



The New Single-Family Home Renters of California

**A Statewide Survey of Tenants Renting
from Wall Street Landlords**

May 2015

Contents

Executive Summary	1
Market Overview	4
Mapping Market Power	7
The Survey	11
Survey Analysis	14
Bringing it All Together	16
Policy Recommendations	18
More Questions	21
Appendix	22

Acknowledgements

Aimee Inglis: Principal Author, Member Services Coordinator, Tenants Together

Rhonda Michele Smith: Contributing Author, MPP Candidate, Goldman School of Public Policy

Contributors & Editors

Dean Preston, Esq., Executive Director, Tenants Together

Kevin Sciarani, Esq., J.D., University of California, Hastings College of the Law

Tony Romano, Organizing Director, Right to the City Alliance

Desiree Fields, Lecturer, Dept. of Geography, University of Sheffield, Right to the City Research Committee Member

Marnie Brady, PhD candidate, Sociology, The Graduate Center, City University of New York, Right to the City Research Committee Member

Leah Simon-Weisberg, Esq., Legal Director, Tenants Together

Carlos Jauregui, Community Organizer, Strategic Actions for a Just Economy

Copy Editor

Aileen Joy, Office Manager, Tenants Together

This research and report is made possible through funding from The San Francisco Foundation.



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Since 2013, there has been widespread media coverage of the emerging REO-(Real Estate Owned)-to-rental market, also known as “single-family home rental market,” and new, untested, investor revenue streams through rental securitization. Across the country, reports characterize these Wall Street investors as absentee landlords at best,¹ and casually issuing rapid eviction notices at worst.² The trend of Wall Street investors buying up single-family homes, managing them as rentals on a massive scale, and securitizing rents, is unsettling to communities still recovering from a foreclosure crisis precipitated by mortgage securitization. Communities have an understandable suspicion of the activities of Wall Street, as well as questions about their lack of experience as landlords. Property management of hundreds of thousands of single-family homes by institutional investors is a new business model that, given its scale, is giving rise to a new, untested kind of landlord-tenant relationship.

In order to deepen our understanding of how renters in California are faring under Wall Street landlords who engage in rental securitization, over the past six months Tenants Together conducted a survey of California tenants living in properties owned and managed by the state’s largest investor-landlords: Blackstone/Invitation Homes (over 5,000 homes in California), Waypoint Homes (approximately 2,500 homes), and Colony American Homes (approximately 2,000 homes). Our goal was to compare and contrast company policies and practices statewide and gain insight into what the tenant experience is like renting from Wall Street.

Many American renters are already extremely burdened when it comes to housing costs, with about 25% nationally paying more than half their monthly income toward housing. More families will suffer as major landlords like Blackstone, Colony Financial, and Waypoint increase rents.

Tenants Renting from Wall Street Pay More

The results of our survey shows that most California tenants renting from Wall Street landlords pay more in housing costs than other residents in their communities. Wall Street landlords charge higher than median rents. Many

are performing their own maintenance and repairs, with 40% of tenants reporting that they made repairs to the home themselves, and 80% reporting that they pay for yard maintenance. They also bear the burden of higher utility costs with 96% reporting they pay for water, and 50% reporting they pay for garbage costs. These tenants are taking on the responsibilities of ownership "with none of the benefits."³

Tenants in these homes should expect their housing costs to continue to rise. Wall Street landlords are not shy about their intention to continue to raise rents. In a Bloomberg article from April 21, 2015, David Singelyn, CEO of American Homes 4 Rent, the largest publicly traded single-family landlord with about 35,000 homes is quoted as saying, "In the

2015 rental season, we're really seeing the ability to move rents."⁴ Blackstone/ Invitation Homes is also quoted in this article about plans to raise rents in some of their markets. Many American renters are already extremely burdened when it comes to housing costs, with about 25% nationally paying more than half their monthly income toward housing.⁵ More families will suffer as major landlords like Blackstone, Colony Financial, and Waypoint increase rents.

Housing Market Consolidation Requires Greater Regulation

Due to the high cost of renting from Wall Street landlords and the burden on tenants to perform their own repairs, we recommend strong protections against unchecked rent increases and effective code enforcement. Tenants should not feel required to make their own repairs, and communities should be able to protect residents from rent gouging and displacement. With the new reality of Wall Street landlords owning large portfolios of single-family homes, the California Costa-Hawkins Rental Housing Act, which prohibits rent control ordinances from protecting tenants in condos and single-family homes, needs to be updated to respond to the current landscape.

About Tenants Together

Tenants Together, California's state-wide organization for renters' rights has worked since 2008 to protect and expand the rights of tenants in our state. We are a 501(c)3 non-profit organization that formed from local tenant activist communities across the state. We work to pass state and local legislation, pursue impact litigation, organize tenants into local groups and associations, and educate tenants on their rights. Shortly after our formation in 2008, the foreclosure crisis hit and this was a top issue for our education, organizing, and advocacy programs. As such, we have a history of working with tenants affected by Wall Street.

Before Wall Street Landlords: Tenant Victims of Foreclosure

In 2009 we launched a Tenant Foreclosure Hotline in response to the foreclosure crisis, which to date has impacted more than one million tenants in California.⁶ Regardless of their ability

to pay rent, most of these tenants were displaced by the banks and investment companies that bought the homes foreclosed at auction. Ironically, many of these homes were put back on the rental market for new tenants. Tenants Together had questioned the practice of emptying homes in the first place, suggesting that the least new bank and investor-landlords could do is continue to rent to existing occupants. Though California was not able to secure a just cause for eviction post-foreclosure policy statewide, as Massachusetts did,⁷ we were able to legislate a statewide minimum time period of 90 days for evictions after foreclosure. Cities like Los Angeles extended their just cause protections to single-family homes. Some cities without a general just cause protection ordinance, passed new laws that afforded just cause to tenants after foreclosure (notably Merced and Ridgecrest—in fairly conservative parts of the state—and also in Richmond). Of the three investment companies in our Wall Street landlord study, Waypoint was the most notorious violator of tenant’s rights post-foreclosure, often refusing to honor the minimum 90-day notice requirement for no-fault evictions. Given our experience counseling tenants whose new landlord was a bank or investment company, Tenants Together has a well founded skepticism toward investor-landlords’ respect for the rights of tenants.

As a result of our education, advocacy and coalition building work, additional

tenant protections after foreclosure were included as a key piece of the Homeowners Bill of Rights, championed by the Attorney General’s office and signed into law by the Governor in 2012. With the rise of the Wall Street landlord and more and more tenants rather than homeowners occupying single-family homes, new laws will be needed to protect tenants and communities against mass evictions and inflated housing costs. This report includes policy recommendations at the federal, state, and local level to help us respond to this changing landscape.

Fighting for Housing Security

As a tenants rights organization, we are concerned with issues of fair rents, displacement, fair housing, habitability, the rights of tenants to organize, and tenant representation in court. As a member of the national group Right to the City’s Homes for All campaign, our focus on these issues contributes to the broad movement for housing justice. In our evaluation of the policies and practices of the major Wall Street landlords in California, we will refer to the 5 Pillars of Housing Security, a framework proposed and under development through Right to the City Alliance.

With the rise of the Wall Street landlord and more and more tenants rather than homeowners occupying single-family homes, new laws will be needed to protect tenants and communities against mass evictions and inflated housing costs.



Many of those who are currently tenants renting single-family homes lost their homes to foreclosure.⁸ The broader implications of a transfer from an “ownership” society to a “rentership” society with few protections for tenants is also concerning to us. Instead of families benefitting from increased equity in their homes, Wall Street landlords are now seeing this benefit. These new tenants renting single-family homes are thrust into a world where

they can be evicted for no cause, and rents can be increased any amount a landlord wishes. Currently in California, single-family homes cannot be covered under rent control—thanks to state law Costa Hawkins Rental Housing Act—and only a handful of cities have a rent control ordinance. California is currently in a housing affordability crisis,⁹ and Wall Street landlords are in position to potentially compound the crisis.

MARKET OVERVIEW

Company Profiles

Blackstone/Invitation Homes is the largest single-family home landlord both nationally and statewide, with 45,000 homes nationwide.¹⁰ Through our research, we estimate that about 5,000 of these homes are in California and that about 1,200 of these California homes are in a national securitized pool. As the world’s largest private equity firm, Blackstone’s holdings eclipse that of any other firm; reporting its Total Assets Under Management were \$310 billion as of March 31, 2015. Unique among the investors we studied, they are not publically traded, and are not taxed as an REIT (Real Estate Investment Trust). Invitation Homes is the single-family home real estate arm of Blackstone.

