between a rock and a hard place
The median home price in Vermont was $190,000 in 2009, requiring an annual income of $57,000 and at least an additional $15,000 in down payment and closing costs. More than 80% of Vermont's occupations had median wages below that amount.

Despite overall prices dropping, prices of newly constructed homes continued to increase. The median price of a newly constructed home was $305,000 in 2009, up 13% from the year before. A home buyer would need an income of $92,000 and down payment and closing costs of $23,000 to afford this home.

Interest rates for homeownership remained very low through 2009, but new fees remained high and buyers needed larger down payments, perpetuating affordability problems for lower income and first time buyers. The difficulty of obtaining affordable mortgage insurance contributed to putting homeownership further out of reach.

A modest 2-bedroom apartment in Vermont now costs $920 a month on average, which requires an hourly wage of $17.70 or an annual income of $36,800. While this represents only a slight increase (0.7%) over the year before, it represents a 54 percent increase since 2000. At least 46% of Vermont’s occupations have median wages below this threshold.

A persistently high proportion of Vermonters pay too much for housing. 48% of renters and 39% of owners with mortgages pay more than 30% of their income for housing costs. This ranks Vermont as the 7th and 15th worst state in the nation for cost burdened renters and owners, respectively. About 3,000 Vermont households become cost burdened annually. When families pay more than 30 percent of their income for housing costs, they don’t have enough left over for other basic necessities, like food, clothing, transportation and health care.

Median household income in Vermont was $52,000 in 2008, according to the most recent data available. Incomes remained essentially flat since the previous year. Once the rising cost of goods and services is factored in, there was a small decline in relative incomes for Vermont households. Households earning the median income who have $14,000 for down payment and closing costs could afford a home priced approximately $172,000.

Homelessness in Vermont continues to grow. On one day in January 2010, the state’s network of shelters and service providers counted almost 2,800 people who were homeless, over a quarter of whom were children. This is a 22% increase since 2008.
Vermont’s housing markets during the recession

The state and the nation have weathered the greatest economic turmoil since the Great Depression of the 1930s. This “Great Recession” has wreaked havoc on every aspect of the nation’s economy and was both initiated and fueled by the nation’s housing market woes. That said, Vermont’s economy is different from the nation’s, and understanding the state’s housing market is imperative to understanding what has happened with housing and wages over the last year.

Nationally, by the end of 2009, the unemployment rate was 10%, over 2 million homes were in foreclosure (4.6% of all home loans) and an estimated one-in-four borrowers were “underwater”— owing more than their home was worth. In Vermont, the housing market has changed dramatically since 2008, but not nearly to the same extent as many other states in the nation. In 2009, Vermont’s unemployment rate averaged 2.4% below the nation’s each month and foreclosures were at almost half the U.S. rate. In addition, the state’s home prices rose 13% over the past five years, compared to the national increase of 1.7% over that time period.

Several factors are often cited to explain the difference in the Vermont housing market:

1. **Pre-crisis regulations.** Vermont was early in implementing several safeguard actions to limit potential abusive practices in lending including high interest rate triggers and mortgage lending licensing.
2. **Rural demographics.** Many large-scale developments are unfeasible locally because there isn’t enough population to support such projects. Vermonters are likely to be older, white and more educated than the nation as a whole. These are factors correlated with higher homeownership rates. They may also explain the avoidance of risky loan products, since sub-prime and predatory lenders often target more urban and predominantly minority neighborhoods.
3. **Controlled land use.** Much of the state is unsuitable for housing development because of its slope, lack of infrastructure or other conditions. In addition, Vermont has some policies, like Act 250 and local permitting, which regulate proposed developments and have helped to prevent the type of overbuilding that saturated hot real estate markets in other states.
4. **Yankee conservatism.** As reported in several national news outlets, Vermonters’ wariness of new loan products and overleveraging their finances may have helped stem the tide of unaffordable home loans. Vermont is the fourth-lowest state in terms of originating sub-prime loans.
5. **Reliance on community banks.** Rural states like Vermont have a high proportion of community banks, in fact more than half of community banks have deposits in rural areas. Considering no Vermont-based community banks failed in 2009, these local lenders proved to be safe options.
Buying a home remains a stretch for many

The median home price for primary residences in Vermont was $190,000 in 2009, down from $200,000 in 2008, a 5% decline. This is the first year the statewide median home price declined since 1992, when it fell by $700. Despite this, Vermont’s median home price was still 60%, or $71,000, higher in 2009 than in 2000. As can be seen in the map, the increases in home prices were seen in towns throughout the state.

