

REPORT

# Rockiness in the Rockaways: Five Years of RAD at Ocean Bay Houses



By Neighbors Helping Neighbors  
in the Rockaway, with support  
from Kristen Hackett and the  
Justice For All Coalition.

**MAY 24, 2022**

***Neighbors Helping Neighbors in the Rockaways*** is a team of public housing residents united in informing our neighbors and protecting our homes through building community power.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report and the attendant community organizing effort is an initiative of ***Neighbors Helping Neighbors in the Rockaways (NHN-Rockaways)***. Many thanks to our team of public housing residents who are united in our goal of informing our neighbors and protecting our homes through building community power. We each took on various research and organizing roles, including conducting the survey, discussing the data, planning community meetings, conducting community outreach and more.

In alphabetical order, our team includes:

**Kimberly Comes**, Redfern Houses

**Bernard Gabriel**, Beach 41st Consolidation

**Lawanda Gainey-Johnson**, Carleton Manor

**Lorraine Evans**, Beach 41st Consolidation

**Marcia Jones**, Oceanside Houses

**Margareth Massac**, Oceanside Houses

**Ruth Pressley**, Hammels Houses

**Lakisha Ricks**, Hammels Houses

**Vernell Robinson**, Carleton Manor

**Josephine Rocheburn**, Hammels Houses

**Brenda Temple**, Oceanside Houses

Additional thanks to **Kristen Hackett**, a doctoral candidate at The Graduate Center, CUNY, and member of the Justice For All Coalition and Save Section 9, who provided research and organizing support, including drafting this report.

Financial support towards conducting the research was provided by the **Justice for All Coalition**, a grassroots community group who roots, base and leadership arena the public housing developments in western Queens.

For more information:  
**<https://radpact.info>**

**Contact information:**

EMAIL: [neighborhelpingneighborsfarroc@gmail.com](mailto:neighborhelpingneighborsfarroc@gmail.com)

PHONE: 929-300-5381

# OPENING LETTER

May 24, 2022

Dear Reader,

Greetings and thank you in advance for your time and care in this matter which is of great consequence to the public housing residents of Far Rockaway and NYC.

Specifically, this report shares survey research conducted by public housing residents of their neighbors living in Ocean Bay Houses, the first development converted to the Rental Assistance Demonstration or RAD program in NYC. RAD is a controversial federal program that alters the funding and ownership structure of public housing units, shifting developments from Section 9 public housing to project-based Section 8, and introducing private partners and private financing to raise funds for repairs and operations. While public officials tell us RAD and RAD/PACT are the only avenues forward, tenants across NYC and the country have been ringing the alarm. Further, investigations from legal advocates concluding that RAD leads to tenants' rights violations and in some cases, evictions and displacement, supported tenants worst fears. At the same time, the vast majority of public housing residents, including those in converted buildings, are in the dark about what RAD is and what it will mean for their household and community and our futures.

The impetus behind our inquiry herein was driven by our concerns for the well-being of our neighbors, our friends, our family and ourselves. Our concerns began because we heard first hand from some neighbors at Ocean Bay about what they were experiencing under the RAD program, and became amplified in April 2021 when we learned that NYCHA was fast tracking RAD/PACT conversion at the other developments in the Rockaways. At that point, we knew we had to become proactive fast.

By June, we had (re)assembled our team and were fine-tuning our survey. In the Fall we secured funding and piloted the survey, and in the winter we collected 137 surveys from neighbors living in Ocean Bay Houses. By March, our analysis was completed and we began planning a series of community meetings which shared the findings and our broader research on RAD. This led to a general consensus on RAD being established and conversations about community demands and action.

Today, we are pleased to present this report, which is both the culmination of year-plus-long effort, and the start of a new action-focused cycle for us. Further, we hope this is a starting place for elected officials as well, who have so far been quiet on the subject of our homes and our futures, if not in outwardly supportive of RAD. Towards this end, our report lays out new and old evidence, highlights additional places for inquiry, and lays out a nine community demands that provide actionable steps policymakers must take right now to chart a better course for public housing and the residents who call it home.

In closing, we demand our 9.

In solidarity,

*Vernell Robinson*

NHN-Rockaways Coordinator



# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## Overview

- Context, p6
- Rationale for Research, p6
- Brief Methodological Note, p6
- Summary of Findings, p7
- Community Demands, p7

## Background on Public Housing

- A Crisis of Disinvestment & Deterioration, p9
- A Critical Form of Stable, Affordable Housing, p10
- Tenant Testimonies, p11
- Racialized Disinvestment Ongoing, p12-14

## RAD in Review

- What is RAD?, p16
- RAD's Rapid Expansion, p16
- RAD in New York City, p17
- Limited & Lagging Evaluations, p18
- "Tenant Turnover", p19
- A Crescendo of Concern, p20-21
- SPOTLIGHT: Human Right Watch Report, 2022, p22
- Further Expansions, p23
- Section 18, p23
- The Blueprint for Change or the End of Public Housing?, p24
- Our Charge, p24

## Resident-led Research on RAD

- RAD in the Rockaways, p26
- Study Timeline, p26
- Resident Experiences of RAD Survey, p27
- Sample Description, p28
- Bifurcating the Sample, p29
- Awareness of RAD, p30
- Overall Satisfaction & Quality of Life, p31
- Resident Report Card on RAD, p32
- Drawing Comparisons Btwn NYCHA & RAD, p33
- Positive Changes, p33
- Negative Changes, p34
- Increased Paperwork, p34
- Rent Increases, p35
- Evictions, p35
- Community Corroborations, p36-37

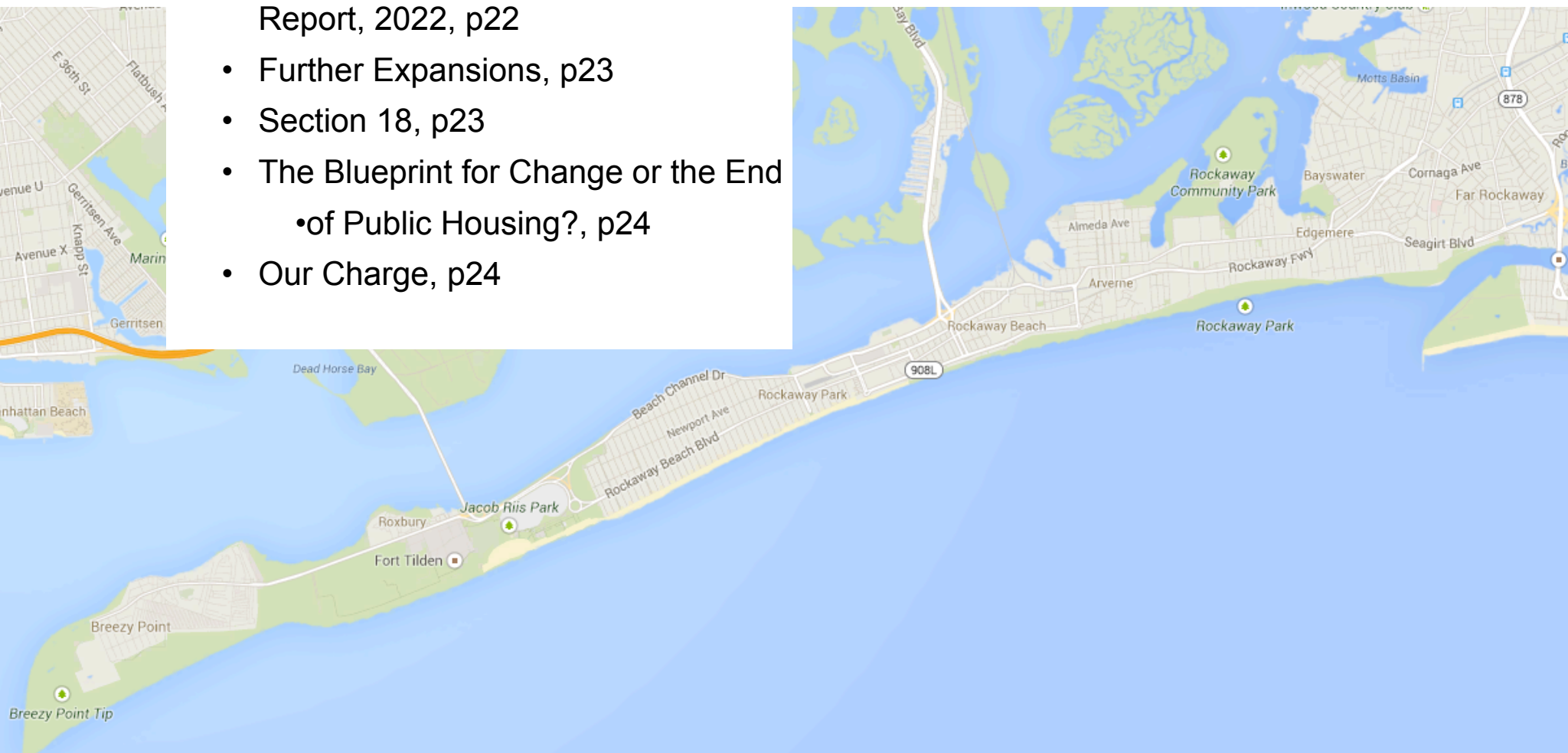
## Conclusions & Our Demands

Closing Remarks, p39-40

Community Demands, p41-42

A Pledge for Our Representatives, p43

References & Resources, p44-45





# Overview

## Context

Due in large part to disinvestment by the federal government, public housing is deteriorating. This reality is creating havoc and health concerns for residents and jeopardizing the long-term prospects of a critical affordable housing stock amidst a swelling national housing crisis. At the same time, the costs of repair are skyrocketing at an exponential rate with the ongoing deferment of repairs.

In response, the federal government introduced the Rental Assistance Demonstration (RAD) in 2012, which transitions units to project-based Section 8 and private management. This transition enables the more robust use of debt and financing to fund repairs. Though the program was originally conceived as a pilot program and limited to 60,000 units, the program has expanded rapidly across the country, including here in NYC, with no signs of slowing.

## Rationale for Research

The program's expansion has been accompanied by a growing crescendo of concern from residents and allies, and mounting evidence from researchers, legal advocates and organizers that suggests RAD leads to an erosion of rights and protections and in some cases, increased displacement (for example, Roller, 2017; Gandour, 2022). At the same time, official evaluations of the program by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and other public offices have largely under-examined residents' experiences of RAD conversion.

Our research was undertaken in response to this gap, as well as our rising concerns about what RAD would mean for us and our homes and our futures should it be implemented at our housing development.

**In short, we need to know what RAD means for residents.**

## Brief Methodological Note

We surveyed neighbors residing at Ocean Bay Houses in Far Rockaway Queens. Ocean Bay Houses is the location of the first RAD conversion in NYC in 2016 - about 5 years ago.

The survey was developed in Summer 2021 and asked about the state of living conditions and how they had changed since the conversion. Specific questions were developed from what we were already learning about RAD - from existing research, from tenants testimonies, from organizers, from the media and more.

We collected surveys between November 2021 and January 2022. The survey was first administered over the phone to a list of residents provided by a nonprofit from past organizing work. When this didn't yield enough data, the research team also knocked doors and surveyed residents face-to-face. In total, we surveyed residents from 137 different households, or 12% of the development's units overall.

Our survey is limited. We only completed one round of surveying with each resident and residents' experiences were numerically assessed using multiple choice questions and 2- and 4-point scales. In seeking to ask about a lot of aspects of the resident experience, we left little room for excavating deeply; nor did the research instrument leave much room for recording qualitative information.

That said, this was expected and by design. From the beginning we saw this undertaking as a pilot or test-run of a much larger and much-needed inquiry that is beyond the capacity of our resources at this time.

**That said, this is one of the most robust inquiries into the resident experience of RAD in the country.**

## Key Findings

Ultimately, our inquiry is consistent with mounting evidence which finds, at the very least, that RAD does not improve living conditions for all residents equally.

- About a quarter were unsatisfied with their housing and quality of life and would move if they could (but can't because of affordability or friends/family).
- 40% say conditions have gotten worse or much worse.
- 21% said it is harder to get repairs, while 35% said it is the same.
- 35% said there is not an easy-to-use system for submitting requests for repairs.
- 61% said their rent has gone up.
- 19% said management tried to evict them.
- 18% said a neighbor they knew was threatened with eviction or evicted.
- 35% said they now had to recertify more than once a year.
- 64% said they now had to recertify with both NYCHA and the private management company.
- **Additional Comments on Changes**
- 29.3% noted positive changes including “cleaner”, “safer”, “improvements like painting, new cabinets, new floors and repairs”, “rules now enforced” (i.e, no smoking, pick up dog waster)
- 29.3% noted negative changes including issues with management (i.e. high staff turnover, can't get ahold of management on the phone, shut water off without warning), “stairs are locked and that's a fire hazard”, increased fees (i.e. laundry room too expensive, \$15 to replace key card, \$500 fine if you break a rule), new restrictions on community resources (i.e. no BBQ, no community space, no decorating hallways)

## Community Demands

In sum, we are calling on public officials to take the following steps to protect public housing residents now:

1. **Stop RAD.** Instruct HUD to place a moratorium on privatizations via RAD/ PACT and Section 18.
2. **Study the effects of RAD vs Section 9.** Conduct a thorough and comparative impact study of all project-based Section 8 privatizations, and determine the cost of operation per unit nationally.
3. **Issue a national state of emergency for Section 9 housing.**
4. **Instate federal and tenant oversight of public housing authorities.**
5. **Fund Section 9.** Allocate \$100B to Section 9 for rehabilitation immediately and create a framework to increase funding to \$180B by 2025.
6. **Expand Section 9.** Restore the Section 9 housing stock to 1999 numbers and work to fully repeal the Faircloth Act by 2025.
7. **Rehabilitate our homes.** Support the sustainable and resilient rehabilitation of public housing campuses and units.
8. **Strike racist language from any legislation.** Ensure that racist and derogatory beliefs surrounding public housing do not continue to impact policy making.



# **Background on Public Housing**

## A Crisis of Disinvestment & Deterioration

In New York City and across the country, public housing is in grave and worsening disrepair. Today, the fiscal cost for addressing the national housing stocks' *critical* repair needs is estimated to be between \$70-80 billion, with New York City alone requiring about half that amount. More specifically, recent figures shared by NYCHA at various public hearings are \$31.8 billion over the next five years, and \$45.2 billion over the next twenty.

These figures today are the exponentiating outcome of underfunding and inaction over time, which grows the cost of the problem in New York City by about \$700 million a year and has left at least 42,000 units needing at least \$200,000 in repairs (Gates, 2018). What this has meant is that despite spending \$2 billion on NYCHA's capital repair needs from 2011 to 2017, estimates for NYCHA's needs grew exponentially from \$1.6 billion to \$25 billion (Gates, 2018). Further, the growing disrepair threatens the future of the housing stock altogether, which in turn presents greater risks to residents. As it stands now, between 8,000 and 15,000 units nationally are condemned every year due to disrepair (Gandour, 2022).