Colony Financial/Colony American Homes is the second largest single-family home landlord in California, with 16,000 homes nationally and an estimated 2,000 homes in the state.¹¹ Through our research, we estimate 293 of these California homes are in a nationally securitized pool. Based in Los Angeles, Colony Financial is publically traded and taxed as a REIT. While their scope is also global, their reach is not nearly as wide as Blackstone. Colony Capital, LLC sponsored \$24 billion of equity in a variety of distinct funds in 2015. Colony American Homes is the name they use as a property manager.

Starwood Waypoint Residential Trust/Waypoint Homes is the third largest single-family home landlord in California with about 11,000 homes nationally and 2,500 of these homes in California. An estimated 129 of these California homes are in a nationally securitized pool. Waypoint Homes, which began as a company in Oakland, joined with Starwood Property Trust’s national efforts to acquire and manage single-family homes in 2014.¹³ While the other investors have diverse real estate portfolios, Starwood-Waypoint is unique in focusing solely on the single-family home rental market. They continue to conduct property management under the name Waypoint Homes.

Metro Area Rental Markets

California's metro areas are reaching renter-majority

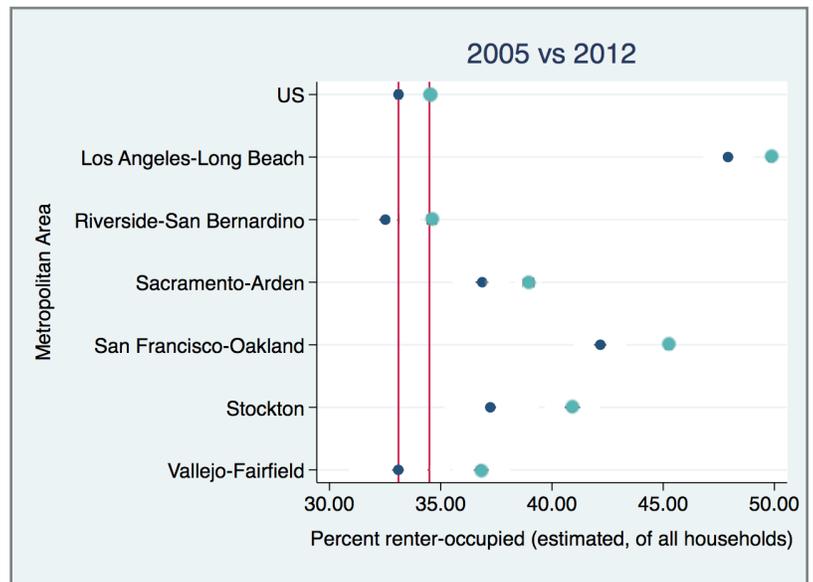
Since these investors bought up single-family homes in foreclosure, their holdings are concentrated in just a few real estate markets in California. These rental markets differ significantly from the rental market in the country as a whole, both in terms of size and costs. According to the latest American Community Survey (ACS) data in 2012 an estimated 34.46 and 34.51% of all households in the United States were renter-occupied. Of all the metropolitan areas represented in the survey, only the Riverside-San Bernardino area's estimates fell into this range with 34.4 and 34.7% of households there estimated to be renter-occupied, with the rest of the areas surveyed having a significantly higher share of households being renter-occupied. The Los Angeles-Long Beach area has the highest estimated renter occupancy percentage of the represented areas, with an estimated 49.75 to 49.85%.

These estimates also represent increasing prevalence of renter-occupied households both nationally and in the metropolitan areas covered in the survey, with the areas represented in the survey outpacing the country as a whole. In 2005, the ACS estimated that between 32.99 to 33.21% of all households in the United States were renter-occupied, making the 2012 estimates of 34.46 to 34.52% represent a 1.31 to 1.47 percent increase. For the metropolitan areas of concern, comparing the lower estimates of renter-occupancy, the 2012 estimates show increases ranging from 2.18 to 4.66%

from 2005 to 2012, and the upper estimates show increases ranging from 1.69 to 2.79%.

The chart below visually compares the ranges of ACS estimates of the prevalence of renter occupied housing in the six survey-represented metropolitan areas to those of the country as a whole in 2005 and 2012, with the blue dots representing the middle estimate.

2005 and 2012 Renter Occupancy Estimates



Also according to the ACS, renter-occupied households in the markets represented in the survey are paying more than the typical American renter. The median housing costs for renters in the United States was estimated to be between \$882 and \$886 in 2012. The most affordable area represented in the survey is Stockton, which was estimated to have median housing costs between \$958 and \$1,014 in 2012.



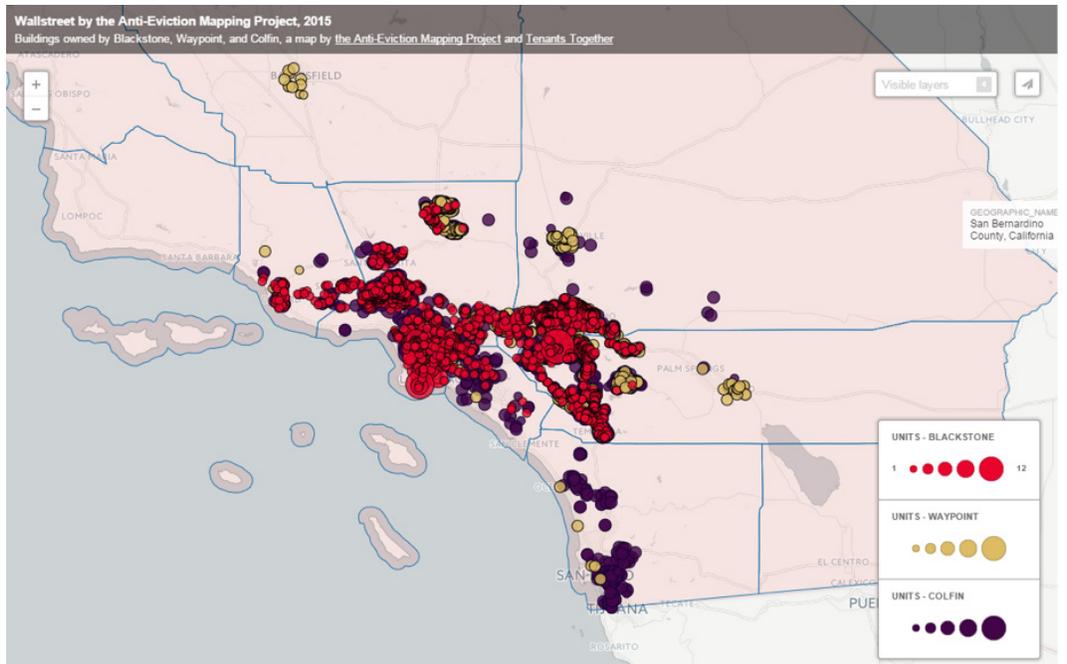
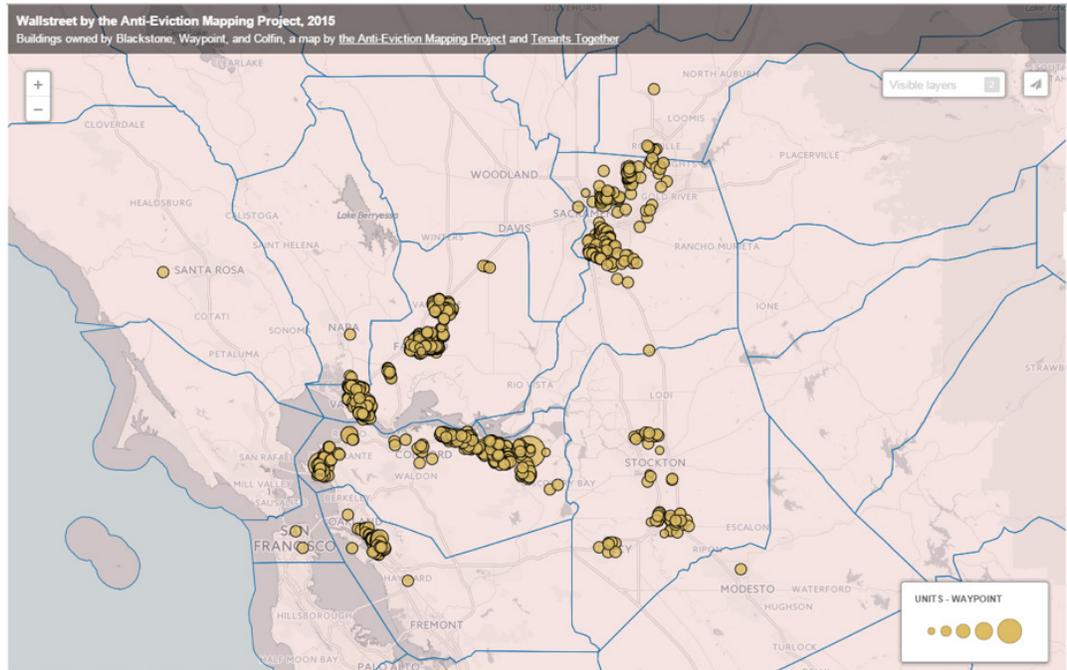
Region	Estimated Median Monthly Housing Costs, Renter Occupied Households (ACS, 2012)	Percent Above US Median
Los Angeles-Long Beach	1227 to 1239	39.12 to 39.84
Riverside-San Bernardino	1079 to 1109	22.34 to 25.17
Sacramento-Arden	1004 to 1022	13.83 to 15.35
San Francisco-Oakland	1385 to 1413	45.69 to 59.48
Stockton	958 to 1014	8.61 to 14.44
Vallejo-Fairfield	1203 to 1285	36.39 to 45.03

