

Summary of Issues Facing Rural Housing



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Summary

There is an urgent need for funding to support affordable housing in persistent poverty areas. Solutions to the growing crisis for low income families in need of housing will have to account for the overwhelmingly rural character of these regions, the persistently low incomes of their residents, and the difficulties in developing affordable housing. Lack of population density, stubbornly low home values, and the coming loss of rental assistance for thousands of affordable units present serious barriers to housing development in rural America. The growth of corporate investment in mobile or manufactured housing and mobile home parks is an important trend. High cost-burdens for rural families, both owners and renters, occur nationwide and is an increasing challenge. Finally, extremely high energy bills for people living in Central Appalachia and Appalachian Alabama adds another dimension to this complex set of issues.

Rural housing needs have been overlooked due to spectacularly high prices in fast growing markets attracting the lion's share of media attention, and there is a need for more affordable housing, wage-increases, and better jobs in many major metropolitan regions. However, the case for increases in funding for rural housing should come to the forefront now. Increasing homeownership is a relatively underappreciated remedy to the crisis. Implementing homeownership solutions through finance or other mechanisms will require creativity and the will to focus on less populated, and more difficult to serve, communities.

Problem Definition

Access to affordable housing is in a crisis. Rapidly growing metropolitan areas have, until recently, received

the lion's share of headlines. However, rural areas¹ face a crisis of their own. Instead of eye-popping price tags, rural areas are faced with a housing crisis caused by low-incomes and high energy costs, as well as declining support for housing subsidies². CBS news reports, “. . . the affordability crisis in rural America is almost the inverse of the dynamics of cities such as New York, where rapidly rising incomes and a population surge are driving housing prices upward. In rural towns and counties, flat incomes for poor and moderate-income workers are partially to blame for the housing affordability crisis.”³

Persistent poverty counties, clustering in regions around the Delta, Colonias, Native American lands, and Appalachia are overwhelmingly rural—86% of the 429 persistently poor counties in 2010 had entirely rural populations. These are places with poverty rates more than twice the national rate, with poverty rates among minorities even higher. Housing cost-burden is an issue despite relatively low housing costs—decent housing is unaffordable in more than half of the persistent poverty counties. Finally, housing conditions are also inadequate. Dwellings without proper plumbing occur at more than twice the rate of the rest of the country, and crowded conditions affect more than 400,000 people. More than 5 million people live below the poverty line in persistent poverty counties, and the total population is more than 21 million. The number of persistent poverty counties is growing, having increased 8% from the year 2000 (which would compare 1980, 1990, and 2000)⁴.

Framing

In order to capture the dimensions of housing affordability, government agencies, think tanks, and advocacy groups have looked at different measures. Counting homeless

individuals, calculating the number of available and affordable homes in different income brackets, defining a housing wage, and computing the rate of cost-burden across the population each touch on an aspect of the problem. Meeting the needs of rural residents is different from solving housing issues in metropolitan areas because of the lower population density, and the distance to jobs and other services. Rural areas account for the largest percentage growth in individuals experiencing homelessness, and homeless families with children in rural areas made up 47% of all families with children living without shelter.⁵ Due to rural geography, homeless point-in-time counts are likely to miss many people, leading to under-reporting of the problem.

Much of the focus on affordability is centered on renters. Low- and very low-income households disproportionately rent. *The Gap*, a study by the National Low Income Housing Coalition (NLIHC), reported that nearly 4 million more homes are needed that are affordable to extremely low income renters.⁶ According to the NLIHC, no state has enough housing for its lowest income households, and due to sociological factors within local markets, even the housing that is technically available might be difficult for families to access.^{7,8} The Virginia Center for Housing Research Assessment of Housing Needs in Central Appalachia and Appalachian Alabama (VCHR Assessment) notes that people with higher incomes can purchase housing that would be affordable to those at lower income bands, leaving fewer affordable homes for lower income households, a finding also reported by the NLIHC.

