Housing an Aging Population
Are We Prepared?
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WE ALL KNOW IT’S COMING — baby boomers are about to swell the ranks of older Americans. By 2050, the population of individuals aged 65 or older will increase 120 percent from 40 million to more than 88 million; put another way, one in every five Americans will be 65+. The numbers of Americans aged 85 or older will more than triple over the same period to 19 million. Demand for housing will shift dramatically and the need for services to help older adults age in place will grow exponentially. Are we prepared?

This report looks at the housing situation of older adults now and implications for the near future. It includes a detailed analysis of data from the most recent American Housing Survey and presents results by age group (65-74, 74-84, 85+) because the housing needs of “younger” older adults and the oldest adults are quite different. It draws on a variety of other sources to round out the picture of housing challenges that we must prepare for now. As the report demonstrates, the challenges are enormous:

More older poor households will face severe housing cost burdens. Older adults are more likely than younger adults to spend more than half their income on housing. Cost burdens also increase with age. One in four households 85+ pay at least half their income for housing, as compared with about one in five households aged 65-74 and about one in six households younger than 65. The incomes of older adults tend to decline with age — as reflected in rising poverty rates. But property taxes, maintenance, and utility costs all tend to rise over time for both older homeowners and renters (as reflected in higher rents). Accumulated savings and home equity can help, but levels of net worth vary dramatically among older adults, and are particularly low among racial and ethnic minorities.

As the overall population ages, the numbers of the most vulnerable will grow as well — people with a disability, women living alone (who account for 39.5 percent of 65+ women), and minorities. Meanwhile, the Great Recession has eaten into the reserves of many older households, reducing home equity and many retirement and savings accounts.

An older population with health and mobility issues will drive demand for home modifications, services to help residents age in place, and housing options that facilitate the delivery of services and help prevent premature entry into nursing homes. Thanks to changes in lifestyle and technology, both men and women are living longer. It also means more older adults will be living with disabilities. While about one-quarter of older households aged 65-74 include someone with a disability, the proportion climbs to nearly two-thirds among households with a member 85+. The demand for renovations and retrofits to accommodate disabilities will soar. Older adults almost universally say they want to age in their current homes, but many lack access to the services needed to ensure this outcome.

Taking to scale some of the models for service delivery now being developed at the local level will help significantly. At the same time, some of the oldest adults may prefer to move to multifamily housing developments that provide extra assistance to help residents live independently. The supply of these types of housing is unlikely to keep pace with burgeoning demand, and these options are often too expensive for low-, moderate-, and middle-income households.

A stronger policy commitment will be needed. Considerable attention is focused on the rising healthcare costs of an aging population — and rightly so. But the housing and supportive services needs faced by the very same people receive comparatively little notice. Even today, federally subsidized rental programs meet the needs of only about one in four eligible households regardless of age. As the number of older adults rises, the dual challenges of providing affordable housing and adequate services will compel communities across the country to respond.

One set of policies can help older adults continue to live in their own homes as they age. This includes policies to: assist with home modification using a range of funding sources; connect residents to social services through expansion of the Home and Community-Based Services Medicaid waiver program, Programs of All Inclusive Care for the Elderly (PACE), volunteer efforts, and other mechanisms; help residents afford high housing costs through housing vouchers and property tax abatement programs; and expand public transit and volunteer driver programs to help residents get around without driving. A critical question concerns how to pay for the services needed to help residents age in place. One option is to expand the use of Medicaid and Medicare funding for these services since they likely result in savings associated with postponing or avoiding more expensive nursing care and emergency room visits. Another is to implement the CLASS Act, a health reform provision designed to make it easier for individuals to self-insure for services costs. Discussions on these topics are underway but need to intensify.

Equally important are policies to expand housing choices for older adults. By adopting more flexible zoning policies and aggressively enforcing the requirements of the Fair Housing Act and Americans with Disabilities Act, communities can help foster a diverse range of housing types including accessory dwelling units (i.e., granny flats), high-density rental developments, supportive housing, assisted living residences, continuing care retirement communities, and congregate housing. Subsidies will be needed to help ensure that older adults with low and moderate incomes have access to affordable choices, and at present there are far too few of these to go around. And it is also time to experiment with more cohousing efforts that promote “active neighboring” and/or allow professional caregivers to live among residents.

For the most part, the strategies are familiar. What is needed is greater urgency in the face of demographic certainty.
The Doubling of the 65+ Population Over the Next 40 Years Will Shape Future Demand for Suitable Housing and Supportive Services

Between 2010 and 2050, the 65+ population is expected to rise from one in 7.7 to one in five persons – an increase in that age group of 120 percent, far outpacing the growth in younger age categories. In terms of sheer numbers, over the next four decades more than 48 million people will be added to the ranks of the 65+.

More 85+ Birthdays

The number of oldest adults 85+ is expected to grow even faster than the growth of older adults 65+ over the same period. The 85+ population will more than triple from 5.8 million in 2010 to 19 million in 2050. Rapid growth of this group will boost demand for supportive services in the future.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2008

There Could Be Even More: Advances in healthcare and technology lead some experts to raise future estimates for the 65+ age group in 2050 to between 99.3 million and 107.7 million – considerably higher than the U.S. Census Bureau estimate of 88.5 million.

