

The Right to Counsel for Evictions: Justifications and Growth of the Movement

By John Pollock Coordinator, Nat'l Coalition for a Civil Right to Counsel 11/21/19

















Is Tenants' Right to Counsel On Its Way to **Becoming Standard Practice?**









MOST POPULAR

A Tale of Two Community Reinvestment Act Proposals

Right to counsel in eviction cases: reasons behind the movement

- Difference that counsel makes in outcomes
- Addressing widespread imbalance of power
- Tenant empowerment
- Increasing judicial system buy-in
- Avoiding collateral consequences: fiscal and moral implications

Downstream consequences of eviction

- What <u>isn't</u> a consequence?
- Extended / cyclical consequences:
 - Homelessness → arrest/jail/criminal record, emergency hospital use, loss of belongings, death
 - Child custody loss → mental health
 - School disruption / educational development → future employment, mental health, multiple moves
 - Employment loss → further eviction risks, mental/physical health
 - Health effects (physical, mental) → effects on school, child custody, employment
 - Neighborhood effects: vacancies → crime, loss of unified community
- State/county/city revenue loss from these consequences

National eviction cost projection

The total cost of eviction for The United States is \$315,528,616,180. This includes the following costs:

- Cost of providing emergency shelter = \$134,761,200,000
- Cost of providing inpatient medical care = \$74,604,131,700
- Cost of providing emergency room care = \$47,883,673,600
- Cost of providing child welfare services = \$4,781,784,960
- Cost of juvenile delinquency = \$53,497,825,920

We calculated this based on the following data you entered:

| # Evictions | 28,000,000 households | | | | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|---|-----------------------------|--|--|
| Household size | 2.63 persons per household (HH) | | | | | |
| Shelter costs | % needing shelter 25% | Cost of one stay \$40 | # of days stayed per year 183 | | | |
| Inpatient Medical Costs | Usage rate 23% | Cost of one visit \$2,517 | # of visits per year 7 | | | |
| Emergency Room Costs | Usage rate 32% | Cost of one visit \$2,032 | # of visits per year | | | |
| Child Welfare Costs | Total spent \$29,886,155,998 | % locality pays | % caused by "inadequate housing" 16% | | | |
| Child Delinquency Costs | % HH w/children 48% | # of children 1.86 | % committing | Cost of one act \$19,455 | | |

Source: University of Arizona Cost of Eviction Calculator (relying on data from Amherst Capital)

Specific consequences of eviction during COVID-19

CDC moratorium recognition of eviction ← → Covid connection

- Evicted tenants double up, and household contacts create 6x risk of infection than other types of contacts
- Housing stability protects public health because homelessness increases shelter use and shelters have harder time controlling disease with increased populations (outbreaks have happened in shelters)
- Unsheltered homelessness increases exposure due to increased difficulty of maintaining sanitary practices and overall worsened health (comorbidities)

Evictions leading to mortality

Bloomberg CityLab

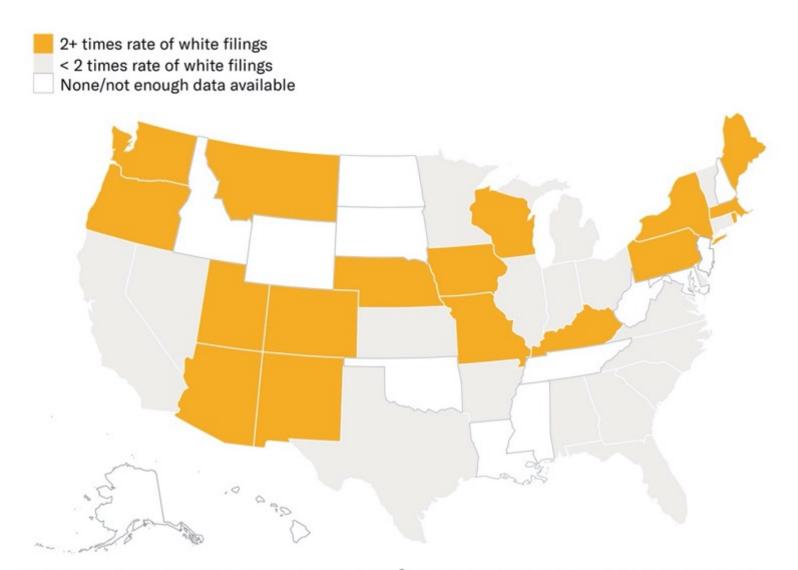
Working with scientists at Penn, Harvard University, and the University of Illinois Urbana-Champagne, Levy produced a model for estimating the impact of evictions on the spread of the pandemic. The model shows that a low eviction rate (0.25% per month) results in about 1.5% more of the population contracting Covid-19 by the end of the year, compared to a zero-eviction rate. That works out to around 15,000 excess cases and 150 additional deaths. A higher eviction rate (1%) would mean a 5-10% higher rate of Covid-19 – about 1 death for every 60 evictions. "Those deaths aren't all occurring among the evicted households, nor are the cases," Levy said. "It spreads."