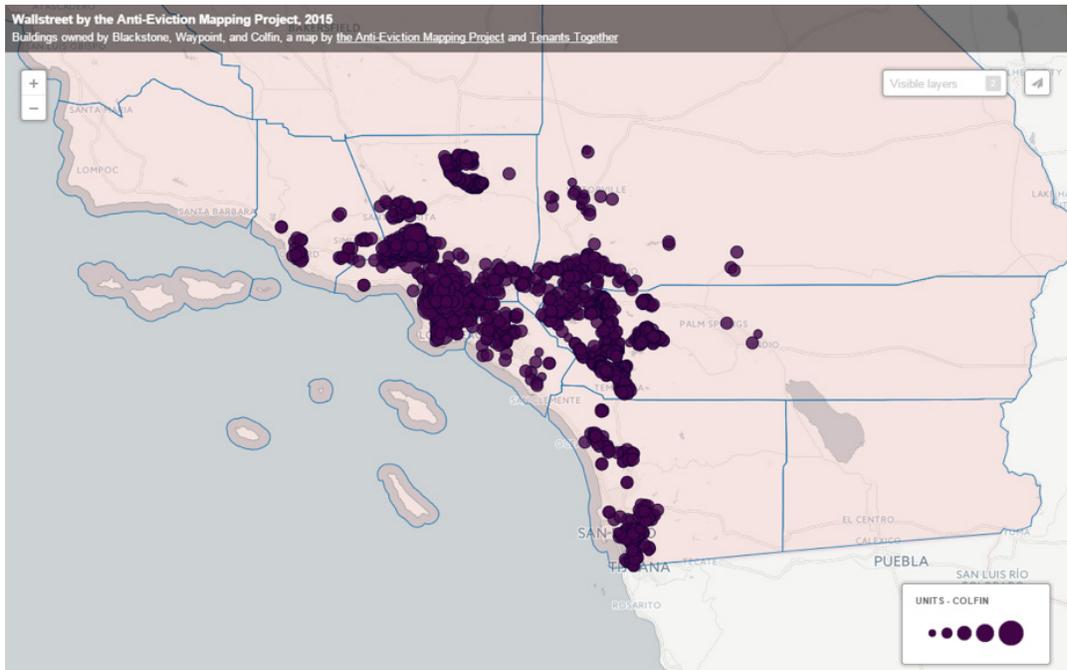
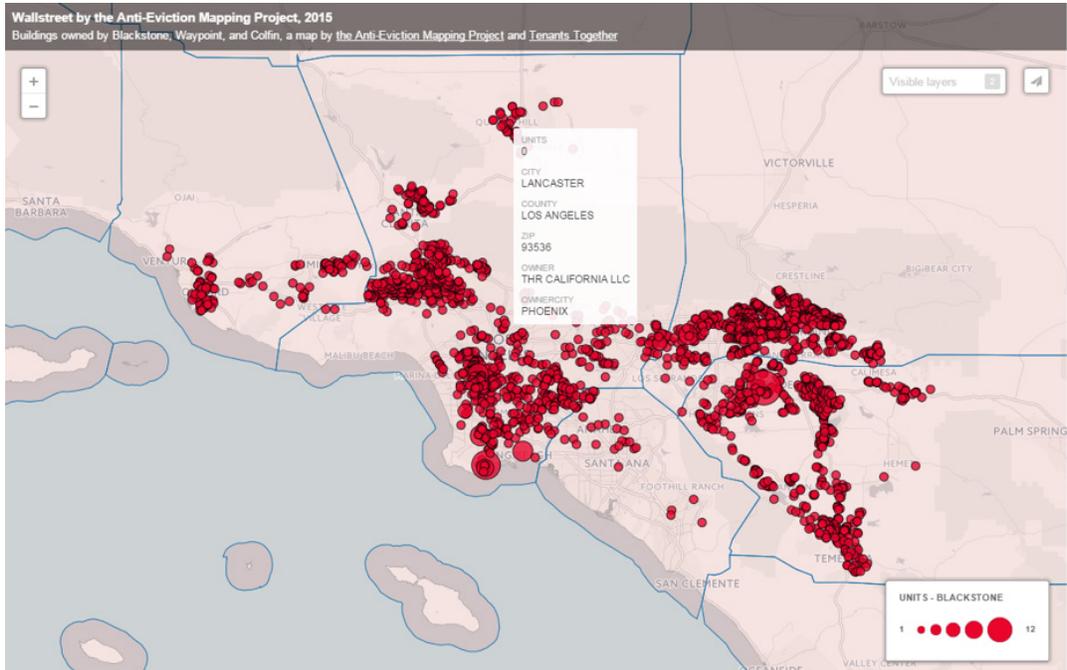
Potential Disparate Impact of Foreclosure Crisis and Single-Family Home Rental Market

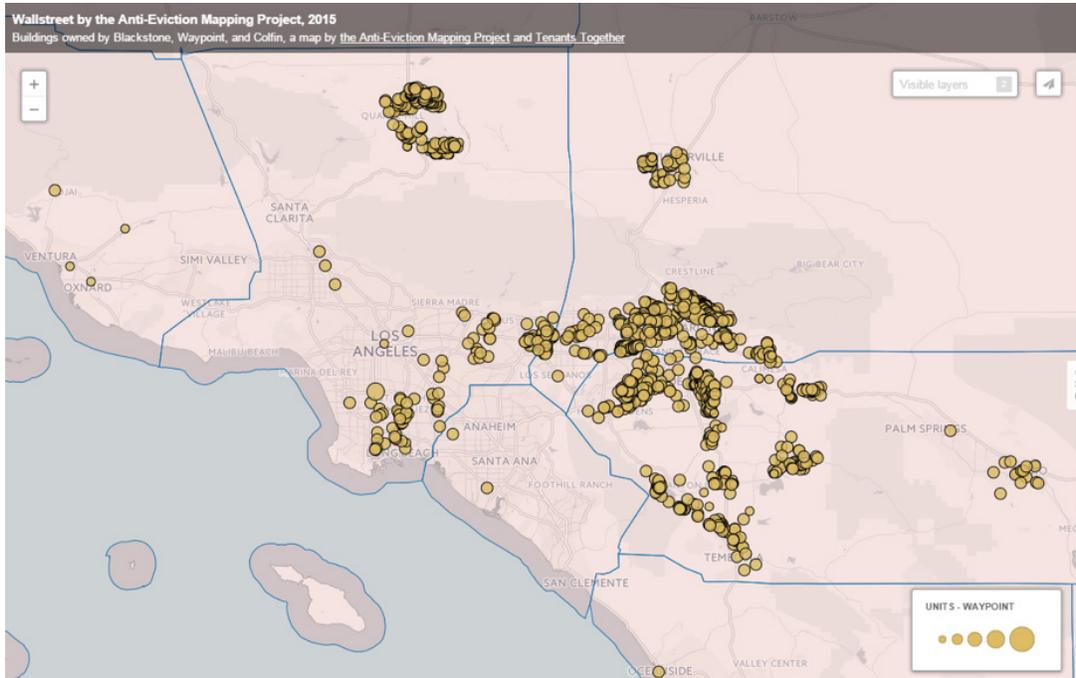
The foreclosure crisis disproportionately affected minority homeowner communities. In California the hardest hit areas were the Los Angeles/Riverside communities, Sacramento, and cities in the Eastern San Francisco Bay Area like Oakland and Antioch.¹⁴ These are the very communities Invitation Homes, Waypoint, and Colony Financial targeted to purchase homes en masse

at foreclosure auction. These former homeowners are now tenants in the same or nearby communities.