Loss of banking institutions has impacted access to housing finance: “rural America has lost over half of its banks in the last few decades, and . . . one in eight rural counties have zero or

one bank left. The reduction, along with the recent rash of rural branch closures, has driven economic decline and isolation” (emphasis in the original text)⁹. Smaller financial institutions disproportionately serve rural markets.¹⁰

Construction costs in rural areas are higher. This is —due to worksites in relatively remote areas, lack of access to labor and materials, and challenges in scaling production due to lower population density and distance from jobs. These factors stymie efforts to build affordable housing for rural residents.^{11, 12} Lower incomes also mean that a greater subsidy is needed to overcome the cost of building, repairing, and/or financing new or remodeled housing. Housing is aging in rural areas, and the stock has not been updated as often as warranted, as investments in property may not appreciate to recoup their

cost.¹³ At each turn, housing agencies and non-profit providers find the needs of their neighbors continue to grow due to flat wages, lack of economic growth, an aging population, and outmigration of younger, more educated adults.

A memo prepared for hearings held by the House of Representatives Financial Services Committee detailed the lack of funding available for rental housing in rural areas.¹⁴ The expiration of affordability provisions for thousands of units of rental housing in rural areas threatens to create an even wider gap in the availability of affordable housing for low- and very low-income tenants. Over the next decade tens of thousands of units are scheduled to leave the USDA’s 515 program, which financed the construction of affordable rental housing.¹⁵ The CEO of the Housing Assistance Council (HAC), Da-

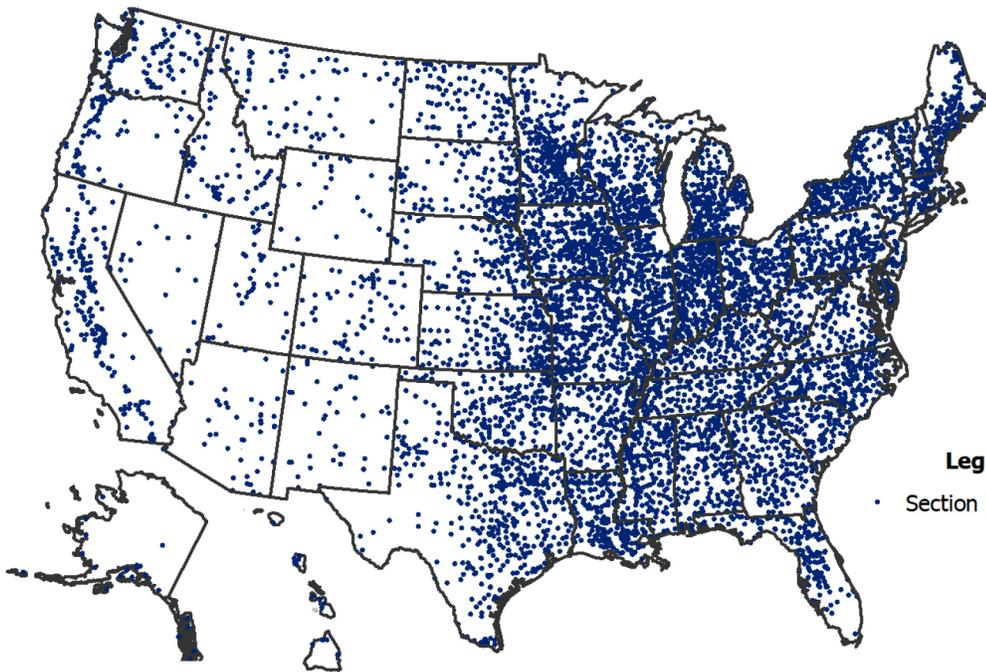
vid Lipsetz, has argued that failing to restore funding and maintain what affordable housing exists will result in further depopulation of rural areas.¹⁶ The map below is from *The Daily Yonder’s* coverage of this topic. The article the map accompanies notes that 9 out of 10 counties in the U.S. have rental units built through the USDA 515 program.

According to the Harvard Joint Center of Housing Studies, “only 24% of the 19 million families eligible for federal housing assistance receive any type of housing support, and the remaining 14 million families have to fend for themselves in the private housing market.”¹⁷ Lack of funding continues to affect millions of families in the United States.

