OFFICE OF THE NEW YORK STATE COMPTROLLER

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New York State Rent Relief Update: Spotlight on New York City

Highlights

- As of June 14, 2023, ERAP has distributed nearly \$3.1 billion to 248,057 applicants statewide.
- New York City received the greatest share of ERAP funding (81.2 percent or \$2.5 billion). More than a quarter of its funds went to Brooklyn (Kings), the most for any county.
- The City chose not to administer its own ERAP, and its residents have received far more than the \$645 million it would have otherwise received directly.
- During 2021, New York City represented 73.9 percent and 69.6 percent of lowincome rental households and low-income rent-burdened households statewide, respectively, with Brooklyn (Kings) ranking first among counties for both metrics.
- In addition to more funding for existing public housing applications, the SFY 2023-24 budget set aside \$35 million for rental arrears at NYCHA, the nation's largest public housing authority.
- City ZIP codes with NYCHA housing represented 78.9 percent of unpaid ERAP applications in the City as of April 2023.
- Citywide, the median asking rent represented 72.6 percent of the median Hispanic household's income in 2021.
 Black households followed closely at 72.4 percent. White households were far behind at 36.9 percent.
- In 2022, the number of non-payment court cases in the City reached 89,046, up 169.1 percent from 2021, following the end of the statewide eviction moratorium.

Funded by federal aid, the Emergency Rental Assistance Program (ERAP) began accepting applications for rent relief from struggling households in New York State two years ago. Despite having the highest renter share in the country, New York State was the last to disburse funding to households. At that time, the Office of the New York State Comptroller (OSC) released a report suggesting several issues were slowing the distribution of funds and identified geographic and demographic populations most likely to be in need of funding.¹

In January 2023, ERAP closed to new applications. As a follow-up to its previous report, OSC reviewed the distribution of ERAP funds disbursed as of June 2023, and found that in general, payments were aligned with measures of need. Urban parts of the State with larger shares of low-income renters have received a substantial share of funding. In particular, New York City, which had high rates of rent burden prior to the pandemic and experienced substantial job loss during, was generally well targeted. Rental households living in public housing, however, have yet to fully benefit from the program.

In recognizing the lack of prioritization of public housing applicants, who have also faced rent payment challenges, the State recently provided \$356 million in additional funds for all households with existing ERAP applications. These state funds should help close the gap suggested by OSC's analysis. However, high rent burdens continue to plague rental households as wage growth fades amid relatively high inflation and housing costs, suggesting the need for rent relief remains great. Efforts to reduce evictions and keep people in housing will be critical as the City manages its record-level shelter population.

The ERAP Program

The State began accepting applications for its second pandemic rental assistance program (following the COVID Rent Relief Program) on June 1, 2021. Through the Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance (OTDA), the State aimed to make use of federal aid from all rounds of funding by distributing \$2.9 billion for the Emergency Rental Assistance Program (ERAP). In addition, the State added \$1.6 billion to this amount in State funds through its last three enacted budgets, increasing the total amount available to \$4.5 billion.² This report covers the portion of these funds which were federally supported and within federal ERAP guidelines.

For most eligible households, the ERAP covers the full amount of rental arrears for up to 12 months of back rent due and utility bills (gas/electric) after the period starting March 13, 2020, as well as three months of future rent if the household is rent burdened (i.e., pays more than 30 percent of its income in rent). Residents were eligible for the ERAP if they:

- Received unemployment benefits, or experienced a reduction in income or an increase in expenses due to the pandemic, after March 13, 2020; and
- Were in rental arrears (i.e., rent overdue) for rent owed on or after March 13, 2020; and
- Were in a low-income household, i.e., earned less than 80 percent of the area median income (AMI)

Acceptance into the program also conferred protections to tenants, including prohibiting eviction for one year from the date of the approved application, and waiving fees associated with late payments. In announcing the program, the State expected the program to serve between 170,000 and 200,000 households.³

The successful rollout of the program was particularly important in New York State and New York City. Prior to the pandemic, the State had the highest share of rental households in the United States (46 percent), with the majority of those households located in New York City (63 percent of all rental households in the State). The City chose not to administer its own program, where federal funding would have been limited to \$645 million, in order to access a larger share of the State program.