Many are migrating away from coastal cities as rents rise, from Oakland to an hour east in Concord, from Los Angeles to an hour east in Riverside. Significantly, these communities do not have just cause for eviction or rent control. In this context minority communities are vulnerable to rising rents and unprotected against arbitrary eviction.







Gambling on Rising Rent

As new major landlords, Wall Street benefits from the equity of homes lost to foreclosure. Equity that former homeowners, now renters, do not enjoy. As well, Wall Street is able to cash in further through rental securitization tools to the potential detriment of communities. In late 2013 the practice of securitizing rental streams from single-family-rental homes gained traction. Since the housing bubble burst in 2008, largely from the impact of mortgage securitization, much criticism has been levied against the practice of securitizing rental revenue. There are potential dangers to tenants where the pressure to deliver bond revenue could mean maximizing rents and minimizing repairs. There could also be dangers to the housing market as a whole. From an article by David Dayen in November 2013,

“You’ll remember that mortgage-backed securities were bestowed triple-A ratings during

the housing bubble, and that this spurred massive purchases, fueling demand for more and more home loans to create more securities. You can see the same thing happening in the rental market if these securities catch on. In fact, while the most attractive foreclosed properties have already been snapped up, homebuilders are constructing new properties specifically for single-family rentals. Some analysts are concerned that this gold rush will create a new housing bubble in the communities where Wall Street firms are purchasing homes.”¹⁵

Since 2013 securitization is more and more common practice. Even a relatively small company like Starwood-Waypoint is using securitization tools to maximize profit. Over the last year, there have been reports that some securitization bonds are underperforming.¹⁶ As recently as April 21st, 2015, American Homes 4 Rent and Invitation Homes, among other inves-

tor-landlords, reported plans to raise rents.¹⁷ Critics of rental securitization predicted this scenario that tenants would bear the brunt of pressure to deliver to investors.

Our main objective in conducting this survey was to gather data on how institutional investors and securitization of rental streams may be affecting tenants in California. At the start of our research in October 2014, we knew the three largest investor-landlords in the state were securitizing some of their properties and regularly rolling out more securitization packages. There was no clear way to find out which properties were in a securitized pool, so we were unable to control for this factor in our survey outreach. Toward

the end of this research project, we developed a methodology to determine if a home is in a securitized package (see Appendix). Further research could compare the experience of tenants living in a property that is securitized and tenants living in a property owned by the same investor-landlord that are not. Taking into account that the model of mortgage securitization hinged on making a quick profit and even betting against one's own holdings (Goldman Sachs), we can theorize that a large pool of owners may have less concern about the long-term conditions of a property or building a long-term relationship with good tenants. With additional funding and support for research, this is a theory that can be tested in the future.

OUR SURVEY

Building on the research of Right to the City Alliance and Strategic Actions for a Just Economy in the Los Angeles/Riverside communities,¹⁸ our 32 question survey was mailed to 5,700 tenants across the state. We received 72 responses (a 1.26% response rate). During the foreclosure crisis, our response rate for outreach mailers averaged 2-5%. The survey did not target tenants in crisis like our outreach to tenant victims of foreclosure, so we consider this a good response rate.

Detailed tables of results are available in the Appendix. The survey instrument Tenants Together used can be found at <https://tenantstogether.typeform.com/report/fWFWCt/rV4W>. This page lists aggregate results.

Main Research Questions:

- Are investor-landlords charging fair rents and security deposits?
- Do they give tenants a chance if they're running behind on rent? Do they charge exorbitant late fees?
- How do they measure up with industry standards for managing properties and making repairs?
- Do they comply with current fair housing laws or do any of their policies adversely impact tenants from protected classes (i.e. race/ethnicity, gender identity, sexual orientation, disability)?
- Beyond current fair housing protections, how do their policies impact more vulnerable tenants (those with Section 8 vouchers, history of eviction, criminal history)?

Who was surveyed?

Between November 2014 and March 2015, Tenants Together surveyed 72 tenants living in homes owned by Colony American Homes (25% of respondents), Waypoint Homes (36% of respondents), or Invitation Homes (39% of respondents).

Company that owns homes	Colony American	Invitation	Waypoint	Total
Count	18	28	26	72
Percent of all respondents	25%	38.89%	36.11%	100%

Survey respondents by company

- Of those surveyed, more than three-fourths were located in the Los Angeles-Long Beach or Riverside-San Bernardino metropolitan areas, with the rest coming from the Sacramento-Roseville, San Francisco-Oakland, Stockton-Lodi, or Vallejo-Fairfield areas.
- Of those surveyed, only one respondent had lived in their home for over 5 years, and three-fourth of respondents lived in their homes for two years or less.
- Households with the greatest length of tenancy (between 2 and 5 years) were generally renting from Waypoint.
- While the respondents came from a variety of household income levels, 65% of tenants who reported an income of over \$70,000 were Invitation Homes tenants.

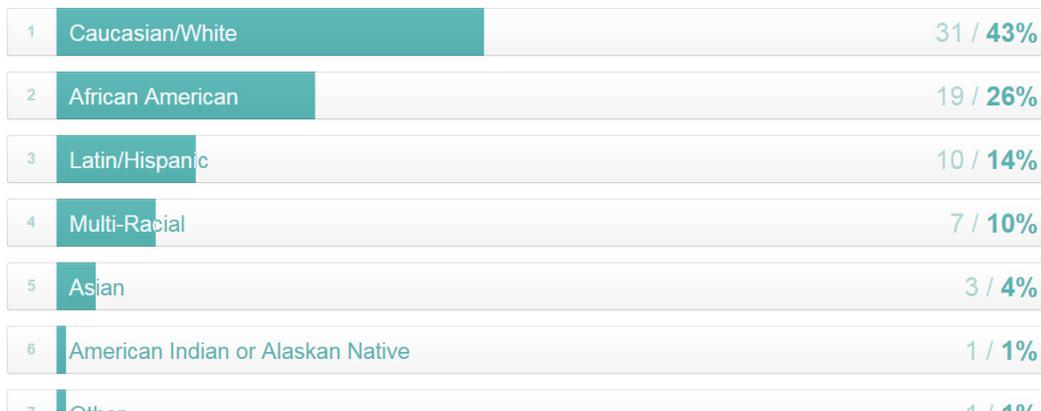
Annual Household Income Level:

72 out of 72 people answered this question



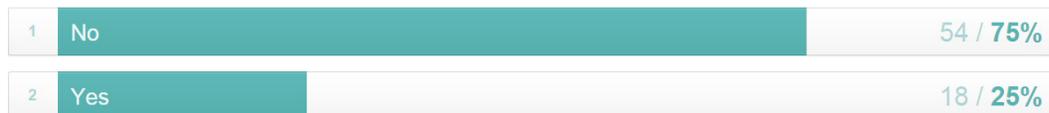
Race or ethnicity:

72 out of 72 people answered this question



Does anyone with a disability live in the home?

72 out of 72 people answered this question



ANALYSIS OF SURVEY RESULTS

Affordability, Fair Rents, and Consumer Protections

Most reported paying more rent than average

- Most respondents are paying more in rent than what the typical renter pays for all monthly housing costs in their respective metropolitan areas according to the latest estimates available from the American Community Survey. Those paying higher rents are paying anywhere from 6 percent above to over two times the median housing costs for renters for their respective areas. However, Invitation Homes tenants report an average rent that is 71% of their area's median renter housing costs.
- In addition to rent, all but three respondents reported having to pay for water in addition to rent, 80% pay for yard maintenance, nearly half pay for garbage, and about a fourth pay for security systems.
- Online payments are commonly encouraged, and about 25% of all respondents reported being required to make rent payments online. Requiring online payment is a clear violation of California law (CA Civil Code 1947.3).
- 60% of all respondents reported late fees to be at least \$50, with about an eighth of respondents saying that late fees are over \$100. Nearly three-fourths of all Waypoint respondents reported that late fees are \$50 to \$100. Late fees this high are punitive and violate California law.¹⁹
- 22% of respondents reported being charged a non-refundable holding deposit. This is a violation of California law.