The most critical factor contributing to this crisis today is the disinvestment by the federal government (Bach and Waters, 2014), which has continued even while awareness and severity of the problem has grown and "in real terms, funding for public housing was 35 percent lower in 2021 than it was in 2000" (Ganesan, 2021). In summarizing their thoughts as a heading in a letter to Congress, Human Rights Watch (2021) puts it most succinctly: "Budget Cuts Have Violated the Human Rights of Public Housing Residents."

### Starving Public Housing Despite Repair Needs

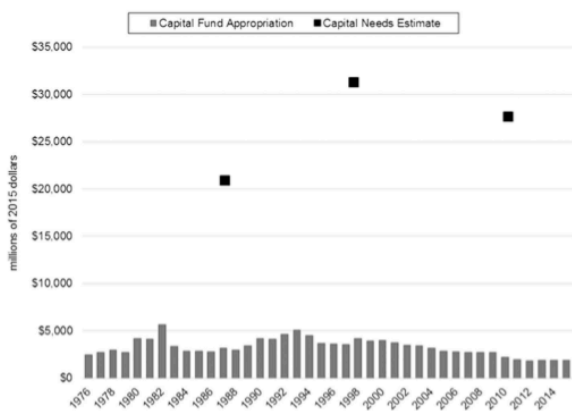
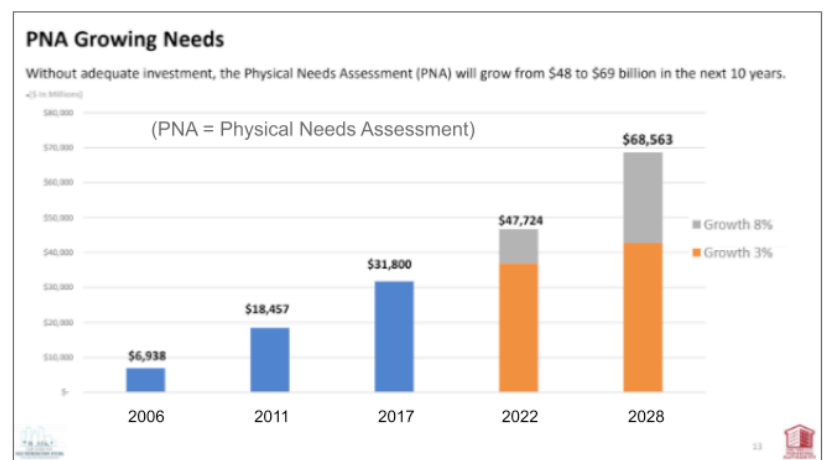


Figure 3. Public housing capital fund and capital needs estimates. (Hanlon, 2017)

*"in real terms, funding for public housing capital repairs was 35 percent lower in 2021 than it was in 2000."*  
 - Human Rights Watch, 2021

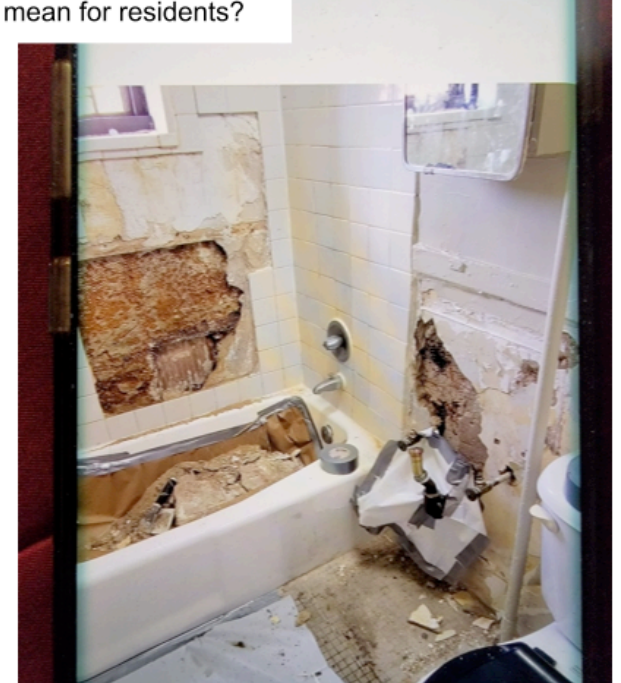


### Deferment has increased critical repair needs:

By not adequately fixing problems in our public housing now, we estimate the cost of fixing them later grows by approximately 700 million dollars every year.

- In 2011 > \$1.6 billion
- In 2017 > \$25.4 billion

Regional Plan Association, 2019



What does this mean for residents?

Images from collective lawsuit by residents of Queensbridge. Learn more here: <https://tinyurl.com/QBLawsuit>

### A Critical Form of Stable, Affordable Housing

This is alarming given that public housing is a critical form of affordable housing for a wide variety of economically-vulnerable households nationally, and especially in tightening housing markets like in NYC. As Table 1 shows, the average income of public housing residents in New York City hovers around \$25,000, more than half are not in the workforce, and nearly half rely on some form of government assistance (NYCHA, 2019; 2021). On average, they are among the city’s “extremely low-income” households, the vast majority of whom are severely cost-burdened (if they are able to afford housing at all), and struggle with ongoing housing insecurity.

For many of these households, the loss of their unit would deepen our dual housing and humanitarian crisis at both the household and city level. A report by the Regional Plan Association (RPA) demonstrated this through two scenarios – if NYC lost 10% and one-third of their public housing stock. In the first scenario, 40,000 people would be displaced, and without additional changes to the low-income housing market, would require a 700-million-dollar expansion of the shelter system. In the second scenario, 130,000 people would be displaced – the size of small cities like New Haven, CT – and would require a 3-billion-dollar expansion of the shelter system (Gates, 2018).

**Table 1: Economic Characteristics of NYCHA’s Public Housing Population, 2019, 2021**

	2021	2019
Average household income	\$24,503	\$25,007
Average household rent	\$536	\$533
Percent of households out of workforce	56%	54%
Percent of households receiving public	13%	13%
Percent of households receiving Social Security, SSI, pensions, veteran’s benefits or other government supports	42%	41%
Percent of households headed by persons aged 62 or older	41%	40%

While RPA goes on to talk about the broader implications for the regional economy, they overlook the deeper consequences for households whose dislocation reverberates through all aspects of their lives; it’s like literally pulling the rug out from under someone, only there’s also no floor, or ground or roof or support system either. Specifically, research highlights the negative consequences displacement and housing insecurity have for residents’ physical and mental health, ontological security, community connections and networks, sense of self, and their ability to realize their rights as humans, residents and citizens (Nettleton & Burrows, 1998, 2000; Fullilove, 2004; Dupois & Thorns, 1998). Conversely, another study demonstrates how stable affordable housing is critical to creating a foundation for the cultivation of ontological security and contributes to the opening up of possibilities and the unfolding of life in ways not previously possible (Hackett, Saegert, Dozier, and Marinova, 2018).

Resident testimonies opposing the privatization of public housing frequently speak to the importance of housing stability as well; specifically, the unique and critical stability public housing has provided their families intergenerationally, which allowed family members a stepping stone for furthering their economic standing, as well as a stable opportunity for retired family members to age in place and in community. On the next page are two testimonies that were given by residents at a public hearing in December 2020 that speak to the the stability public housing has afforded them and their families.



# TENANT TESTIMONIES

**Jasmin Sanchez**, NYCHA resident and activist, testified against the privatization of public housing at a public hearing organized by the NYS Assembly's Housing Committee held in December 2020. While the hearing was focused on the latest plan for public housing in New York City, The Blueprint for Change, Jasmin also called out RAD and lumped the plans together.

Jasmin is a life-long resident of NYCHA who calls Baruch Houses home. Baruch Houses is the second largest development in NYC and is situated on the Lower East Side. Jasmin is also a Reclaim Fellow of the Movement School, a member of Sunrise Movement, and an organizing committee member For the NYCHA Working Group of the Democratic Socialists of America.

Jasmin's testimony speaks not only to the technical issues with the Blueprint plan and the threats it presents specifically, but also to the benefits NYCHA has afforded her family across generations.

“ **My grandparents came to the US in 1959 with a 5th grade education because they were seeking better opportunities in housing, employment, healthcare and education. They had no idea they were coming to the US during periods of urban renewal and redlining. My grandparents made their home at the current Essex St Crossing site on Delancey St. They were displaced with the promise to return to their homes and that never happened. They moved to Orchard St. and had their tenement building by the landlord who could collect on the insurance and then they found NYCHA.**

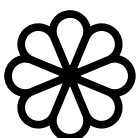
**My family is the first and only occupant of my unit. It has provided a stable home for my family for 50 years, and for me, 41 years. It has provided stability when everything in the world is unstable. We never had a fear if we would be displaced again. We were able to secure jobs and education and social networks free because we were secure in our living status. This home has seen two college graduates - my sister from NYU and myself from Stony Brook University and now a student at SLU.**

---

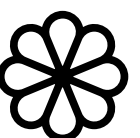
**Carmen Perez Abreu** was an 89-year-old currently living with her granddaughter at Mitchell Houses, who had been living there for 29 years prior before passing in late 2020 because of complications from COVID-19. Her testimony at the same public hearing spoke to how responsiveness by NYCHA declined during her tenure, and why she chose to remain and continued to favor public housing over RAD and other privatization schemes.

Her statement is in the 3rd person because her granddaughter translated during the hearing on her behalf.

“ **She is senior that is living on a limited budget based on her retirement earnings — my grandma worked as a seamstress in this country for about 40 years before retiring. She has no where else to go and she loves living in NYCHA and loves her community.**



WE CONTINUE THIS FIGHT IN LOVING MEMORY OF MS. PEREZ ABREU AND OTHER NEIGHBORS LOST TO THE MISHANDLING OF THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC BY THE US GOVERNMENT, OUR PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND NYCHA.



## Racialized Disinvestment Ongoing

These testimonies more generally allude to the racialized nature of who finds themselves living in public housing today and adds another angle for understanding the recent disinvestment by the federal government. Today, ninety-two percent of residents living in public housing in New York City are Black or Latinx, and sixty-six percent nationally. This is further broken down in the table below (see blue columns), and it means that **the disinvestment in public housing today is a disinvestment in a public good and housing program that mostly serves Black and Latinx households.**

This becomes more significant when we expand the lens to consider public housing amongst the larger tapestry of housing types, which is also partially displayed in the table below. This approach follows from Wyly and DeFillipis (2010), who examined the distribution of public subsidies for housing in NYC in broad terms, comparing public housing with the low-income housing tax credit (LIHTC), and the home mortgage interest deduction (HMID) and other subsidies not typically categorized as “public assistance”.

### Household’s Race by Select Housing Types For NYC & US

Households’ Race	NYC Population Overall [1]	NYCHA [2]	Homeownership in NYC [3]	US Population Overall [4]	Public Housing Nationally [5]	Homeownership in the US [3]
Black	23.8%	36.6%	21.6%	13.4%	45%	8.1%
Latinx	28.9%	54.9%	20.6%	18.5%	21%	10.1%
Asian	14.3%	3.1%	14.1%	5.9%	2%	4.5%
White	41.3%	3.1%	42.3%	76.3%	32%	81.3%

Data Sources: [1] Census Data, QuickFacts New York City, NY, [2] NYC Furman Center, 2019, [3] Census Data, ACS 5 Year, Table S2502 Demographic Characteristics for Occupied Housing Units [4] C Census Data, QuickFacts United States, [5] National Low Income Housing Coalition, 2012.

HMID is a public subsidy for homeowners and in relative terms, it has cost taxpayers substantially more money. For example, while Congress appropriated only \$6.4 billion for repairs and operating expenses for public housing in 2015, the public spent \$71 billion (or 11 TIMES) on the home mortgage interest deduction in that year alone. And yet, except for the Trump Administration, we rarely hear about how much taxpayer money goes towards subsidizing homeownership, nor do we hear it discussed as public assistance or in the same vein as public housing, as Wyly and DeFillipis (2010) point out.

Herein we must consider who HMID serves, and noting the differences furthers our understanding of the racialized disinvestment in public housing today. HMID is a public subsidy for homeowners of all backgrounds, but because the amount is proportional to the value of one’s home, it works the opposite of most subsidies and is larger for wealthier households. Further, because of racial discrimination in housing and labor markets, white households account for the majority of homeowners and have been the main beneficiary of HMID. Further still, HMID not only subsidizes access to housing like public housing, it also subsidizes a pathway towards wealth creation at the household level. To say this another way, as a country we have historically allocated more public money towards subsidizing wealth creation for mostly white and often wealthy households, than providing access to housing Black and Brown households who disproportionately have lower incomes due to centuries of discrimination and dehumanization. The disinvestment in public housing today perpetuates these longstanding trends.

While the distinctions between public housing and homeownership seem clear today, this was not so in the beginning; instead both programs were geared towards supporting mostly white households in securing stable, affordable and safe housing. Government support for homeownership for white households through the 20th C was one key policy decision that altered the population dynamics of both the city and public housing by leading to white flight from urban areas like NYC. Jasmin's testimony grounds our understanding further by highlighting additional 20th C government policies related to urban development that provoked housing insecurity for Black and Brown households through disinvestment and displacement at the same time (Cebull, 2020; Fullilove, 2004; Angotti and Morse, 2016; Rothstein, 2017).

Jasmin specifically calls out redlining and urban renewal for having provoked insecurity for her family personally, and we know that this was a more generalized phenomenon; that these policies prevented many Black and Brown households from accessing safe, stable and affordable housing for much of the 20th Century (Rothstein, 2017). While redlining is no longer official government policy today, some residents refer to the disinvestment in public housing as modern-day redlining, because the racialized nature of the disinvestment today mirrors that of the early part of the 20th C.

Urban renewal officially and unofficially continues in NYC today. Historically, it was one of the policies that helped expand public housing. However, urban renewal often constructed public housing through displacing existing communities considered to be slums. James Baldwin came to famously refer to the program as "negro removal" because it was largely Black communities that were torn apart and displaced (Cebull, 2020). Urban renewal also imploded Black and Brown working-class communities to build highways, bridges, tunnels, stadiums and other entertainment venues so that the emerging largely-white suburban dwellers - which government policy had supported in securing homes and building family wealth - could still easily access the city for work, leisure and entertainment. In conjunction with the discussion on the previous page, we could say, the government imploded community wealth in Black and Brown communities and displaced households using urban renewal, while reinforcing the pathway for white wealth creation already laid by homeownership.