It is also important to note that as of 2021, about 150,000 low-income rental households that could potentially be served by the program were located in counties and municipalities that administered their own programs and were therefore excluded from the State program. Monroe County and the City of Rochester, Onondaga County, the City of Yonkers, and the towns of Hempstead, Islip and Oyster Bay all decided to operate their own rent relief programs. Since early 2022, the City of Yonkers, Onondaga County and Monroe County, including Rochester, began participating in the state-administered program.

State Distribution of ERAP Funds

ERAP assisted 248,057 households statewide with nearly \$3.1 billion in rent payments as of June 14, 2023, exceeding initial program recipient targets, aided by additional state funding (see Figure 1). The average payment per applicant for the duration of the program is about \$12,309.4 More than four-fifths of this total was distributed in New York City, which is likely driven by its large rental market, socio-economic profile of renters, relatively high average rents compared to the rest of the State and economic impact of the pandemic (see Spotlight on New York City section for additional detail). The area with the largest share of total applications outside the City was Erie County with 4.5 percent, and the area with the largest share of total dollars disbursed was Suffolk County at 2.9 percent.

FIGURE 1
ERAP Distributions as of June 14, 2023 and Low-Income Rental Household
Characteristics as of 2021 by New York State Area

County/City	Applications	Share of NYS Total Applications	Amount (In Million)	Share of NYS Total Amount	Rental Households	Share of NYS Low-Income Rental Households
Albany	3,622	1.5%	27.6	0.9%	53,610	1.8%
Cayuga & Onondaga	1,405	0.6%	9.4	0.3%	73,717	2.5%
Erie	11,140	4.5%	76.2	2.5%	131,475	4.6%
Monroe	1,374	0.6%	10.5	0.3%	110,516	3.7%
Nassau	768	0.3%	15.4	0.5%	67,983	2.1%
Orange	3,092	1.2%	35.7	1.2%	37,454	1.3%
Oneida, Otsego, Schoharie & Herkimer	2,822	1.1%	18.5	0.6%	42,064	1.4%
Rockland	1,927	0.8%	30.7	1.0%	1.0% 29,483	
Saratoga	1,668	0.7%	13.4	0.4%	25,117	0.7%
Suffolk	5,168	2.1%	88.5	2.9%	82,132	2.6%
Westchester	5,716	2.3%	82.2	2.7%	127,346	4.0%
New York City	186,625	75.2%	2,480.0	81.2%	2,128,644	73.9%
New York State	248,057	100.0%	3,053.2	100.0%	3,305,414	100.0%

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey, 2021 Public Use Microdata; Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance, NYS Emergency Rental Assistance Program Report, 2023; OSC analysis

Funds to these counties appear to be well aligned with the distribution of low-income rental households living in these counties. Generally, the share of funds distributed was higher in counties which have relatively high rents and are geographically close to New York City. Nassau, Suffolk, Westchester and Rockland counties all received a higher share of funds than their share of applications. Average payments exceeded \$14,000 in each of these counties, well over the statewide average.

As of 2021, Erie and Suffolk counties represented 4.6 percent and 2.6 percent, respectively, out of almost 1.9 million low-income rental households statewide. These figures are closely aligned with their shares of applications to the program, at 4.5 percent and 2.1 percent, respectively. Rockland, Saratoga and Albany counties also saw application shares that aligned closely with their shares of low-income renter households. Counties where applications did not align closely

with need, including Monroe, Nassau and Westchester, have relatively large municipalities that opted to run their own programs.

In addition to geographic considerations, OSC's analysis of the State's initial COVID Rent Relief program suggested groups with certain socioeconomic characteristics were not targeted to the extent they represented the population. In particular, the analysis found households earning less than 30 percent of AMI and Black households were less likely to receive funding relative to their shares of rent-burdened households in the State. In response, and as part of efforts to expand information on fund recipients, OTDA began publishing data on race and ethnicity for New York City and the rest of the State. This information suggests there was improvement in this space.

