

# Using Tenant-Based Vouchers To Help People Leave Homelessness: Lessons from Los Angeles

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## Abstract

*Public housing agencies (PHAs) in Los Angeles County have committed large shares of their housing choice vouchers (HCVs) to help people leave homelessness. This article is based on a study that measured the extent to which people experiencing homelessness at the time of voucher issuance succeeded in finding a landlord willing to lease a unit to them. The study found their rate of lease up was greater than the rate for people who were not experiencing homelessness at the time the voucher was issued. The Abt research team inferred that some of the reasons that people experiencing homelessness were able to use their vouchers included (a) voucher holders receiving help from case managers and (b) landlords receiving incentives provided by local government. However, more research is needed to understand better the role of case managers and landlord incentives, not just in Los Angeles but across the United States. The authors consider the choice made by Los Angeles PHAs to focus their HCV programs on addressing the homelessness crisis appropriate but recommend that the U.S. Congress return to making substantial additions to the pool of unrestricted HCVs available to PHAs. Expanding the HCV program will prevent the use of vouchers for people experiencing homelessness from eclipsing other program goals, such as increasing opportunities for children to leave poverty through exposure to well-resourced neighborhoods and reducing extreme rent burdens for all types of households.*

## Introduction

The 2021 appropriation of 70,000 Emergency Housing Vouchers (EHVs) targeted toward people experiencing homelessness can be seen as the culmination of a gradual shift in the focus of the Housing Choice Voucher (HCV) program toward addressing the homelessness crisis. High numbers of people experiencing homelessness are found across the United States, especially in

areas with high housing costs. The increasing emphasis on addressing homelessness is—to some extent—eclipsing an earlier focus on using vouchers to give families with children the opportunity to live in highly resourced neighborhoods and the program's basic purpose to keep households with low incomes from paying so much for rent that they cannot afford other basic necessities. The fact that these priorities compete is the tragic result of an inadequately funded HCV program.

Soon after the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 embraced the voucher approach to providing housing assistance, it became clear that vouchers would not be an open enrollment program. Instead, the new voucher program would be constrained by annual appropriations that only modestly increased the number of households the program could serve each year. That result raised the issue of which households could be placed at the top of waitlists for housing assistance. In 1979, Congress established federal preferences for housing assistance that required households with severe rent burdens in their current housing or severely inadequate housing (including no housing) to be placed at the top of waiting lists for vouchers and other housing assistance programs.<sup>1</sup>

In the late 1990s, Congress replaced the federal preferences with stricter formal income targeting for households with extremely low incomes,<sup>2</sup> giving more discretion to local public housing agencies (PHAs) for waitlist preferences. Meanwhile, the growing crisis of homelessness led PHAs in places with high levels of homelessness to direct some of their housing vouchers toward helping people experiencing homelessness to become housed. Federal law and regulations define two types of preferences: (1) a general preference that places any household experiencing homelessness (or another type of household chosen by the PHA) at or near the top of a waitlist and (2) a limited preference that specifies the number of vouchers used for a certain purpose. As of the early 2000s, most PHAs were using limited preference rather than general preference for people experiencing homelessness (Dunton et al., 2014).

The widespread use of housing vouchers to help people leave homelessness has broader implications regarding who gets access to the limited pool of housing vouchers. People experiencing homelessness do not mirror the overall population of people living with poverty-level incomes. Instead, these populations are disproportionately Black and Native American and have high rates of disabilities. For example, national data analyzed in annual reports to Congress show that 39 percent of people staying in shelters at some point during 2021 identified as Black or African American, although only 21 percent of people living in poverty identified as Black. A similarly disproportionate share of people identifying as Native Americans experienced sheltered homelessness compared with the Native American share of the poverty population (Henry et al., 2023). These disparities reflect long histories of discrimination in employment and housing that have put people in marginalized communities at high risk of falling into homelessness (Shinn and Khadduri, 2020).

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<sup>1</sup> Section 8(d)(1)(A) of the U.S. Housing Act of 1937, as amended in 1979 and 1983.

<sup>2</sup> For the Housing Choice Voucher program, 75 percent of newly admitted households were required to have incomes below 30 percent of area median income. In some sense, this income targeting was not needed, as the subsidy formula—rent minus 30 percent of the household's income—targeted the program to those with the largest gaps between rent and 30 percent of their income.