A median priced home in 2009 would require an annual income of $57,000 and at least an additional $15,000 in down payment, closing costs and fees. According to data from the state, more than 80% of the state’s non-farm occupations have a median wage less than that.

Prices of new homes bucked the trend of declining prices and were even less affordable to the average Vermonter. The median price of a newly constructed home was $305,000, up 13% since 2008. A home buyer would need an income of $92,000 and down payment and closing costs of at least $23,000 to afford this home.

For some first time buyers, the combination of favorable market conditions and a large federal tax incentive in 2009 may have helped them enter the homeownership market. The problem was that affordability improved only if the borrower had 20% of the purchase price to put down, stellar credit, and had enough cash at closing to cover the tax credit, since funding for that didn’t come back to buyers until they filed their income taxes well into 2010. In reality, few first time borrowers can save up the $38,000 to put 20% down on a median priced home, plus estimated closing costs and fees of $5,000.

Even with these incentives, the number of homes sold in Vermont was down 5% in 2009 from the year before, which was already down 24% from 2007. According to data provided by the state’s Realtors, higher-priced homes took
New fees increase costs of buying

The housing crisis resulted in new fees intended to offset the level of risk now associated with home lending. Currently, almost all home loans are being sold to either Fannie Mae or Freddie Mac on the secondary market. Therefore, home loans are now subject to their fees for:

- **Buying in an adverse market.** An “Adverse Market Delivery Charge” of 0.25% of the loan amount is required for all loans;
- **Lower credit scores.** Most borrowers with scores under 750 faced additional fees. (60% of Americans have scores below this threshold);\(^\text{20}\)
- **Lower down payments.** Most borrowers with moderate credit and less than 40% down paid between 0.5% to 3% of the loan amount;
- **Purchasing a condominium.** Buyers with less than 25% down paid 0.75% of the loan amount; and
- **Purchasing a manufactured home.** Buyers with less than 40% down paid an additional 0.5% of the loan amount.

Calculating exact fees for a borrower depends on the unique circumstances of the type of loan, type of home and borrower’s financial strength. A borrower with less than 20% down and average credit could easily rack up three points on their home loan, which adds to the total costs already needed at closing.\(^\text{21}\) Even conservative estimates assuming only 1% in fees would require $14,949 needed at closing ($1,805 in fees, $9,500 as down payment, and an average of $3,644 in traditional closing costs) for a median priced home with 5% down.\(^\text{22}\) This would fully consume a minimum wage earner’s full time annual salary.
**Mortgage insurance difficult to get**

Unlike homeowners’ insurance, which protects against property damage, mortgage insurance protects the lender in case the home owner defaults on the loan. Required for buyers with less than a 20% down payment, this adds a monthly premium to the homeowner’s payment until they have reached 20% equity in their home.

While mortgage insurance may be required, it can be very difficult for a borrower to be approved in this financial environment. For example, most private and government mortgage insurance companies are not insuring mobile homes; and lower cost condominiums can be very difficult to insure. Mortgage insurance fees have risen recently to account for the increase in borrower delinquencies and foreclosures. Currently, on a $190,000 home with 5% down and a national average credit score, the premium is $140 monthly on top of the mortgage, utilities, and homeowner’s insurance.23

Government-backed mortgage insurance has now become one of the best options for low- and moderate-income homebuyers. Special private mortgage insurance programs available through quasi-government entities like the Vermont Housing Finance Agency have been suspended; although some states do continue to offer their own mortgage insurance programs. In many states, government insurance primarily means using the Federal Housing Administration (FHA). However, Vermont has the second lowest rate of FHA loans of any state and instead buyers often look to the U.S. Department of Agriculture’s Rural Development guarantee program which covers most — but not all — of the state.