Source: Olshansky et al., 2009.
Already, Nearly One-Quarter of U.S. Households Include Someone Aged 65 or Older

In 2009, some 26.2 million households — or 23 percent of the nation’s 112 million households — included at least one member aged 65 or older.

For the Foreseeable Future, More Households Will Be Older Women Living Alone

Some seven out of ten 65+ men live with their spouse while less than half (42 percent) of older women 65+ do. A nearly equal number (40 percent) live alone. The large number of women living alone reflects relative longevity — just over 80 years for women and 75 years for men.¹ Female centenarians currently outnumber males by about 4 to 1. However, the gap in longevity is expected to narrow with the share of people 85+ who are men increasing by six percentage points from 33 to 39 percent in the coming decades.²

Older adults living alone often have less caregiver support and fewer financial resources than those living with a spouse or relatives. As the number of older adults rise, the number living alone will also rise, adding to the challenges of providing the services that many need to live independently.

A Rise in Multigenerational Families in Some Quarters —

According to recent Census data, a relatively small segment of the population (5.1 million households, 4.4 percent) has three or more generations living under the same roof. But the number is rising faster than households overall. Between 2000 and 2010, the number of multi-generational households increased by 21 percent, whereas the total number of households in the U.S. increased by 11 percent. Experts attribute the rise to cultural norms in the case of some immigrant families and also to some families’ response to the recession by pooling resources under one roof. The number of grandparent caregivers also has risen over the decade to 2.6 million according to a Pew Center report. Nearly one in five of these grandparent caretaker households is considered poor.

Living Arrangements of 65+ Men and Women, 2008


¹ Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011.

For the Foreseeable Future, More Households Will Be Older Women Living Alone

Source: Center for Housing Policy tabulations of 2009 American Housing Survey. NOTE: Both institutional and non-institutional group quarters (e.g., nursing homes and congregate care homes) are excluded from the AHS. Assisted living facilities are included in this estimate.


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Living Arrangements of 65+ Men and Women, 2008


¹ Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011.
Higher Rates of Disability Occur Among Those Least Able to Adapt Their Residences or Afford In-Home Help

In total, 10 million out of the nation’s 26.2 million older households – or 38 percent – include at least one member with a disability. Not surprisingly, disability rates are linked with age, affecting one in four households aged 65 to 74, rising to almost two-thirds of those 85+. Poorer households are more likely to have disabilities (44 percent among the very low-income groups), with rates decreasing steadily among the higher-income categories. Disability rates also are slightly higher for renters than owners.

For older disabled adults, staying in their homes often means adapting it with features to make it safer and easier to get around (not always an option for renters) or bringing in nurses or other aides to assist with activities of daily living. Neither option is inexpensive. The National Association of Home Builders reports that approximately 80 percent of home modifications and retrofits are paid out-of-pocket by the residents. Medicaid can be used to pay for long-term use of in-home care under certain circumstances. However, Medicare will not pay for this care on a long-term basis.

Retrofits for Aging in Place

Although estimates are imprecise, some studies indicate that one in four older adults are likely to have a lower body limitation that requires a modification to the entry to their home, inside their home, or in the bathroom. Costs of modifications vary widely, and could range from a few hundred dollars for handrails and bathroom grab bars to more than $2,000 for a roll-in shower or a stair lift. One study found that more than one in three people who needed – but did not undertake – renovations cited unaffordability as the reason.

Very Few Older Adults 65+ Live in Long-Term Care Facilities or Community Housing With Services, but These Are Utilized by Some of the Oldest Adults

In 2007, only about four percent of the 65+ Medicare population resided in long-term care facilities such as nursing homes. Another two percent lived in community housing with at least one service available (see definition in appendix). However, the story changes among the oldest adults. For those 85 and older, 15 percent lived in long-term care facilities and seven percent lived in community housing where services are available.

CCRCs and NORCs – An Alphabet of Alternatives for Some Older Adults

Older adults interested in housing options that include services to help them maintain their independence have an array of options, so long as they have sufficiently high incomes to afford the price tag. A growing niche is a regulated product known as Continuing Care Retirement Communities (CCRCs) in which residents rent, own, or cooperatively own units in communities largely occupied by older adults. A variety of services such as meals or other assistance is provided with additional health services available as residents age. Roughly 1,900 CCRCs currently are in operation, with resident populations doubling between 1997 and 2007.

Much of the affordable rental housing developed in the U.S. is targeted to older adults, and often comes with services. But as shown on page 16, the supply of affordable rental housing falls far short of the need, leaving many low-income older adults without affordable options. Older adults with incomes above the threshold for affordable housing funded through the federal low-income housing tax credit but below the level able to afford private housing with services are also short on options.