Jasmin's testimony also indirectly speaks to broader US policies that provoked an original displacement from homelands for the same households which then became susceptible to the housing insecurity provoked by the government policies just described. Jasmin's family originally hails from Puerto Rico. They migrated to NYC in 1959, in the aftermath of Operation Bootstrap (1944), a US-led government program that fundamentally restructured the economy in Puerto Rico. Specifically, Operation Bootstrap opened up the island to private enterprise and foreign debt, and industrialized the nation's economy. From the standpoint of native Puerto Ricans, this dislocated families from the existing agricultural economy, and provoked the largest outmigration from Puerto Rico in history. The majority of families arrived in NYC in the mid-20th C in search of economic opportunity and a better quality of life for themselves and their descendants. The intervention in Puerto Rico can be understood more generally amongst various examples of western imperialism and colonization, including the capture and enslavement of the peoples of Africa by western European nations in the 1500, 1600, 1700, and 1800's. These historical moments can be seen as parallel with respect to provoking an original displacement from homelands for the ancestors of many Black and Brown households seeking housing in NYC and the US today.



Today, housing insecurity continues to be the norm for many Black and Brown households, as processes of state-sponsored gentrification have remade formerly-redlined communities from spaces of disinvestment to spaces of often-hyper investment (Angotti and Morse, 2016). In turn, rising land values and rents and increased police have remade homes and neighborhoods into hostile places from which Black and Brown working-class families are being displaced today (though not without a fight!) (Beck, 2020). Many public housing residents are acutely aware of the neighborhood-level changes, and see public housing as “a lifelong refuge”, despite declining living conditions (Navarro, 2015).

This context deepens our understanding of the racial makeup of public housing residents today and contextualizes our understanding of the disinvestment trend. Rather than “Black” and “Brown” or “Latinx”, the majority of residents are members of a global class of peoples that have been dispossessed and displaced from housing and homelands by the longstanding and ongoing processes of racial capitalism and colonization. In turn, testimonies from many residents, including Jasmin and Carmen, speak to the unique stability public housing has offered their families in an intergenerational plight for housing security provoked by bad government policy and western imperialism. Like the past government policies previously discussed, the decision to disinvest in public housing perpetuates these violent trends - with tangible consequences for residents physical and mental health (Gates, 2021) - whereas tenant testimonies suggest investment and expansion of public housing could work towards upending them.

# **RAD in Review**

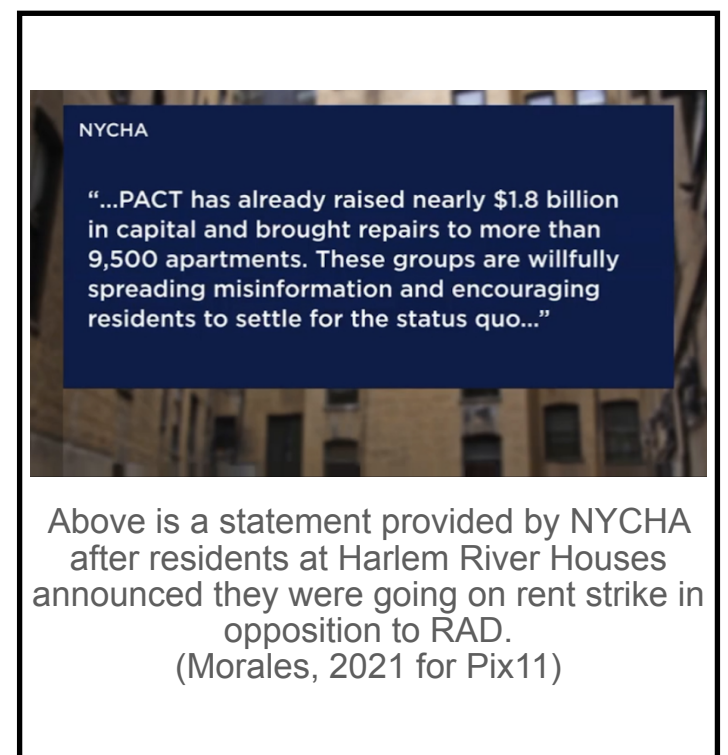
**What is RAD?**

Rental Assistance Demonstration or RAD was authorized by Congress in 2012 under the Obama Administration and implemented by HUD in 2013. RAD is the latest federal plan to be adopted for public housing in the United States and has been promoted as a response to the deterioration of the buildings and units nationally. The program’s expressed intent is to preserve this affordable housing stock by allowing housing authorities to apply to transfer - or convert - some or all of their public housing stock to an alternative public funding stream - project-based Section 8. This would allow the public housing authority to access debt and financing, as well as bring in private partners to manage and finance the properties and carry out the rehabilitation — all under the guise of making up for gaps in funding and adequately and expediently addressing repairs.

Other key aspects of these public-private partnerships championed by promoters of RAD from the outset include: the one-to-one replacement requirement, which means RAD cannot result in a loss of public housing units; the locked in affordability ensured through 20-year auto-renewing HAP contracts; the upholding of existing rights and responsibilities including residents right-to-return through long-term use agreements; and the preservation of public and non-profit ownership by using long-term ground leases. Even as mounting evidence highlights the ways in which these inscribed commitments have been violated, they continue to be championed, and in fact have been used to quiet and delegitimize dissent and contestation by those acting on behalf of the State (see image below).

**RAD’s Rapid Expansion**

RAD was initially conceived of as a “demonstration” or experimental program and the number of units that could enter the RAD program was limited to 60,000. However, RAD has expanded rapidly over time under both Democratic and Republican administrations (see Table 2), in part due to overwhelming interest from housing authorities of varying sizes spanning diverse geographies across the United States (Schwartz, 2017; Hanlon, 2017). In the first year alone, applications for RAD conversion were more than thrice the allotted amount leading President Obama to increase the cap quickly and substantially. There have also been calls in recent years to make the entirety of the national stock eligible for the program by President Trump and a band of “affordable housing industry leaders” who stood united under the moniker Lift the RAD Cap Coalition during his tenure.



Today, nearly 40% of the remaining national public housing stock (1.15 million units) is eligible for the program and according to

**Expansions of RAD Cap by Fiscal Year and Presidential Administration**

FISCAL YEAR	FY2012	FY2015	FY2017	FY2018
President	Obama	Obama	Trump	Trump
Unit Cap	60,000	185,000	225,000	455,000

HUD’s (2019) “final evaluation”, by the end of October 2018, 103,268 units had converted to/through the RAD program. By comparison, the previous plan for public housing, HOPE VI redeveloped 262 public housing projects over more than 15 years. Said another way, “the RAD program eclipsed HOPE VI as the largest program to reposition public housing” in just a little more than 2 years (Schwartz, 2014, 2017, p802)



## RAD in New York City

In 2012, Hurricane Sandy barreled through New York City, leaving many coastal communities at first submerged, and then in serious disrepair and in need of emergency response and services. This included Far Rockaway Queens, a peninsula separating Jamaica Bay from the Atlantic Ocean. This thin stretch of land was also home to six public housing developments including Redfern Houses, Carleton Manor, Hammels Houses, Beach 41st Consolidation, Ocean Bay Houses-Bayside and Ocean Bay Houses-Oceanside, which were already suffering from federal disinvestment and neglect. In 2015, RAD was discussed as a remedy by some, including local City Council member Donovan Richards, and with his endorsement, NYCHA brokered the first RAD deal in the City at Ocean Bay Houses-Bayside. RAD, it was argued, would generate a cash flow to make the repairs sustained by disinvestment and neglect, *and* the storm, and in fact, the City was able to tap into FEMA funds, increasing the public’s contribution further.

Also in 2016, we learned that the experimentation with RAD at Ocean Bay Houses was part of a larger plan called *NextGeneration NYCHA*, which was later released as *NYCHA 2.0* in 2018. These plans introduced, refined, and expanded the number of tools and programs NYCHA and the City could use to address the disrepair and funding deficits effecting public housing. This included the City’s unique brand of RAD, Permanent Affordability Commitment (better known as RAD/PACT), as well as other tools including “infill” and the selling of air rights. Taken together, their collective aim was to transfer ownership-like responsibilities and rights for specific and contained aspects of the properties - buildings, land, community resources, air - to private actors.

RAD was presented as an understated component of NextGeneration NYCHA; only 15,000 of the City’s units were slated for the program, and by the end of the application and approval process with HUD, it had been further whittled down to a mere 1,700 units. However, the 62,000-unit-pipeline outlined in NYCHA 2.0 made it clear that RAD was a key tool the City planned to use to set a course for the future of public housing in NYC.

This has become more clear with time as other tools have been stalled or taken up minimally, meanwhile RAD has expanded rapidly, mirroring and coinciding with national trends [1].

**Graph and Table of the Number of Units Planned or Converted Through RAD by Year in NYC**



Year	# of Units
2016	1,395
2017	0
2018	2,458
2019	1,321
2020	4,343
2021	6,475
2022	8,048

Official City Data, 2021: <https://www1.nyc.gov/site/nycha/about/pact.page>.

[1] Specifically, infill was widely criticized and rejected by residents and now mostly appears to be ice ([CBCNY, 2019](#)) (at least as an independent strategy), and the selling of air rights was never expected to raise substantial funds (projections were \$1 billion) and has hardly been used.

## Limited and Lagging Evaluations

In the midst of this swelling expansion, official evaluations have lagged and been limited. Official reporting by HUD has mainly focused on the financing of the projects (Econometrica, 2016; 2019). More specifically, they highlight the amount of money that's been leveraged, and with support from what subsidies or government programs, as well as metrics related to debt repayment and the financial viability of the properties. They also discuss how those funds have been used to make repairs and the extent to which affordability has been preserved. Overall, the program is presented as a success, as encapsulated by the words of the Assistant Secretary for Policy Development and Research at HUD Seth D. Appleton, "This report makes clear that RAD supports the preservation of affordable housing by improving the physical and financial conditions of public housing" (Econometrica, 2019, p. Vi).

What is largely missing from their assessment is evaluation of the resident experience. While absent from their initial "interim" report (2016), the subsequent "final evaluation" includes a section on "Tenant Effects". Their ultimate conclusion reinforces the program: "In general, tenants living in projects during RAD conversion were satisfied with the conversion process itself as well as the outcomes of that process" (p132). However, their findings are somewhat contradictory - here's an overview:

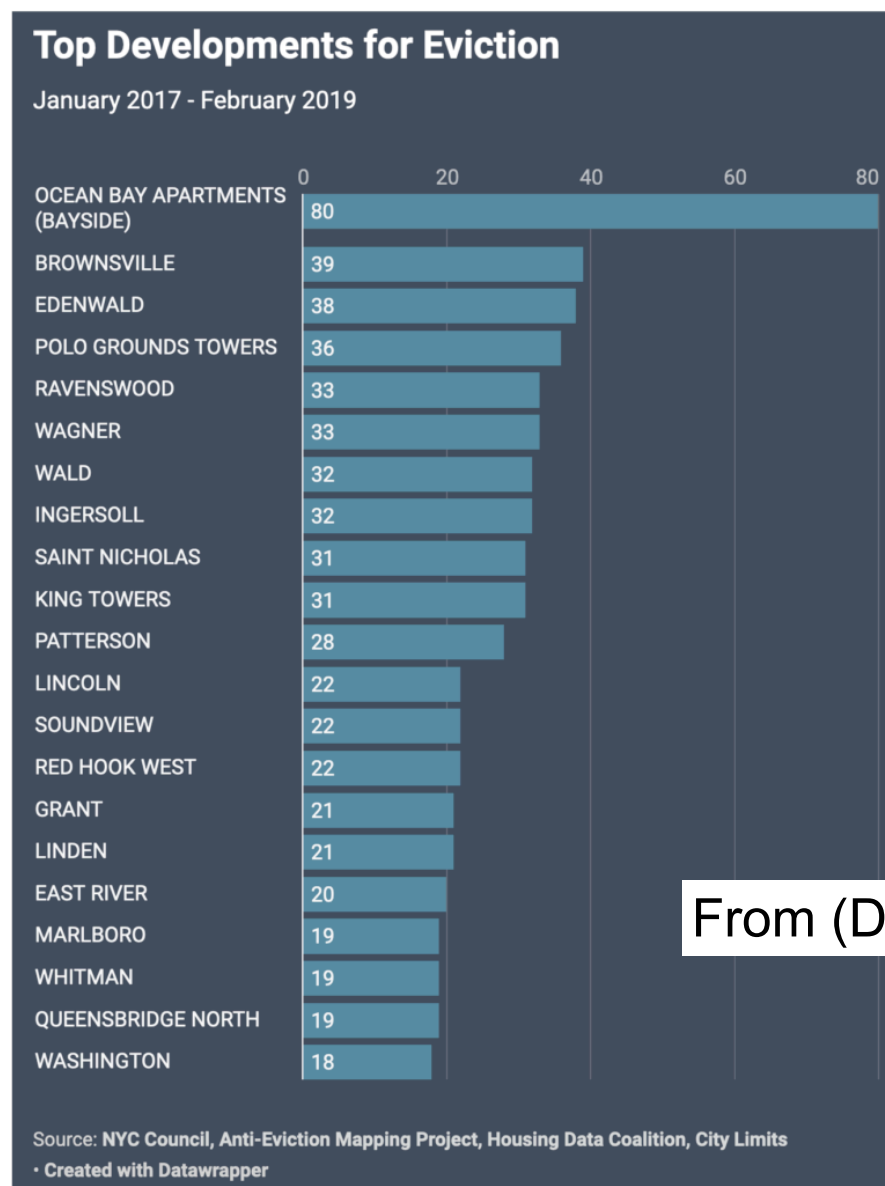
- Overall, a substantial percentage of the residents expressed unfamiliarity with the RAD program.
- Most residents perceived no change in property maintenance (53.8 percent) and management (53.0 percent). Nine percent said conditions were worse.
- About one-third of tenants were moved to a different unit because of RAD changes.
- The majority of residents moved said that they did receive help, and 90 % were either somewhat or very satisfied with the assistance they received.
- Housing unit satisfaction levels were higher for large PHAs (90 percent) compared with medium-sized (77 percent) and small PHAs (84 percent).
- Half of tenants said conditions were about the same (35.2%) or worse (9.1%) than before the conversion.
- Roughly one-half of tenants reported that they were not informed about the option to receive a Housing Choice Voucher (HCV) under the Choice Mobility option in the future during the RAD process.
- One-half of respondents indicated that the amount they paid for rent was currently higher than before RAD.
- About one-third of respondents (36 percent) also reported that utility costs went up.
- Respondents reported that their health was worse after RAD, although only a small proportion of respondents attributed those changes to changes in their housing.
- RAD seems to have had little effect on perceptions of safety .

Further concerning, this assessment is based on only 298 residents across 19 properties who were surveyed between March and April of 2018. By October of that year, 103,268 units had converted to RAD, meaning this is a less than 1% of households to undergo RAD conversion by the end of 2018.