**Low interest rates only for best buyers**

Historically low interest rates help buyers but may only be available to households with stellar credit. Households with lower credit scores pay dramatically higher interest rates and fees. Less than 40% of Americans have credit scores that would get them the lowest rate possible. A borrower with a top-tier credit score will likely be able to get the lowest interest rate available, but if that score drops to the high 600s, the interest rate on that loan will jump up almost one-half percent. For a $190,000 home with 5% down, this would add $45 to the monthly payment and $15,866 in total interest paid over 30 years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Credit score</th>
<th>Additional interest rate from lowest available</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>760 to 850</td>
<td>Lowest rate available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>700 to 759</td>
<td>Additional 0.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>680 to 699</td>
<td>Additional 0.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>660 to 679</td>
<td>Additional 0.62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>640 to 659</td>
<td>Additional 1.05%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>620 to 639</td>
<td>Additional 1.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Delinquencies and foreclosures persist**

Delinquencies and foreclosures change continually, but as of the end of 2009, the 6% of loans that were delinquent in Vermont ranked it lowest in New England and 6th lowest state nationally (the national rate was 10.4%). Vermont’s 2.5% foreclosure rate at the end of 2009 was ranked 17th lowest nationally, and still well below the national rate of 4.6% of all loans.
The state’s Banking, Insurance, Securities, and Health Care Administration tracks foreclosures filed by the county courts, and it reported 1,924 foreclosure filings in 2009, up 17% from 2008. Five counties saw over 30% increases in foreclosures between 2008 and 2009: Bennington, Addison, Grand Isle, Windsor, and Washington. While this listing also includes commercial properties, evidence shows that this is a small piece of this inventory.

**Rental housing prices remained high**

Despite a severe recession, the cost of renting housing in Vermont is rising. The average fair market rent for a 2-bedroom unit is $920 in 2010, an increase of 54% since 2000.

The state’s “Housing Wage” is the amount a renter household must earn when working full time, to afford a 2-bedroom unit at HUD’s Fair Market Rent (FMR) and only pay 30% of the household’s income for rent and utilities. The 2010 Housing Wage for Vermont is $17.70. This is well over two times the state’s minimum wage, and would equal an annual income of $36,800.

Over 262 occupations, more than 46% of Vermont’s non-farm occupations, have median salaries less than this Housing Wage.

The 10 occupations employing the most Vermonters are shown in the graph to the left. All but two of these have median wages below the Housing Wage. Together, these 10 professions employ over 60,800 Vermonters or 22% of the state’s workforce.
While it's possible for a household to work more than one job to make ends meet, 60% of Vermont’s households had only one, or less than one full time worker.29

As rental prices continued to grow, so did the number of cost-burdened renters. 33,000 renting households were cost burdened, or paying more than 30% of their income for housing costs.30 This is 48% of all renting Vermonters, ranking the state seventh worst in the nation.31

**New housing units needed**

**Vacancy rates still low**

Vermont’s vacancy rate for homeowners was about the same in 2009 as in 2008 — in the 1.1% to 1.9% range. Vermont tied two other states with the lowest homeownership vacancy rate in the country. For rental housing it’s clear that rates have risen; Vermont’s rental vacancy rate was 5.4% in 2009, up from 3.5% the year before. Even with this, the rental rate is the lowest in the nation.32 Vermont’s vacancy rates have been below average for most of the past decade, and only began to increase since the Great Recession. The U.S., on the other hand, was below average before 2000, and has been well above average for several years, which helps explain the excess inventory of homes in other parts of the country.