An emerging version of community assistance is the targeted provision of services to older adults living near each other in existing neighborhoods – sometimes termed Naturally Occurring Retirement Communities or NORCs. Not yet widespread, efforts to organize and deliver social services in NORCs will likely intensify as the waves of Baby Boomers now entering retirement join the ranks of the oldest adults.


Percentage of Medicare Enrollees Age 65 and Over in Selected Residential Settings, by Age Group, 2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Long-Term Care Facilities</th>
<th>Community Housing with Services</th>
<th>Traditional Community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-74</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75-84</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85+</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>93%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: Totals may not equal 100% due to rounding.
80 Percent of Older Adult Households Are Homeowners and Many Own Their Homes Outright – But It Is Unclear Whether This High Homeownership Rate Will Persist

The homeownership rate exceeds 80 percent for those aged 65 to 84, declining slightly for those older than 85 – to about 76 percent. This is much higher than the homeownership rate for all households under age 65 (about 65 percent). Moreover, the share of households with a mortgage decreases substantially with age, which helps keep housing costs affordable to those on fixed incomes. However, an AARP study indicates the share of older homeowners 50+ with a mortgage increased substantially between 2000 and 2009, leaving a greater share of older adults exposed to higher housing costs. At this point, it is unclear to what extent the recent reduction in the overall homeownership rate in the U.S. will affect the homeownership rate of older adults in the future.

Source: Harrell, 2011.

Housing Is the Largest Expenditure in the Typical Budget of a 65+ Household

As a share of total household expenses for 65+ households, housing accounts for 35 percent. This is more than twice the portion of expenses going towards transportation (14 percent) or healthcare (13 percent). Compared to younger households, the 65+ spend a similar portion of their total expenses on housing and two and a half times the portion on health care.

NOTE: This table shows these items as the share of outgoing household expenses; for housing costs as a share of income see page 8. "Other" includes apparel, personal care, entertainment, and miscellaneous expenditures.

Expense Categories as a Share of Total Household Expenditures by Age

40 Percent of 65+ Households Have Very Low-Incomes of Less Than Half the Local Area Median Income (AMI) – A $14,000 Income Is Typical for This Group

Housing Costs Rise with Incomes but Still Are Quite Significant for Very Low-Income 65+ Households – They Spend Nearly $1,000/mo on a Mortgage or $700/mo on Rent

Share of 65+ Households by Income Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percent Area Median Income</th>
<th>Share of 65+ Households</th>
<th>Median Income in Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&gt;120% AMI</td>
<td>5.3 Million HH</td>
<td>21% $95,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81-120% AMI</td>
<td>4.4 Million HH</td>
<td>17% $49,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-80% AMI</td>
<td>5.7 Million HH</td>
<td>22% $30,339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-50% AMI</td>
<td>10.5 Million HH</td>
<td>40% $13,824</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Monthly Housing Costs by Income for 65+ Households

However, income is only part of the story for older households. Assets and wealth are discussed on Page 12.

Source for both figures: Center for Housing Policy calculations of 2009 American Housing Survey.
Housing Cost Burdens Increase as Households Grow Older

Older adult households are more likely than their younger counterparts to spend more than 30 percent of their income on housing, a threshold that some use to define households as having a moderate housing cost burden. However, both the share of older households spending more than 30 percent of their income and the share that are “severely cost-burdened”—meaning they spend more than half (50 percent) of their income on housing—increase with age. Despite the fact that the oldest households are more likely to have paid off their mortgages, the cost of operating and maintaining a home consumes a larger share of the diminishing resources of households as they age.

Almost Half of the Poorest 65+ Households Pay 50 Percent or More of Their Income for Housing

A total of 9.6 million 65+ households have a moderate or severe housing cost burden according to the definitions noted above. Not surprisingly, cost burdens vary by income. Among the lowest-income households (those with incomes at or below 50 percent of the area median), seven in ten have a housing cost burden. Nearly half (47 percent) of the households in this income category are considered “severely” burdened, outnumbering those with moderate cost burdens. In the next income group (those with incomes between 51 percent and 80 percent of the area median), one-third of the households have cost burdens with one in ten (11 percent) paying more than half their incomes for housing.
While Relatively Few 65+ Households Live in Physically “Inadequate” Housing, Conditions in Many Units May Not Be Appropriate for Older Adults

Six percent of 65+ adults live in units meeting the technical definition of physically “inadequate” conditions as defined in the American Housing Survey. This rate compares favorably to that of younger households (9.7 percent). For both older and younger households, the rate of inadequacy is higher for renters than for owners. For 65+ owners, the vast majority (84 percent) of inadequate units are single-family detached, with manufactured housing making up most of the balance. Inadequate rental units occupied by the 65+ are split almost 60/40 between what traditionally are considered single-family buildings (detached, attached, and 2-4 units) and buildings with five or more units.

It is worth noting, however, that even if in good physical condition, many housing units may be neither safe nor suitable for older adults. Hazardous bathrooms, steep staircases, narrow halls and doorways, and dated electrical systems may pose hazards to those with difficulty getting around, even among units otherwise deemed “adequate” in the American Housing Survey.

