

"(b) Pools.—The Director shall prohibit the enterprises from purchasing or securitizing any interest in a pool that contains a mortgage described in subsection (a).

"(c) Effective date.—The prohibitions of this section shall be effective March 1, 2027."

(b) Ginnie Mae.—Section 302(c) of the National Housing Act ([12 U.S.C. 1717\(c\)](#)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

"(6) The Association may not newly guarantee any trust certificate or other security based or backed by any mortgage under which the borrower or mortgagor is a covered institutional investor (as defined in section 411 of the POPULIST Act), nor may the Association purchase or acquire any such mortgage, whether secured by a single-family residential property (as defined in section 411 of the POPULIST Act) or by a manufactured-home community or park; and

"(7) The prohibitions of paragraph (6) shall be effective March 1, 2027."

(c) Interim final rules and final regulations.—

(1) Interim final rules.—Not later than March 1, 2027, the Federal Housing Finance Agency and the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development shall issue interim final rules to implement this section. The interim final rules shall take effect upon publication in the Federal Register, shall have the force and effect of law, and may be issued without regard to [section 553](#) of title 5, United States Code.

(2) Public comment; final rules.—The Federal Housing Finance Agency and the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development shall provide a public comment period of not less than 60 days after publication of the interim final rules and shall issue final rules not later than September 30, 2027.

(3) No delay in statutory protection.—A delay in issuance or finalization of rules under this subsection shall not delay, limit, extinguish, or reduce any prohibition, duty, restriction, or enforcement authority established by this section.

SEC. 418. RULE OF CONSTRUCTION RELATING TO ROAD PROVISIONS.

Notwithstanding section 1001 of the 21st Century ROAD to Housing Act ([Public Law 119–101](#)) or any amendment made by that section, this subtitle and the amendments made by this subtitle shall apply independently of, and without limitation by, such section 1001. No threshold, exception, safe harbor, exemption, limitation, rule of construction, sunset, or implementation authority established under such section 1001 may be construed to limit, delay, preempt, cause the sunset of, or reduce any prohibition, tax consequence, reporting obligation, filing obligation, penalty, remedy, or enforcement authority established under this subtitle.

Subtitle B—Public Housing Protection and Revitalization

SEC. 421. FINDINGS.

Congress finds the following:

(1) The public housing stock of the United States, authorized under section 9 of the United States Housing Act of 1937, is a critical national resource that provides stable, deeply affordable housing to more than 1,000,000 households.

(2) For decades, Congress has failed to provide sufficient capital and operating assistance to maintain section 9 housing in a safe, sanitary, and habitable condition, resulting in a national capital-needs backlog exceeding tens of billions of dollars and widespread health and safety hazards including mold, lead, asbestos, failing heating and cooling systems, and structural deterioration.

(3) The Faircloth Amendment has prevented the construction of any net-new public housing units since 1999, even as the national population has grown and the shortage of deeply affordable housing has worsened, leaving millions of households cost-burdened or at risk of homelessness.

(4) The Rental Assistance Demonstration program and other privatization tools, including section 18 demolition and disposition authorities, have resulted in the permanent removal of section 9 units, displacement of tenants, diminished democratic control, and the transfer of public assets into private hands.

(5) A comprehensive national strategy to restore, expand, and modernize public housing is necessary to guarantee safe, healthy, climate-resilient, permanently affordable homes for all current and future residents.

(6) Investment in public housing creates high-quality jobs, stabilizes neighborhoods, reduces environmental harms, improves public health outcomes, and strengthens social trust by ensuring that all residents, regardless of income, have access to secure and dignified housing.

(7) Congress therefore declares that it is the policy of the United States to rehabilitate existing public housing, to construct new public housing at scale, to prevent displacement of current residents, to ensure tenant participation in planning and oversight, to provide a tenant return guarantee following redevelopment, and to maintain public ownership and permanent affordability of all housing units developed or modernized under this subtitle.

SEC. 422. DEFINITIONS.

(a) For purposes of this subtitle:

(1) Capital needs backlog.—The term "capital needs backlog" means the total estimated cost of repairing, modernizing, or rehabilitating existing public housing units to meet applicable health, safety, accessibility, energy-efficiency, and structural standards.

(2) Conversion.—The term "conversion" means any action that transfers a public housing unit or development from assistance under section 9 of the United States Housing Act of 1937 to assistance under section 8 of such Act or to any other form of private or mixed-finance ownership or management, including through the Rental Assistance Demonstration program or demolition or disposition under section 18 of such Act.