Black households made up the largest share of paid ERAP applications of any racial group

statewide, partly fueled by greater uptake in New York City. Hispanic households also made up a larger share of the ERAP program than they did of the initial COVID Rent Relief program. White households made up the largest share of paid ERAP applications outside of New York City. In addition, females, who are more likely to be rentburdened than males, were also more likely to have their ERAP applications paid out, by a nearly 2 to 1 margin (see Figure 2).

Spotlight on New York City

ERAP has assisted 186,625 households in the City with about \$2.5 billion in rent payments, or 81.2 percent of the total dollars distributed statewide (see Figure 3). On average, for the duration of the program, rental households in the City received \$13,289, greater than the statewide average but less than most counties on Long Island and in the Hudson Valley.

The share of applications paid in the City is higher than its share of low-income rental households, representing 75.2 percent of all those in New York State. The larger share of ERAP applications in the City likely reflects the devastation of the pandemic on the local

FIGURE 2 Percent of Paid ERAP Applications by Demographic Characteristic as of June 14, 2023

	New York State	New York City	Outside the City	
Gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
Male	36.0%	36.5%	34.8%	
Female	63.5%	63.0%	64.8%	
Other	0.5%	0.5%	0.4%	
Ethnicity	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
Hispanic	32.2%	38.4%	15.0%	
Non-Hispanic	67.8%	61.6%	85.0%	
Race	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
Black	43.5%	46.4%	35.2%	
White	31.7%	24.1%	53.1%	
Asian	5.2%	6.6%	1.4%	
Other	19.6%	22.9%	10.3%	

Note: The Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance does not publish race and ethnicity data at the county level.
Sources: Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance, NYS Emergency

Rental Assistance Program Report, 2023

economy and residents' inability to make rent payments due to job loss. This was especially true at the beginning of the pandemic, as the City experienced a significant increase in the number

FIGURE 3 ERAP Distributions as of June 14, 2023 and Low-Income Rental Household Characteristics as of 2021

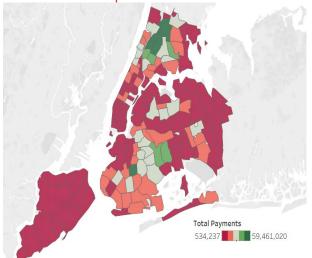
Borough/City	Applications #	Share of Total Applications Paid	Amount \$ (in Million)	Share of Total Amount \$	Average Amount paid	Rental Households #	Share of Low-Income Rental Households
Bronx	61,867	24.9%	702.3	23.0%	11,352	423,616	18.8%
Brooklyn	56,326	22.7%	775.4	25.4%	13,767	681,907	23.1%
Manhattan	27,724	11.2%	382.1	12.5%	13,783	542,483	15.4%
Queens	36,487	14.7%	558.3	18.3%	15,301	433,098	15.0%
Staten Island	4,221	1.7%	61.9	2.0%	14,673	47,540	1.7%
New York City	186,625	75.2%	2,480.0	81.2%	13,289	2,128,644	73.9%
New York State	248,057	100.0%	3,053.2	100.0%	12,309	3,305,414	100.0%

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey, 2021 Public Use Microdata; Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance, NYS Emergency Rental Assistance Program Report, 2023; OSC analysis

of jobs lost and in unemployment insurance claims. Between February to April 2020, the City lost 962,400 jobs (seasonally adjusted) before beginning to recover. Unemployment levels remained elevated, fueling unemployment claims. Between April 2020 and June 2020, about 8.2 million City residents received \$7.8 billion in unemployment benefits (including pandemic unemployment assistance) from the State, or 47.3 percent of total funds statewide. Over this period, the City's unemployment rate reached a peak of 21.4 percent in May 2020 before declining to 17.1 percent (seasonally adjusted) in June 2020.6

The relatively large share of ERAP distributions for households in the City also reflects the high number of rent-burdened households. Nearly 1 million low-income households in the City were rent burdened in 2021. This represents about 69.6 percent of all low-income rent-burdened households in New York State. Within the City, the two boroughs experiencing the worst rent burden were Brooklyn with about 310,000 low-income households (or 22 percent of the State