Health & Habitability

- 20% of respondents said that landlords did not perform requested repairs, and 40% reported having done self-repairs within the past year, spending an average of about \$204. Surprisingly, at least half of tenants who did repairs themselves reported that their landlord is responsive to repair requests.
- 13% of respondents reported extreme substandard conditions including mold, insect and rodent infestations, lack of insulation, electrical problems, and bad plumbing. Tenants in these homes overwhelmingly reported that their landlords were not responsive to repairs. Some of the homes, it seems, are "lemons," unfit to rent out at all, and the landlord does not accept responsibility for repairs. All of the landlords we studied had some of these "lemons" in their portfolio.

Community Control

Many previously owned homes and desire to own homes

- 33% of respondents reported owning the home they lived in before moving into their current rental.
- 33% of survey respondents reported actively looking to buy a home in the area where they rent. Nearly half reported that they would have bought the home they currently rent if they had been given the option.
- From phone interviews, we learned that several Waypoint tenants were led to believe that they would have the opportunity to purchase the home they currently rent. Many tenants mentioned being told that their home was “rent to own” only to be later told they did not qualify.

Displacement

33% of respondents had received a 3 day pay-or-quit notice. Waypoint tenants were disproportionately likely to receive 3 day pay-or-quit notices.

Many of the respondents who recalled receiving a 3 day pay-or-quit notice who we were able to interview also mentioned receiving them due to clerical errors such as misplaced mailed checks. Only 13% of respondents who received 3-day-notices reported having ever actually been behind on rent.

Accessibility & Fair Housing

- Our survey only asked demographic questions relevant to race and ethnicity as a protected class. We evaluated our survey results to check if minority tenants were being treated any differently during their tenancy. We did not uncover bias against minority tenants on issues during their tenancy like repairs, late fees, evictions, etc.
- Notably, none of the respondents were Section 8 tenants, though Invitation Homes purports to “welcome qualified Section 8 voucher holders” in its Screening and Selection Policy on their website, and neither Colony American nor Waypoint explicitly excludes them as stated policy. California law does not expressly prohibit discrimination against Section 8 tenants. Section 8 voucher-holders are disproportionately in protected classes.²⁰
- While legal to ask these questions in an application, minorities disproportionately face these experiences, often unfairly:
 - Three-fourths of all respondents reported having been asked about prior evictions. Black women are the most likely group to experience eviction in their lifetime.²¹
 - Well over half of all respondents reported having been asked if they had been convicted of a felony as part of the application process.
 - Nearly half of all respondents report having been asked if they had been convicted of a misdemeanor.

BRINGING IT ALL TOGETHER

Business Model Relies on Squeezing Tenants

There are two ways landlords can increase their profit margin to the detriment of tenants: neglecting repairs and increasing rents and other charges. Neglecting repairs is in clear violation of state and local law, which is enforced to varying degree throughout the state. However, in most markets in the state, particularly those where Wall Street landlords have invested, rent can be increased to any amount. These two practices, if left unchecked, can be especially harmful to tenants.

Our statewide survey results are consistent with the findings of the report by Right to the City (RTTC) and Strategic Alliance for a Just Economy (SAJE) that tenants are being saddled with the duties of homeownership “with none of the benefits.”²² It is common for tenants

renting from Wall Street landlords to pay for water, garbage, and landscaping costs. It is also common for tenants to simply make repairs to the home themselves. Invitation Homes received high marks in being responsive to repairs, with 4% of tenants reporting that they are unresponsive

to their repair requests. In contrast, Colony American tenants report 28% unresponsiveness and Waypoint 45% unresponsiveness. More than half of Colony American and Waypoint Homes tenants reported spending money on repairs themselves.

The tenants with the most habitability complaints were those who had lived in their homes the longest and were renting from Waypoint Homes. Of the three investors, Waypoint acquired

their pool of homes the earliest. Only a handful of tenants renting from Invitation Homes and Colony had lived in the home for more than two years. If one assumes some repairs were made to the home (that was likely in foreclosure, and likely in need of repair) before it was rented, it might take a few more years before a home is in need of serious repair. We cannot say that Waypoint has the worst policy on repairs or if their business model is simply a sign of things to come for Colony American and Invitation Homes tenants. It may take some time before Colony American and Invitation Homes properties are in need of significant repair.

According to current California state law, single family homes cannot be subject to rent control protections. Already we can see from the results of our survey and others that tenants renting from these landlords are consistently paying above the median market rent (see appendix). There is little to protect tenants if their investor landlord decides to raise the rent en masse. Also, considering the size of their portfolios these decisions are likely to inflate median rents and drive up market housing costs.

These landlords have inflexible business practices toward rent payment. A third of tenants across the board reported being required to pay online, which is in clear violation of state law. Only a handful of tenants reported being offered a payment plan solution if they were late on rent. Late fees themselves are high, with punitive amounts over \$50 and sometimes a percentage of the rent (one tenant reported paying a 6% late fee, amounting to over \$100). Under current California law a tenant can receive a 3-day notice to

Tenants are being saddled with the duties of homeownership “with none of the benefits.

pay-or-quit just one day after rent is due. About a third of tenants surveyed across the board reported receiving such a notice. Compare this with the three months notice a homeowner receives when defaulting on a mortgage. With the tight rental market currently in California, investors seemed to have made the calculation that their vacancy rate will not suffer despite harsh policies that drive displacement. Stronger tenant protections against rising rents and unfair evictions can help inoculate communities against these policies and practices.

Scale of Investor-Landlords Requires Greater Regulation for Tenants

When our Tenant Foreclosure Hotline first started taking calls in 2009, tenants could be evicted immediately after foreclosure. Lease agreements were extinguished upon foreclosure, and it was not clear that the new landlord was required to make repairs. These are just a few of the devastating conditions tenants in California and across the nation had to endure during the crisis. Just months later the Protecting Tenants at Foreclosure Act passed at the federal level, California continued to build on this legislation at the state level, ultimately passing the Homeowners Bill of Rights, which included a tenant portion, in 2012. The biggest boon for tenants was the required minimum 90-day notice if a new landlord wanted to evict existing tenants without cause. Tenants who were covered by their cities' local just cause for eviction protection could continue renting indefinitely as long as they upheld their end of the rental agreement.

More time is gold to people facing the prospect of uprooting their lives. Eviction itself has adverse health effects, and it is important to the health and

safety of our communities that families and children have stability. According to a recent study by Matt Desmond of Harvard University and Rachel Tolbert Kimbro of Rice University that examines health data on the life experiences of mothers and children, "Compared to matched mothers who were not evicted, mothers who were evicted in the previous year experienced more material hardship, were more likely to suffer from depression, reported worse health for themselves and their children, and reported more parenting stress."²³ As well, minority communities disproportionately face evictions. Black women, of all populations, are the most vulnerable.²⁴ Historically, Urban Renewal policies primarily displaced minority communities. The housing instability these communities experience has measurable health impacts, including high stress and anxiety, higher mortality rates, chronic disease and mental illness.²⁵

As well as protection against eviction, affordability is also an important determinant of health outcomes for families. According to a recent report from the Center for Housing Policy,

"When housing is not affordable, families may be forced to double up with others or to otherwise live in overcrowded conditions. Individuals who live in a crowded setting may have limited ability to manage daily stressors and successfully maintain supportive relationships, which can lead to increased levels of psychological distress, feelings of helplessness, and even higher blood pressure. Studies have also demonstrated that crowding can negatively impact physical health through increased exposure to

Stronger tenant protections against rising rents and unfair evictions can help inoculate communities.

infectious diseases. Health and behavioral problems for children also increase with the level of crowding in home environments.”²⁶

While our understanding of housing instability and health impacts will hopefully continue to deepen, the link between the quality of housing and health impacts is well-documented.²⁷ There are laws on the books that clearly require landlords to keep homes in habitable condition, but effective enforcement and protection of tenants against retaliation for reporting substandard conditions is required to give those laws meaning.