As the U.S. population ages, it will become important to revisit how the American Housing Survey evaluates the quality of housing units to ensure that policymakers understand the extent to which the nation’s housing stock provides safe and accessible living conditions for older adults, as well as people with disabilities. Policymakers will also want to consider starting or expanding programs to fund the physical accessibility modifications needed to ensure that the oldest adults have a safe living environment that facilitates independent living.

### Physical Hazards at Home for Older Adults
- Each year, one-in-three adults 65+ falls.
- Half of falls occur at home.
- Falls are a leading cause of injury, even death.
- The risk of falling rises with age: 85+ adults are four times more likely to fall than those 65 to 74.
- Among the main risks at home for falling: lack of grab bars and railings, poor lighting, and tripping hazards.

Source: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2011.

#### Inadequacy for single-family units
defined as: missing siding, broken windows, holes/cracks/crumbling in the foundation, sagging roof, or holes in the floor

#### Inadequacy for multifamily units
defined as: lack of a kitchen sink, lack of a bathroom sink, open cracks in the inside walls or ceiling, recent breakdown of the sewage system, or lack of built-in heating equipment for units in colder climates

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**Households Living in Inadequate Housing, by Age**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Owner-Occupied</th>
<th>Renter-Occupied</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No one 65+</td>
<td>Households 65+</td>
<td>No one 65+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Households</td>
<td>55.4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>30.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physically Inadequate</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent Inadequate</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source for text and table: Center for Housing Policy calculations of 2009 American Housing Survey. NOTE: Rounded numbers of households are presented; percentages are based on actual numbers.
Low- and Moderate-Income Households 65+ Rely on Social Security as their Main Source of Income

More than 80 percent of the income of 65+ households in the bottom two income quintiles comes from Social Security, a figure that drops to 64 percent for households in the middle quintile. Higher-income households draw income from a wider variety of sources including pensions, earnings, and assets. The heavy reliance on social security income underscores both the importance of that federal program in lifting older adults out of poverty, and the limited resources available to these households to afford housing and other costs.

As the chart on the right illustrates, the share of older adults with incomes below the federal poverty line rises with age. It is also higher for minorities and those who lack a high school diploma. These disparities in income are important to bear in mind in considering policy solutions to the housing challenges of older adults. While there are some older adults who can afford to meet their own needs, there are also many who cannot.

Sources of Income for Married Couples and Nonmarried People who are Age 65 and Over, by Income Quintile, 2008


Among Older Adults, Poverty Rates Rise with Age and Are Higher for Minorities and Those Who Lack Education

Poverty Rates by Age, Race, Ethnicity, Education, and Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All 65+</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-74</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75-84</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85+</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 + Non-Hispanic, White</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+ African American</td>
<td>18.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 + Hispanic</td>
<td>18.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 + Asian</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 + with No High School</td>
<td>18.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+ with High School Diploma</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+ with Some College or More</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+ Women</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+ Men</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Older Homeowners Have Greater Home Equity than Younger Homeowners

Although imprecise, estimates of home equity provide a feel for the debt and equity of older households. Home equity is often their largest source of wealth to tap in retirement, and owners with negative equity may be less able to move. Of the 14.5 million 65+ households that own their home outright, the typical homeowner reports having an average of roughly $150,000 in home equity. The 6.5 million 65+ homeowners with a mortgage reported higher home values than owners without a mortgage, but their mortgage debt reduces the reported equity to an average of around $93,000.

Overall, about eight percent of older homeowners estimate that their home is worth less than they owe. This contrasts with an estimate for the U.S. population as a whole of about one in four. Using a different data source,1 the analysis reported on page 12 reports a compatible finding — net worth declined less for older adults than for younger adults between 2005 and 2009. See the box titled “Great Recession” on the bottom of page 12 for additional thoughts on the impact of this seminal event on the financial security of older adults.

As Incomes Go Up, so Do Estimates of Home Values and Home Equity

Not surprisingly, home values increase with income. What’s more, mortgaged homes typically have higher values than those owned outright. The typical low-income household reports less than $80,000 in home equity, compared to $135,000 for the typical upper-income household. Negative equity (underwater) rates appear to increase with income — at six percent for those with incomes at or below 50 percent of area median income (AMI) and at 10 percent for those with incomes between 81 and 120 percent of AMI.

Estimated Debt & Equity for Homeowners by Income, 2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AMI Level</th>
<th>Households with No Mortgage (millions)</th>
<th>Median Home Value</th>
<th>Households with a Mortgage (millions)</th>
<th>Median Home Value</th>
<th>Median Outstanding Principal</th>
<th>Median Equity</th>
<th>Percent with Negative Equity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-50% AMI</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>$120,000</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>$130,000</td>
<td>$41,743</td>
<td>$75,696</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-80% AMI</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>$135,000</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>$150,000</td>
<td>$54,804</td>
<td>$73,935</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81-120% AMI</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>$150,000</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>$175,000</td>
<td>$70,130</td>
<td>$88,351</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;120% AMI</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>$220,000</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>$275,000</td>
<td>$99,746</td>
<td>$135,216</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>$150,000</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>$185,000</td>
<td>$67,121</td>
<td>$93,127</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Paying Off and Drawing Down: Reverse Mortgages

Reverse mortgages are a special type of home loan that allow older homeowners to withdraw the equity in their homes, with repayment coming later, upon sale of the home. Homeowners receive regular monthly payments and/or a line of credit. Money can be used for any purpose including home modifications or living expenses. Amounts are based on the age of the borrower, interest rate, and appraised value of the home. The recent decline in home values has left some homeowners with less equity to tap and others unable to qualify.