## “Tenant Turnover”

Additional evaluations of the resident experience of RAD and RAD/PACT are equally contradictory. For example, two separate evaluations of buildings that were converted to the RAD program gave positive reviews of the program, while also demonstrating in their findings that there were increases in evictions (Enterprise Community Partners, Inc., 2021), or as one study put it, “tenant turnover” (Reilly, 2018). Further confusing, are the conflicted figures presented in the evaluation from Enterprise Community Partners, Inc. (2021). They collected data from the private manager, Wavecrest Management and from NYCHA for the time period from January 2017 to August 2019. While Wavecrest’s data reflected 50 evictions in the two and a half year span, NYCHA’s data showed only fifteen.

Further confounding, was how both sets of figured varied from those provided by an earlier study, which studied a slightly shorter time frame and found many more evictions (DiPrinzio, 2019). Specifically, this study, which was a combined effort of City Limits and the Anti-Eviction Mapping Project [2], found 80 evictions at Ocean Bay Houses between January 2017 and February 2019, and further, found that this was more than double the rate of the development with the second highest number of evictions. This article received a lot of attention because not only does this evidence a real threat to tenants, it also calls into question one of RAD’s main aims, which is to keep tenants in place.



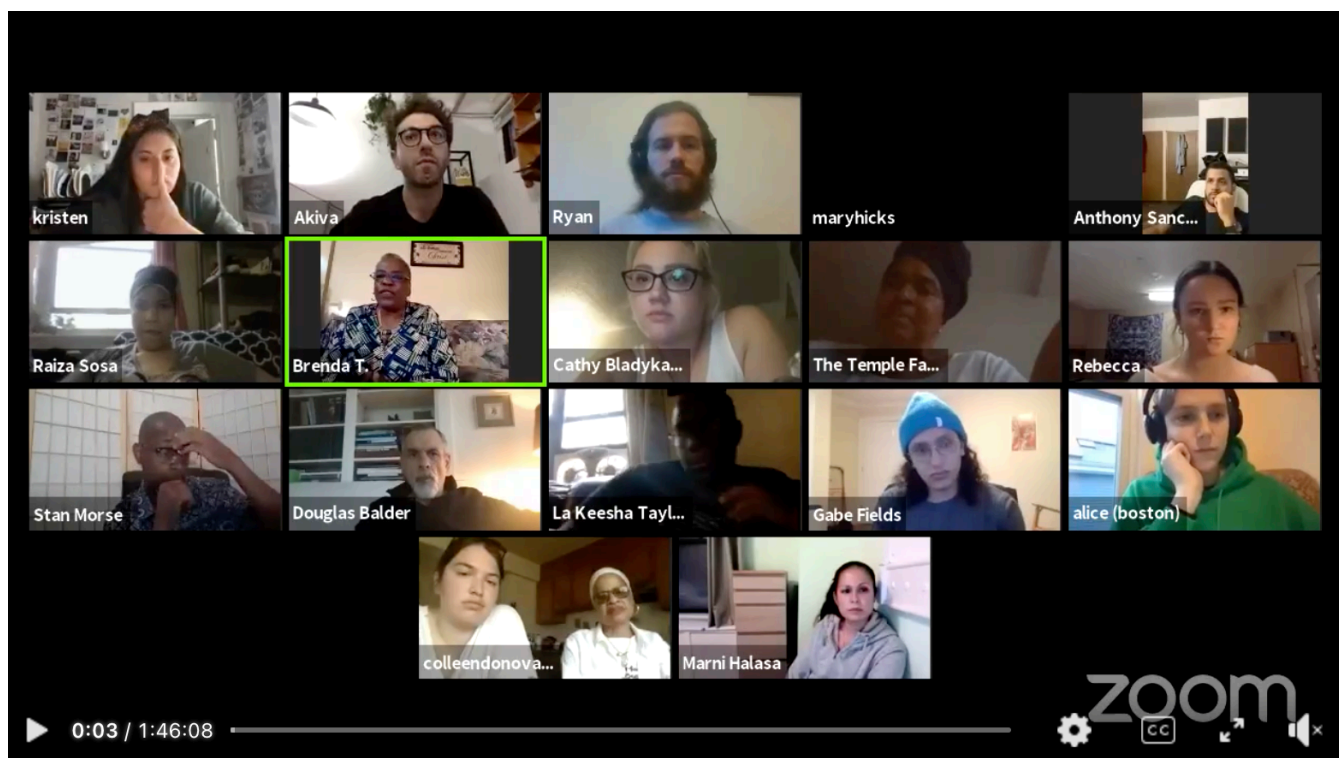
From (DiPrinzio, 2019)

[2] City limits is an online news publication focusing on local politics in New York City. The Anti-Eviction Mapping Project is a data-visualization, critical cartography, and multimedia storytelling collective documenting dispossession and resistance upon gentrifying landscapes across the US.

## A Crescendo of Concern

Further, a growing crescendo of concern and evidence from residents and advocates suggests that a robust evaluation is long overdue. Specifically, in New York City, tenants from multiple developments are engaged in multi-year oppositions, some beginning months or even years prior to conversion, and continuing through it and raising awareness about violations and worsening conditions (McDowell, 2019; Holliday Smith, 2020a; Holliday Smith, 2020b; Aucello, 2021; Moses, 2021; Rock, 2020; Wilcox and Chediak, 2021). These concerns are supported and amplified when viewed alongside similar resident-led opposition in other cities like Baltimore, Minneapolis and San Francisco (Broadwater, 2018; Tkacik, 2020; Broadwater and Richman, 2018; Turck, 2016; Lee, 2019; Reeves, 2019; Garcia, 2021).

The consistency of concerns and claims raised in news coverage were echoed at the Truth Commission on RAD/PACT and the Privatization of Public Housing organized by members of the Justice For All Coalition and United Front Against Displacement in May 2021. This national event included 9 residents from different developments across NYC and 5 residents and 3 organizers from other cities including Boston, Minneapolis, and the Bay Area. On the whole, the claims painted a stark picture of the resident experience of RAD conversion, which was unanimously characterized as a sheer disregard for residents and their quality of life and their right to housing. This manifested in different ways in the various testimonies – as ongoing neglect, ramped up harassment, the instatement of new rules that restricted the use of the properties their homes stood on, and more.



RAD Forum

Listen for yourself:  
<https://tinyurl.com/RadTruth>

These outcries and contestations have been supported by mounting evidence collected by legal advocates. Specifically, in 2017 the National Housing Law Project (2017) wrote to then HUD Secretary Ben Carson outlining consistent, clear and blatant violations of tenants' rights under RAD that were specifically:

*“not limited to a few select owners or housing authorities, but are reflective of problems facing RAD conversions across the country and result from limited guidance and oversight in the program.”*

These include:

- Lack of transparency before, during and after RAD conversion.
- Resident education requirements are not robust enough and PHAs do not always meet minimum requirements either
- Despite clear requirements, PHAs frequently have inadequate relocation policies.
- PHAs and owners frequently interfere with tenant organizing activities
- Although prohibited, residents are routinely re-screened at the time of conversion for income, credit history, criminal history and more. For example, residents have been expressly told they are “over-income”.
- Although prohibited, numerous residents have been denied their right to grievance procedures.
- Explicit violations of fair housing and civil rights laws have been identified such as familial status discrimination, failure to provide reasonable accommodations to residents with disabilities and failure to provide translation services to individuals with limited English proficiency.
- In transfers of assistance, residents are told they must move a significant distance away from the public housing property. Such transfers will have a devastating impact on residents because they will be moved far from their friends, families, workplaces, churches, schools and medical providers.

NHLP's findings were not based on systematic research and no sample size was provided. However, HLP's findings come not only from the legal advocacy work of their organization, but also from the national Housing Justice Network (HJN) which they host. HJN includes “a vast field network of over 1,000 community-level housing advocates and tenant leaders, many of whom practice in jurisdictions that have converted properties to RAD, are in the process of converting properties to RAD, or wish to convert properties to RAD” (Roller, 2017).

At the same time, their conclusions were contradictory; amidst the litany of issues they raised, their recommendations were to increase oversight and strengthen tenant protections.

Five years later, NHLP's findings were corroborated by another legal advocacy group. In 2022, Human Rights Watch released a report that systematically investigated public housing and RAD/PACT conversions in NYC. Though largely overlooked, this study was fairly groundbreaking in scope and outcomes.



## Human Rights Watch Sounds Alarm on Abuses

*“Based on research conducted between October 2020 and October 2021, this report finds that PACT has negatively impacted the right to housing of low-income residents by leading to a reduction in oversight and crucial protections for tenants’ rights, including the loss of a federal monitor overseeing a previous settlement with NYCHA. Inadequate government oversight and avenues for redress may render tenants more vulnerable to other violations of their rights, such as increased evictions leading to a loss of housing or ongoing habitability issues” (Human Rights Watch, 2022)*

Though the report ends by making recommendations similar to NHLP, the advocacy group had put their research to work the year prior advocating for full funding of Section 9 public housing.



August 31, 2021 3:09PM EDT

Letter to US Senate Banking Committee and US House Financial Services Committee  
Reinvest in Public Housing to Protect Residents’ Rights

### Key Findings

- Budget cuts have violated the human rights of public housing residents.
- It is not clear that RAD has led to consistent improvements in the quality of housing. Several residents in RAD-converted developments in New York City reported ongoing issues with the habitability of their homes and with accessing crucial resources.
- Some RAD-converted developments have seen an increase in their annual eviction rates.

### Methodology

Human Rights Watch interviewed 40 people for this report, between January and June 2021, including 17 residents across five NYCHA housing developments that had recently undergone RAD conversions. Human Rights Watch also interviewed 10 current and former residents across nine different non-RAD NYCHA housing developments, one of whom was also interviewed for her expertise as a lawyer working on housing. Most residents we spoke with were women of color. Over 90 percent of NYCHA residents are Black or Latinx, and over 75 percent of NYCHA households are headed by women.

In addition, Human Rights Watch interviewed 15 housing policy specialists, lawyers, and activists, as well as one private developer managing a NYCHA development.

### TENANT TESTIMONY:

“Monopoly is being played with our lives,” said Cesar Yoc, a NYCHA resident in the Bronx, referencing the multi-player economics-themed board game. “That’s what the fight is, to protect us from investors who don’t give an ‘F’ about us.”

## Further Expansions

Despite these concerns and cries and growing opposition from residents, plans have not changed. If anything, changes to RAD have expanded the program, at the same time, new derivatives of RAD have been introduced that have provoked additional concerns.

## Section 18

In December of 2018, HUD released a special notice allowing PHAs to use Section 18 of the US Housing Act of 1937 for 25% of the units in what might otherwise be a typical RAD deal. In March of 2019, NYCHA sent a “Significant Amendment” to HUD in which it asked to expand its use of Section 18, and in January of 2021, HUD expanded the options for RAD/Section 18 Blends further. In line with RAD’s overall mission, HUD’s expressed goals for this expansion over time were to “preserve and recapitalize more public housing assets and provide robust resident rights” (HUD, 2021).

Section 18 broadly authorizes the demolition or disposition of public housing on the basis of physical obsolescence or health and safety risks, or if a small PHA wants to offload some or all of its housing stock. However, in conjunction with RAD, Section 18 is discussed as a preservation and redevelopment tool that can supplement RAD. The specific benefit of Section 18 is that the vouchers it allows PHAs to access are more valuable. To say this another way, private partners can receive nearly double the public money per unit under Section 18. As Victor Bach of Community Service Society explains, “NYCHA’s motivation is they want to have stronger rent stream that makes the deal feasible and optimally of interest to the developers. Frankly all of the deals are difficult to make because there’s a gap in the financing. So if you have higher rent streams, it’s easier to finance the deal” (Whitford, 2019)

Use is restricted (or enabled) by the construction cost estimates for a particular project and for “high-cost areas” (i.e. areas where construction costs exceed 120% of the national average). This means that if the rehab of a project is equal to 90% of the Housing Construction Cost Thresholds determined by HUD, Section 18 could be used for 60% of the units, but in high-cost areas, 80% of the units are eligible for Section 18. In NYC, the implications could be robust given that all five boroughs are categorized as high-cost areas (HUD, 2019)

Concerns about the use of Section 18 have been raised by legal advocates, elected officials, and residents. Specifically, while federal law states that RAD contracts automatically renew every 20 years, there is no equivalent rules under Section 18, and further, on its own, the program offers little in the way of tenant protections (Ortiz, 2021). Significantly, concerns about these implications were raised in comments to NYCHA by some of the same advocates who have been promoting RAD in NYC, specifically Lucy Newman of Legal Aid Society and Victor Bach of Community Service Society. Manhattan Borough President Gale Brewer also echoed these concerns to no avail. Further still, the National Low Income Housing Coalition described the introduction of Section 18 to RAD as “drastic” (NLIHC, 2021), while Deborah Thorpe, deputy director of NHLP noted it as a “major change” from the early days of RAD. Further, Thorpe notes that now we’re seeing a lot of blended projects, but “we know so little it seems irresponsible to continue the expansion without knowing more” (Ortiz, 2021).

Despite these concerns, plans have continued uninterrupted.

## The Blueprint for Change or Ending Public Housing in NYC?

In December 2020, NYCHA's Chair and CEO Greg Russ introduced another plan for public housing in New York City. A key part of the Blueprint for Change is the creation of a new quasi-public entity called the Public Preservation Trust, and the transference of all remaining public housing units not slated for RAD to the Trust through a long-term lease. A second step is to transition the units from Section 9 public housing to Section 8, like RAD, but in this case, the plan relies solely on Section 18. Again, a key attraction highlighted by NYCHA is the increased value of the vouchers. Additionally, the shared goal is to transition the units to Section 8 so that the public subsidy can be used more directly in longer-term financing deals. Despite two years of consistent opposition from residents, NYCHA has continued this march forward as well, with legislation currently under consideration by the State's Assembly and Senate.

Taken together, RAD and the Blueprint would end Section 9 public housing in New York City and likely quicken the pace of ending public housing nationally. This would be devastating for current residents for the reasons outlined on page 10, and for future residents who would not have access to the stable affordable housing described by Jasmin on page 11.

## Our Charge

Through all of this, elected officials have mostly been silent on RAD, if not supportive of the program. In response to the concerns described on page 17, 18 and 19, public hearings have been held, but no action to further investigate the issues of concern to residents, let alone address them, appears to have been taken. As if intentionally emblematic of this very tension, Alicka Ampry-Samuel, the new HUD Regional Administrator of New York and New Jersey was recently photographed at a celebration of the RAD program. Meanwhile in her former role as Council Member and Chair of the Public Housing Committee, she headed up hearings on RAD/PACT where tenants voiced their concerns directly.

When this concern was raised by our team with HUD Secretary Marcia Fudge, we were told she needed more evidence of what was going on in order to make a better decision. We were also told by another resident organizer that Senator Chuck Schumer (NY-D) said the same thing. Further, neither public official or their office indicated they were planning to expend resources on such an endeavor at that time.