As vouchers began to be used for people experiencing homelessness, an open question was whether highly vulnerable households would succeed in using tenant-based housing assistance. Given that people experiencing homelessness could experience discrimination because of race; disabilities, such as mental illness; and the stigma associated with homelessness, would they get through the process of applying for a voucher and find landlords willing to rent to them?

For individuals, some evidence from research said the answer was yes—if they had case managers helping them through the process (Newman and Goldman, 2008; Rosenheck et al., 2003). For families, the answer also was yes, even in the Family Options study, which provided vouchers to families without case managers dedicated to helping them through the process. Nearly all study families provided with access to vouchers used the voucher to leave homelessness (Gubits et al., 2019).

Despite the growing evidence that individuals and families could use vouchers to leave homelessness, much skepticism remained about whether people experiencing homelessness could compete for private market housing, especially in housing markets with high rents and low vacancies. An Abt research team had the opportunity to address that skepticism in Los Angeles through a study funded by the Conrad N. Hilton Foundation. The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Office of Policy Development and Research supported the study by providing household-level data for the 19 PHAs in Los Angeles County. The study was among the first to use data that show each transaction for using a voucher to measure the rates at which households issued vouchers can use them to lease a housing unit. The study was the first to focus on households experiencing homelessness when the voucher was issued.<sup>3,4</sup>

The demographic characteristics of households who were issued vouchers to help leave homelessness reflected the disproportionate representation of people identifying as Black or African American among the population experiencing homelessness in Los Angeles. Abt also found that households experiencing homelessness when they were issued vouchers succeeded in using their vouchers at the same rate as households not experiencing homelessness—in fact, at slightly higher rates—and that this was the case regardless of racial identity. The Abt study team inferred that the relatively high success rates of households experiencing homelessness can be attributed in part to case managers helping with the process of finding and leasing housing units and to landlord incentives provided by Los Angeles County. Finally, Abt found that the cost of HCV rent subsidies for people using vouchers to leave homelessness was essentially the same as the cost of rent subsidies for households not experiencing homelessness at the time they received a voucher.

In the concluding section, the authors of this article make recommendations with broader implications for the future of the HCV program. PHAs should continue using the program as part of local efforts to end homelessness and use their preference systems to that end. Although widespread use of vouchers to address the homelessness crisis is essential, an overall expansion of the voucher

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<sup>3</sup> The same research team is currently studying success rates for people experiencing homelessness who were issued vouchers by PHAs in Orange County, California.

<sup>4</sup> Sections of this article are based on a report created by Abt Associates for the Conrad N. Hilton Foundation (Khadduri et al., 2022). The analysis excludes households referred for housing choice vouchers that PHAs in Los Angeles have assigned those vouchers to particular buildings. This research only examines vouchers that are given to households to be used in any housing unit that meets program standards.

program is needed so that tenant-based housing assistance can still serve other purposes with high policy importance. Access to housing vouchers should not be a zero-sum game.

To support the continuing use of vouchers to help people leave homelessness, the authors recommend a closer examination of the role that case management plays in helping people experiencing homelessness use the vouchers that PHAs make available. So far, most of the evidence on that topic has been inferential. The authors also encourage research that examines the housing retention rates of people who successfully use a voucher to leave homelessness.

## **Matching People Experiencing Homelessness to a Tenant-Based Voucher in Los Angeles**

For more than a decade, local governmental agencies, homeless service and healthcare providers, community organizations, and philanthropic organizations have engaged in efforts to end homelessness across Los Angeles. The focus of this community-wide effort has been largely on people with high needs and chronic patterns of homelessness. In recent years, the 19 PHAs in the Los Angeles region have dedicated major portions of their housing voucher programs to helping people leave homelessness for permanent housing. PHAs work with homeless service providers, the Los Angeles County Department of Health Services (DHS) and the Department of Mental Health (DMH), and the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs (VA) to match people experiencing homelessness with vouchers, help them become eligible for vouchers, and help them search for housing.

However, using vouchers in Los Angeles has been notoriously difficult. In addition to the overall high demand for rental housing manifested as low rental vacancy rates across the region, Los Angeles landlords strongly resist accepting households who use vouchers to pay part of the rent. To help overcome the problem of landlord refusal to rent to households with vouchers, in 2019, the city and county of Los Angeles and the state of California each passed legislation banning landlords from turning away renters simply because they want to use a housing voucher to help pay the rent.