The age of borrowers has fallen over the past decade. As of 2009, 63-year-olds were the largest single group of reverse mortgage borrowers - down from 76-year-olds in 2000. According to a recent study of older adults seeking counseling for reverse mortgages, more than two-thirds (67 percent) were considering the mortgages as a way to reduce household debt. This raises the concern that some homeowners could deplete their equity too quickly, leading to the loss of their home later in life. Further study is needed to better understand the impacts of this trend.

Source for both tables: Center for Housing Policy calculations of 2009 American Housing Survey.  
1Source: Fry et al., 2011.

While Older Households Generally Have Greater Net Worth than Younger Households, Sharp Race Differences Underscore That Many 65+ Households Have Insufficient Assets to Support Their Retirement

Net worth may be defined as the value of real estate (including one’s home), stocks, bonds, and other assets minus outstanding debt. Households with greater net worth have a greater ability to convert assets to income to support their retirement or to maintain their standard of living when income falls because of job loss, health problems, divorce, or death of a spouse. Since 1984, reported net worth has grown much faster for 65+ households than for younger households. Net worth increased for older age groups over the 1984 - 2009 period. Meanwhile, younger households have experienced substantial declines. The large (44.3 percent) decline in wealth among 35 – 44 year-olds in their prime earning years accentuates the wealth disparities between older and younger households.

Age is not the only predictor of net worth. As the chart below illustrates, net worth varies dramatically by race, with black and Hispanic households having far less wealth than white households. This underscores the important point that median asset levels mask significant variation. Many older, vulnerable households lack sufficient assets to support their retirement or facilitate moves to the type of developments that provide the services many need to live independently and avoid costly nursing home care.

The recent economic crisis has eroded the net worth of households of all ages. The precise impact of the Great Recession on older adults, however, is not entirely clear. Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP) data indicate that net worth declined much less for older adults than for younger adults between 2005 and 2009. But since older adults are more likely to be homeowners than younger adults and one of the main causes of the decline in net worth is the loss of home equity, it is not immediately obvious why older adults would be less affected.

One possibility is that older adult households without a mortgage or with no recent experience buying a home are less attuned to changes in market values than younger owners. If true, this would suggest that older adults may have lost more net worth during the Great Recession than they reported in the SIPP.

It is also important to remember that today’s middle-age households are tomorrow’s older adults. For these and many other reasons, the full story of how the Great Recession has impacted the financial security of older adults remains to be told.
Most 65+ Households Strongly Desire to “Age in Place,” Although This Is Not Always Realistic or Possible

The desire to age at home is evident in the low moving rates and long-term occupany of homeowners, as well as stated in preference surveys. Typically, older households are much less likely to move than younger households, with moving rates decreasing steadily as households age. For example, between 2010 and 2011, about 12 percent of 35-39 year-olds moved as compared to 2.8 percent of those in the 70-74 year-old range.1

Reluctance to move is particularly true for those who own their home. A survey by AARP found that nine out of ten older households express a desire to stay in their homes “as long as possible.” Reasons include: a love of the current home or neighborhood; a desire to stay in familiar surroundings; a lack of affordable, convenient, or attractive options; and a desire to remain independent.

Given the strong desire of most older adults to age in place, it is important to expand access to the services that many individuals need to live independently, such as meal preparation; assistance with bathing, dressing, or grooming; assistance taking daily medication; and housekeeping services. At the same time, it is important to provide older adults with affordable residential options that offer co-located or integrated services within developments situated close to where individuals are currently living or in places where they can meet their needs through walking or public transit. As noted on page 5, more than one-fifth of 85+ households already live in a long-term care facility or a community housing facility with services. It is quite possible that many additional households would choose to move if affordable options were available nearby.

What Families of Residents of CCRCs Say

A recent survey of families of residents in Continuing Care Resident Communities (CCRCs – see page 5) indicated why moving may be an appropriate option for some older adults. When asked why their family member moved into the CCRC, the respondents cited:

- Personal safety & security 88%
- Social life 84%
- Aging in Place 79%
- Convenience 78%

Survey respondents identified the following as the benefits of moving over staying in their single-family home:

- Staying fit 73%
- Lifelong learning 73%
- Choices and options in life 69%
- Eating well 67%

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oldest Member</th>
<th>Median Number of Years in Current Residence</th>
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<tr>
<td>85+</td>
<td>31</td>
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<tr>
<td>75-84</td>
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<td>No One 65+</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Owner Renter</th>
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<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
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<td>2</td>
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</table>


Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011.