**We the residents need more information about what consequences the program would have for our lives and our futures. In the absence of intervention by public officials, we the residents have had to take matters into our own hands to make sure our community has the information we need so we can engage on our behalf accordingly. This research is critical in helping other public housing residents as well as policymakers better understand what RAD really means for residents and take necessary action to ensure our rights as tenants, and our right to housing is protected.**

# Resident-led Research

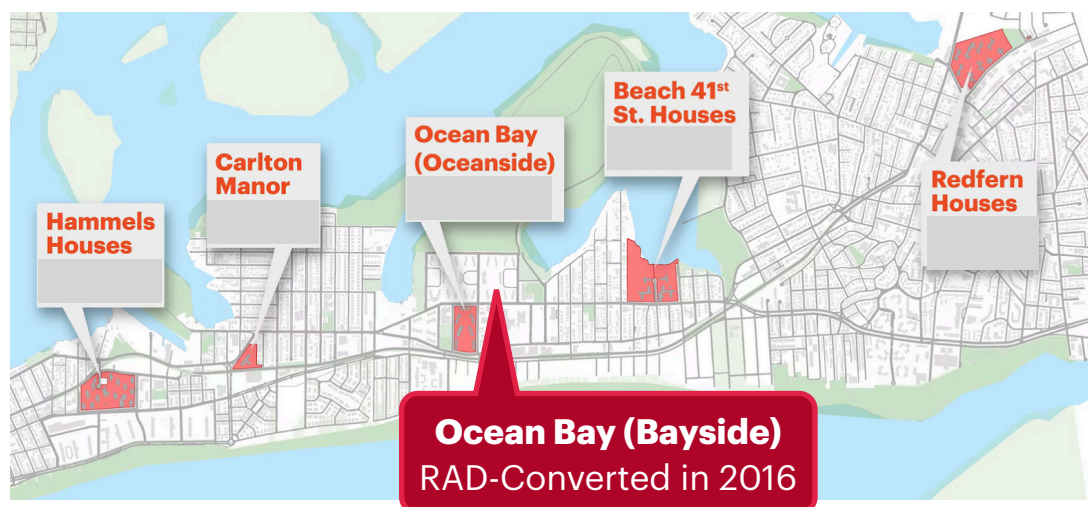
## RAD in the Rockaways

Ocean Bay Houses in Far Rockaway was the first public housing development in NYC to be converted to RAD. As discussed, the results of the conversion have been mixed at best. Specifically, concerns have been raised about the increase in evictions (Enterprise Community Partners, Inc., 2021; DiPrinzio, 2019) as well as the lack of transparency around repairs (Holiday Smith, 2020). Further, at a recent public hearing by New York City Council’s Committee on Public Housing, held on May 3 2022, an Ocean Bay Houses resident gave testimony wherein she stated: “Stop with the lies... there’s been high evictions, some seniors are on pantry lines now, folks who were getting transfers because of domestic violence are not in process any longer... stop with the lies.”

Rockaway is a small community of approximately 7 square miles. At present there are five other public housing developments that neighbor Ocean Bay Houses and provide homes to 10,000 residents. In April 2021, members of this research and organizing team learned that the other developments in the Rockaways were also being slated for RAD conversion.

### Study Timeline

We began assembling our research and organizing team in 2021. For the most part, this meant reconvening existing tenant leaders in the Rockaways, many of whom had also been involved in carrying out a previous research study published in 2020 (Gates, 2021). We also teamed up with a graduate student who has been researching and organizing around public housing for a few years.



During the summer of 2021, we drafted our survey which was based on concerns that had been raised in research or by residents. In Fall 2021, we sought funding and piloted the survey. From November 2021 - January 2022 we surveyed neighbors at Ocean Bay Houses. In Spring 2022 we analyzed the data and began sharing our findings with neighbors at community events.

**Our findings on the following pages are consistent with concerns raised by residents and legal advocates, and offer additional details for understanding how RAD effects residents.**

Though our findings conclude that RAD is at best problematic for many residents, **we offer these findings as a starting place for both further and more robust research and program assessments, and for policymakers whose silence on RAD has so far been deafening.**

### TENANT TESTIMONY:

“Stop with the lies... there’s been high evictions, some seniors are on pantry lines now, folks who were getting transfers because of domestic violence are not in process any longer... stop with the lies.”



# RESIDENT EXPERIENCES OF RAD SURVEY

This survey aims to better understand the consequences RAD has for the quality of life and well-being of residents.

1. First, are you still living at [read address from form?] **Yes / No**
2. If moved, where did you move to and why? **Open-ended**
3. How long have you lived or did you live at Ocean Bay? **Number of years**
4. Are you aware that your buildings underwent RAD conversion in 2017? (Choose one)  
**Yes I'm aware / No, I'm not aware.**
5. Overall, how satisfied are you with your housing and the quality of life at Ocean Bay Houses? (Choose one) **Very Satisfied - my housing is great / Satisfied - my housing is mostly ok / Unsatisfied - my housing is mostly not ok / Very Unsatisfied - I want to move.**
6. IF THEY RESPOND "NOT SATISFIED" OR "VERY UNSATISFIED" TO EITHER ABOVE QUESTION > Why do you stay living at Ocean Bay Houses? Do you have plans to move? (Check all that apply)  
**I would move if I could / I stay because I can't afford to leave / I stay because my family and friends and community are here / other**
7. Do you prefer management under NYCHA or your private manager under RAD. (Choose one)  
**Prefer NYCHA / Prefer private manager / Its the same / other**
8. Have your living conditions improved or gotten worse since converting to RAD? (Check all that apply)  
**My living conditions have improved / my living conditions have gotten worse / my living conditions have not changed**
9. Is it easier or harder to get repairs made in your apartment? (Choose one) **Easier / Harder / the same / other**
10. Has your rent increase? **Yes / No**
11. IF THEIR RENT HAS INCREASED > How many times has your rent increased since the building was converted? **Number of times**
12. IF THEIR RENT HAS INCREASED > By how much has your rent increased? **Cumulative amount of increase**
13. How has the recertification process changed since RAD conversion?  
**I have to recertify more than once per year / I have to recertify with both NYCHA and the private manager**
14. Have there been any new rules been put in place that restrict your use of the property since the building converted? **Yes / No**
15. IF YES TO NEW RULES > Can you list a few of them ? **Open-ended**
16. What else has changed as a result of the conversion? **Open-ended**
17. In your opinion, is management doing a good job? **Yes / No**
18. How does your management now compare with management before the conversion (when managed by NYCHA)? **Much better / Better / Worse / Much worse**
19. Is there a clear and easy-to-use system for submitting requests for repairs? **Yes / No**
20. Are our repair needs being met in a timely and respectful manner? **Yes / No**
21. Is new management transparent and considerate of tenants and their safety when making repairs? **Yes / No**
22. Have there been any attempts by managements to evict you, "justified" or not? **Yes / No**
23. Are you aware of neighbors that have been threatened with eviction or evicted? **Yes / No**
24. Are you aware of the principles in your lease which outline your rights as a tenant? **Yes / No**

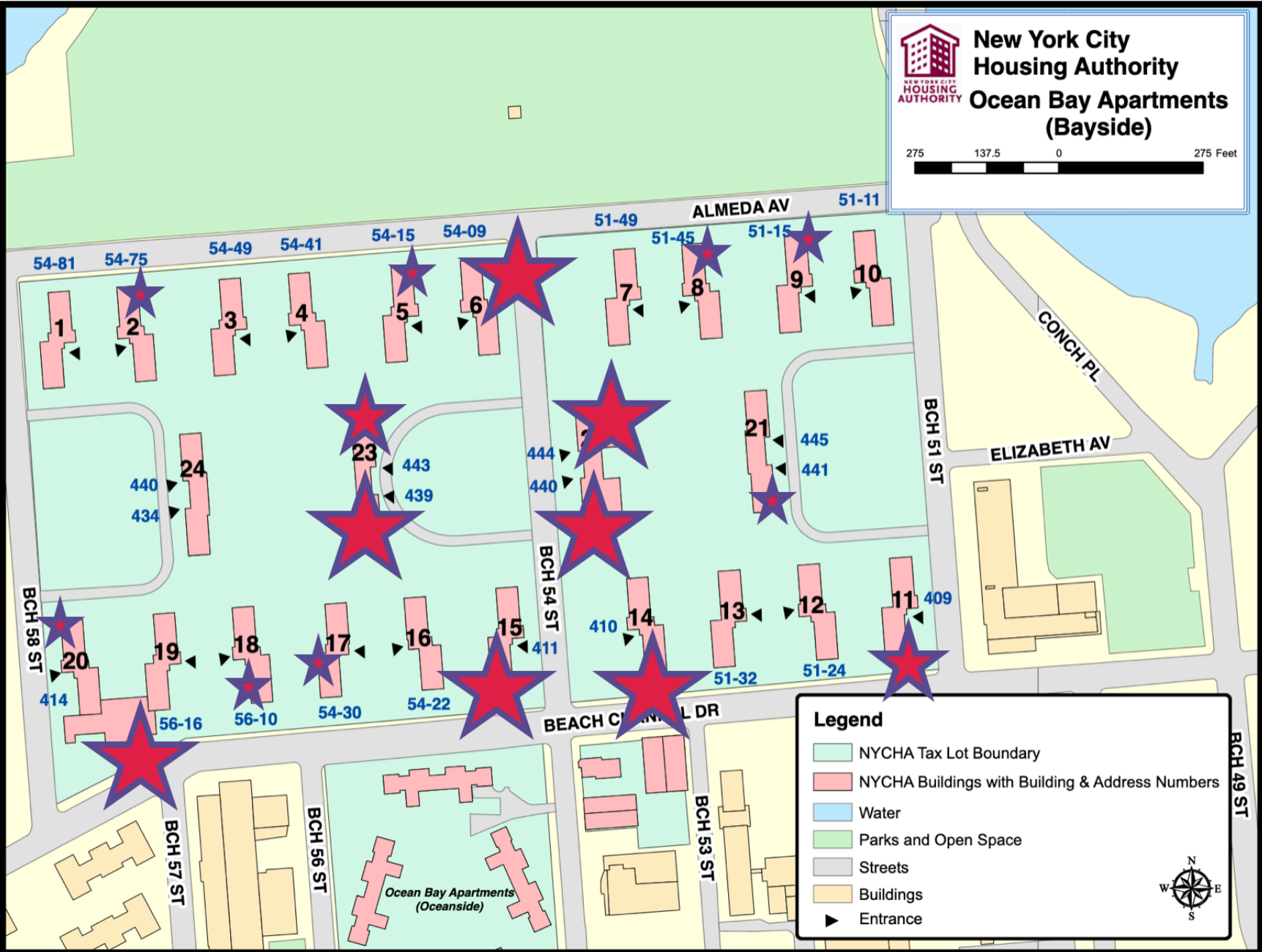
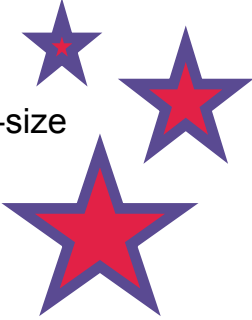
### Sample Description

Between November 2021 and January 2022, we surveyed 137 households at Ocean Bay Houses. This is 12% of the 1,137 units at the development or more than 1 in 10 households. These households were unevenly distributed across 16 of the 24 buildings that make up the Bayside section of Ocean Bay Houses, which was converted to RAD in 2016.

At 8 of these buildings, 1-2 residents were surveyed. This is indicated by a smaller star below.

At 2 of these buildings, between 5-10 residents were surveyed. This is indicated by a medium-size star below.

At 7 of these buildings, 10 or more residents were surveyed. This is indicated by a large star below. In these 7 buildings, between 12 and 19 residents were surveyed (average: 14.3).



### Bifurcating the Sample

The majority of households, or 67% , had lived at Ocean Bay Houses for more than a decade, and had experienced residency as Section 9 public housing tenants managed by NYCHA, and as part of RAD/PACT program and management by the new private management company. Eighteen of the surveyed households had moved into Ocean Bay Houses within the last five years, or after the conversion took place, and had never experienced management under NYCHA.

Because some questions asked residents to compare their experiences under the different management types, the sample was split in two, to form a pre-conversion group and a post-conversion group.

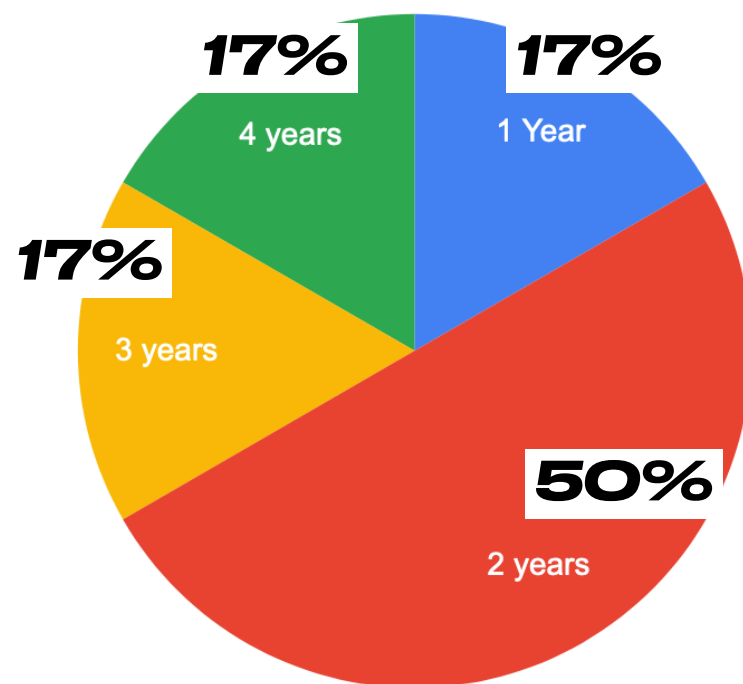
### Post-Conversion Sample

Residents who moved in after Ocean Bay Houses was converted to RAD, who had never experienced NYCHA management were grouped as the post-conversion group. While all 18 of these households moved in in the last 5 years, the majority of them moved in in the last 2 years. In the analysis, their responses are only included for questions that asked about their experiences of the new private management company, as they could not speak to how conditions had changed.