The emphasis on rental and apartment dwellings is apparent through a popular indicator developed by the

USDA Section 515 Rural Rental Housing Properties

Properties as of June 30, 2017



Legend

- Section 515 Property

This map originally appeared in The Daily Yonder, “Rural Housing Group Warns of Looming Crisis for Renters”, December 19, 2018. The data was collected and visualized by Housing Assistance Council for its 2018 report “Rental Housing for a 21st Century Rural America: A Platform for Preservation” (<http://www.ruralhome.org/sct-information/mn-hac-research/mn-rrr/1602-rpt-platform-for-preservation>).

Source: Housing Assistance Council (HAC) Tabulations of USDA Data

Table 1. Housing Wage in Selected Metropolitan Areas of Appalachia (2 Bedroom Apartment)

Location	Charleston, WV	Lexington, KY	Knoxville, TN	Roanoke, VA
Metro Housing Wage	\$12.31-\$18.08	\$14.23-\$23.08	\$14.04-\$22.69	\$15.19 - \$18.85
State Non-Metropolitan Wage	\$12.90	\$12.48	\$12.34	\$14.47
State Housing Wage	\$14.10	\$14.40	\$15.74	\$23.69
State Rank	50th	48th	37th	12th

Source: National Low Income Housing Coalition Report Out of Reach 2018 <https://reports.nlihc.org/oor> Accessed April 2019

Table 2. Housing Wage in Selected Rural Counties in Appalachia (2 Bedroom Apartment)

Location	Mercer County, WV	Letcher County, KY	Hawkins County, TN	Russell County, VA
County Housing Wage	\$12.90	\$12.48	\$12.34	\$14.47
State Housing Wage	\$14.10	\$14.40	\$15.74	\$23.69
State Rank	50th	48th	37th	12th

Source: National Low Income Housing Coalition Report Out of Reach 2018 <https://reports.nlihc.org/oor> Accessed: April 2019

Table 3. Housing Wage in Selected Large Metropolitan Areas in the United States

Location	San Francisco, CA	Nashville, TN	Washington, D.C.	Boston, MA
Metro Housing Wage	\$60.02	\$19.27	\$34.48	\$33.46
State Housing Wage	\$32.68	\$15.74	\$34.48	\$28.64
State Rank	3rd	37th	2nd	6th

Source: National Low Income Housing Coalition Report Out of Reach 2018 <https://reports.nlihc.org/oor> Accessed: April 2019

NLIHC. The housing wage is a metric used by the NLIHC to highlight the disparity between stagnant wages (even in a strong economy with low unemployment) and high housing cost. It calculates the hourly rate required for a full-time employee to rent a modest (2-bedroom) apartment at the local fair-market rate. The housing wage brings attention to the extremely high cost of housing in areas with tight housing markets, but the low ranking of predominantly rural states belies the challenges faced by families in Appalachia and other persistent poverty regions. The tables below compare metropolitan areas in Appalachia, rural counties in Appalachia, and several large cities across the U.S.

TABLE 1 compares four metropolitan areas in Appalachia from states in Fahe's core service area: West Virginia,

Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia. Within metropolitan area ZIP codes there is variation in the housing wage, but across each of these locales the housing wage is substantially higher than typical jobs in industries like fast-food, retail, or other service related positions pay. This underscores the challenges facing low- and very-low income households. While there may be adequate housing for those who can earn the "housing wage," there is a lack of affordable units for those in the lowest income brackets.

TABLE 2, compares the housing wage across several rural counties from the same four states in Fahe's core service area. Even in these rural counties, the housing wage for a modest two-bedroom apartment is higher than most entry-level jobs will pay. There are relatively few

apartments in rural areas of Central Appalachia compared to the urbanized places in the region. The market niche occupied by multi-family dwellings in metropolitan areas is filled by manufactured housing in rural Appalachia. According to the VCHR study, manufactured units make up almost 22% of units in rural counties, and almost 18% of units in micropolitan counties. The VCHR report notes "Nine of the 19 counties [in the study area] with the largest proportion of mobile housing units are in Kentucky. . . . A cluster of high proportions of mobile and manufactured housing units exists in Eastern Kentucky, Southwestern West Virginia, and Southwestern Virginia."¹⁸ Mobile homes present an affordable monthly payment, but depreciate quickly, may be financed by predatory loans,

and are frequently sited on land to which the resident lacks title. Recently the federal government, through Government Sponsored Enterprises like Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, has begun to support financing of manufactured home purchases.¹⁹