(3) Displacement.—The term "displacement" means any action requiring a household to vacate a public housing unit as a result of rehabilitation, redevelopment, demolition, or

disposition, except when such action is necessary for the immediate protection of life, health, or safety.

(4) Modernization.—The term "modernization" means improvements to existing public housing units or developments necessary to remedy health or safety hazards, enhance accessibility, increase energy efficiency, improve climate resilience, or extend the useful life of the property.

(5) New public housing unit.—The term "new public housing unit" means a dwelling unit constructed, acquired, or substantially rehabilitated under authority provided in this subtitle and owned and operated as public housing under section 9 of the United States Housing Act of 1937 permanently.

(6) Operating assistance.—The term "operating assistance" means assistance provided to public housing agencies to support the ongoing operation, management, maintenance, utilities, and services of public housing units, as described in section 9(e) of the United States Housing Act of 1937.

(7) Public housing.—The term "public housing" has the meaning given such term in section 3(b) of the United States Housing Act of 1937.

(8) Public housing agency.—The term "public housing agency" has the meaning given such term in section 3(b) of the United States Housing Act of 1937.

(9) Redevelopment.—The term "redevelopment" means the demolition, reconstruction, substantial rehabilitation, or reconfiguration of public housing units or developments, whether undertaken in whole or in part.

(10) Tenant return guarantee.—The term "tenant return guarantee" means the enforceable guarantee that any household displaced from a public housing unit due to redevelopment, modernization, rehabilitation, repair, replacement, or other work under this subtitle may return, upon completion of such work, to a public housing unit of comparable size and affordability in the same development or in the applicable jurisdiction.

(11) Secretary.—The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

(12) Section 18 action.—The term "section 18 action" means any demolition or disposition of public housing authorized under section 18 of the United States Housing Act of 1937.

(13) Tenant.—The term "tenant" means any household residing in public housing, including households temporarily displaced for purposes of redevelopment, modernization, rehabilitation, repair, replacement, or other work under this subtitle.

SEC. 423. MORATORIUM AND STUDY.

(a) Moratorium.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no public housing agency, and no officer, employee, contractor, or agent acting on its behalf, may initiate, apply for, enter into, execute, or carry out any conversion, section 18 action, demolition, disposition, or transfer of assistance with respect to any public housing unit or development prior to January 1, 2029.

(b) Prohibited actions.—Actions prohibited under subsection (a) include any of the following:

(1) Submission or approval of any application under the Rental Assistance Demonstration program.

(2) Execution of any contract, agreement, or memorandum of understanding providing for conversion to assistance under section 8 of the United States Housing Act of 1937.

(3) Any demolition, disposition, or transfer of assistance under section 18 of such Act.

(4) Any conveyance, ground lease, or change in ownership or control that would remove a unit from assistance under section 9.

(c) Application to ROAD amendments.—During the moratorium period described in subsection (a), section 212 of the 21st Century ROAD to Housing Act ([Public Law 119–101](#)), and any amendment made by that section, shall not authorize the Secretary, a public housing agency, or any owner, contractor, developer, lender, or other party to initiate, apply for, enter into, execute, carry out, or cause to take effect any conversion, section 18 action, demolition, disposition, or transfer of assistance prohibited under this section. No property right, owner right, contract right, approval, financing expectation, or administrative authority preserved or recognized under such section 212 may be construed to override, limit, delay, or narrow the moratorium established under this section.

(d) Limited exception for emergency conditions.—The Secretary may authorize a temporary relocation of residents and related repairs if the Secretary determines that such action is necessary for the immediate protection of life, health, or safety. If the Secretary determines in writing, based on an independent engineering assessment, that repair of a building presenting an imminent threat to life, health, or safety is physically infeasible, the Secretary may authorize demolition and replacement of the building. Any demolition and replacement authorized under this subsection shall comply with the tenant relocation, return, and one-for-one replacement requirements of section 425. Any action authorized under this subsection shall not result in permanent displacement, a net reduction in public housing units, or permanent removal of the affected housing or replacement housing from assistance under section 9.

(e) Effect on existing agreements.—No agreement, contract, or approval previously issued that would otherwise permit an action prohibited under subsection (a) may take effect during the moratorium period unless the Secretary determines that such action is strictly necessary to address an imminent threat to life, health, or safety under subsection (d).