**Rate of construction needs to double**

Vermont has seen very little new residential construction over the last year, although there is a need for about 8,000 new homeownership units to meet demand between 2009 and 2014.33 History shows that Vermont has the ability to bring enough homes online to meet the state’s homeownership needs. The chart to the right shows that the state would need to double the current rate of construction immediately, and sustain it for five years, in order to meet the identified need. While this is almost impossible given the current economy, it’s clear that Vermont had this level of construction as recently as 2007. The problem for lower-income Vermonters and first time homebuyers is that new homes are predominantly high-end, large homes unaffordable to the average Vermonter. Despite the market downturn, the median new home cost 13% more in 2009 than the year before. As the construction industry emerges from the recession, the market needs to balance the size and price of homes available to consumers to meet demand.
On the rental side, both the history and outlook is more bleak. Vermont must build new apartments and rehabilitate existing ones to make them more energy efficient and safer, which will help increase their affordability. Between 2009 and 2014, the state needs to create nearly 5,000 more rental housing units, which would require doubling the rate of production experienced in recent years. Unlike owned homes, there is no recent precedent for creating that many rentals, as can be seen in the graph to the left.

### Old and poor quality housing should be replaced

Not only is housing affordability a concern, but so is age and quality. 62% of owned homes and 73% of rentals in Vermont were built in 1979 or earlier, before newer energy efficiency technology was available, housing codes were more lax and the use of lead based paint was wide-spread.

The most prevalent types of home heating in Vermont are fuel oil and kerosene. While heating only 8% of homes nationwide, these sources heat 56% of Vermont’s homes. Far fewer homes in Vermont are heated with natural gas, when compared to oil and kerosene. While the cost of natural gas and electricity is regulated by the state, the market determines the price of fuel oil, kerosene and propane, leading to higher potential for dramatic fluctuations in prices.

### Homelessness continues to rise

In recent years homeless shelters have been consistently full, with waiting lists even in the summer, a time of year when the need is traditionally lower. As a result, a growing number of shelter and service providers have opened up emergency “overflow” shelters across the state to accommodate the increased demand. On one day in January 2010, the state’s network of shelter and service providers counted almost 2,800 people, 730 of whom were children. This was 22% higher than January 2008, before the recession took hold. The dramatic rise in homeless Vermonters continues unabated despite additional funding from federal stimulus programs designed to address the increase in homelessness due to the recession.

The primary program that funds emergency shelters in the state does a separate survey that found 30% of those sleeping in shelters on one night in...
November 2009 were disabled, 12% were veterans and 30% were children 17 years or younger. A lack of available and affordable housing perpetuates the long and stagnant cycles of homelessness. The average length of stay in the state’s shelters was 34 days in 2009, up 162% from 2000 when the average was 13 days.³⁶

**Federal response to housing**

In the past two years the federal government has increased funding for foreclosure counseling as well as creating a program for borrowers needing loan modifications or refinancing. In addition, as housing needs and homelessness increased during the recession, the federal government’s stimulus program helped address some of the major concerns. Vermont was awarded millions for:

- Rapid re-housing programs for those who were homeless;
- Homeless prevention efforts;
- Housing development funding;
- Energy efficiency funds to weatherize housing; and
- Housing rehabilitation, especially of old public housing units.

While these short-term funds have helped Vermonters weather the economic storm, the state is facing an uncertain future once these funds expire. At the same time, more than half of the state’s rental housing development in recent years has been assisted through some form of government program (federal or state). Funding for these programs has remained flat, or been reduced, despite growing waiting lists and need for subsidized units. The largest of these programs, the federal Housing Tax Credit Program, produced almost $3 million less funding in 2010 for housing developments than in 2008 because of how tax credit equity markets performed during the recession.³⁷ Nationally, about 25% of the equity investors left the market and many proposed developments could not raise the needed money to move forward.

Meanwhile, the new HUD administration’s focus appears to be toward urban programs, potentially leaving rural states like Vermont at a disadvantage against our big-city counterparts when funds are distributed based on high concentrations of poverty.

Demand is clear for more rental assistance and programs for the lowest income households. To address the growing number of cost burdened renters and homeless individuals and families, Vermont needs additional rental assistance so that rents are not more than 30% of a household’s income.

**Vermont incomes stagnate**

The Great Recession has taken a toll on the income of many Vermonters, especially the 23,900 people who were unemployed at the end of 2009.³⁸ National survey results indicate that only 13% of those who lost jobs in 2009 had found full-time jobs six months later.³⁹ Prolonged unemployment is start-
ing to affect Vermont median income estimates. Although estimates for 2009 when the recession was in full swing are not yet available, data on household incomes in 2008, when the recession started, show little or no growth relative to 2007. The median household income in 2008 was $52,000, according to U.S. Census Bureau estimates.