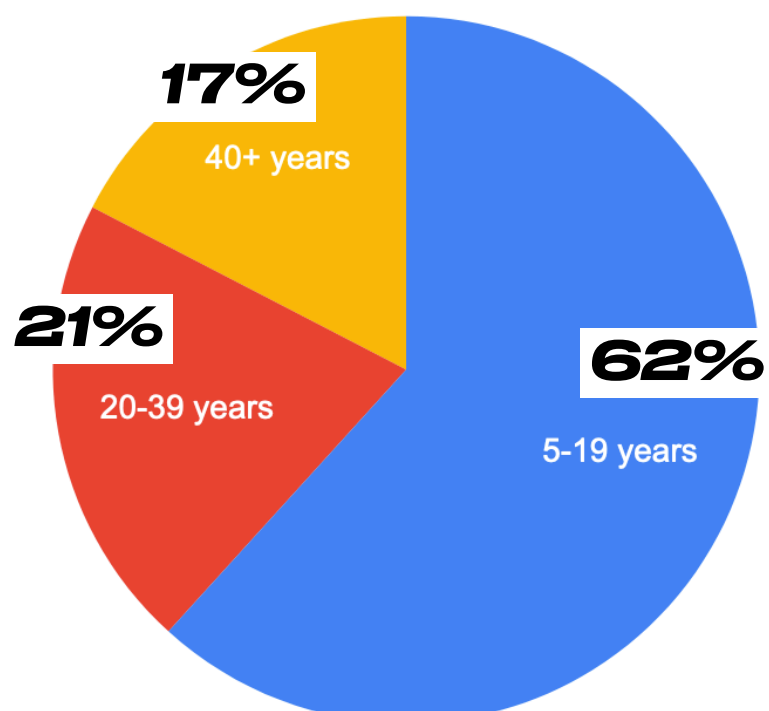
### Pre-Conversion Sample

Residents who lived at Ocean Bay Houses before, during, and after the conversion were grouped as the pre-conversion group. These 115 households all lived at Ocean Bay Houses longer than 5 years, with the majority living there for more than a decade, a third living at the development for more than 20 years, and 20 households (or 15% of the sample) residing at Ocean Bay houses for 40 or more years. Responses from these residents were included for all questions.

Post-Conversion Sample - Length of Tenure



Pre-Conversion Sample - Length of Tenure



Full Sample - Length of Tenure

<b>Post-Conversion</b>	
1-4 years	18
<b>Pre-Conversion</b>	
5-19 years	71
20-39 years	24
40+ years	20
Missing	4
<b>Total Sample</b>	<b>137</b>

**The majority of the sample had lived at Ocean Bay Houses for more than a decade, while nearly half have lived there for more than two decades.**

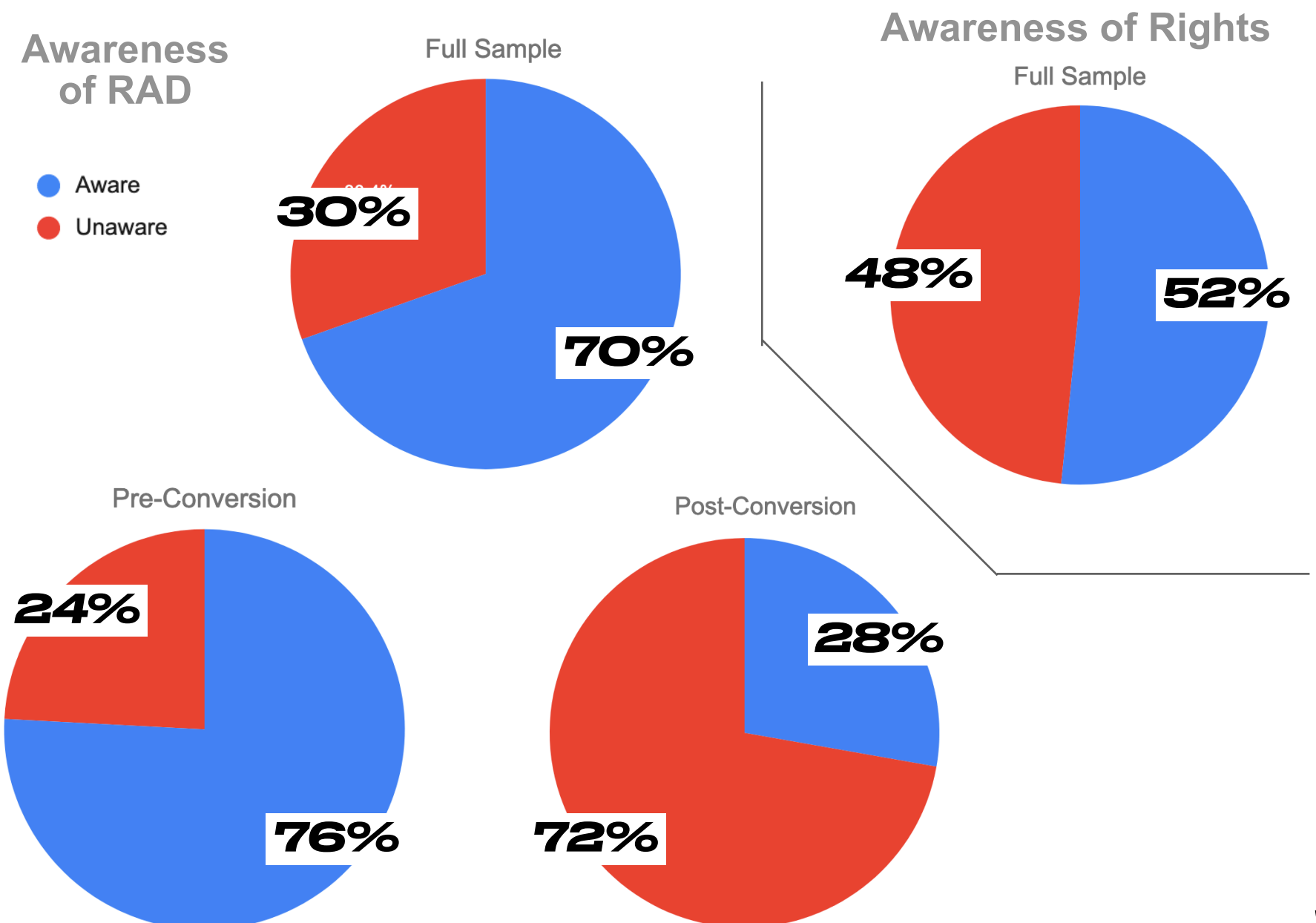
## Awareness of RAD

**About one-third of respondents were not aware that their homes were a part of the RAD program.**

While this was much higher for the post-conversion group (N=14, 82.4% of post-conversion sample), about one-quarter of pre-conversion residents (N=29) were also unaware. This is consistent with other research findings as well, and has long been accompanied with calls for greater outreach and resident engagement.

NYC appeared to take resident engagement seriously by convening a working group of tenants and experts and policymakers to craft a specific set of principles that would accompany leases. Not only were some tenants included in the drafting of the specified rights (including some of members of our research team), but tenants were also meant to be made aware of their rights so they can take appropriate action when needed. However, about half of the overall sample (N=62, or 49.2%), including half of the pre-conversion sample (N=51 or 47.7%) were not aware of these specific rights. Further, 11 residents did not answer these questions, suggesting these are conservative estimates and the number is likely a little higher.

**The lack of awareness of residents' rights is highly concerning. If tenants' are not aware of their rights, how can they advocate for themselves? Also, if the creation of these rights was a critical process for NYCHA and RAD partners, how are tenants not aware of them? This is even more critical given that the violation of tenants' rights and protections has been a key issue of RAD and RAD/PACT that has been identified by legal advocates (Roller, 2017; Gandour, 2022).**



## Overall Satisfaction & Quality of Life

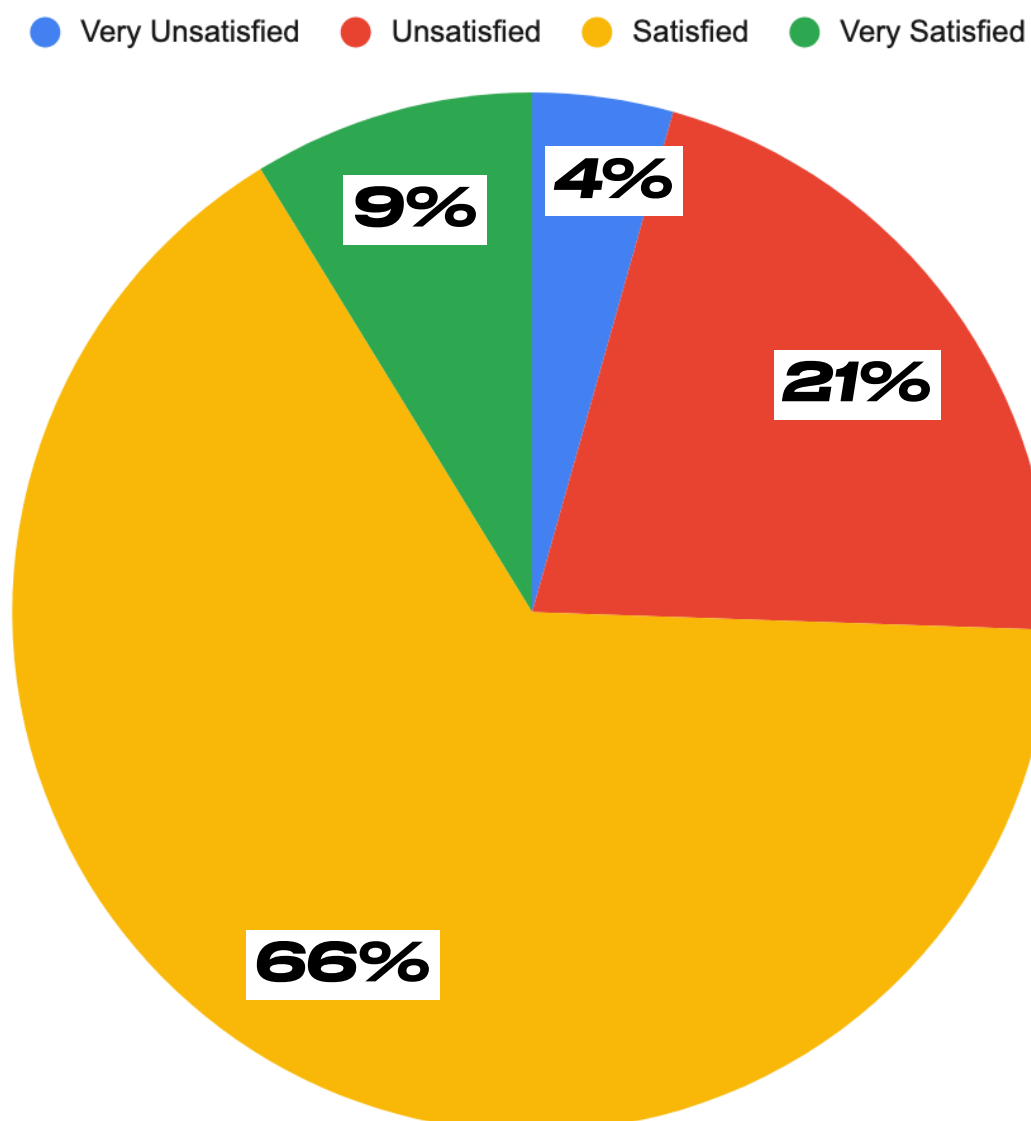
While the majority of households responded that they were “satisfied” with their quality of life at Ocean Bay Houses and that their housing was “mostly ok” (N=90, 66% of full sample), a significant portion of households reported that they were “not satisfied” or “very unsatisfied” with their housing, and that their housing was “mostly not ok” or that they “wanted to move” (N=35 or 26%).

***Conversely, less than 10% of respondents (N=12) were “very satisfied” with their quality of life at Ocean Bay Houses. This is alarming given the ambitious claims of repair and improvement that are being used to justify the continuation of RAD and RAD/PACT.***

We also sought to understand what reasons residents had for continuing to reside at Ocean Bay Houses despite their lack of satisfaction with their housing and/or quality of life. Thirty-five households answered this question, with 10 saying they stayed because of family and friends and community ties, 12 said they stayed because they could not afford to leave, and another 13 said they would move if they could, but offered no further explanation for why they would or could not.

Importantly, ***9 of those who admitted they would move if they could had also reported that they were satisfied with their quality of life.*** This is one of the tensions that emerged from our survey that requires additional research.

### Overall Satisfaction for Full Sample





## Resident Report Card on Private Management

The following set of questions are taken verbatim from the survey, and the responses from the full sample of respondents (N=137) are included (percentages adjusted for missing data). These questions assess the functioning of the new private property manager from the perspective of the resident. Each question was “yes” or “no”, and here we translate the percentages of positive responses into a letter grade. For example, if 95% of residents reported that the property manager was doing a good job, the property manager would get an A. However, what we find through this method of assessment and analysis, is that the private property manager is doing poorly across the board. Remember, these assessments are taken 5 years after the program change. This is not a program that is just getting up and running.

### Is management doing a good job?

**52% say “yes” F-**

While about half of households responded that “yes” management is doing a good job, more than one-third said “no,” they weren’t (N= 49 or 383.6%) and 8 reported they were “sometimes”. In specifying their perspectives, two residents noted they had problems communicating with workers because of language barriers (many only spoke Spanish), three noted that high staff turnover was a problem, and two noted that they had consistent trouble getting in touch with management.

### Is there a clear and easy-to-use system for submitting requests for repairs?

**66% say “yes” D+**

With respect to the system for addressing repair needs, again a clear majority said “yes”, the system was “clear and easy-to-use”. At the same time, more than a third disagreed, responding “no” (N=43 or 35.2%). Five residents explained their negative perspective further:

- ▶ **“When you call you have to wait for a long time to get through.”**
- ▶ **“Same as NYCHA the super never answers his phone.”**
- ▶ **“No, You have to go into the office to get any real repairs.”**
- ▶ **“No, It was hard because no one would answer the phone in the office and you had to leave your apartment and go to the office to make a request for repairs.”**
- ▶ **“You have to go inside of the office although there is a super downstairs.”**

### Are your repair needs being met in a timely and respectful manner?

**55% say “yes” F**

In terms of whether repair needs were being met in a timely and respectful manner, more than half of tenants responded in the affirmative, “yes” while more than one-third reported they were not, “no”. In further elaborating their concerns, two tenants cited ongoing mold issues that had never been addressed, another commented on how difficult it is to get ahold of the management office, while another still noted that “the super in the building never does any work and is rude.” One other respondent noted that “They make repairs before Section 8 makes inspections.” Another 12 respondents were less clear, responding with “sometimes”, “somewhat”, and “depends”, while another 3 respondents stated that it was the same as NYCHA.

### Is new management transparent and considerate of tenants and their safety when making repairs?

**65% say “yes” D**

Regarding whether management was transparent and considerate of tenants and their safety when making repairs, again, more than half responded “yes”, but one-third responded “no” (34 or 26.6%) or “sometimes” (N=11 or 8.6%). A few residents clarified their feelings further:

- ▶ **“Yes, when they do come”.**
- ▶ **Due to continual changing of staff, communication is not always good.”**

**Sample note:** 32 individuals didn’t answer at least one question. Of those, 6 missed two questions, 1 missed three questions, and 1 missed all 4 questions. All questions were answered by 106 households.