(f) Enforcement.—Any violation of this section shall be subject to the enforcement authorities of the Secretary, including the suspension or withholding of assistance, imposition of corrective action plans, and any additional remedies authorized under the United States Housing Act of 1937.

(g) Rulemaking.—Not later than March 1, 2027, the Secretary shall issue regulations to implement this section.

SEC. 424. OVERSIGHT, ACCOUNTABILITY, AND IMPACT STUDY.

(a) Strengthened oversight.—The Secretary shall conduct enhanced oversight of public housing agencies to ensure compliance with the United States Housing Act of 1937, the

regulations of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and the requirements of this subtitle. Such oversight shall include the following:

(1) Comprehensive inspections of public housing developments at intervals not to exceed 3 years, with priority for developments with known health or safety deficiencies.

(2) Public reporting of inspection results, capital-needs assessments, and corrective action timelines in a manner readily accessible to tenants and the public.

(3) Authority for the Secretary to impose corrective action plans, with mandatory deadlines, for any public housing agency that fails to remedy health, safety, or structural deficiencies.

(4) Authority for the Secretary to assume temporary or long-term administrative receivership of any public housing agency that demonstrates persistent noncompliance, severe mismanagement, or chronic habitability failures.

(5) Whistleblower protections for employees and tenants who report fraud, waste, mismanagement, or violations of housing standards.

(b) Transparency requirements.—Each public housing agency shall:

(1) Make publicly available on its website all policies, redevelopment plans, inspections, budgets, contracts, de-identified waiting list information and aggregate waiting time data, tenant selection criteria, grievance procedures, and capital improvement schedules. Nothing in this paragraph shall require public disclosure of personally identifiable information or other information protected from disclosure by law.

(2) Provide paper access to such information upon request for any tenant lacking internet access.

(3) Hold at least 2 public meetings annually for tenants of each public housing development, with advance notice of not less than 30 days.

(c) National impact study.—The Secretary shall conduct a nationwide study evaluating the impacts of conversion, section 18 action, demolition, and disposition of public housing since the 2012 implementation of the Rental Assistance Demonstration program. The study shall include an analysis of:

(1) Net change in the number of public housing units, by State and by public housing agency.

(2) Rates, causes, and duration of tenant displacement.

(3) Changes in affordability, rent burden, and tenant protections following conversion.

(4) Effects on accessibility, environmental safety, energy efficiency, and building conditions.

(5) Impacts on long-term public ownership, democratic oversight, and resident participation.

(6) Financial and operational consequences for public housing agencies, including long-term debt obligations.

(d) Consultation.—In conducting the study under subsection (c), the Secretary shall consult with tenants, resident councils, public housing agencies, State and local housing officials, fair housing organizations, organizations with expertise in accessibility and anti-displacement, tenant protection organizations, and academic researchers.

(e) Report to Congress.—Not later than October 30, 2027, the Secretary shall submit to Congress a report containing the results of the study required under this section, together with recommendations for legislative and administrative action.

(f) Public availability.—The Secretary shall make the report required under subsection (e) publicly available on the website of the Department of Housing and Urban Development in an accessible format not later than 10 days after submission to Congress.

SEC. 425. TENANT PARTICIPATION AND PROTECTIONS.

(a) Tenant participation requirements.—Each public housing agency shall ensure meaningful tenant participation in all planning, redevelopment, modernization, and policy processes affecting public housing. Such participation shall include:

(1) Tenant advisory boards for each public housing development, elected solely by residents, with authority to review and comment on budgets, redevelopment plans, and proposed policies.

(2) Advance notice of not less than 60 days for any proposed redevelopment, modernization, or major capital project affecting tenants.

(3) The ability of tenants to meet at reasonable times and locations, without interference, for purposes related to housing conditions or redevelopment.

(4) Access to all relevant documents, plans, and environmental or habitability reports.

(b) Tenant approval for redevelopment.—No redevelopment, modernization, or reconfiguration of a public housing development may proceed unless:

(1) A tenant meeting is held with at least 30 days' notice; and

(2) A majority of households residing in the affected development vote to approve the proposed redevelopment plan.

(3) Mandatory work.—This subsection shall not apply to repair, maintenance, modernization, or reconfiguration that the Secretary determines, under standards prescribed by rule, is necessary to—

(A) remedy an imminent threat to life, health, or safety;

(B) comply with an applicable building, fire, health, safety, or accessibility requirement;
or

(C) restore a failed essential building system.