Finally, **TABLE 3** shows the wide disparity in housing wages in fast-growing metropolitan areas which received wide spread media coverage for their unaffordable cost of living. Areas like northern California, Washington D.C. and northern Virginia, and east coast cities such as Boston, Massachusetts, have attracted new residents because of their strong job markets, but population growth has outstripped the supply of affordable homes. Even Nashville-Davidson County in Tennessee has made headlines for its competitive hous-

ing market, but is significantly lower than the other metros, and may have peaked.^{20, 21} The high cost of housing in these areas can make it difficult to see why rural areas with lower prices might also be facing a crisis of affordability.

Cost-Burden

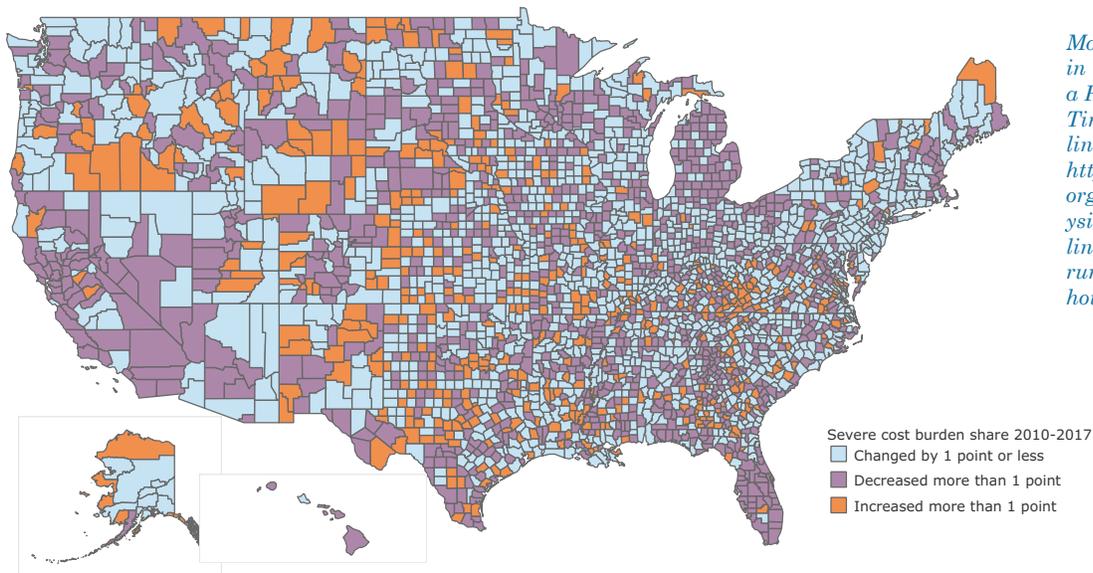
Households are considered “cost-burdened” if they spend 30% or more of their income on housing (rent or mortgage + utilities), severely cost-burdened means that 50% of income goes to housing. Households at these cutoffs likely must forgo other necessities like food, clothing, transportation, and medical care. Critics of the cost-burden concept point out that people with very high incomes may elect to spend more than 30% of their income on housing, and still have money left over for other things.

For example, in the metro areas highlighted above a person making a six-figure income will not struggle to afford necessities, even if they are spending more than 30% of their income on housing. In spite of this, the concept of cost-burden is widely used to compare housing affordability.²² Cost-burden is a useful metric for advocating for rural households because, as a percentage, it is comparable across incomes. Otherwise, gaining recognition for rural households’ affordability issues is difficult when the “sticker price” of homes or rents is not as headline grabbing as in fast-growing metropolitan areas.

According to the VCHR Assessment about 25% of households in the study area (Central Appalachia and Appalachian Alabama) are cost-burdened.²³ Renting households are

Affordability Crisis Spreads to Rural America

Housing affordability problems are spreading from big cities to rural areas. Areas with the largest recent increases in severely cost-burdened households, those paying at least half of their income for housing, are in less populous and rural areas, especially farming and energy-based communities.