FIGURE 4
ERAP Total Payments by New York City
ZIP Code as of April 2023



Note: ZIP codes with only one applicant were removed from the analysis. Sources: Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance; OSC analysis

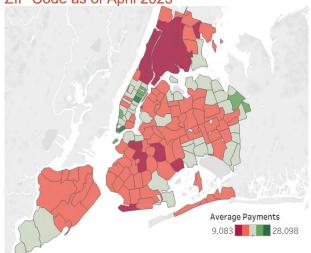
total) and the Bronx representing about 250,000 low-income households (17 percent).

Total amounts paid were particularly large in Southern Brooklyn, Central Queens, Midtown Manhattan, and the northern portions of the Bronx (over 60 percent of the amounts paid within the area; see Figure 4). Total amounts were smaller in the northeast of Brooklyn, uptown Manhattan and the southeast of Queens (under 45 percent of most amounts paid within the area), which have a higher share of public housing units.

The neighborhood to receive the largest share of total ERAP funds citywide was Bedford Park, Fordham North and Norwood (ZIP code 10467) in the Bronx with about \$60 million (2.5 percent out of all funds to the City). The neighborhood of Far Rockaway, Breezy Point and Broad Channel (ZIP code 11697) in Queens received the least with about \$35,000.

The average award in the Bronx was lower than in the other boroughs (\$11,388 compared to e.g., \$15,337 in Queens). This disparity likely reflects the rent difference between boroughs, as rent is

FIGURE 5
ERAP Average Payments by New York City
ZIP Code as of April 2023



Note: ZIP codes with only one applicant were removed from the analysis. Sources: Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance; OSC analysis

generally lower in the Bronx compared to the other boroughs. It also appears the funds were most aligned with need in Staten Island and Brooklyn based on the shares of the City's low-income rental households. There are also considerable disparities by neighborhood (see Figure 5).

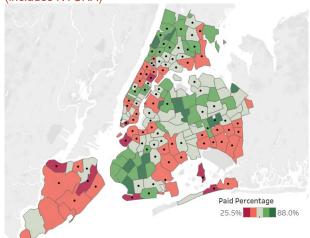
New York City Housing Authority

As of May 2023, rental households in NYCHA apartments had not received any funding from ERAP.⁷ City ZIP codes with NYCHA housing represent 78.9 percent of unpaid applications in the City (see Figure 6).

According to the State Senate, as of April 2023, ERAP-eligible NYCHA tenants with rent arrears have been estimated to qualify for \$501 million.⁸ The Community Service Society estimates an even larger amount of rent arrears for NYCHA at over \$589 million by June 2023.⁹ NYCHA has reported a drop in rental payments from 90 percent before the pandemic to 62 percent as of May 2023.¹⁰ Based on recent additions to the State budget for public housing tenants, NYCHA is expected to receive \$128 million toward

FIGURE 6

Paid Percentage of Total ERAP Applications by New York City ZIP Code as of April 2023 (includes NYCHA)



Note: Black dots represent ERAP applicants who resided in a NYCHA ZIP code. ZIP codes with only one applicant were removed from the analysis. Sources: Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance; OSC analysis

funding existing ERAP applications, and an additional sum of \$35 million for rental arrears from the State.

Rent Pressures on Residents

Between 2019 and 2021, the number of low-income rental households rose by 10 percent to

FIGURE 7

Low-Income Rentals and Low-Income Rent-Burdened Households by Borough, 2019 vs. 2021

	2019		20	021	Percentage Change		
Counties	Low-Income Rental Households	Low Income & Rent Burdened	Low-Income Rental Households	Low Income & Rent Burdened	Low-Income Rental Households	Low Income & Rent Burdened	
Bronx	323,174	228,105	353,840	245,653	9.5%	7.7%	
Brooklyn	405,748	286,603	436,084	306,683	7.5%	7.0%	
Manhattan	252,135	167,946	289,664	208,174	14.9%	24.0%	
Queens	248,356	188,084	282,599	210,700	13.8%	12.0%	
Staten Island	33,446	21,745	31,482	23,443	-5.9%	7.8%	
New York City	1,262,859	892,483	1,393,669	994,653	10.4%	11.4%	
New York State	1,820,564	1,324,652	1,885,400	1,428,989	3.6%	7.9%	