During the non-recessionary years of the decade, median incomes among Vermont households increased at an average annual rate of approximately 3%. For the average Vermont household these gains were almost fully consumed by simultaneous increases in the costs of goods and services. Between 2007 and 2008, the median income of Vermonters dropped more than 2%, after accounting for inflation. This was the largest decline of the decade.

Overall, Vermont families earning the state median income experienced a meager 0.1% average annual increase between 2000 and 2008, after adjusting for inflation. Single tax payers fared worse, with inflation-adjusted median incomes falling by an annual average rate of 0.4%.

Stagnating incomes among Vermont households may be part of a longer term national trend. The prospect of upward mobility is declining in the U.S., according to new data from the Economic Mobility Project. Median household income growth during the last 30 years has fallen compared to earlier generations. Furthermore, incomes have grown much more slowly among the nation’s poorest households. During 1979 to 2004, inflation-adjusted after-tax income of the poorest Americans rose by 9%, compared with 69% for the richest quintile, and 176% for the richest one percent of Americans.
In addition to income stagnation, low-income households are further prevented from improving their long-term financial situation by a lack of adequate assets. More than 57% of low-income American families are “asset poor,” meaning they don’t have enough liquid assets to finance three months of living at the federal poverty level. Families with few assets must rely on public assistance and other sources of funds, such as expensive short-term loans to cover basic needs during financial emergencies. According to a recent Urban Institute study, “one-third of low-income families without savings accounts report that they would use a payday lender or pawn something to pay a large bill in an emergency. ... Habitual use or reliance on short-term loans can trigger a spiral of debt.”

**Median asset holdings in the U.S. by income percentile**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Families in the lowest income quartile</th>
<th>Families in the second income quartile</th>
<th>Families in the third income quartile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bank accounts</td>
<td>$300</td>
<td>$1,100</td>
<td>$4,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retirement accounts</td>
<td>$3,000</td>
<td>$10,000</td>
<td>$30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home equity</td>
<td>$31,000</td>
<td>$81,000</td>
<td>$150,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car equity</td>
<td>$3,900</td>
<td>$7,100</td>
<td>$14,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**A path to sustainability**

To address Vermont’s housing needs, and the Vermont economy as a whole, the state should focus on enhancing sustainability. By continuing its wise policy of making key public investments in housing infrastructure, Vermont will improve the sustainability of its economy and the lives of all Vermonters who depend on it for their well being.

**Sustaining Vermont’s housing stock**

About one-third of Vermont’s housing was built before 1950. While some of these homes are likely renovated and in good condition, most are highly inefficient and costly in terms of energy. These homes need energy efficiency upgrades, lead based paint remediation, and other rehabilitation to make them safe, affordable and sustainable over the long term.

Vermont still needs to add to its stock of affordable housing to meet demand. With low vacancy rates, rising numbers of cost burdened households and persistently high rents, many regions of the state support new units affordable to median income Vermonters.

Rehabilitating existing housing and putting energy efficiency technology into greater use for both existing and new units will strengthen the housing infrastructure in Vermont, and also the residents who can enjoy the cost savings.
Investing in housing in Vermont is a non-transferrable resource that — unlike jobs — cannot be outsourced or transferred out of state. Housing is a key piece of Vermont’s infrastructure and investing in housing creation and rehabilitation will strengthen the state’s future.

Creating a sustainable economy
Housing can play a key role in creating a sustainable economy in Vermont. There is clearly a need for new housing construction to meet the modest growth expected in the coming years for Vermont. That being said, the state needs to learn its lessons from the run up in homeownership prices preceding the recession and from the growing numbers of cost burdened households to ensure that the market is balanced and creates all kinds of housing. Local market conditions vary dramatically around the state and should be a driving factor in creating new units.