Source: American Community Survey five-year average data for 2006-2010 and 2013-2017, *Stateline* analysis

Map originally appeared in “Rural America Faces a Housing Cost Crunch”, Tim Henderson, Stateline, March 25, 2019. <https://www.pewtrusts.org/research-and-analysis/blogs/stateline/2019/03/25/rural-america-faces-a-housing-cost-crunch>.

disproportionately cost-burdened. In its national study, The Gap, NLIHC found that 32% of very low-income renters are extremely cost-burdened. The NLIHC report also found that 48% of renters are seniors or disabled. Appalachia has a particularly high and growing population of elderly residents. The affordable housing challenges facing this group will continue to grow.

The magnitude of the issue has not gone unnoticed. Pew reports, “Nearly one-fourth of the nation’s most rural counties have seen a sizeable increase this decade in the number of households spending at least half their income on housing, a category the federal government calls ‘severely cost-burdened.’” This is depicted in the map above, which shows clusters of these increasingly cost burdened people in central Appalachia. Pew also reports on the relative fragility of local markets—with only a few significant industries, losing a mine or a manufacturing facility can result in a significant blow to the area economy. For example, the City of Norton reported that median rent remained the same at \$550 between 2010 and 2017, but the household income fell from \$34,000 to \$27,000.²⁴

High-Energy Costs

The VCHR Study on Housing Needs highlights the importance of higher than average energy costs as a facet of housing cost burden in Appalachia. In this region, homeownership is the most prevalent type of tenure. Mortgages may not present a burden in themselves but the homes may have deferred maintenance or other factors that make them less energy efficient. According to the VCHR report, “Most metropolitan areas tend to see relatively low median energy costs, but costs among rural counties vary significantly. Both owners and renters see the highest costs in East-

ern Kentucky, Southern West Virginia, and the Western section of Appalachian Alabama. In other words, utility cost contributes to housing costs substantially in these areas. In total, 248,715 households in the region are cost-burdened by utilities alone.”²⁵

Income

Funding for many programs is based on the area median income (AMI). This impacts the sustainability of efforts which stack financing upon subsidy to provide affordable housing. It means that cost-burden can occur even when fair-market rents for an area seem reasonable. It also implicates the accessibility of other programs that serve as safety nets and overlooks the depressed wages in these communities—programs that rely on AMI as a benchmark for access cannot account for places where stubbornly low wages keep even those with incomes above the median in a state of insecurity, unable to purchase necessities.

Consider a back-of-the-envelope example for a young professional, the sort of person rural counties are eager to retain. According to the West Virginia Department of Education salary schedule, a teacher with a bachelor’s degree and five years of service will earn \$33,353 in Mercer County.²⁶ This is actually below the area median income. An affordable rent for someone on that salary is less than \$700 per month. This teacher can afford fair market rent in her community, but homeownership is probably out of reach.²⁷ A rule of thumb for calculating housing affordability is 2.5 x annual income which would be less than \$100,000. Due to the lack of available rental housing discussed above, a worker in one of the industries prevalent in rural communities, such as home health care, fast food, or retail will struggle to afford even a 2-bedroom

apartment and is likely to struggle to find any housing at all. The disparity between rural area median incomes and fast-growing metropolitan areas are compared in the **TABLES 4 and 5**.

Someone trying to purchase housing in a rural, persistently poor county might use a USDA guaranteed product. Income limits for subsidies loan are compared in **TABLE 5**, below.