Legal complexities during eviction moratoria that increase need for tenant representation

- Mess of federal, state, and local moratoria that constantly change or unclear, and that are issued by gov's or courts or both
- Federal and state moratoria are complex: some stop filings, some allow filings but not hearings, some allow hearings but not executions, etc.
- Some moratoria require proof of "COVID-19 connection" (will be true of some post-moratoria laws too)
- Problems with both in-person and remote hearings

Race and civil cases: who historically has been disproportionately affected by lack of counsel?

BLACK FEMALE RENTERS WERE FILED AGAINST FOR EVICTION AT DOUBLE THE RATE OF WHITE RENTERS OR HIGHER IN 17 OF 36 STATES



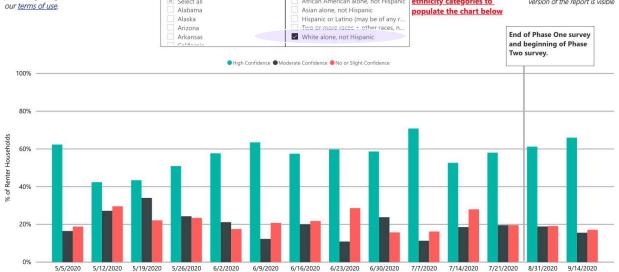
Data source: The Eviction Lab. Counties without data² were excluded from the analysis. States where all counties were excluded or where the sum of all counties' Black populations were less than 1%, are shown in white with a grey border. Five states: Delaware, Georgia, South Carolina, and Vermont filed white tenants for eviction at slightly higher rates than Black women. Ratios were rounded to the nearest tenth.

Chart 3 of 13: Tenant Confidence Level in Ability to Pay Next Month's Rent by Ethnicity **STOUT Report Filters Below** Please press CTRL + F5 to clear browser cache to By accessing this site, Ethnicity Categories State Please select one or multiple ensure the most current you are agreeing to Select all African American alone, not Hispanic ethnicity categories to version of the report is visible our terms of use. Alabama Asian alone, not Hispanic populate the chart below Alaska Hispanic or Latino (may be of any r.. Arizona Two or more races + other races, n... **End of Phase One survey** Arkansas White alone, not Hispanic and beginning of Phase Two survey. ● High Confidence ● Moderate Confidence ● No or Slight Confidence 100%

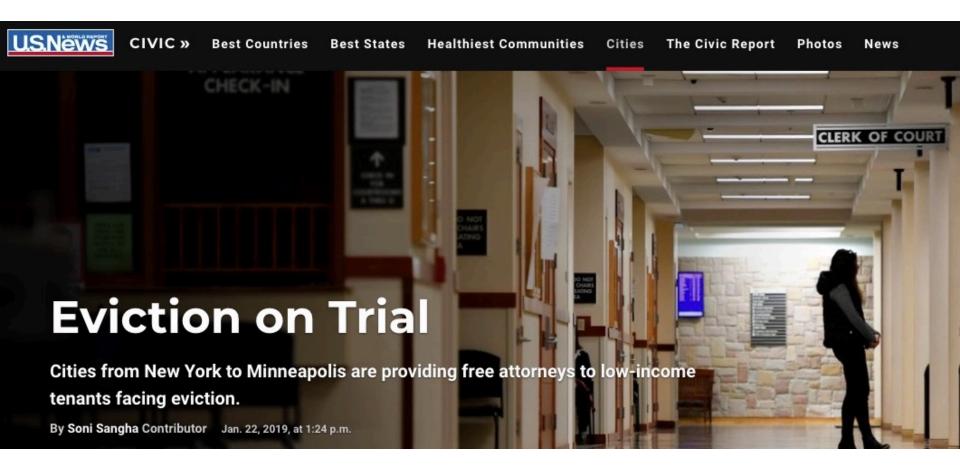
20% 5/5/2020 5/12/2020 5/19/2020 5/26/2020 6/9/2020 6/16/2020 6/23/2020 7/7/2020 7/14/2020 7/21/2020 8/31/2020 9/14/2020