The following policy recommendations are ways tenants can protect themselves now and in the future against landlord abuse. While good policy for all tenants, policy changes are even more pressing given the current and potential impacts of investor-landlords. Given the reach of these large portfolios, an adverse decision by just one of these landlords could destabilize a community. It is important that local communities take action to advance and strengthen protections before another housing bubble bursts.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS AND NEXT STEPS

Outdated laws like the California state Costa-Hawkins Rental Housing Act also need to be changed to allow rent control to protect tenants living in single-family homes.

Based on the issues that have emerged from our research and the research of others, we recommend strong protections against rising rents and unfair evictions, transparency in the recording of ownership information, and effective enforcement by federal, state, and city governments of existing laws pertaining to fair housing and health and building codes. Outdated laws like the California state Costa-Hawkins Rental Housing Act also need to be changed to allow rent control to protect tenants living in single-family homes.

At every level possible, we strongly recommend the formation of tenants unions/associations to support those renting from Wall Street landlords. Tenants living in single-family homes, far apart from one another, need a way to connect to other tenants. There could be many iterations of this, like a Black-

stone Tenants Union, Waypoint Tenants Union, or more general regional, state, or national groups under a Main Street Tenants umbrella. The single-family home investors and landlords have already taken steps to organize themselves. This year was the third annual Single Family Rental Investment Forum, attended by Invitation Homes, Colony American Homes, and many others. Tenants must organize as well.

We must work to ban Section 8 discrimination. As a federal program, federal intervention would be most effective, however states and cities can follow the lead of Oregon and Austin, TX in also banning this unfair practice now. Due to a recent California court case, a Section 8 voucher is not considered a “source of income” and is not subject to fair housing laws that ban discrimination on source of income.²⁸ Discrimination against Section 8 voucher-holders is widespread, and it is concerning that not a single tenant we surveyed held a Section 8 voucher.

The tenants we surveyed overwhelmingly reported being asked about their criminal history. Considering that minorities are disproportionately represented in the criminal justice system, we must enact legislation to lessen

housing discrimination against people of color by “Banning the Box” and limiting rental application questions regarding previous encounters with the justice system.²⁹

Recommendations at the federal level

- Monitor and investigate institutional investor compliance with the Fair Housing Act, ensuring that “facially neutral” policies that have disparate impact on protected classes are not allowed.³⁰
- Authorize the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau to conduct oversight of the tenant selection, eviction, property maintenance, and disability access policies and actions of institutional investors. The CFPB should take the lead in establishing a national clearinghouse for resources for tenants and advocates and supporting further research.³¹
- Implement financial transaction fees on rental bonds.³² High investor demand for returns from rental bonds could have an adverse impact on housing affordability, especially for low-income renters, who already face an affordability crisis. One way to intervene here would be to implement a financial transaction fee on rental bonds.
- Development of free tools to aggregate and report on ownership information nationally. We used a paid subscription to Property Radar for our research. While very effective, it is only available in the Western states and is cost-prohibitive to the public.

Recommendations at the state level

- *Change the Costa-Hawkins Rental Housing Act:* passed in 1995 this Act prohibits cities from applying rent control to condos and single-family homes, among other provisions. The idea behind this was to spare small owners of a single unit from compliance with local rent control laws. With the rise of Wall Street landlords renting out single family homes, Costa-Hawkins is outdated. It should be reformed to allow cities to regulate rents on these properties.
- *Office of Ombudsman for tenants:* California has an Office of a Mobile Home Ombudsman, which “receives and processes complaints from the public and from public officials related to living in manufactured homes and mobile homes.”³³ All tenants in California should have a state-level office for questions and complaints related to their landlord.
- *Registration of Limited Liability Companies (LLC) that connects them with the landlord of a property:* While ownership information on a property is publicly available through the county recorder-assessor’s office, most Wall Street landlords record ownership as a variant Limited Liability Company (LLC). This obfuscates ownership information from the public. Available information on

LLCs and their connection with a landlord is currently limited. For instance, homes owned by Invitation Homes are listed under at least 18 different LLCs in California. Waypoint Homes uses at least 24 different LLCs, and most of them have unrelated names like “Blue Oasis LLC” or “QIS LLC.” This is not only a challenge for research purposes but is also challenging for tenants if there is a dispute of ownership or a question of who to hold responsible for repairs, like in the foreclosure crisis. There is nothing that on its face links Blue Oasis LLC to Waypoint Homes if you search through publicly available databases. Tenants and the public have a right to transparency.

- *Transparency of state-sponsored institutional investments.* Such as CalPERS, and CalSTERS.

Recommendations at the local level

- *Open, searchable online data on publicly available eviction cases:* Courts collect data regularly on evictions. This data is available through tenant screening services, but not available to the public and community organizations who need to track eviction rates in order to respond to the needs of the community. County courts should move to open data practices in order to allow government and community organizations to monitor patterns of displacement, including Wall Street landlord evictions.
- *Improved court access for tenants:* Since tenants we surveyed reported that Wall Street landlords regularly issue 3-day notices even when a tenant is not behind on rent, it is likely that many of these tenants will end up in a court eviction process. Most tenants in the state go to court unrepresented, and most landlords have a lawyer to represent them. This unbalance of power means many tenants are needlessly evicted from their homes. In several communities in California, more funding to represent tenants was provided through the Shriver Project. This project should continue to be funded and expanded.
- *Just cause for eviction and rent control:* These laws protect tenants from displacement caused by arbitrary eviction and unreasonable rent increases. Landlords should be required to state a recognized reason for evicting a tenant (i.e. nonpayment of rent, nuisance), and cities should keep track of these evictions. Rent control allows landlords to increase rent, based on inflation or the consumer price index, keeping a fair return on their investment while protecting tenants against predatory rent increases. As noted above, the state Costa Hawkins Act would need to be changed in order to protect tenants in single-family homes.
- *Effective code enforcement:* Cities must cite landlords that violate the State and Uniform housing code in order to protect the health and safety of tenants. Enforcement mechanisms should be vigorous and transparent, with oversight from the community.

We Still Have Questions

Our research brought more specific questions to the surface, that we, other advocates, and government offices, should work to answer:

- *What were the qualifications for Waypoint's rent-to-own program?* Waypoint convinced many local decision-makers that their investments in single-family home properties would be good for communities because they would work to help tenants own the home they lived in. Years later, we have reports that many tenants did not qualify after they had already been renting the home they intended to buy. More research needs to be done to determine the outcomes of their rent-to-own program.
- *Do policies and practices toward homes in the securitization pool differ from those that are owned outright by the landlord?* In our survey we were unable to control for this factor. Now that we have developed the tools to do so, more research can be done to see if tenants directly affected by securitization are treated any differently than tenants renting from Wall Street landlords that are not included in a securitization pool.
- *What are the Wall Street landlord practices toward Section 8 tenants?* It is concerning that of the 72 tenants we surveyed, none were Section 8 tenants. There are thousands of voucher-holders in California, about 5% of renters in the state. Section 8 tenants have enough challenges finding housing in an impacted rental market where many landlords clearly state "No Section 8" in their advertisements, that practices by major landlords that exclude Section 8 tenants would be a concern.

APPENDIX

Methodology

Building on the research of Right to the City Alliance and Strategic Actions for a Just Economy in the Los Angeles/Riverside communities, our 32 question survey was mailed to 5700 tenants across the state. Addresses were found using the Property Radar service, an paid online tool that aggregates county recorder-assessor information. The mailing was controlled by landlord, not geography, so there is a nearly even distribution of survey results from Invitation Homes, Colony American Homes, and Waypoint Homes. Tenants were invited to complete the survey online or by phone.

The process to find the holdings of these investor-landlords was complex. The first difficulty lies in the obfuscation of ownership information. Each investor incorporates their holdings under many LLCs. Consequently, no property simply lists “Invitation Homes” as the owner, despite the fact that ownership information of a home is public data through a county recorder-assessor’s office. This makes it difficult to trace an LLC to an actual owner. We navigated this difficulty by conducting a backwards search of properties listed for rent on each landlord’s website. For instance searching for 123 Banana St Riverside, CA (a fictitious example), on Colony American’s website, could reveal that Republic LLC was one of the ownership names they use to acquire properties in the State of California. Searching for any homes owned by Republic LLC then produced hundreds or thousands of results. Going through this process for each of the Wall Street landlords produced a potential mailing list of 5000 properties for Invitation Homes, 2500 properties for Waypoint Homes, and 2000 properties for Colo-

ny American Homes.