A challenge to increasing access to homeownership in rural areas is the relatively lower quality and value of housing relative to other areas of the country. Another issue is that USDA single-family loans are based on the appraised value of the house. Stagnant markets, with few comparable sales, or other factors that affect appraisals can make it difficult to get an appraisal that covers the cost of construction and meets eligibility requirements. This is a challenge facing single-family development in economically depressed communities nationwide, not just rural ones. The problem motivated the proposal of a new tax credit program called the Neighborhood Homes Investment Act, with higher income limits than existing HOME and CDBG programs. The program is targeted toward one- to four-family homes that aren’t incentivized by the New Market Tax Credits Program or the LIHTCs.²⁸

Recent scholarly work has explored why and how low incomes lead to housing instability, and noted that households with children are particularly vulnerable. This impacts health and education, which, in turn, have impacts on future earnings and overall well-being. Using the Panel Study of Income Dynamics, Kang finds that homeownership reduces housing instability for female headed households. Receiving housing assistance also reduces the likelihood of housing instability, as does secure (as opposed to insecure) employment and

Table 4. Median Income In Selected Places (Rural v. Metro Comparisons) 2018

Place	30% AMI	50% AMI	80% AMI	100% AMI	120% AMI	200% AMI
Mercer County, WV (Appalachia)	\$11,520	\$24,000	\$38,400	\$48,000	\$57,600	\$96,000
Letcher County, KY (Appalachia)	\$10,512	\$21,900	\$35,040	\$43,800	\$52,560	\$87,600
Bolivar County, MS (Delta)	\$9,024	\$18,800	\$30,080	\$37,600	\$45,120	\$75,200
Nashville-Davidson County, TN	\$17,976	\$37,450	\$59,920	\$74,900	\$89,880	\$149,800
San Francisco (county), CA	\$28,416	\$59,200	\$94,720	\$118,400	\$142,080	\$236,800
Suffolk County (Boston), MA	\$25,872	\$53,900	\$86,240	\$107,800	\$129,360	\$215,600

Source: HUDUser Data Set: Income Limits Median Family Income Estimates Accessed April 2019

automobile ownership. Like Matthew Desmond, the author of *Evicted*, Kang finds that women are more vulnerable to effect of increased housing cost-burden than men. He also finds challenges facing families with children and suggests that because “. . . their rental options are substantially limited. Households with children may have to continue living in larger apartments even though

they cannot afford them . . .” among other potential challenges.²⁹

Conclusions

Persistent poverty regions have significant barriers to successfully meeting the needs of people living in unaffordable, or substandard homes. Rising homelessness, stubbornly low incomes, under-employment, and lack

of finance make the production of affordable housing very difficult. The geography of rural poverty makes additional construction of multi-family apartment buildings a relatively ineffective solution. The reliance on manufactured or mobile housing does little to build wealth or economic mobility. Increasing funding for home ownership, supporting economic growth, and dismantling obstacles to financing that result from policy designed for higher income urban areas may help address the challenges of cost-burden, and unmet demand for low income individuals.

Katy Stigers, MA is Fahe's Research Director. She conducts research which supports our Members and helps inform Fahe's strategic direction.

Table 5. USDA Income Limits Rural v. Metro Comparison - 2019

Place	Household of 1-4
Mercer County, WV (Appalachia)	\$82,700
Letcher County, KY (Appalachia)	\$82,700
Bolivar County, MS (Delta)	\$82,700
Nashville-Davidson County, TN	\$86,100
San Francisco County, CA	\$209,150
Suffolk County (Boston), MA	\$116,600

Source: USDAloans.com/tools/income-limits/. Accessed: April 2019

¹Rural areas are defined differently depending on the context, agency, or program. A brief summary is captured in this recent article published on the Politico website: Liz Crampton, “What is a Rural Community? The Answer isn’t Always So Simple”, *Politico*, April 2, 2019 <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/04/02/rural-development-usda-1306715>, Accessed April 2019.

²FSC Majority Staff, Memo: “April 2, 2019, Housing, Community Development, and Insurance Subcommittee hearing, entitled: “The Affordable Housing Crisis in Rural America: Assessing the Federal response” (Rescheduled) https://financial-services.house.gov/uploadedfiles/hhrg-116-ba04-20190402-sd002_-_memo.pdf

³Aimee Picchi, “Housing’s Hidden Crisis: Rural Americans Struggle to Pay Rent” CBS News, April 10, 2019, <https://www.cbsnews.com/amp/news/housings-hidden-crisis-rural-americans-struggling-to-pay-the-rent/>

⁴Housing Assistance Council, “Persistent Poverty” <http://www.ruralhome.org/sct-initiatives/mn-persistent-poverty> Accessed April 15, 2019.