Housing construction is a great economic engine with a high multiplier effect. For example, building 25 modest single family homes in Vermont in 2005 would create $6.3 million in additional income for Vermont businesses and 61 Vermont jobs, paying just more than $2 million in wages. Similarly, every dollar spent building apartments is likely to create at least another $1.10 in total economic activity across the state.

Moving forward, the state should consider housing to be a key resource in emerging from this recession, and focus on a balanced policy of homeownership and rental housing. While Vermont’s strong homeownership rate has helped its economy overall, it is important to remember that 95% of households are renters at some point in their lives, and ensuring there are affordable housing options for everyone should be a state goal.
Endnotes

1 Vermont Housing Data website and VHFA affordability estimates based on Freddie Mac’s average 2009 interest rate for a 30-year mortgage with a 5% down payment, average statewide property taxes, property insurance premiums, private mortgage insurance premiums, closing costs, fees based on a national average credit score of 680, and a 30% housing payment ratio.

2 2009 Occupational Employment and Wages, Vermont Dept. of Labor.

3 VHFA analysis of data from the Vermont Real Estate Information Service, Inc. for homes sold during calendar years 2008-2009.

4 Out of Reach 2010, National Low Income Housing Coalition. April 2010. Fair market rents (FMRs) are rent estimates calculated annually by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. FMRs are 40th percentile rents, the dollar amount below which 40 percent of standard quality rental housing units rent, including the cost of utilities. The statewide average FMR is an average of each county, including the Burlington-South Burlington Metropolitan Statistical Area (a combination of Chittenden, Franklin, and Grand Isle counties). The rents are weighted according to the number of renter households reported by the U.S. Census Bureau.

5 See note 2.

6 2008 American Community Survey, Table R2515 and Table R2513, U.S. Census Bureau.

7 VHFA analysis of one-year survey data from the 2005-2008 American Community Survey, Tables B25106, B25070, and B25091.

8 Based on state median household income estimates from the U.S. Census Bureau’s Current Population Survey (3-year rolling averages) and the CPI-U from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

9 Vermont Coalition to End Homelessness.

10 Mortgage Bankers Association, 4th quarter 2009 data.


12 See note 9.


15 See note 10.

16 Data from the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.

17 Vermont Housing Data website.

18 See note 3.

19 2008 American Community Survey, Table B25091, U.S. Census Bureau.


23 Based on private mortgage insurance rate estimates provided by MGIC’s on-line rate finder.

24 New Foreclosure Filings by County. VT Banking, Insurance, Securities, and Health Care Administration.

25 See note 4.

26 See note 4.

27 See note 2.

28 See note 2.

29 2006 to 2008 American Community Survey, Table B08202, U.S. Census Bureau.

30 2008 American Community Survey, Table B25106, U.S. Census Bureau.

31 2008 American Community Survey, Table R2515, U.S. Census Bureau.


35 See note 9.


37 VHFA analysis of Housing Credit equity 2007 through 2010.


40 VHFA analysis of data from the VT Department of Taxes and estimates from the Census Bureau’s Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates.

41 The annual CPI-U for 2000-2007 increased by 2.6%.


43 See note 41.

44 Housing and the Vermont Economy. VHFA, 2006.

Housing information resources

Vermont’s housing development network is strong and effective, a model for other parts of the U.S. There is a wealth of information about Vermont’s housing environment and steps being taken to address our housing shortage online. A few of the Vermont housing websites include:

- Vermont Housing Finance Agency (www.vhfa.org)
- Vermont Housing Data, comprehensive statistical information regarding housing costs, housing supply, and ability to afford housing (www.housingdata.org)
- Vermont Housing & Conservation Board (www.vhcb.org)
- Vermont Department of Economic, Housing and Community Development, which includes the Vermont housing needs assessment (www.dhca.state.vt.us)
- Vermont State Housing Authority (www.vsha.org)
- Housing Vermont (www.vt.org)
- Vermont Coalition to End Homelessness (www.helpingtohouse.org)
- Vermont Affordable Housing Coalition (www.vtaffordablehousing.org)

Other housing organizations — land trusts, homeless providers, and local housing task forces among them — also have websites, and links to those may be found on several of the sites listed above.