Of the 19 PHAs in the Los Angeles region, the largest by far are the Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles (HACLA) and the Los Angeles County Development Authority (LACDA), the latter serving parts of the county with cities without PHAs. As of the end of 2020, HACLA was administering nearly 51,000 vouchers, and LACDA was administering more than 25,000 vouchers. The Housing Authority of the City of Long Beach (HACLB) is the largest of the 17 other PHAs in Los Angeles County, administering approximately 7,500 vouchers as of 2020 (HUD, 2020).

A voucher becomes available for use by a new household when a participating household exits the HCV program (turnover vouchers) or when HUD provides new funding to support additional vouchers. The number of vouchers a PHA can distribute varies from year to year, depending on turnover and new special-purpose funding made available by Congress. During the period covered by this analysis, PHAs were making vouchers available to people experiencing homelessness by either turnover in their regular HCV programs or accepting allocations of HUD-Veterans Affairs Supportive Housing (VASH) vouchers.<sup>5</sup> The number of vouchers made available

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<sup>5</sup> The period for this analysis preceded the Emergency Housing Voucher program, enacted in 2021.

through turnover is modest relative to the overall size of a PHA's voucher program. Nonetheless, the largest of the Los Angeles PHAs had thousands of vouchers potentially available to issue to households experiencing homelessness.

The largest PHAs in the Los Angeles region have strong set-asides and waitlist preferences for people experiencing homelessness. Their preference systems are major commitments to use tenant-based HCVs as part of community-wide efforts to address homelessness. They also have accepted large allocations of HUD-VASH vouchers.<sup>6</sup> HACLA has committed large numbers of vouchers to people experiencing homelessness through limited preferences, totaling more than 5,900 vouchers. LACDA has committed to using a percentage of vouchers that become available through turnover to people experiencing homelessness, growing from 35 percent in 2014 to 50 percent in 2017 and 100 percent by the end of the study period.<sup>7</sup>

HACLA and LACDA have developed close relationships with the Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority (LAHSA), a joint-powers authority of the city and county governments that also serves as the HUD-designated Continuum of Care for most of the Los Angeles region. LAHSA implements a coordinated entry system (CES) to match available housing and supportive services to people experiencing homelessness through contracts with homeless service providers responsible for defined geographic portions of Los Angeles County. Most PHAs with preferences for people experiencing homelessness rely on their partners to use the community's CES to ensure that the highest-need individuals are matched to the housing resource. PHAs also may have direct contracts with homeless service providers, county DHS and DMH, and VA that refer clients to PHAs to receive a voucher.

## **Demographic Characteristics of People Who Received Vouchers**

Between 2016 and 2020, more than two-thirds (71 percent) of new vouchers issued by the Los Angeles PHAs to people experiencing homelessness were for households consisting of one person. This finding is consistent with the share of people experiencing homelessness in Los Angeles as individuals rather than members of families (LAHSA, 2020). Many of those individuals had disabilities, consistent with the community's priority of serving people with chronic patterns of homelessness who have a disability.

Although only 9 percent of the population in the Los Angeles region identified as Black or African American, about 34 percent of people experiencing homelessness in the Los Angeles region identified as Black in the 2020 homeless point-in-time count, (LAHSA, 2020), an even greater disproportion than shown in national data on homelessness. More than one-half of households experiencing homelessness who were issued vouchers by Los Angeles PHAs between 2016 and 2020 were Black.

Thirty-six percent of the homeless population in the 2020 homeless point-in-time count identified as Hispanic or Latinx (LAHSA, 2020); however, only 23 percent of people experiencing

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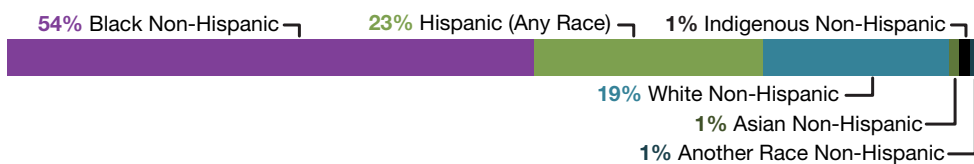
<sup>6</sup> VASH allocations are determined by a formula based on relative need and an expression of interest by PHAs.

<sup>7</sup> This approach does not fit well into HUD's definitions of general and limited preferences. When the commitment was 35 percent, it resembled a limited preference; at 100 percent, it resembled a general preference.

homelessness who received a voucher from the Los Angeles PHAs were Hispanic. Low participation in public programs among Hispanic households is related to several issues, including fears of exposing the undocumented status of family members, information about programs not reaching the community, a lack of cultural competence by public agencies, and language barriers (Chinchilla, 2019; Conroy and Heer, 2003). Hispanic households experiencing homelessness may also have a lower rate of referrals to PHAs because they are relatively young and, therefore, less likely to be assessed as having physical health needs that make them vulnerable.