WHERE OLDER ADULTS LIVE

Most 65+ Households Live in the Suburbs or Smaller Towns – Areas That May Pose Housing and Transportation Challenges for an Aging Population

The suburbs are home to more than half of all 65+ households. While renters are almost twice as likely as homeowners to live in a central city (40 percent vs. 23 percent), overall, more renters live in the suburbs than central cities. Suburban locations offer many benefits, but many localities in the U.S. require use of a car for work, shopping, errands, and socializing.

Some suburban communities restrict the construction of multifamily buildings, which may limit the options of older adults seeking to stay in their communities when they can no longer remain in single-family homes. More flexible building and zoning regulations could create a more diverse mix of housing types such as apartments, townhouses, condominiums, and/or accessory apartments (“granny flats”). In addition, mixed-use developments that pair residential buildings with stores and services could create economies of scale for public transit and provide more options for older adults to get around.

Demand Among Older Renters for Larger Buildings with Services Is Likely to Grow

American Housing Survey data show that 85+ renter households are more likely than younger renters to live in larger buildings with 21 or more units. Larger buildings are more likely to have elevators, making them attractive to older adults with mobility impairments. Larger buildings also may provide more opportunities for social interaction than may be the case with some single-family neighborhoods or smaller buildings.

Additionally, multi-unit buildings are a more cost-effective setting for the delivery of supportive services than single-family homes. Roughly, one-fifth of the residents in 5+ unit buildings report receiving assistance with meals, transportation, housekeeping, or other services. Considering the trends discussed earlier of a rapidly growing population of older adults with a member aged 85 or higher – including many with disabilities – local officials may find growing interest in allowing larger multifamily developments in communities where currently they are not permitted.
Many 65+ Residents – Particularly Homeowners – Lack Access to Public Transit

Some 70 percent of 65+ renters report having access to public transportation while fewer than half of home owners say they do. Partly, this is because a greater share of renters live in central cities. However, even within central cities, older renters report greater access to transit than older owners. In the metropolitan areas with the least public transit options, 80 percent or more of older adults have poor access to public transit. This problem is most pronounced in metro areas with a population of 250,000 to 1 million.

Access to public transportation may be necessary to help some age independently, but it may not be sufficient. Only 17 percent of all households with ready access to public transit report regularly using it. Efforts to make public transit more accessible and to increase ridership among older adults will be important to spur both demand for transit and the provision of more service to meet that demand. In areas with good public transit systems, it may be important to expand the availability of residential options within a close walking distance of stations and to improve the walkability of station areas to facilitate access by older adults and others.

Transit Access for 65+ Households in 2009

Source for text and graph: Center for Housing Policy tabulations of 2009 American Housing Survey.

Percentage of Older Adults Age 65-79 with Poor Transit Access in 2015 by Metro Size Category

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Metro</th>
<th>Percentage of Seniors (65-79) with Poor Transit Access in 2015</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>METROPOLITAN AREAS LESS THAN 250,000**</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Jacksonville, NC</td>
<td>85</td>
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Source: Transportation for America, 2011.
Housing an Aging Population

The data reviewed in this report indicate that many older adults have limited incomes and struggle to afford their housing costs. Housing cost burdens grow with age, posing the biggest challenge for oldest adults aged 85+. This also is the group requiring the most services.

Housing challenges are particularly severe for older adults with very low-incomes, nearly half of whom spend 50 percent or more of their income for housing. Another one in four spend 31 to 50 percent of their income. Older adults with substantial assets can tap them to help cover the costs of retirement. But asset levels vary widely and some of the most vulnerable older adults lack the financial means to move, retrofit, or improve their housing situation just at the age when this is needed the most.

Federal housing subsidy programs can play an important role, but current housing subsidy programs meet only a fraction of the need. As shown in the chart, only about 24 percent of renters of all ages with housing needs are being reached by federal rental assistance. And with a rising federal budget deficit, some policymakers have proposed cuts in federal housing programs.

In sum, the number of older adults is rising but the available federal funding for housing subsidies is not keeping pace with demand. Furthermore, many of the residents of existing federally subsidized housing developments are aging and need services as well as modifications to their developments to allow them to age safely and comfortably in place.

It’s to everyone’s advantage to find solutions that allow older adults to age in place (or in a community setting of their choice) with appropriate services, avoiding costly nursing home care. The next page reviews a range of options for achieving this goal. While most of these solutions involve action at the local and state levels, their successful implementation will require strong federal partnerships to link housing and health care programs and funding.

Federally Subsidized Housing and Supportive Service Options for Low-Income Older Adults Are Insufficient to Meet Current – Much Less Future – Needs of an Aging Population

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Policy Options for Meeting the Housing Needs of Older Adults

Many states and localities, cash-strapped in the current recession, will be ill-prepared to meet the needs of an aging population. A recent survey of local governments found they expect transportation and housing to be the greatest challenges. Of utmost concern was the reported lack of funding for these and other necessary services for older adults.

