%	-2.0	
Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	287,197	69,396	29.7%	24.2%	-5.5	*
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	1,671,858	620,353	38.0%	37.1%	-0.9	
Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	194,194	27,594	19.1%	14.2%	-4.9	*
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	181,184	43,241	26.4%	23.9%	-2.5	
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-West Palm Beach, FL	741,401	279,284	43.0%	37.7%	-5.4	*
Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	252,929	52,058	22.1%	20.6%	-1.5	
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	596,700	89,420	18.5%	15.0%	-3.5	*
Nashville-Davidson-Murfreesboro-Franklin, TN	304,363	53,007	22.0%	17.4%	-4.6	*
New Orleans-Metairie, LA	184,619	50,495	28.1%	27.4%	-0.7	
New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	2,735,524	904,355	33.7%	33.1%	-0.6	
Oklahoma City, OK	223,126	35,059	17.6%	15.7%	-1.9	
Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	304,734	85,079	32.6%	27.9%	-4.7	*
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	891,650	191,302	22.5%	21.5%	-1.0	
Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	601,128	132,220	25.8%	22.0%	-3.8	*
Pittsburgh, PA	365,340	52,666	15.4%	14.4%	-1.0	
Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	357,608	68,824	23.4%	19.2%	-4.1	*
Providence-Warwick, RI-MA	236,114	53,778	24.6%	22.8%	-1.8	
Raleigh, NC	211,942	35,362	19.0%	16.7%	-2.3	
Richmond, VA	184,959	34,871	18.6%	18.9%	0.2	
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	504,055	149,454	34.2%	29.7%	-4.6	*
Rochester, NY	162,411	26,750	16.8%	16.5%	-0.3	
Sacramento--Roseville--Arden-Arcade, CA	292,095	73,335	30.5%	25.1%	-5.4	*
San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	322,376	54,883	16.7%	17.0%	0.4	
San Diego-Carlsbad, CA	424,157	131,834	36.8%	31.1%	-5.7	*
San Francisco-Oakland-Hayward, CA	669,807	172,571	28.7%	25.8%	-3.0	*
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	255,891	68,777	28.0%	26.9%	-1.1	
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	583,363	117,549	23.1%	20.2%	-2.9	*
St. Louis, MO-IL	449,877	71,936	17.8%	16.0%	-1.8	
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	389,161	89,947	28.8%	23.1%	-5.7	*
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	254,417	60,908	23.2%	23.9%	0.8	
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	950,191	186,831	21.3%	19.7%	-1.7	*
Total	25,248,190	5,947,672	26.3%	23.6%	-2.8	*

*Where estimate of the change in the percentage of working households with a severe housing cost burden is deemed significantly different from zero (at the 90% confidence level).

Source: Center for Housing Policy tabulations of American Community Survey PUMS files.



Formed in 1931, the nonprofit National Housing Conference is dedicated to helping ensure safe, decent and affordable housing for all in America. As the research division of NHC, the Center for Housing Policy specializes in solutions through research, working to broaden understanding of America's affordable housing challenges and examine the impact of policies and programs developed to address these needs. Through evidence-based advocacy for the continuum of housing, NHC develops ideas, resources and policy solutions to shape an improved housing landscape.



HOUSING LANDSCAPE 2015

The Housing Landscape series uses the most current information available to understand the relationship between housing costs and incomes for working households in the United States.

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Methodology

This report is based on Center for Housing Policy tabulations of the American Community Survey (ACS) data collected by the U.S. Census Bureau in 2010, 2011, 2012, and 2013. The tabulations were generated using Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) population and housing files made publicly available by the Census Bureau.

A complete description of the report's methodology is available online at www.nhc.org/landscapemethodology.

Acknowledgements

The Center for Housing Policy gratefully acknowledges funding for *Housing Landscape 2015* from



The authors also wish to thank Ethan Handelman for his editorial assistance, as well as Keith Wardrip for refining and documenting the methodology on which this report is based.

ENDNOTES

¹ *Worst Case Housing Needs: 2015 Report to Congress*. 2015. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research.

² Data are from the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey 2013 1-year Public Use Microdata Sample, the most recent data available.

³ Viveiros, Janet and Lisa Sturtevant. *Paycheck to Paycheck 2014: A Snapshot of Housing Affordability for Health Care Workers*. 2014. Washington, DC: National Housing Conference.

⁴ Housing Assistance Council. *Housing on Native American Lands: HAC Rural Research Report*. 2013. Washington, DC: Housing Assistance Council.

⁵ For the purpose of this analysis, households self-identified as Hispanic are counted exclusively in the Hispanic category and not included in any of the other race categories.

⁶ UC Davis Center for Poverty Research. *What are the characteristics of minimum wage workers?* Retrieved 2/4/15 from: <http://poverty.ucdavis.edu/faq/what-are-characteristics-minimum-wage-workers>.

⁷ Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. *Policy Basics: Federal Rental Assistance*. 2013. Washington, DC: Center on Budget and Policy Priorities.

⁸ Hickey, Robert. *Inclusionary Upzoning: Tying Growth to Affordability*. 2014. Washington, DC: National Housing Conference.

⁹ Hickey, Robert, Jeffrey Lubell, Peter Haas, and Stephanie Morse. *Losing Ground: The Struggle of Moderate-Income Households to Afford the Rising Costs of Housing and Transportation*. 2012. Washington, DC: National Housing Conference.