Rent Control

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Rent control, or rent regulation more generally, refers to policies that either limit the maximum rent or the speed of rent increases for privately owned rental homes. While such policies will not solve the housing affordability crisis on their own, research suggests they can slow displacement and improve housing stability for some lower-income renters.

TYPES OF RENT REGULATION

Rent control policies come in many forms. While historically some policies imposed a ceiling on rents, most forms of rent control today instead regulate the speed and size of rent increases, which can be referred to as rent stabilization. Some rent stabilization policies sharply restrict increases, while others merely prohibit large and sudden spikes or price gouging. Rent control policies also vary in what proportion of the private-market rental stock they regulate. While some cover all rental homes in an area, most policies target older rental homes to avoid discouraging new construction. Some rent regulations exempt smaller buildings, and some allow homes to be brought up to market rate when they are vacated.

In recent years, there has been increasing support for rent regulation measures in some states and cities, though the majority of jurisdictions with rent regulation are still found in New York, New Jersey, and California. In 2019, Oregon limited annual rent increases on many homes and New York strengthened existing rent regulations. Despite a few proposals in Congress, rent regulation remains overwhelmingly an issue for state and local politics, rather than a federal issue—partly because a permanent national policy would face greater legal challenges, and partly because a uniform set of regulations would not serve high- and low-cost markets equally well.

RENT REGULATION AS AN ANTI-DISPLACEMENT TOOL

In some jurisdictions, rent control may be a useful means of preventing the displacement of renters in rapidly gentrifying areas. Proponents argue that regulation can correct power imbalances between landlords and renters and give due recognition to long-term tenants’ interest in staying in their homes. Because rent control lowers the rent burden for existing tenants and protects them from sudden increases, renters in controlled rental homes tend to remain in their homes longer than those in uncontrolled homes. Longer tenures may reflect greater housing stability and better access to neighborhood opportunities. On the other hand, longer tenures may also reflect restricted mobility, if renters stay in regulated homes of the wrong size or far from work in order to keep lower rents.

Rent control benefits renters who happen to occupy regulated homes, not necessarily the renters who have the greatest need. While some higher-income renters will benefit, renters in regulated homes are much less likely than renters in unregulated homes to be wealthy. In New York City, the median income of renters in rent-stabilized homes is considerably lower than the median income of renters in unregulated homes. All the same, critics argue that insensitivity to need makes rent regulation inefficient, wasting resources on higher-income tenants.

Lower-income renters may be disadvantaged by poorly designed regulations. Lower-income households are more likely to need to move for work, health, or family, so they may not be able to hold onto regulated homes as well as higher-income renters. Higher-income renters may be willing to initially pay above-market rents for stabilized units, confident that they will eventually benefit from slower increases, which lower-income renters are less likely to be able to do. Some have argued that regulations give landlords incentives to apply stricter screening.
criteria, which could make housing searches harder for younger tenants and tenants with children.

**BROADER EFFECTS OF RENT REGULATION**

The benefits and risks of rent control for low-income renters not yet living in the area or not living in rent-regulated homes are less well understood. Research provides mixed evidence of how rent control affects overall housing supply, rent levels in uncontrolled homes, and housing quality. There is little evidence that rent control increases economic or racial integration or reduces homelessness.

**Housing Supply**

Conventional wisdom holds that rent control will diminish the supply of available rental homes, by discouraging new construction and encouraging landlords to pull homes out of the market, but the empirical evidence is mixed. Several studies have found that rent regulation does not dampen new construction, though that likely depends on how much the policy restricts increases and how long new construction is exempted from regulation. Rent regulation can increase the likelihood that owners convert rental homes to condos or redevelop them for other purposes. What effect rent regulation has on housing supply may well depend on related regulations, like whether landlords are prevented from taking homes off the market or are guaranteed a certain rate of return.

**Rent Levels in Unregulated Homes**

If rent regulation limits housing supply, then it might raise rents in unregulated homes, but the empirical evidence is also mixed on this point. Some studies show rising housing costs for uncontrolled homes in cities with rent regulations, while other research has found no impact or even a decrease in the rents of nearby uncontrolled rental homes. Given the uncertainty, it may be best to consider this an unresolved worry about the side effects of rent regulation—low-income renters who do not secure a regulated home may have to spend more on rent than they would in a city without regulation. Of course, the design of rent regulation affects the size of the unregulated market.

**Housing Quality**

It is unclear what effect rent control has on housing quality. Some economists argue that regulation discourages landlords from investing in their buildings. While some research has found a modest decline in the quality of regulated buildings, which could point to decreased investment, others argue that factors like the state of economy matter more, and a study of rent control in the District of Columbia found that unregulated homes had more maintenance issues. Rent regulation policies may indirectly regulate housing quality, when approval of rent increases is tied to proper maintenance and code enforcement.

**Other Effects**

No consistent relationship has been observed between rent regulation and rates of homelessness. Likewise, existing research does not find any consistent effect on rates of overcrowding. While some proponents of rent regulation tout mixed-income neighborhoods as a goal of rent control policies, there is little evidence that rent control consistently increases economic integration in the long term. However, to the extent that rent regulation slows displacement, it could allow lower-income renters to stay in a neighborhood longer. Finally, there is mixed evidence whether people of color access rent-controlled homes in proportion to their share of the population. While people of color were found to be overrepresented in regulated homes in New Jersey, they were underrepresented in Boston.

Proponents readily admit that rent regulation needs to be paired with other measures to create more affordable housing, since it does not increase the supply, benefit all lower-income renters, or ensure economic and racial integration. One common argument for rent regulation is that it is fast, scalable, and cheap, since it does not require a direct subsidy. It may allow many lower-income renters to remain in
place in cities with rising housing prices. There are still opportunity costs involved, however, since rent regulation requires administrative oversight and enforcement, and lower rents can affect property values and tax revenue that could be used for other purposes. Given the uncertainties about how rent regulation affects housing supply, unregulated rent levels, and housing quality, any rent regulation policy needs to be carefully designed and paired with supplementary regulation to protect low-income renters.

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