(4) Continuing protections.—To the greatest extent practicable, a public housing agency carrying out work under paragraph (3) shall provide advance notice and consultation to affected

tenants. Subsections (c) and (d) shall apply to any temporary relocation required to carry out such work.

(c) Anti-displacement protections.—No tenant shall be permanently displaced as a result of redevelopment, modernization, rehabilitation, repair, replacement, or other work under this subtitle. Any temporary relocation shall:

(1) Provide comparable housing at comparable rent, with moving expenses covered by the public housing agency;

(2) Not exceed the minimum time necessary to complete construction or rehabilitation; and

(3) Preserve the household's tenant return guarantee under subsection (d).

(d) Tenant return guarantee.—Each tenant temporarily relocated due to redevelopment, modernization, rehabilitation, repair, replacement, or other work under this subtitle shall have an enforceable guarantee of return to a public housing unit of comparable size and affordability in the same development or, if unavailable, within the same jurisdiction. The tenant return guarantee may not be denied based on income, credit history, prior arrears, or screening criteria other than those necessary for safety.

(e) One-for-one replacement.—Any redevelopment or modernization undertaken under this subtitle shall provide for the one-for-one replacement of every public housing dwelling unit demolished, disposed, or converted, with units of equal or greater bedroom count, accessibility, and long-term affordability.

(f) Nondiscrimination.—No tenant shall be denied housing, displaced, or subjected to different terms or conditions of occupancy on the basis of race, color, national origin, sex, gender identity, sexual orientation, familial status, disability, immigration status, religion, or prior criminal legal system involvement, except to the extent required by Federal law.

(g) Tenant rent reporting program.—

(1) Establishment.—The Secretary shall establish a voluntary tenant rent reporting program under which public housing agencies shall offer tenants the option to have on-time rental payments reported to consumer credit reporting agencies.

(2) Protections.—Negative reporting may not be made for nonpayment attributable to habitability deficiencies, administrative errors, or delays caused by the public housing agency. No tenant shall be penalized for declining to participate.

(3) Requirements for reporting agencies.—Any consumer credit reporting agency shall accept rent-payment data submitted under this subsection.

(4) Privacy.—The Secretary shall issue regulations to ensure the confidentiality, security, and appropriate use of tenant information.

(5) Enforcement against consumer reporting agencies.—A violation of paragraph (3) by a consumer reporting agency shall be treated as a violation of the Fair Credit Reporting Act ([15 U.S.C. 1681 et seq.](#)) for purposes of administrative enforcement under section 621 of that Act ([15 U.S.C. 1681s](#)).

(h) Enforcement.—The Secretary may impose corrective action plans, civil monetary penalties, or other remedies authorized under the United States Housing Act of 1937 for any public housing agency that fails to comply with the requirements of this section.

SEC. 426. REHABILITATION AND MODERNIZATION PROGRAM.

(a) Repeal of Faircloth limitation.—Section 9(g)(3) of the United States Housing Act of 1937 ([42 U.S.C. 1437g\(g\)\(3\)](#)) is repealed, and any limitation on the construction or acquisition of public housing dwelling units based on the number of public housing units owned, assisted, or operated as of October 1, 1999, shall have no force or effect.

(b) Establishment.—The Secretary shall carry out a program to provide grants to public housing agencies for the rehabilitation, modernization, and long-term sustainability and resilience of public housing developments to ensure safe, sanitary, accessible, energy-efficient, and climate-resilient housing conditions for all tenants.

(c) Eligible activities.—Grants under this section may be used for any of the following:

(1) Remediation of environmental health hazards, including mold, lead, asbestos, radon, and other contaminants.

(2) Repair, replacement, or modernization of heating, ventilation, air conditioning, plumbing, electrical, roofing, structural, or foundation systems.

(3) Rehabilitation necessary to meet applicable building, fire, health, accessibility, or energy-efficiency standards.

(4) Modernization of building systems, including elevators, fire-safety systems, lighting, insulation, and water-conservation infrastructure.

(5) Electrification of building systems, including replacement of fossil-fuel infrastructure with electric appliances, heat pumps, heat pump water heaters, and related systems.

(6) Installation of renewable-energy technologies, including solar panels, battery storage, geothermal systems, microgrids, and other distributed-energy systems.