60%

Chart 3 of 13: Tenant Confidence Level in Ability to Pay Next Month's Rent by Ethnicity **STOUT Report Filters Below** Please press CTRL + F5 to clear browser cache to By accessing this site, State Ethnicity Categories Please select one or multiple ensure the most current you are agreeing to Select all African American alone, not Hispanic ethnicity categories to version of the report is visible our terms of use. Alabama Asian alone, not Hispanic populate the chart below



Status of the movement



Growth of the movement

Enacted: NYC (2017), San Francisco (2018), Newark NJ (2018), Cleveland (2019), Philadelphia (2019), Boulder (2020, Baltimore (2020)

Pending:

- <u>Federal</u>: 2019-2020 bills by Reps. Clyburn/Price, DeLauro, and Pressley, and Sen. Merkeley
- <u>States</u>: Delaware (expected) Indiana, Maryland, Minnesota (expected), Nebraska, New York State (expected), South Carolina, Washington State
- <u>Cities</u>: Denver, Los Angeles (possible), Seattle (expected)

Comparison of enacted RTC laws

| City | Eligibility requirements | Scope | Accomplished by | Funding source | Implementation Plan |
|--|---|---|-------------------|--|---|
| NYC (2017) | 200% of FPL (RTC 2.0: 400% of FPL) | Evictions in court/admin cases (RTC 2.0: subsidy terms, court appeals) | City ordinance | General revenue | 5 years (starting 2017) via Office of Civil Justice. Nonprofits only. |
| San Francisco (2018) (ballot) | no income limit or other requirements | Evictions in court and admin cases; subsidy terminations | Ballot initiative | General revenue | Mayor's Office of Housing & Community Developments. Fully implemented by 10 nonprofit providers as of July 2019 |
| Newark (2018) | 200% of FPL | Evictions in court | City ordinance | General revenue (not yet fully funded) | Office of Tenant Legal Services w/in Dept of Economic & Housing Development |
| Cleveland (2019) | 100% of FPL <u>and</u> have children | Evictions in court | City ordinance | General revenue + \$2 million from United Way for initiation | United Way leads implementation. Noprofits only. Starts in July 2020. |
| Philadelphia (2019) | 200% of FPL | Evictions in court and admin cases; subsidy terminations; appeals; some affirmative cases | City ordinance | General revenue (not yet funded) | Multi-year. Nonprofits only. Office under Mayor that oversees health/human svcs. |
| Boulder (2020) | no income limit | Evictions and appeals, and Section 8 terminations | Ballot Initiative | \$75 excise tax for all registered rental units | Coordinator overseen by Tenants Committee. No specific timeline in ballot initiative. |
| Baltimore (2020) | no income limit | Evictions + termination of housing subsidies, or any proceeding "functionally equivalent" | City ordinance | General revenue | Overseen by Commissioner of DHCD; 4 year rollout. |

NYC's eviction RTC success

 Overall, 86% of tenants who are represented by counsel are remaining in their homes.

Since 2013:

- Representation has risen from 1% to 38%;
- Evictions have dropped 41%, including 15% drop in 2019 alone;
- Eviction filings have dropped by 30%, including 20% drop in 2019 alone;
- Default judgments have dropped 34%;
- Requests by tenants to bring their cases back to the Housing Court calendar on an emergency basis in order to dispute a judgment, request additional time, or raise legal issues previously not addressed have dropped by 38%.

NYC's eviction RTC success

New York Law Iournal

NOT FOR REPRINT

← Click to print or Select 'Print' in your browser menu to print this document.

Page printed from: https://www.law.com/newyorklawjournal/2018/09/24/increasing-tenants-access-to-counsel-has-raised-court-efficiency-fairness-judges-say/

Increasing Tenants' Access to Counsel Has Raised Court Efficiency, Fairness, Judges Say

San Francisco's eviction RTC success

- Filing rate decreased by 10% from 2018 to 2019;
- For 2/3 of tenants receiving full-scope representation, 67% are able to stay in their homes;
- Despite lack of an income limit, 85% of those receiving counsel are extremely low or low income, 9% are moderate income, and 6% are just above moderate income.