Consensus is growing around the types of actions states and localities can take to meet the future housing needs of older Americans. They fall into two categories – policies to support aging in place and policies to expand housing choice. The refinement and implementation of these and other options would be enhanced by strengthening collaboration between housing and health agencies at the federal, state, and local levels.

Policies to Support Aging in Place

Make homes more affordable – Help aging homeowners with limited incomes by providing property tax relief programs for income- and age-eligible households. Use housing vouchers to help aging renters afford to age in place.

Assist with home modification – Help poorer owners (and landlords) with retrofits by providing technical assistance, volunteer labor, and funding using deferred loans or grants from Community Development Block Grant, HOME, housing trust funds, and other sources.

Connect residents to social services – Assist residents with activities of daily living by expanding the Home and Community-Based Services Medicaid waiver program to provide services for older residents in their homes or in centralized locations. Use Medicaid and Medicare funding to cover nursing services that help older renters in multifamily settings access preventative care, avoid unnecessary hospitalizations, and shorten hospital stays – creating a net savings in health costs while improving quality of life. Scale up models that provide individuals who are not eligible for Medicaid with services to help them age in place; options include expanding the broad range of services programs funded through the Older Americans Act, expanding volunteer networks, and implementing the CLASS Act. The CLASS Act is a component of the 2010 health care reform bill that facilitates self-insurance of services needs.

Expand transportation options – Allocate funding for transit agencies to extend coverage areas and accessibility of their services; promote programs (such as volunteer-based programs to drive older adults to medical appointments) for those not currently served by transit.

Policies to Expand Housing Choices for Older Adults

Encourage universal design in new homes – Require government-subsidized housing to incorporate universal design principles; change building codes to encourage developers of market-rate housing to build elder-friendly homes.

Create flexible zoning rules – Modify zoning codes to promote a diverse range of housing types that expand choices for older adults and others, including accessory dwelling units (i.e., granny flats), high-density rental units, as well as siting for residential units located near transit, shopping, and other amenities.

Preserve and expand the supply of affordable rental housing – Preserve existing affordable rental housing that is in need of rehabilitation or in danger of opting out of subsidized housing programs, while expanding funding for the development of new affordable rental properties.

Enhance consumer choice – Support the development of a range of public and private supportive housing models such as assisted living residences, continuing care retirement communities, and congregate housing; expand access to developments that integrate services and housing through the Programs of All Inclusive Care for the Elderly (PACE) model; experiment with cohousing efforts that promote “active neighboring” and/or include professional caregivers. Families of every income category should have access to affordable options; in addition to scaling up programs for low-income households, programs need to be developed to help households that fall between the cracks – their incomes are above the threshold for the low income housing tax credit but below the level sufficient to afford market-rate supportive housing.
DATA SOURCES

Page 2

Projections of the Change in Population by Age for the United States: 2010 to 2050
U.S. Census Bureau, Population Division. 2008. Table 2, Projections of the Population by Selected Age Groups and Sex for the United States: 2010 to 2050 (NP2008-T2).

Projected Population Age 85+, 2010 and 2050
U.S. Census Bureau, Population Division. 2008. Table 2, Projections of the Population by Selected Age Groups and Sex for the United States: 2010 to 2050 (NP2008-T2).

There Could be Even More

Page 3

Age Distribution of Households in 2009
The Center for Housing Policy tabulation uses age of oldest member, not age of householder; using the latter results in 23.1 million households aged 65+.

A Rise in Multigenerational Families in Some Quarters

For the Foreseeable Future, More Households will be Older Women Living Alone

Living Arrangements of Men and Women Ages 65+, 2008

Page 4

Higher Rates of Disability Occur Among Those Least Able to Adapt

Retrofits for Aging in Place

Page 5

Community Housing with Services
Community housing with services applies to respondents who reported they lived in retirement communities or apartments, senior citizen housing, continuing care retirement facilities, assisted living facilities, staged living communities, board and care facilities/homes, and other similar situations, AND who reported they had access to one or more of the following services through their place of residence: meal preparation, cleaning or housekeeping services, laundry services, help with medications.

Percentage of Medicare Enrollees Age 65 and Over in Selected Residential Settings, by Age Group, 2007
80 percent of Older Adult Households are Homeowners and Many Own Their Homes Outright


Percent Homeownership and Renting by Age
Non-market renters include those who don’t pay cash rent and those who receive government subsidies. Both institutional and non-institutional group quarters (e.g., nursing homes and congregate care homes, respectively) are excluded from the AHS. However, the AHS does include assisted living facilities. Estimates of those households with mortgages include regular mortgages and lump-sum home equity loans but excludes home equity lines of credit.

Expense Categories as a Share of Total Household Expenditures by Age
Expenditures as a share of the household budget are from the Consumer Expenditure Survey, 2009, Table 4. Weighted averages were calculated for the 0-64 group.

Monthly Housing Costs by Income for 65+ Households
Housing costs in the AHS include, where applicable, rent, mortgage, utilities (such as electricity, gas, fuel oil and other fuels, water, sewer, and trash), property and homeowners insurance, condo fees, and other common household expenses.