**Exhibit 1**

Percentages of New Vouchers Issued for People Experiencing Homelessness, by Race and Ethnicity (2016–20)



*Note: Percentages may not add to 100 percent due to rounding.  
Source: HUD Administrative Data Extract of Voucher Issuances and Lease-Ups, 2016–20*

## The Success of People Experiencing Homelessness in Using Their Vouchers

The analysis of household-level administrative data shows that almost two-thirds of all households that received tenant-based vouchers from the Los Angeles County PHAs during 2016–20 succeeded in using them, meaning that they leased housing using a voucher within a year of receiving the voucher (see exhibit 2 note). For households experiencing homelessness, the success rate was 65 percent. For households not experiencing homelessness when they received a voucher, the success rate was 61 percent. Success rates for households trying to leave homelessness varied somewhat among PHAs in the Los Angeles region, with PHAs serving other parts of Los Angeles County somewhat higher than in the cities of Los Angeles and Long Beach (exhibit 2).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The data used for this analysis were captured from HUD-50058 forms, which PHAs use to collect information about households in the HCV program and transmit the resulting data to HUD. The data system records the individual administrative steps of the HCV program for each household, including voucher issuance and lease ups. Limited household characteristics are collected during the eligibility screening preceding voucher issuance. These characteristics include (1) homelessness status of the head of household; (2) date of the voucher issuance; (3) whether the head of household is disabled; (4) race/ethnicity of the head of household; and (5) number of members in a household. Items 3, 4, and 5 were used to estimate the characteristics of households that were referred to PHAs and issued vouchers. For households that successfully leased a housing unit with their voucher, additional data are available, once again including the homelessness status of the head of household. Because the homelessness status at the time of issuance was not consistently recorded by the 19 PHAs in the Los Angeles region, the Abt team needed to impute homelessness at issuance for some households. To overcome the limitation of not reliably observing homelessness status for 15 percent of the records, Abt used other information in the data to make a statistical best guess of the homelessness status for those households. To do so, they modeled a statistical relationship between information observed at issuance and whether households were reported as experiencing homelessness in the records for which they do have a reliable measure of homelessness. Abt then assumed this statistical relationship also describes the relationship between actual homelessness and the information observed at issuance for the records for which they do not have a reliable indicator of homelessness. Abt used this statistical relationship to make their best guess—that is, they assign an imputed value of whether these households were actually experiencing homelessness at issuance. For details of the models used to do this, see Khadduri et al., 2022.

**Exhibit 2**

Lease-Up Success Rates for New Households Issued Vouchers, by Homeless Status (2016–20)

PHA	Vouchers Issued to Homeless Households (#)	Lease-Up Rate for Homeless Households Issued Vouchers (%)	Lease-Up Rate for Other Households Issued Vouchers (%)
<b>All Los Angeles County PHAs</b>	11,771	65	61
<b>Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles (HACLA)</b>	6,276	63	63
<b>Los Angeles County Development Authority (LACDA)</b>	4,235	67	51
<b>Housing Authority of the City of Long Beach (HACLB)</b>	1,087	62	59
<b>All LA County PHAs, Excluding HACLA, LACDA, and HACLB</b>	173	73	64

PHA = public housing agency.

Notes: The Abt research team found many additional lease ups by using a 365-day cutoff for measuring lease ups instead of the 180-day cutoff often used to measure success rates. "All Los Angeles County PHAs" include the Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, the Los Angeles Development Authority, the Housing Authority of the City of Long Beach, Glendale Housing Authority, Santa Monica Housing Authority, City of Pasadena Department of Housing, Inglewood Housing Authority, Burbank Housing Authority, Pomona Housing Authority, Baldwin Park Housing Authority, Compton Housing Authority, Norwalk Housing Authority, Hawthorne Department of Housing, Torrance Housing Authority, South Gate Housing Authority, Redondo Beach Housing Authority, Pico Rivera Housing Assistance Agency, Culver City Housing Authority, and Hawaiian Gardens Housing Division.

Includes observed issuances only. When data have a lease-up record but no record of issuance, Abt could not include that household in the calculations of success rates.

Source: HUD Administrative Data Extract of Voucher Issuances and Lease-Ups, 2016–20

The Abt research team has several explanations for the higher success rate among households attempting to leave homelessness and the relatively high success rate given the very tight housing market in Los Angeles. One explanation is that people staying in shelters or on the street may be highly motivated to find housing and, therefore, willing to work harder to search for available rental units and find a landlord who will accept a voucher.