There has been very little survey research of tenants living in properties owned by Wall Street landlords to date. As of the writing of this report, only the RTC/SAJE research, which yielded about 50 results, had focused on the direct experience of tenants. Tenants Together drew from some of the same questions asked by RTC/SAJE in order to work to consistently build this body of research. RTC/SAJE knocked on the doors of tenants for months. We sent out pieces of direct mail. Normally, direct mail surveys are afforded multiple mailings per household, but we could not do this due to budget considerations. Still, despite our budget shortcomings, we were able to garner 72 results from tenants all over the state. This is a 1.26% response rate from a list of 5700 pieces.

The survey instrument Tenants Together used can be found at <https://tenantstogether.typeform.com/report/fWFWCt/rV4W>. This service also lists aggregate results.

At the beginning of our research, we were informed by a number of researchers that it might be impossible to find out if a property was included in a securitized pool. Through our research, however, we were able to find a method to do this. It is amazingly simple. We noticed in looking up ownership information using Property Radar, that some properties had huge loans taken against them. These loans matched the public reporting of the value of a securitized pool. For instance, if the fictitious 123 Banana St had a First Loan that equaled \$479,137,000, and the owner was listed as 2013-1 IH BORROWER (one of the names Invitation Homes uses in their ownership

recordings), then we knew from public reports of the rental-backed securitization package that this home was included in the Invitation Homes first package of 2013.³⁴ We cross-checked other million-dollar loans with reports of securitization offerings and came up

with a pool of 1786 homes in the state that are included in a securitization package. Our discovery of this simple method is an important tool that will enable further research of the impacts of securitization on tenants.

Survey Respondents by length of time in home, company.

Waypoint got in to the single-family home rental market earliest, so this is likely the reason the length of tenancy for their renters is longer.

Length of Time in Home		Company That Owns the Home			
		Colony American	Invitation	Waypoint	Total
0-1 years	Count	10	8	6	24
	% by company	55.56%	28.57%	23.08%	33.33%
1-2 years	Count	5	17	9	31
	% by company	27.78%	60.71%	34.62%	43.06%
2-5 years	Count	3	2	11	16
	% by company	16.67%	7.14%	42.31%	22.22%
5-10 yrs	Count	0	1	0	1
	% by company	0	3.57%		1.39%
Total		18	28	26	72
		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Survey respondents by annual income, company

This shows an interesting pattern that Waypoint tenants are lower income, Invitation Homes tenants mid-income, and Colony American tenants tend to have the highest income. Those with the highest income were not necessarily paying higher rents.

Length of Time in Home		Company That Owns the Home			
		Colony American	Invitation	Waypoint	Total
\$20,000 or Less	Count	1	0	2	3
	% by company	55.56%	0%	7.69%	4.17%
\$21,000 to \$41,000	Count	3	8	9	20
	% by company	16.67%	28.57%	34.62%	27.78%
\$41,000 to \$50,000	Count	2	6	6	14
	% by company	11.11%	21.43%	23.08%	19.44%
\$51,000 to \$70,000	Count	9	1	5	15
	% by company	50.00%	3.57%	19.23%	20.83%
Over \$70,000	Count	3	13	4	20
	% by company	16.67%	46.43%	15.38%	27.78%
Total		18	28	26	72
		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Responses to "Does the landlord make the repairs that you request?" by company

Landlord Makes Repairs		Company That Owns the Home			
		Colony American	Invitation	Waypoint	Total
Yes	Count	13	27	17	57
	% by company	72.22%	96.43%	65.38%	79.17%
No	Count	5	1	9	15
	% by company	27.78%	3.57%	34.62%	20.83%
Total		18	28	26	72
		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Responses to "Have you ever had to do the repairs yourself?" by company

Performed Self-Repairs		Company That Owns the Home			
		Colony American	Invitation	Waypoint	Total
Yes	Count	9	5	15	29
	% by company	50%	17.89%	15%	40.28%
No	Count	9	23	11	43
	% by company	50%	82.14	42.31%	59.72%
Total		18	28	26	72
		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Responses to "If yes [you have had to do repairs yourself], how much would you estimate you've spent in repair costs over the past year?"

	Count	Percent
0	1	3.45
25	1	3.45
50	1	3.45
60	3	10.34
100	1	3.45
140	4	13.79
150	1	3.45
200	2	6.90
249	4	13.79
275	1	3.45
300	1	3.45
365	1	3.45
500	4	13.79
800	1	3.45
1200	1	3.45
1500	1	3.45
Total	5914	29
Average	203.931	100.00

Responses to “How much is your current rent per month?” and Comparison to Median Area Rents

Sources for Median Area Rent: Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim: 2013 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario: 2013 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, Sacramento-Roseville-Arden-Arcade: 2013 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, San Francisco-Oakland-Hayward: 2013 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, Stockton-Lodi: 2011-2013 American Community Survey 3-Year Estimates, Vallejo-Fairfield: 2011-2013 American Community Survey 3-Year Estimates

Company	Metropolitan Area	Respondent's Rent	Median Area Housing Costs	Percent Above Median
Colony	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario	1270	1125	12.89
Colony	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario	1450	1125	28.89
Colony	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim	2300	1265	81.82
Colony	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim	950	1265	-24.90
Colony	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim	1538	1265	21.58
Colony	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim	1760	1265	39.13
Colony	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim	1352	1265	6.88
Colony	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario	1820	1125	61.78
Invitation	Stockton-Lodi	1495	996	50.10
Invitation	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario	1932	1125	71.73
Invitation	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim	2250	1265	77.87
Invitation	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim	2650	1265	109.49
Invitation	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim	1850	1265	46.25
Waypoint	San Francisco-Oakland-Hayward	1637	1435	14.08
Waypoint	Vallejo-Fairfield	1955	1252	56.15
Waypoint	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario	2033	1125	80.71
Waypoint	San Francisco-Oakland-Hayward	1999	1435	39.30
Waypoint	Sacramento-Roseville-Arden-Arcade	1324	1060	24.91
Waypoint	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario	1420.37	1125	26.26
Waypoint	San Francisco-Oakland-Hayward	1956	1435	36.31
Waypoint	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario	1412	1125	25.51
Waypoint	San Francisco-Oakland-Hayward	1300	1435	-9.41

Selected Responses to “What do you have to pay for in addition to your monthly rent?” by company

		Company That Owns the Home			
		Colony American	Invitation	Waypoint	Total
Water					
Yes	Count	16	27	26	69
	% by company	88.89	96.43	100.00	95.83
No	Count	2	1	0	3
	% by company	11.11	3.57	0.00	4.17
		18	28	26	72
		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Yard Maintenance					
Yes	Count	14	22	22	58
	% by company	77.78	78.57	84.62	80.56
No	Count	4	6	4	14
	% by company	22.22	21.43	15.38	19.44
		18	28	26	72
		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Garbage					
Yes	Count	7	10	14	31
	% by company	38.89	35.71	53.85	43.06
No	Count	11	18	12	41
	% by company	61.11	64.29	46.15	56.94
		18	28	26	72
		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Security Systems					
Yes	Count	4	9	13	26
	% by company	22.22	32.14	50.00	36.11
No	Count	14	19	13	46
	% by company	77.78	67.86	50.00	63.89
		18	28	26	72
		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Responses to “Before you lived at this address did you rent or own?” by company

Previous Living Situation		Company That Owns the Home			
		Colony American	Invitation	Waypoint	Total
Rented	Count	12	12	21	45
	% by company	66.67	48.00	84.00	66.18
Owned	Count	6	13	4	23
	% by company	33.33	52.00	16.00	33.82
Total		18	25	25	68
		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Responses to “Did you look to buy a home in this area?” by company

Looked to Buy Home in Present Area		Company That Owns the Home			
		Colony American	Invitation	Waypoint	Total
Yes	Count	4	11	10	25
	% by company	22.22	39.29	38.46	34.72
No	Count	14	17	16	47
	% by company	77.78	60.71	61.54	65.28
Total		18	28	26	72
		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Responses to “In the application, were you asked if you had previously been evicted?” by company

Application asked about prior evictions		Company That Owns the Home			
		Colony American	Invitation	Waypoint	Total
Yes	Count	12	20	22	54
	% by company	66.67	71.43	84.62	75.00
No	Count	6	8	4	18
	% by company	33.33	28.57	15.38	25.00
Total		18	28	26	72
		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Responses to “In the application, were you asked if you had ever been convicted of a felony?” by company