## Drawing Comparisons: How does private management under the RAD program compare with NYCHA?

*Analysis limited to the pre-conversion group (N=115); percentages adjusted for missing data.*

More than half of households surveyed responded that they either preferred management under NYCHA (N=33 or 31.4%) or found private management to be the same (N=33 or 31.4%). **Only a little more than one-third of households preferred management by the private partner under the RAD program** (N=39 or 37.1%). Similarly, **nearly 40% of residents said that private management was “worse” or “much worse” than management under NYCHA (N=42).**

***At the same time, nearly one-third of households also reported that their living conditions had not improved (N=36 or 31.9%), while an additional 13 respondents (11.5%) reported that living conditions had worsened.***

Relatedly, less than half of respondents indicated that repair needs were easier to address under private management/RAD. Instead, about one-third noted that the experience was the same (N=38 or 34.5%), while ***one-fifth of respondents noted it was harder to get repair needs met under private management/RAD (N=23 or 20.9%).***

Two residents clarified their experience further with both indicating that their mold problem was never handled and that they continued to be concerned about the consequences for the health of household members.

### Additional Changes

About half of households surveyed noted additional changes (N=51 or 51%) — with about half of those households highlighting positive changes and the other half noting negative changes (N=29 or 29.3% for both). Only four residents noted both positive and negative changes.



#### Positive Changes (N=29)

The most widely cited improvement, by 18 households, was that the **buildings and grounds were cleaner**. An additional **9 households commented on the improved safety** of the buildings (for example, front doors closed and locked). Another **5 households noted that they appreciated the apartment improvements** they saw, like the new painting, new cabinets and new floors, while another **5 households noted that rules were now being enforced** (i.e. no smoking in the apartments; pick up dog waste)

## Negative Changes (N=29)

The majority of negative changes fall under the category of “issues with management” (N=16). Twelve residents specified further: one noted that upkeep is not handled properly while another claimed the private manager was responsible for destroying the property; another noted that there were less workers on site than before, while another still noted that workers were regularly hanging out in the hallways while on the job; four residents noted that it was difficult to communicate with management; another noted that there was too much paperwork at recertification time, while another noted that they had to “consistently...give information to management pertaining to income”; a final resident noted that “they shut down the water at any time without notice”.

The second largest complaint, levied by 9 residents, was lack of access to the staircases, which were locked and only some residents were given keys. Residents concerns about the stairs were grounded in fire safety - the stairs are *the* exit strategy in the event of a fire, and many residents would not have access.

The third largest negative change, discussed by eight respondents, was about other restrictions that had been placed on residents’ use of the property. Specifically, residents noted that community spaces had been locked, you couldn’t barbecue on the property anymore, you couldn’t have a mat in front of your door, and there was no decorating in the hallways.

As some respondents further clarified, some of these rules were not new, but were now tied to hefty fines if breached, including decorating the hallway. Fines cited by residents were usually \$500; except in the case of a lost key card, which now cost \$15.

Three additional respondents spoke to negative changes: two said the laundry room was too expensive to use and one noted that safety had not improved.

### Increased Paperwork

A key concern among residents has been in regards to the recertification process. Completing this process successfully sets a resident on the right track to being charged the correct rent, which is what makes their home affordable to them. There were two key changes discussed by some residents in the survey.

Specifically, nearly two-thirds of respondents said they now needed to recertify twice, once with NYCHA and once with the private manager. Another one-third of respondents noted that tenants now need to recertify two times per year.

While residents will find this information helpful, what is notable from a research standpoint is the discrepancy in understanding (shouldn’t everyone be saying the same thing?), which in conjunction with the lack of awareness about RAD and RAD rights, may speak to a larger issue with communication between management and residents. This would be consistent with earlier findings by Enterprise Community Partners, Inc. (2021), and is therefore concerning that key recommendations has not been adopted.

### TENANT TESTIMONIES:

“I have had a mold problem for months and I have a baby.”

“Areas for residents to store [items] or have meetings in regards of our buildings and apartments have been taken away from us. For instance the carriage rooms where we would store items like Christmas trees or bicycles for the children etc.”

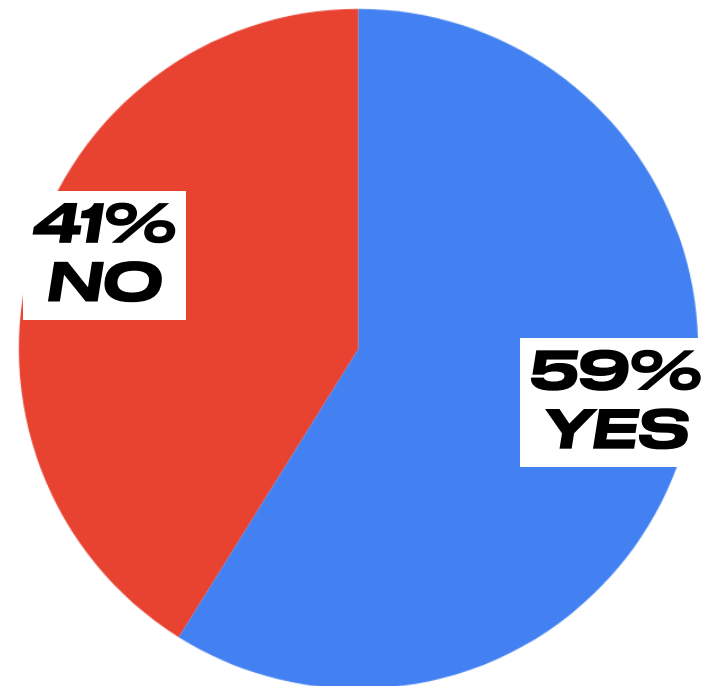
### Rent Increases

Rent increases are another key concern for residents, because of the obvious reason that rent increases lessen the affordability of the units to residents. The majority of residents in the pre-conversion group indicated that their rent had increased since the conversion to RAD. This excludes 8 households that indicated their rent increased because of changes in their income.

Sixty-four residents offered further insight into how their rent had changed with time. Thirty-nine residents shared **the number of times their rent increased**, which ranged from 1-5 times and averaged 3.4 times. Twelve of those respondents indicated that their rent was raised every year, with another clarifying, “every year since the conversion.”

Forty-two residents shared **how much their rent increased**. Twelve residents said their rent increased between 5-40% (average and median of 27%). Another thirty residents offered increases in dollar amounts ranging from \$5 to \$1,366 a month (average \$365, median \$300).

Rent Increases - Pre-Conversion Sample



Rents increased an average of 3.4 times in 5 years, with a dozen reporting yearly increases.

On average, rents increased by \$365 per month.

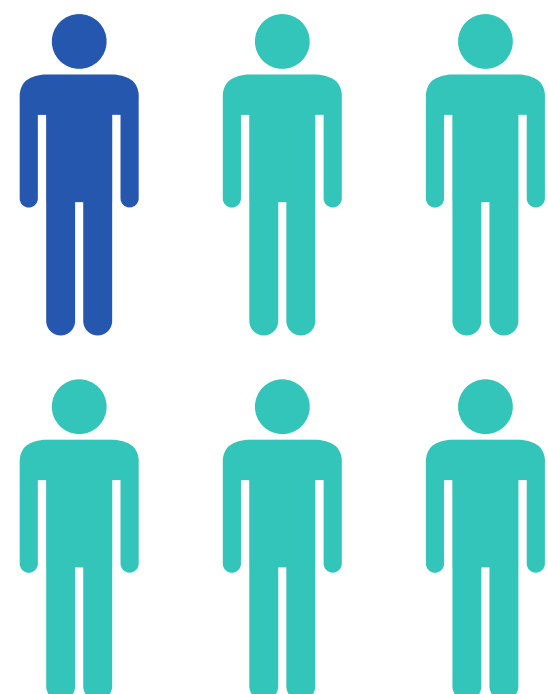
### Evictions

Eviction rates at Ocean Bay Houses have also been the subject of research and public discussion (Enterprise Community Partners, Inc., 2021; DiPrinzio, 2019). In adding to what we already know, our survey found that 1 in 6 respondents had either been threatened with eviction, and/or knew a neighbor that had been evicted or threatened with eviction. Further, the majority were those were residents in the pre-conversion group (88%).

# 1 in 6 respondents

had been threatened with eviction, and/or knew a neighbor that had been evicted or threatened with eviction.

The majority of these residents lived at the development longer and under NYCHA management and remained after the conversion.





## Community Corroborations

While we offer this research as a starting place, we do recognize the unique nature of the conversion of Ocean Bay Houses: it was the first, it relied on LIHTC and FEMA money, and Wavecrest is a notoriously bad landlord (though this too is not actually unique, see Hackett, 2021 for more). Further, NYCHA has claimed that they have improved the process by which residents are engaged and RAD is implemented. Thus we reached out through city networks to better understand how RAD was playing out at other developments. Unfortunately, this yielded only further evidence that RAD is bad public policy.

## RAD in Pandemic Times in Brooklyn

Williams Plaza and Independence Tower are two developments in northwestern Brooklyn. Their RAD conversion deals closed in February 2020, and despite the pandemic, construction was initiated. Tenants in both buildings reported feeling invaded, with lax safety protocols worsening the already hazardous conditions brought on by the deadly COVID-19 pandemic. Concerns were amplified at rallies, and by leveraging the press, to no avail (for example, Moses, 2021). To this day, tenants at Williams Plaza are still raising concerns that the inordinately high number of deaths in the last year is the result of these conditions.

One tenant leader at Williams Plaza, Craig Housen, took his concerns further and surveyed forty of his neighbors to see if they shared his concerns and experiences. Key findings compound our findings and others, and further raise concerns about what RAD means for residents.

- 78% said they were unsatisfied with the private management and construction team
- 70% said safety protocols were not being following when repairs were being made in their homes
- 90% said quality of life had not improved since conversion
- 87.5% said the bathroom renovations made their bathrooms worse
- 95% said they do not feel safer or more secure under private management



Tenants rally against construction during the pandemic at Independence Towers (Moses, 2021)



## RAD in the Express Lane at Fulton Houses

Fulton Houses and Chelsea-Elliot Houses in Manhattan became the target of RAD/PACT in 2018. In 2019, a working group was assembled by Congressional Representative Jerry Nadler. Comprised of other elected officials, policy and research professionals of nonprofits, and tenants, the Chelsea Working Group (CWG) spent a year discussing and drafting a plan for Fulton and Chelsea-Elliot Houses. Since their final plan was released publicly in February 2021, the CWG has been held up by NYCHA as a successful collaborative model for proceeding with RAD/PACT at other developments.

Tenants, however, tell a different story. According to Fulton Houses residents and tenant leaders Jackie Lara and Mary McGee, the working group was formed in response to robust tenant opposition to RAD, and was an anti-democratic measure that worked to lock most tenants out of the decision-making process. For example, more than 5,000 residents stood to be effected by the plan, but only 22 residents were listed in the report. In an oped, Lara and McGee detail how tenant participation was actually much lower - as tenants didn't speak up at meetings, or missed them, especially after the COVID-19 pandemic began and meetings moved to online. Regardless, the CWG released their plan in February 2021, in the face of ongoing opposition.

Further, the CWG was not an open group, and Lara and McGee had to lobby Representative Nadler just to get on the CWG and be able to participate in the meetings. The meeting discussions were also not open, and interests in exploring plans other than RAD were shut down. This was especially clear when a civil rights attorney attended the meeting with a plan for resident management, drafted with and on behalf of residents. According to Lara and McGee, neither he nor the well-researched report were taken seriously and he was laughed out of the room.

Read more from their oped: <https://nycnewswire.com/fulton-houses-tenants-call-out-jumaane-williams-and-others-for-ignoring-their-2-year-long-opposition-to-rad-the-plan-that-hands-nycha-over-to-private-developers/>



Tenants at Fulton Houses rallied for more than two years. They had a petition signed by more than 2/3rds of heads of households at Fulton.

# Conclusions & Demands

**In closing, RAD has been under review for nearly a decade now, and our research only adds to the growing pile of condemning evidence.**

**Our findings indicate that RAD offers no guarantees to residents, and for many it has meant increased rents, and the threat of eviction, and increased paperwork. At the same time, a large portion of residents do not find that living conditions have improved, and some report they have worsened. Further still, some miss the days of NYCHA management.**

**Of particular concern are the widespread rent increases,** which many residents report have occurred yearly since the conversion, and only a few which were qualified by changes in income. These rent increase jeopardize residents directly, *and* jeopardize an explicit commitment of the program, which is to maintain the affordability of the units over time. Policymakers should be concerned on both accounts - about what this means for current residents as well as the longevity of the housing stock in the long term.

Relatedly, **another critical concern, is the high number of residents who were threatened with eviction or know someone who was,** which compounds previous findings (Enterprise Community Partners, Inc, 2021; DiPrinzio, 2019). Our findings and others are too high for a program that is allegedly committed to keeping residents in their home, and should animate policymakers into action.

**Where do residents go after they are displaced from public housing?**

**What are our options?**

**Do we have housing options?**

Further, while our findings are specific to Ocean Bay Houses, it is clear they are not unique. Instead, they are characteristic of growing body of evidence that collectively makes clear that the trends we find locally are pervasive and indicative of RAD as a policy and are not unique to any particular geography or private partner or other localized feature.

**In short, RAD has been a policy failure and it is difficult to conclude otherwise when you look at the evidence and listen to residents.**

**We are at an intersection.**

The evidence on the RAD program tells us that moving forward will be to the detriment of existing residents. In addition to the harm to households directly, there are important broader implications for policy to consider.

The displacement of current residents from public housing, and the loss of public housing as all units potentially shift to Section 8 will worsen the already out-of-control housing crisis in this city and this country. Gates (2018) discusses this further by looking at the financial cost to the city (outlined more on page 10). Vale and Freeman (2012; 2019) ask a different but related question - how is the federal policy shift from government-owned public housing to subsidizing private sector provision of low-income and affordable housing affecting the number of units and depth of housing affordability across the board? Not so good, they find; as both the number of units is declining and the depth of affordability is becoming shallower. It is in this context that public housing has become a critical safe haven for lower- and moderate-income households. The further loss of public housing would exacerbate these trends.

As policymakers search for solutions to this housing crisis, emerging discussions of housing solutions reinforce our concerns and highlight the critical nature of public housing further. Specifically, “progressive” housing policy experts are starting to line up behind the general umbrella term of “social housing”. While theoretically, the models that fall under this heading are ideal, in practice, proponents have also already made it clear that these models will not necessarily serve the extremely-low-income households public housing currently does (Baiocchi and Carlson, 2022).

Further still, an involuntary mass dislocation of residents from public housing now or in the future would constitute another critical moment of violence against Black and Brown households and communities in the ongoing processes of racial capitalism and colonization. In other words, RAD furthers the worst tendencies of our society. Rather, in 2022, we should be reckoning with our history more directly.