Another explanation could be that the result of the system for referring people experiencing homelessness to a PHA is that a client matched to a voucher usually has a case manager from a homeless service provider, county DHS and DMH, or VA.<sup>9</sup> The interviews with PHAs, homeless service providers, and DMH confirmed that most homeless households referred to the voucher program during the study period had case managers. The scope of the data collection for the study did not permit Abt to link the households that received vouchers to specific referring organizations or determine whether the household had a case manager; however, having a case manager seems to be helpful. Interviews with PHA staff supported the finding that the help people receive from case managers in the lease-up process can be important.

When a household has a case manager from a homeless service provider, the case manager can help the household in their housing search, offer information about neighborhood amenities and proximity to services, and negotiate with landlords. Case managers and households use various tools to find rental units in Los Angeles County, such as Facebook Marketplace, Craigslist, and Zillow, and by driving around communities looking for rental signs. A Los Angeles program named

<sup>9</sup> Attempts to provide supports and services to assist voucher holders in finding units to improve success rates has a long history, particularly in higher-opportunity neighborhoods. The most recent evidence finds strong positive effects in a randomized experiment in the Seattle area (Bergman et al., 2023), although other efforts have proven less successful (Schwartz, Mihaly, and Gala, 2016).



LeaseUp, which was created by one of the region’s homeless service providers, recruits landlords and rents to people experiencing homelessness.

Most service provider staff interviewed for the study also described relying on relationships that they created with landlords in the community. Some staff explained that they would reach out to their current clients’ landlords or landlords they have worked with in the past to see whether they have any rental vacancies. Case managers often help households contact landlords and management companies of rental units and accompany households to view units.

In Abt’s interviews, people with lived experience exiting homelessness with a voucher stated that support from their case manager was important in navigating their application and housing search and providing support overall. However, households’ experiences with case managers vary. One household might have a positive experience during which their case manager helps them find housing; others might not.

Yet another explanation for the relatively high success rate for households experiencing homelessness is that they benefited from landlord incentives provided by Los Angeles County. In 2016, the county established the Homeless Incentive Program (HIP), funded by Measure H, a local sales tax dedicated to funding homeless services and housing available to all Los Angeles PHAs. HIP has been used by several of the region’s PHAs. The program provides private-market landlords with financial incentives for agreeing to rent units to people experiencing homelessness who have federal rental subsidies. HIP provides unit-holding fees, security deposits, damage mitigation, rental application fees, credit checks, and utilities arrears mitigation.<sup>10</sup>

Success rates for people experiencing homelessness were high across racial and ethnic groups—for example, 66 percent for households identifying as Black, non-Hispanic; 66 percent for Hispanic/Latinx households of any race; and 60 percent for White, non-Hispanic households (exhibit 3). Black and Hispanic households had higher rates of success if they were using vouchers to leave homelessness than if not. Case managers may have helped Black and Hispanic voucher holders overcome barriers to leasing up.

**Exhibit 3**

Lease-up Success Rates for New Households Issued Vouchers, by Race/Ethnicity (2016–20)

Racial/Ethnic Category	New Vouchers Issued to Homeless Households (#)	Lease-up Rate for Homeless Households Issued Vouchers (%)	New Vouchers Issued to Other Households (#)	Lease-up Rate for Other Households Issued Vouchers (%)
<b>Black, Non-Hispanic</b>	6,289	66	5,527	58
<b>Hispanic (any race)</b>	2,783	66	3,283	59
<b>White, Non-Hispanic</b>	2,258	60	2,710	68
<b>Asian, Non-Hispanic</b>	174	67	652	65
<b>Indigenous, Non-Hispanic</b>	176	56	69	55
<b>Other, Non-Hispanic</b>	91	65	36	56

Notes: The “Indigenous” category is households identifying as Native American, Alaskan Native, Native Hawaiian, or Pacific Islander. The “Other” category includes people identifying as mixed race.

Source: HUD Administrative Data Extract of Voucher Issuances and Lease-Ups, 2016–20

<sup>10</sup> The EHV program that was enacted and allocated later also included landlord incentives as a strategy to help households experiencing homelessness successfully lease housing.