Housing Costs for Older Households as a Percent of Income, by Income Category
Income categories in the table are based on a comparison of household income to HUD’s median family incomes, adjusted for household size. The 200,000 65+ households with zero/negative income are not included in these tabulations; this is a departure from HUD’s methodology, which assigns some to the 0-30% AMI category and others to the 100-120% AMI category depending on their reported housing costs. The calculations of cost burdens exclude 1.9 million households reporting zero/ negative income.

While Relatively Few 56+ Households Live in Physically “Inadequate” Housing
Rather than using the AHS variable measuring inadequacy (ZADEQ), this analysis uses a composite measure developed by Paul Emrath and Heather Taylor in Housing Value, Costs, and Measures of Physical Adequacy, a paper prepared for presentation at the American Housing Survey User Conference, 2011. This measure was designed to include characteristics shown to influence home values (for single-family units) and gross rents (for multifamily units). Manufactured housing units also are included. Compared to ZADEQ, this measure identifies significantly more occupied units as inadequate (9.8 million including manufactured housing compared to 5.8 million with severe or moderate physical problems as reported in AHS Table 2-7).

Physical Hazards at Home for Older Adults

Sources of Income for Married Couples and Nonmarried People

A married couple is age 65 and over if the husband is age 65 or over or the husband is younger than age 55 and the wife is age 65 or over. The definition of “other” includes, but is not limited to, public assistance, unemployment compensation, worker’s compensation, alimony, child support, and personal contributions. Quintile limits are $12,082, $19,877, $31,303, and $55,889 for all units; $23,637, $35,794, $53,180, and $86,988 for married couples; and $9,929, $14,265, $20,187, and $32,937 for nonmarried persons. Reference population: These data refer to the civilian noninstitutionalized population.
Older Homeowners Have Greater Home Equity than Younger Homeowners


Estimated Debt and Equity for Homeowners – Both Charts

The AHS does not ask respondents about the total mortgage debt – or outstanding principal – that they have on their homes. Instead, it asks about the original amount and terms of the mortgages, gathering detailed information on the first two mortgages and less information on subsequent loans. The Census Bureau has developed a calculation for determining an estimated outstanding principal, which is replicated here with slight differences. Regarding outstanding principal, regular mortgages and lump-sum home equity loans are included but not home equity lines of credit or reverse mortgages. For all but the first and second mortgages, the AHS simply asks for the original amount borrowed, and this calculation assumes that 25 percent of each has been paid off. However, these values are not precise but rather are intended to be roughly indicative.

Estimated Debt and Equity for Homeowners by Age

Because only 600,000 homeowners age 85 and over have a mortgage, the sample is too small to accurately estimate the percent with negative equity.

Paying Off and Drawing Down


Change in Net Worth by Household Type, 1984 to 2009


Median Household Net Worth by Race/Ethnicity of Head of Household


Most 65+ Households Strongly Desire to “Age in Place”


Survey results on older adults’ reluctance to move can be found in AARP Public Policy Institute. 2006. State of 50+ America: 2006. Washington, DC: AARP.

What Families of Residents of CCRCs Say


Most 65+ Households Live in the Suburbs or Smaller Towns

Data on community type are Center for Housing Policy tabulations of the 2009 American Housing Survey national report, tables 3-1 and 4-1. The AHS microdata file does not include a reliable variable indicating whether households live in a metro or non-metro area. Thus, in a departure from the rest of the report, this chart reflects only the 23.1 million households with a household head 65+. The data reported in here (and in the national AHS report) are based on 1990 metro area definitions.
Demand among Older Renters for Larger Buildings with Services
Data in the text and table are Center for Housing Policy tabulations of the 2009 American Housing Survey national report, table 4-1.

Top States Where Older Adults Live

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Percentage of Older Adults Age 65–79 with Poor Transit Access in 2015 by Metro Size Category
Estimates of numbers of older adults with poor access to transit are from Transportation for America. 2011. Aging in Place, Stuck without Options: Fixing the Mobility Crisis Threatening the Baby Boom Generation. For the Transportation for America report, the Center for Neighborhood Technology (CNT) was commissioned to analyze the adequacy of public transportation service for 241 metropolitan areas with a population of 65,000 or more.

Data on transit access and use come from Center for Housing Policy tabulations of 2009 American Housing Survey.

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Only About 23 Percent of Renters of All Ages with Housing Needs Are Being Assisted

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State and Local Policy Responses
These recommendations are echoed in many venues, forums, and publications. See publications referenced elsewhere in this report. For a community perspective see, Building for the Boom: Creating Communities that Work for All Generations, San Mateo County, CA, Spring 2009. Available at:
http://www.co.sanmateo.ca.us/Attachments/housingdepartment/PDFS/building_for_the_boom.pdf

For a state and local policy perspective, visit the HousingPolicy.org Toolkit on Meeting the Housing Needs of Older Adults, created by the Center for Housing Policy in partnership with AARP. The information in the online toolkit is also featured in a series of factsheets available at http://www.nhc.org/AARP-factsheets.html.