⁵FSC Majority Staff, Memo: “April 2, 2019, Housing, Community Development, and Insurance Subcommittee hearing, entitled: “The Affordable Housing Crisis in Rural America: Assessing the Federal response” (Rescheduled) https://financial-services.house.gov/uploadedfiles/hhrg-116-ba04-20190402-sd002_-_memo.pdf

⁶The Gap: A Shortage of Affordable Homes” March 2019. https://nlihc.org/sites/default/files/gap/gap-19_int/Gap-Report_2019_int.html#p=6

⁷Diane Yentel, “The Affordable Home Crisis Continues, But Bold New Plans May Help”, City Lab, March 14, 2019 https://www.citylab.com/perspective/2019/03/affordable-housing-near-me-data-bold-solutions-funding/584779/?utm_source=twb?utm_source=twb

⁸What the NLIHC study does not reveal is that within rural housing markets it can be very difficult for low income people to secure this housing—many landlords refuse to rent to locals. Katrina Brandt, a sociologist working on housing issues in Appalachia, has begun to research this phenomenon. Recently the *Daily Yonder* covered the topic from another angle: <https://www.dailyyonder.com/airbnb-killing-rural-rental-market/2019/01/14/29771/>

⁹Bill Bynum, Chrystel Corenelius, Ines Polonius “CRA Reform Crucial for Tackling Rural Poverty” <https://www.americanbanker.com/opinion/cra-reform-crucial-for-tackling-rural-poverty> emphasis in original, see also <http://www.ruralhome.org/storage/documents/publications/rrreports/rrr-cra-in-rural-america.pdf>, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/goodbye-george-bailey-decline-of-rural-lending-crimps-small-town-business-1514219515>

¹⁰FSC Majority Staff, Memo: “April 2, 2019, Housing, Community Development, and Insurance Subcommittee hearing, entitled: “The Affordable Housing Crisis in Rural America: Assessing the Federal response” (Rescheduled) https://financial-services.house.gov/uploadedfiles/hhrg-116-ba04-20190402-sd002_-_memo.pdf

¹¹Patrick Sission, “The Rent’s ‘Too Damn High’ in Rural America Too”, *Curbed*, April 2, 2019. <https://www.curbed.com/2019/4/2/18291233/rent-apartment-rural-affordable-housing> Accessed April 2019.

¹²The Housing Assistance Council showed that rural America “lost over half of its banks in the last few decades, and that one in eight rural counties have zero or one bank left” quoted in “CRA Reform Crucial for Tackling Rural Poverty”. A lack of access to finance is another barrier to replenishing and renewing the stock of housing. Kenneth Wiley, Lance Groege, Leslie Strauss, “CRA in Rural America: The Community Reinvestment Act and Mortgage Lending in Rural Communities”, HAC, January 2015.

¹³The NLIHC writes, “The severe shortage of affordable homes for extremely low-income renters is systemic, affecting every state and metropolitan area. Absent public subsidy, the private market is unable to produce new rental housing affordable to these households, because the rents that the lowest-income households can afford to pay typically do not cover the development costs and operating expenses of such housing.” https://nlihc.org/sites/default/files/gap/gap-19_int/Gap-Report_2019_int.html, See also VCHR Study pp16-20, and FSC Staff Memo page 1.

¹⁴FSC Majority Staff, Memo: “April 2, 2019, Housing, Community Development, and Insurance Subcommittee hearing, entitled: “The Affordable Housing Crisis in Rural America: Assessing the Federal response” (Rescheduled) https://financial-services.house.gov/uploadedfiles/hhrg-116-ba04-20190402-sd002_-_memo.pdf

¹⁵Patrick Sission, “The Rent’s ‘Too Damn High’ in Rural America Too”, *Curbed*, April 2, 2019. <https://www.curbed.com/2019/4/2/18291233/rent-apartment-rural-affordable-housing>

¹⁶Jan Pytalski, “Rural Housing Group Warns of Looming Crisis for Renters”, December 19, 2018 <https://www.dailyyonder.com/rural-housing-group-warns-looming-crisis-renters/2018/12/19/29498/>. Accessed April 2019.