## **Housing Subsidy Costs of People Experiencing Homelessness Using Vouchers**

Serving people experiencing homelessness may have implications for the per-unit costs of voucher assistance. The factors that determine the subsidy cost incurred by PHAs are household size and income. On average, households experiencing homelessness are smaller than other assisted households (having fewer members) but also have less income. Across the 19 Los Angeles PHAs, the housing subsidy payment for people experiencing homelessness is only slightly greater than the subsidy payment for serving other households—\$1,137 per month for homeless households versus \$1,108 for other households, a difference of \$29 per month, or about 3 percent.

Only 2 percent of households experiencing homelessness have an income of less than \$1,000 per year—that is, essentially having no income from wages or benefits. That share is no different than the share of other households with essentially no income. However, households having recently experienced homelessness are much more likely than households not having recently experienced homelessness to have incomes less than \$5,000 per year (23 percent versus 9 percent). The lowest incomes by far are for the category of households that are not families, not disabled, and not elderly. A single person with a disability determination is likely to receive Supplemental Security Income, which is greater than \$10,000 per year with the California supplement. However, once stably housed, people who have been experiencing homelessness may have more success at securing a higher income through employment or additional public benefits. Therefore, their lower income at lease up may be temporary.

## **Policy Implications**

The previous objective of the voucher program was to create a more flexible and cost-effective form of housing assistance at a time when increasing numbers of renters were paying distressingly high shares of their income for housing, and fewer housing units had major quality issues (Hills and McKenna, 1982). A program based on helping renters with low incomes to rent units in the private housing market was also thought to hold promise for avoiding concentrations of racial minorities resulting from a history of legal segregation and for helping families access neighborhoods where their children would have more life opportunities (Briggs, Popkin, and Goering, 2010).

**Add to the overall pool of housing choice vouchers that PHAs can use for various populations and needs.** The increasing use of housing vouchers to end homelessness threatens to eclipse the earlier objectives of preventing severe rent burdens that crowd out other needs and improving the life chances of children. Although it is entirely appropriate that Los Angeles County PHAs are committing all or most of their turnover vouchers to help people leave homelessness, U.S. Congress should appropriate funds for substantial numbers of incremental vouchers each year that are not constrained to be used for a specific purpose. Unlike the recent appropriation of EHV, those vouchers should permanently increase the number of vouchers available to PHAs across the United States. Although a universal or open-enrollment voucher program may not be realistic, adding substantial numbers of unconstrained vouchers would make it possible for PHAs to balance the needs of different populations, including families with children and people unable to work because of age or disability.

**Focus research on deepening the understanding of incentive payments and additional case management support.** Across the country, PHAs and homeless service systems use various strategies, including intensive case management, financial incentives for landlords, and housing search assistance to help people experiencing homelessness become ready for a voucher, find a unit, and successfully lease it. However, untangling the effect that each of these strategies has on successful lease up is difficult. For example, how do different case management models, intensity of services, and timing of services affect client outcomes? In addition, depending on the local and federal funding available, different voucher types (for example, EHV) come with different financial incentives for landlords. Do such incentives give some voucher holders an advantage when securing a rental unit? As funders continue to invest substantial amounts of funding into these strategies, further research on their implementation and outcomes would be useful for federal and local policymakers and practitioners.

**Create ways to link a community's Homeless Management Information System with HCV program HUD-50058/PIC data.** During the dissemination of the Abt study on which this article is based, the top questions asked of researchers were about the acuity level of voucher holders and their interaction with the homeless service system, both before they were matched to vouchers and while they were searching for housing. The research was not able to include administrative data from the Los Angeles region's homeless services systems, such as client-level data from the Continuum of Care's Homeless Management Information Systems or coordinated entry assessments. However, such analysis could help PHAs, homeless service system leadership, and policymakers understand the needs of clients and the acuity levels of households successfully using vouchers. Matching these data sources together would offer insight into housing and service pathways that could lead to successful lease up and housing retention.

**Understand the housing retention rates of people who successfully used a voucher to leave homelessness.** Communities across the country use tenant-based housing vouchers as a pathway to permanent housing for people experiencing homelessness. Research has also shown that, with support such as case management and financial incentives for landlords, people experiencing homelessness are successful at finding a housing unit and leasing it. However, no research has been conducted on the retention rates of people who successfully use vouchers to leave homelessness. As communities continue to use vouchers as a response to homelessness, they need to know if these vouchers have a long-term impact on keeping people housed. For people who have succeeded in maintaining housing stability with a voucher, what resources have enabled them to achieve that goal? For people who are unable to maintain housing using a voucher, what resources could have supported them?

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