(7) Building-envelope improvements, including insulation, window replacement, air sealing, and weatherization.

(8) Climate-resilience upgrades, including floodproofing, stormwater management systems, wildfire hardening, seismic upgrades, and stormproofing.

(9) Replacement of obsolete buildings or components where rehabilitation is infeasible or more costly than replacement.

(10) Temporary relocation of tenants necessary to complete rehabilitation, with full protection of the tenant return guarantee under section 425.

(d) Priority.—In awarding grants, the Secretary shall give priority to public housing developments that:

(1) face documented health or safety hazards;

- (2) are at risk of loss due to deterioration or obsolescence;
- (3) serve predominantly extremely low-income households; or
- (4) are located in communities disproportionately affected by pollution, environmental burdens, or climate-related risks.

(e) Public ownership requirement.—Any public housing development receiving assistance under this section shall remain publicly owned and assisted under section 9 of the United States Housing Act of 1937 permanently. A dwelling unit may be demolished or replaced only in accordance with section 425, and each replacement unit shall remain publicly owned and assisted under section 9 permanently.

(f) Tenant protections.—All activities under this section shall be carried out in compliance with the tenant protections and participation requirements of section 425, including the tenant return guarantee, relocation protections, and democratic participation guarantees.

(g) Workforce standards.—All laborers and mechanics employed in carrying out activities under this section shall be paid wages at rates not less than those prevailing on similar work in the locality, as determined by the Secretary of Labor pursuant to the Davis-Bacon Act.

(h) Enforcement.—The Secretary may require corrective action, recapture funds, impose civil monetary penalties, suspend or terminate participation in this program, or take other enforcement actions necessary to ensure compliance with this section.

SEC. 427. PUBLIC HOUSING CONSTRUCTION AND EXPANSION PROGRAM.

(a) Establishment.—The Secretary shall carry out a program to provide grants to public housing agencies for the construction, acquisition, and substantial rehabilitation of new public housing developments and new public housing units, in order to expand the national supply of permanently affordable, deeply subsidized housing.

(b) Public ownership and affordability.—Housing developed under this section shall—

- (1) be owned and operated by a public housing agency;
- (2) remain public housing permanently; and
- (3) be permanently affordable to households at rents not exceeding 30 percent of adjusted income.

(c) Eligible activities.—Grants under this section may be used for—

- (1) construction of new public housing developments;
- (2) acquisition of existing buildings for conversion into public housing;
- (3) substantial rehabilitation of vacant or underutilized structures for use as public housing;
- (4) land acquisition, site preparation, utilities, and infrastructure improvements;
- (5) planning, design, engineering, environmental reviews, and other predevelopment activities; and

(6) soft costs necessary to carry out development activities.

(d) Tenant and community participation.—Before submitting any application under this section, a public housing agency shall—

(1) conduct at least 1 public meeting regarding the proposed development;

(2) provide written notice and meaningful consultation with tenants and affected community stakeholders; and

(3) certify compliance with the tenant participation requirements of section 425 to the extent applicable to an existing occupied development affected by the proposed project.

(e) Standards.—The Secretary shall require that housing developed under this section meet the following requirements:

(1) energy-efficiency and environmental-performance standards;

(2) accessibility standards under the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990; and

(3) hazard-mitigation and climate-resilience standards established by the Secretary.

(f) Prohibition on privatization.—No housing developed under this section may be disposed, converted, transferred, or permanently removed from assistance under section 9 of the United States Housing Act of 1937. A dwelling unit may be demolished or replaced only in accordance with section 425, and each replacement unit shall remain publicly owned and assisted under section 9 permanently.

(g) Enforcement.—The Secretary may require corrective action, recapture funds, impose civil monetary penalties, or take other actions necessary to ensure compliance with this section.

SEC. 428. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.

(a) Rehabilitation funding.—There are authorized to be appropriated \$25,000,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2027 through 2030 to carry out section 426, to remain available until expended.

(b) Construction and expansion funding.—There are authorized to be appropriated \$15,000,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2027 through 2030 to carry out section 427, to remain available until expended.

(c) Administrative costs.—Of the amounts made available under this section, the Secretary may use not more than 3 percent for administrative expenses, technical assistance, data collection, and program oversight.

Subtitle C—Housing Supply and Preservation

SEC. 431. MORE HOUSING NEAR TRANSIT.

(a) [Section 5309 of title 49](#), United States Code, is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)—