Application asked about prior felonies		Company That Owns the Home			
		Colony American	Invitation	Waypoint	Total
Yes	Count	10	14	19	43
	% by company	55.56	50.00	73.07	59.72
No	Count	8	14	7	29
	% by company	44.44	50.00	26.92	40.28
Total		18	28	26	72
		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Responses to “In the application, were you asked if you had ever been convicted of a misdemeanor?” by company

Application asked about prior misdemeanors		Company That Owns the Home			
		Colony American	Invitation	Waypoint	Total
Yes	Count	9	11	15	35
	% by company	50.00	39.29	57.69	48.61
No	Count	9	17	11	37
	% by company	50.00	60.71	42.31	51.39
Total		18	28	26	72
		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Responses to “Does your landlord require you to pay rent in cash or online?” by company

Cash or online rent payments required		Company That Owns the Home			
		Colony American	Invitation	Waypoint	Total
Online payment required	Count	6	8	10	24
	% by company	33.33	28.57	40.00	33.80
Cash payment required	Count	0	0	0	0
	% by company	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Doesn't require these	Count	12	20	15	47
	% by company	66.67	71.42	60.00	66.20
Total		18	28	25	71
		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Responses to “Have you ever received any of the following notices in the past year from your current landlord... 3-day pay or quit.” by company

Received a 3-day Pay or Quit Notice		Company That Owns the Home			
		Colony American	Invitation	Waypoint	Total
Yes	Count	6	6	12	24
	% by company	33.33	21.43	46.15	33.33
No	Count	12	22	14	48
	% by company	66.67	78.57	53.85	66.67
Total		18	28	26	72
		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Responses to “If you have been behind on rent, was your current landlord willing to work out a payment plan?” by company

Willing to work out a payment plan		Company That Owns the Home			
		Colony American	Invitation	Waypoint	Total
Yes	Count	2	2	1	5
	% by company	18%	22%	13%	14%
No	Count	9	7	7	23
	% by company	81%	78%	88%	82%
Total		11	9	8	28
		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Responses to “What is the fee for paying rent late?” by company

Rent Late Fee		Company That Owns the Home			
		Colony American	Invitation	Waypoint	Total
No late fee	Count	3	4	1	8
	% by company	16.67	14.29	3.85	11.11
Less than \$25	Count	0	2	1	3
	% by company	0.00	7.14	3.85	4.17
\$25 to \$50	Count	6	10	2	18
	% by company	33.33	35.71	7.69	25.00
\$50 to \$100	Count	7	8	19	34
	% by company	38.89	28.57	73.08	47.22
More than \$100	Count	2	4	3	9
	% by company	11.11	14.29	11.54	12.50
Total		18	28	26	72
		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Responses to “Have you ever been charged or billed for a late fee?” by company

Ever Paid a Late Fee		Company That Owns the Home			
		Colony American	Invitation	Waypoint	Total
Yes	Count	1	0	5	6
	% by company	12.50	0.00	50.00	26.09
No	Count	7	5	5	17
	% by company	87.50	100.00	50.00	73.91
Total		8	5	10	23
		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Khouri, Andrew, "Los Angeles Times," *Los Angeles Times*, May 5, 2014, <http://www.latimes.com/business/la-fi-blackstone-law-suit-20140506-story.html>
- ² Call, R., Powell, D. and Heck, S. (2014). "Occupy Our Homes Atlanta." <http://occupyourhomesatl.org/blackstone-atlantasnewest-landlord/>
- ³ Call, R. (2014). "Retrieved from Right to the City Alliance website: <http://homesforall.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/LA-Riverside-Blackstone-Report-071514.pdf>
- ⁴ Gittlesohn, J., & Perlberg, H. (2015, April 21). "Bloomberg Business." Retrieved from <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-04-21/u-s-single-family-landlords-are-raising-rents-ceos-say>
- ⁵ Viveiros, J., & Sturtevant, L. (2014). "Retrieved from Center for Housing Policy website: <http://www.nhc.org/media/files/Landscape2014.pdf>
- ⁶ Tenants Together. (2012). "Retrieved from <http://tenantstogether.org/downloads/4th%20Annual%20Report.pdf>
- ⁷ Session Laws: Chapter 258 of the Acts of 2010. (2010, August 7). Retrieved from <https://malegislature.gov/Laws/SessionLaws/Acts/2010/Chapter258>
- ⁸ Samara, Tony, "Homes For All, June 2014, http://homesforall.org/campaign/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/RISE-OF-THE-RENTERNATION_PRINT.pdf
- ⁹ Dougherty, C. (2014, February 14). "Wall Street Journal." Retrieved from <http://blogs.wsj.com/economics/2014/02/11/californias-affordable-housing-crisis/>
- ¹⁰ "Rental Property Management | Invitation Homes." (2015). Retrieved from <http://invitationhomes.com/about-us/>
- ¹¹ "About Colony American Homes. (2014)". Retrieved from <http://www.colonyamerican.com/about-us>
- ¹² "Starwood-waypoint 2014 annual report." (2014). Retrieved from <http://investors.starwoodwaypoint.com/Cache/1001196772.PDF?Y=&O=PDF&D=&FID=1001196772&T=&IID=4423541>
- ¹³ Calvey, M. (2014, January 30). "San Francisco Business Times." Retrieved from <http://www.bizjournals.com/sanfrancisco/blog/2014/01/starwood-property-waypoint-real-estate.html>
- ¹⁴ "Alliance of Californians for Community Empowerment and the California Reinvestment Coalition. September, 2011, http://www.calorganize.org/sites/default/files/WreckingBall_LosAngeles_web_0.pdf
- ¹⁵ Dayen, Dayen. (2012, August 26). "Retrieved from <http://news.firedoglake.com/2012/08/26/the-worst-idea-in-the-world-securitizing-rental-revenue/>
- ¹⁶ Jodi Shenn, "Bloomberg," February 19, 2014, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2014-02-19/rents-used-to-pay-leased-homebonds-fall-7-6-morningstar-says.html>
- ¹⁷ Gittlesohn, et al. supra note 4
- ¹⁸ Call, et al. supra note 3.
- ¹⁹ California Civil Code section 1951.5; Civil Code 1671; Orozco v. Casimiro, (2004)121 Cal.App.4th Supp. 7
- ²⁰ Sabi v. Sterling, (2010) 183 Cal.App.4th 916
- ²¹ HUD. (2015). Retrieved from http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/public_indian_housing/systems/pic/50058/rcr
- ²² Call, et al. supra note 3.
- ²³ Desmond, Matt., & Tolbert Kimbro, R. (2015). "Retrieved from Oxford University Press website: http://nlihc.org/sites/default/files/DesmondKimbro_Evictions_Fallout_SF2015.pdf
- ²⁴ Desmond, Matt. (2014). "Retrieved from MacArthur Foundation website: <http://howhousingmatters.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/How-Housing-Matters-Policy-Research-Brief-Poor-Black-Women-Are-Evicted-at-Alarming-Rates.pdf>
- ²⁵ Phillips, Dawn., Flores, L., & Henderson, J. (2013). "Retrieved from Causa Justa :: Just Cause website: <http://www.acphd.org/media/343952/cjcc2014.pdf>
- ²⁶ Maqbool, N., Viveiros, J., & Ault, M. (2015). "Retrieved from Center for Housing Policy website: http://www.nhc.org/HSGandHealthLitRev_2015_final.pdf
- ²⁷ National Center for Healthy Housing. (2008). Research and Demonstration. Retrieved from <http://www.nchh.org/research.aspx>
- ²⁸ Sabi v. Sterling, (2010) 183 Cal.App.4th 916, supra note 20
- ²⁹ Fair Chance for All. (2015). "Retrieved from <http://www.fairchanceforall.com/about-fair-chance/>
- ³⁰ Fields, D. (2014). "Retrieved from Right to the City Alliance website: <http://homesforall.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/corp-landlord-report-web.pdf>
- ³¹ Fields, et. al. supra note 28.
- ³¹ Fields, et. al. supra note 28.
- ³² Fields, et. al. supra note 28.
- ³³ CA Dept of Housing & Community Development. (2015). Mobilehome Ombudsman. Retrieved from <http://www.hcd.ca.gov/codes/ol/ombpg-menu.html>
- ³⁴ Su, R. (2013, December 24). "Seeking Alpha." Retrieved from <http://seekingalpha.com/article/1914271-wall-street-real-estate-grand-scheme-continues>



**TENANTS
TOGETHER**

California's
Statewide Organization
for Renters' Rights

www.tenantstogether.org