Other cities/states working on and/or thinking about RTC

- Chicago
- Cincinnati
- Connecticut
- Detroit
- Fresno
- Houston
- La Crosse WI
- Los Angeles
- Nashville

- New Jersey
- Omaha
- Pennsylvania
- Pittsburgh
- Santa Monica
- Toledo
- Tulsa
- Virginia

Massachusetts data on effectiveness of eviction rep

| Comparison of Limited-Assistance Studies | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|--|--|--|--|
| | MA District Court | MA Housing Court | CA County Court | | | | |
| Retaining Possession of Unit | 66% of full rep group, compared to 33% of limited assistance group | 33% of the full rep group, compared to 36% of the limited assistance group | 55% of full rep group, compared to 18% of limited assistance group and 14% of no aid group | | | | |
| Amount of Rent Tenants Saved | Full rep group saved average of 9.4 months of rent, compared to 1.9 months for limited assistance group | Full rep group saved average of 1.8 months of rent, compared to 1.6 months for limited assistance group | In full rep group, LL paid T 55% of time, compared to 0% for limited assistance group and 2% for no aid group | | | | |
| Amount Tenants Ordered to Paid to LLs | Full rep group paid \$0 to LLs on average, compared to \$617 for limited assistance group | Full rep group paid \$903 to LLs on average, compared to \$486 for limited assistance group | Full rep group paid LLs 0% of time, compared to 71% for limited assistance group (where 51% paid more than max liability) and 61% of time for no aid group (where 55% paid more than max liability) | | | | |
| Where Possession Lost, Days to Move | Studied, but study authors could not come to a conclusion* | Full rep group given 113 days on average, compared to 82 days for limited assistance group | Full rep group given 97 days on average, compared to 54 days for limited assistance group and 47 days for no aid group | | | | |

D.C. "Expanding Access to Justice Act" (2017)

Tenants w/o counsel:

- 2x likely to be found in breach of lease;
- 3x more likely to be subjected to writ of possession;
- 7x more likely to wind up with consent judgment (less favorable than a settlement agreement)

Hennepin County, MN

- \$100,000/year in public county funds (Hennepin County), \$275,000/year in private foundation (Pohlad Family Foundation)
- Pilot found represented tenants were:
 - Twice as likely to stay in their homes;
 - Received twice as long to move if necessary;
 - Were 4x less likely to use homeless shelter.

Baltimore eviction RTC cost/benefit report: more critical than ever in light of lost city/state revenue



SECTIONS Q SEARCH

THE BALTIMORE SUN

SALE: \$1 FOR 2 MONTHS

LOG IN

Desks 6 feet apart? Elementary only? Temperatures taken at the ...



Baltimore City, surrounding counties to allow outdoor dining as coronavirus...



After 27 years, Mike Schuh out at CBS-owned WJZ-TV | COMMENTARY



Maryland reports new high in coronavirus tests completed; number of cas...



Baltimo employ investig

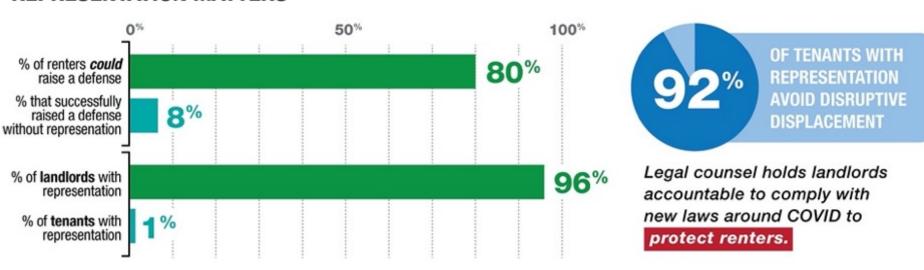
EDITORIAL OPINION

Providing lawyers to Baltimore tenants facing eviction could pay for itself **COMMENTARY**



Baltimore eviction RTC cost/benefit report

REPRESENTATION MATTERS



Potential Cost Savings

- NYC: \$320 million net savings in avoided shelter costs and retention of affordable units
- Philadelphia: \$3.5 million investment would yield \$45 million in savings from avoided shelter and health costs
- Los Angeles: expenditures of \$47.3 million by County and \$34.6 million by City would save approximately \$226.9 million and \$120.3 million, respectively, due to avoided costs related to shelter use, school changes, health care, and foster custody.
- Baltimore: \$5.7 million investment would save \$17.5 million in avoided emergency shelter, school costs, Medicaid spending, foster care

Massachusetts: cost savings study

- 45,000 evictions in 2012. Fewer than 6% of tenants represented
- Costs of homelessness: shelters, public health care system, foster care, policing, lowered earning potential for homeless youth
- For every \$1 spent, \$2.69 saved on "costs associated with the provision of other state services, such as emergency shelter, health care, foster care, and law enforcement."

Source: Boston Bar Association Statewide Task Force to Expand Civil Legal Aid in Massachusetts, *Investing in Justice: A Roadmap to Cost-Effective Funding of Civil Legal Aid in Massachusetts* (October 2014)

Questions?

John Pollock
Coordinator, NCCRC
jpollock@publicjustice.org
(410) 400-6954