**Policymakers and elected officials must take these concerns seriously, and must take action now to interrupt these trends and set a new course for public housing.**

**Towards this end, we assert the set community demands on the following pages.**

# Community Demands

- 1 Stop RAD and the privatization of public housing.** Elected officials must instruct HUD to place a moratorium on the RAD/ PACT program and cease the privatization of public housing more generally. The privatization of public housing has led to an erosion of rights and protections for tenants. A moratorium must be issued immediately and remain in place until additional demands are met.
- 2 Study the effects of RAD and public housing.** HUD must analyze housing stocks throughout the country to determine the operating costs, and ensure Congress, and state and local governments are meeting the operational cost needs of each housing authority, and that tenants' rights and protections are being enforced under either model.
- 3 Issue a national state of emergency for Section 9 housing.** The conditions in public housing are deplorable and violate our human rights while compromising our physical and mental health. In order to expedite adequate fiscal allocations and ensure that federal oversight leads to real change for tenants, a state of emergency must be issued for all Section 9 public housing. Physical and mental health assessments and support must be provided as a part of the emergency response.
- 4 Instate federal and tenant oversight of public housing authorities.** HUD has demonstrated their inability to assess and remediate hazards public housing tenants face. The US Department of Health must step in and FEMA should allocate resources immediately. A robust governing body of resident leaders must be created to oversee and directly inform decisions.
- 5 Allocate \$100B to Section 9 for rehabilitation immediately and create a framework to increase funding to \$180B by 2025.** The Housing Act of 1937 made Congress financially responsible for funding Section 9. Their failure to do so has turned 970,000 units into slums. Between 1980 and 1988 Congress slashed investments in Section 9 in half. This trend must be reversed. Privatization is not a viable solution; fund Section 9 now and in perpetuity.
- 6 Restore the Section 9 housing stock to 1999 numbers and work to fully repeal the Faircloth Act by 2025.** Since the establishment of the Faircloth Act, we have lost Section 9 units to disrepair stemming from government neglect. We must restore the stock to allowable limits and expand the Section 9 housing stock by repealing the Faircloth Amendment. This is key to addressing the national housing crisis. We also must uncouple the repeal of Faircloth and RAD, which is a giveaway to the private sector that will only lead to more harm for tenants, the loss of public land, the further concentration of wealth and worsening political inequality.



# Community Demands

**7 Support the sustainable and resilient rehabilitation of public housing campuses and units.** Components of the Green New Deal for Public Housing must be incorporated into any legislation addressing the conditions within public housing; this plan envisions a long-term, sustainable and resilient future for public housing that also strengthens Section 3 and NYCHA’s commitment to providing jobs for residents.

**8 Ensure that racist and derogatory beliefs surrounding public housing do not continue to impact policy making.** We reject the racist and classist language in the former Build Back Better bill that suggests our communities do not “function”. We are resilient, hard-working communities that have overcome the obstacles created by bad policy decisions like those that further the privatization and financialization of public housing. We oppose any programming that would undermine our vibrant communities.

The above demands are part of a national set of demands that are being adopted by groups across the country. Our ninth demand is specific to New York City.

**9 Public officials must take a more active role in overseeing NYCHA and bringing the agency back on track.** Specifically, we demand that a forensic audit of NYCHA be conducted, that a new organizational plan for managing our homes be devised – one that does not include private partners or a new quasi-public financial institution, and that Greg Russ, and that NYCHA’s current Chair and CEO be removed and be replaced with someone who is interested is committed to preserving Section 9 public housing

We are asking elected officials to take a pledge committing themselves and the resources of their office to pursuing these demands.



# A PLEDGE FOR OUR REPRESENTATIVES

I, [Name], [Office], of [District], hereby commit myself and the resources of my office to pursuing and upholding the community demands put forth by Neighbors Helping Neighbors in the Rockaways.

- 1. Stop RAD.** Instruct HUD to place a moratorium on privatizations via RAD/ PACT and Section 18.
- 2. Study the effects of RAD vs Section 9.** Conduct a thorough and comparative impact study of all project-based Section 8 privatizations, and determine the cost of operation per unit nationally.
- 3. Issue a national state of emergency for Section 9 housing.**
- 4. Instate federal and tenant oversight of public housing authorities.**
- 5. Fund Section 9.** Allocate \$100B to Section 9 for rehabilitation immediately and create a framework to increase funding to \$180B by 2025.
- 6. Expand Section 9.** Restore the Section 9 housing stock to 1999 numbers and work to fully repeal the Faircloth Act by 2025.
- 7. Rehabilitate our homes.** Support the sustainable and resilient rehabilitation of public housing campuses and units.
- 8. Strike racist language from any legislation.** Ensure that racist and derogatory beliefs surrounding public housing do not continue to impact policy making.
- 9. Take actionable steps to hold NYCHA accountable and get the agency back on track.**

## REFERENCES & RESOURCES

- Angotti, T. and Morse, S. (2016). Zoned Out! Race, Displacement and City Planning in New York City. Terreform: New York City.
- Aucello, M. (2021). Saving NYCHA: Conned in Kips Bay: Public housing plan full of lies. NY Daily News. <https://www.nydailynews.com/opinion/ny-oped-saving-nycha-20210331-l55oahhyhbdenljmukuljgz4hy-story.html>
- Bach, V. and Water, T. J. (2014). Strengthening New York City's Public Housing: Directions for Change. A report for Community Service Society. <https://www.cssny.org/publications/entry/strengthening-new-york-citys-public-housing-directions-for-change>
- Baiocchi, G. and Carlson, H. J. (2022). Social Housing 2.0: Viable Non-Market Tools for Today's Housing Crisis. *Pathfinders*, hosted by the NYU Center on International Cooperation.
- Broadwater, L. (2018). Baltimore moves to put even more public housing in private hands. Baltimore Sun. <https://www.baltimoresun.com/maryland/baltimore-city/bs-md-ci-public-housing-20180111-story.html>
- Broadwater, L. and Richman, T. (2018). Baltimore moves to put even more public housing in private hands. *Baltimore Sun*. <https://www.baltimoresun.com/maryland/baltimore-city/bs-md-ci-public-housing-20180111-story.html>
- Campion, S. (2019). NYCHA 2.0: Progress at Risk. On behalf of Citizens Budget Commission. <https://cbcny.org/research/nycha-20-progress-risk>
- Cebull, B. (2020). Urban Renewal Meant Negro Removal. LA Progressive. <https://www.laprogressive.com/racism/urban-renewal>
- DiPrinzio, H. (2019). Hundreds of NYCHA Evictions Raise Questions About Process. *City Limits*. <https://citylimits.org/2019/08/14/nycha-evictions-rad-oceanbay/>
- Dupuis, A. & Thorns, D. C. (1998) Home, home ownership and the search for ontological security, *The Sociological Review*, 46(1), pp. 24–47.
- Econometrica, Inc. (2019). Evaluation of HUD's Rental Assistance Demonstration (RAD): Final Report. Prepared for US Department of Housing and Urban Development.
- Econometrica, Inc. (2016). Evaluation of HUD's Rental Assistance Demonstration (RAD). Prepared for US Department of Housing and Urban Development.
- Enterprise Community Partners, Inc. (2021). Rental Assistance Demonstration (RAD) Lessons Learned at the Ocean Bay (Bayside) Apartments. <https://www.enterprisecommunity.org/sites/default/files/2021-06//RAD-lessons-learned-at-ocean-bay.pdf>
- Fullilove, M. (2004). Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighborhoods Hurts America & What We Can Do About It. Ballantine: New York.
- Gandour, J. (2022). "The Tenant Never Wins" Private Takeover of Public Housing Puts Rights at Risk in New York City. For Human Rights Watch. <https://www.hrw.org/report/2022/01/27/tenant-never-wins/private-takeover-public-housing-puts-rights-risk-new-york-city>
- Ganesan, A. (2021). Letter to Congress. On behalf of Human Rights Watch. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/08/31/letter-us-senate-banking-committee-and-us-house-financial-services-committee>
- Gates, M. (2018). NYCHA's Crisis: A Matter for All New Yorkers. On behalf of the Regional Plan Association. <https://rpa.org/latest/lab/nychas-crisis-a-matter-for-all-new-yorkers>
- Gates, M. (2021). The Impacts of Living in NYCHA. Regional Plan Association. <https://rpa.org/work/reports/nycha-resident-needs-assessment>
- Hackett, K. (2021). The Nefarious Nature of the Private Partners Selected for RAD Conversions. NYCHARising.info. <https://tinyurl.com/NefariousByNature>
- Hackett, K., Saegert, S., Dozier, D., and Marinova, M. (2018). Community land trusts: Releasing possible selves through stable affordable housing. *Housing Studies*, 34, 1, 24-48.
- Hanlon, J. (2017). The Origins of the Rental Assistance Demonstration Program and the End of Public Housing, *Housing Policy Debate*, 27, 4, 611-639.
- Holliday Smith, R. (2020a). Feeling Left Out, Public Housing Tenants 'Not on Board' With Privatization Plan. The City. <https://www.thecity.nyc/housing/2020/7/19/21330309/public-housing-tenants-nycha-privatization-manhattan-housing>
- Holliday Smith, 2020b; RAD Revs Up in Manhattan as Deadline for NYCHA Tenants to Sign Private Leases Looms. The City. <https://www.thecity.nyc/2020/10/20/21521405/rad-revs-up-in-manhattan-as-deadline-for-nycha-tenants-to-sign-private-leases>
- HUD. (2021). Webinar Series on RAD and Section 18 Blends: Reposition Public Housing. <https://files.hudexchange.info/course-content/public-housing-repositioning-wednesday-webinar-series-rad-and-section-18-new-blend>
- McDowell, M. (2019). Meet The Women Behind Friday's 'Occupy NYCHA' Rally At City Hall. Gothamist. <https://gothamist.com/news/meet-the-women-behind-fridays-occupy-nycha-rally-at-city-hall>

## REFERENCES & RESOURCES

- Morales, M. (2021). Over a dozen NYCHA residents plan rent strike in Harlem and Chelsea starting May 1. Pix11. <https://pix11.com/news/monica-makes-it-happen/over-a-dozen-nycha-residents-plan-rent-strike-in-harlem-and-chelsea-starting-may-1/>
- Moses, D. (2021). Residents of Independence Towers call for a stop work order. AMNY. <https://www.amny.com/news/rad-kills-brooklyn-protests-stop-work-order-independence-towers/>
- National Low Income Housing Coalition. (2012). Who lives in Federally Assisted Housing? Characteristics of Households Assisted by HUD programs. Housing Spotlight Series. <https://nlihc.org/sites/default/files/HousingSpotlight2-2.pdf>
- National Low Income Housing Coalition. (2021). HUD Posts Webinar Slides about RAD/Section 18 Blend Projects. <https://nlihc.org/resource/hud-posts-webinar-slides-about-radsection-18-blend-projects>
- Navarro, M. (2015). As New York Rents Soar, Public Housing Becomes Lifelong Refuge. The New York Times. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/04/nyregion/as-new-york-rents-soar-public-housing-becomes-lifelong-refuge.html>
- Nettleton, S. & Burrows, R. (1998) Mortgage debt, insecure home ownership and health: An exploratory analysis, *Sociology of Health & Illness*, 20(5), pp. 731–753.
- Nettleton, S. & Burrows, R. (2000) When a capital investment becomes an emotional loss: The health consequences of the experience of mortgage possession in England, *Housing Studies*, 15(3), pp. 463–478.
- NYCHA. (2019). NYCHA 2019 Fact Sheet. [https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/nycha/downloads/pdf/NYCHA-Fact-Sheet\\_2019\\_08-01.pdf](https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/nycha/downloads/pdf/NYCHA-Fact-Sheet_2019_08-01.pdf)
- NYCHA. (2021). NYCHA 2021 Fact Sheet.
- NYU Furman Center. (2019). How NYCHA Preserves Diversity in New York's Changing Neighborhoods. Fact Brief. [https://furmancenter.org/files/NYCHA\\_Diversity\\_Brief\\_Final-04-30-2019.pdf](https://furmancenter.org/files/NYCHA_Diversity_Brief_Final-04-30-2019.pdf)
- Ortiz, L. (2021). From PETRA to RAD—The Path to Converting 140,000 Public Housing Units. Shelterforce. <https://shelterforce.org/2021/03/30/from-petra-to-rad-the-path-to-converting-140000-public-housing-units/>
- Reeves, M. (2019), The birth of Defend Glendale & Public Housing Coalition. Minnesota Spokesman Recorder. <https://spokesman-recorder.com/2019/06/12/the-birth-of-defend-glendale-public-housing-coalition/>
- Reilly, N. (2018). New Partners in Public Housing: Evaluation of NYCHA's Triborough Pilot Project. Citizens Housing Planning Council.
- Roller, S. (2017). Letter to HUD Secretary Benjamin S. Carson. On behalf of the National Housing Law Project. [https://nlihc.org/sites/default/files/NHLP\\_Concerns-with-RAD-Implementation.PDF](https://nlihc.org/sites/default/files/NHLP_Concerns-with-RAD-Implementation.PDF)
- Rock, M. (2020). Fulton Houses Turkey Handout Reveals TA, Advocates Split Over RAD. Politics NY. <https://politicsny.com/2020/11/25/fulton-houses-turkey-handout-reveals-ta-advocates-split-over-rad/>
- Rothstein, R. (2017). *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*. Liveright Publishing Corporation: New York.
- Schwartz, A. (2017). Future Prospects for Public Housing in the United States: Lessons From the Rental Assistance Demonstration Program, *Housing Policy Debate*, 27:5, 789-806.
- Schwartz, A. (2014). *Housing policy in the United States* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Smith, G. B. (2020). Tenants in Privately Managed NYCHA Homes Kept in Dark on Building Repairs. *The City*. <https://www.thecity.nyc/housing/2020/2/3/21210568/tenants-in-privately-managed-nycha-homes-kept-in-dark-on-building-repairs>
- Tkacik, C. (2020). Activists gather at City Hall to protest privatization of Baltimore's public housing. Baltimore Sun. <https://www.baltimoresun.com/maryland/baltimore-city/bs-md-ci-protest-housing-20200914-hllribceevcipo6euhmntmvp-xpe-story.html>
- Turck, M. (2016). Mpls Public Housing residents fight redevelopment plan. Minnesota Spokesman Recorder. <https://spokesman-recorder.com/2016/03/23/mpls-public-housing-residents-fight-redevelopment-plan/>
- Whitford, E. (2019). NYCHA Residents And Advocates Fear City's Revised Privatization Plan Will Put Tenant Rights At Risk. Gothamist. <https://gothamist.com/news/nycha-residents-and-advocates-fear-citys-revised-privatization-plan-will-put-tenant-rights-at-risk>
- Wilcox, P. and Chediak, J. (2021). NYC politician's 'Working Group' backs privatizing Fulton Houses over tenant objections. *Liberation News*. <https://www.liberationnews.org/nyc-politicians-working-group-backs-privatizing-fulton-houses-over-tenant-objections/>
- Wyly, E. and DeFillipis, J. (2010). Mapping Public Housing: The Case of New York City. *City & Community*, 9, 1, p61-86.