¹⁷Seungbeom Kang, “Why Low-Income Households Become Unstably Housed: Evidence From the Panel Study of Income Dynamics”, *Housing Policy Debate*, October 2018.

¹⁸Mel Jones and Samuel Spencer “Housing Needs and Trends in Central Appalachia and Appalachian Alabama”, September 2018. <https://www.fahemembers.com/wp-content/uploads/VCHR-Assessment-of-Housing-Need-and-Trends-and-Central-Appalachia-and-Appalachian-Alabama-August-2018-final-copy-edited-version.pdf>

¹⁹Peter Whoriskey, “A Billion-Dollar Empire made of Mobile Homes”, *The Washington Post*, February 14, 2019. https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/economy/a-billion-dollar-empire-made-of-mobile-homes/2019/02/14/ac687342-2b0b-11e9-b2fc-721718903bfc_story.html?utm_term=.067d4a262f3f Accessed April 2019. See also

Yuka Hayashi, “Bill Set to Boost Warren Buffett’s Mobile-Home Business”, *The Wall Street Journal*, March 9, 2018. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/bill-set-to-boost-warren-buffetts-mobile-home-business-1520591400> Accessed April 2019. See also <http://www.freddiemac.com/about/duty-to-serve/docs/Freddie-Mac-Underserved-Markets-Plan.pdf> and <http://www.fanniemae.com/portal/about-fm/duty-to-serve.html>

²⁰Sandy Mazza, “Surprise! It’s cheaper to rent than to buy a home in Nashville right now.” *Nashville Tennessean*, January 10, 2019 Accessed May 2019. <https://www.tennessean.com/story/mon-ey/2019/01/10/nashville-real-estate-housing-prices-rent/2526241002/>

²¹Meribah Knight, “After Years of Surging Nashville Home Prices Start to Plateau”, *Nashville Public Radio*, March 7, 2019. <https://www.nashvillepublicradio.org/post/after-years-surging-nashville-homes-prices-start-plateau> Accessed May 2019.

²²“Rental Burdens: Rethinking Affordability Measures” September 2014 https://www.huduser.gov/portal/pdredge/pdr_edge_featd_article_092214.html

²³Mel Jones and Samuel Spencer “Housing Needs and Trends in Central Appalachia and Appalachian Alabama”, September 2018. <https://www.fahemembers.com/wp-content/uploads/VCHR-Assessment-of-Housing-Need-and-Trends-and-Central-Appalachia-and-Appalachian-Alabama-August-2018-final-copy-edited-version.pdf>

²⁴Tim Henderson, “Rural America Faces a Housing Cost Crunch”, *Stateline*, March 25, 2019. <https://www.pewtrusts.org/research-and-analysis/blogs/stateline/2019/03/25/rural-america-faces-a-housing-cost-crunch> Accessed April 2019.

²⁵Mel Jones and Samuel Spencer “Housing Needs and Trends in Central Appalachia and Appalachian Alabama”, September 2018 <https://www.fahemembers.com/wp-content/uploads/VCHR-Assessment-of-Housing-Need-and-Trends-and-Central-Appalachia-and-Appalachian-Alabama-August-2018-final-copy-edited-version.pdf>

²⁶West Virginia Department of Education Professional Salary Schedule by County 2017-2018. <https://wvde.state.wv.us/finance/files/Data/2017-18/Professional%20Salary%20Schedules%20by%20County%202018.pdf>

²⁷NLIHC “Out of Reach 2018” <https://reports.nlihc.org/oor/west-virginia> Accessed April 2019.

²⁸Carey Shea, “Single-Family Subsidies are Needed Outside Hot Markets” *Shelterforce* February 19, 2019 <https://shelterforce.org/2019/02/19/subsidies-are-the-missing-piece-of-the-puzzle/> Accessed April 2019.

²⁹Seungbeom Kang, “Why Low-Income Households Become Unstably Housed: Evidence From the Panel Study of Income Dynamics”, *Housing Policy Debate*, October 2018..