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey, 2019 and 2021 Public Use Microdata; OSC analysis

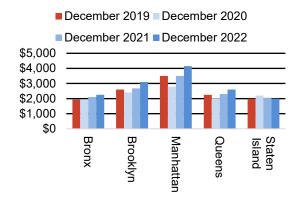
reach 1.4 million households, and the number of low-income rent-burdened households rose by over 11 percent to reach nearly 1 million households in the City (see Figure 7). By borough, between 2019 to 2021, the biggest increase occurred in Manhattan, followed by Queens.

Rental Costs

Over the course of the pandemic, rental costs shifted dramatically, and remain elevated, as residents moved in and out of the City (see Figure 8). Between December 2019 and December 2020, most City boroughs experienced a decline in monthly rent. Staten Island was the only borough to see an increase in rent, as many households from Manhattan and Brooklyn moved to the borough during the pandemic and returned after COVID-19 cases declined in number. Still, more people left the City than moved within the City, as between 2019 and 2020, the number of tax filers in the City with incomes greater than \$40,000 decreased by 3.1 percent.

In 2021, rent additionally rose in the other boroughs, with Manhattan having the largest increase in median asking rent of 25.2 percent. Higher rents were supported by the return of City residents. Between 2020 to 2021, the number of

FIGURE 8
Median Asking Rent by New York City
Borough



Note: Figure shows the exact middle asking rent among all rental listings available on StreetEasy at any point during the month/quarter/year. Sources: StreetEasy Data Dashboard; OSC analysis

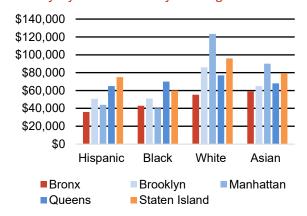
tax filers with incomes greater than \$40,000 increased by 3.6 percent.¹³ The high rents continued from December 2021 to December 2022.

Between December 2022 and May 2023, all boroughs experienced a median rent increase of at least 5 percent (the Bronx experienced the highest increase of over 11 percent). Residential rents for rent-stabilized units are set to continue to increase in the coming years as the Rent Guidelines Board voted to raise rents by 3 percent for one-year leases and by 2.75 percent and 3.2 percent, sequentially for two-year leases.¹⁴

Household Income

In 2021, Black and Hispanic households citywide earned the least in median household income and were most impacted by rising rents (see Figure 9).

FIGURE 9
Median Household Income by Race and Ethnicity by New York City Borough



Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey, 2021 Public Use Microdata; OSC analysis

The median Hispanic household had the highest rent burden in the Bronx, where based on the median asking rent in December 2021 and the median household income for 2021, rent represented 70 percent of its income. This would leave the median Hispanic household in the Bronx with \$900 per month to afford necessities such as food and electricity (see Figure 10).

FIGURE 10
Median Household Income and Asking Rent by Race and Ethnicity by New York City Borough

Borougii	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	New York City
Household Median Income - Hispanics	\$36,000	\$50,600	\$44,000	\$65,000	\$75,000	\$46,300
Household Median Income - Black	\$43,000	\$51,000	\$40,000	\$70,000	\$60,000	\$46,400
Household Median Income - White	\$55,300	\$86,000	\$123,400	\$77,000	\$95,900	\$91,000
Household Median Income - Asian	\$59,000	\$65,000	\$90,000	\$68,000	\$79,400	\$70,000
Monthly Median Asking Rent (2021)	\$2,100	\$2,675	\$3,500	\$2,300	\$2,050	\$2,800
Median Rent as Share of Median Income - Hispanics	70.0%	63.4%	95.5%	42.5%	32.8%	72.6%
Median Rent as Share of Median Income - Blacks	58.6%	62.9%	105.0%	39.4%	41.0%	72.4%
Median Rent as Share of Median Income - Whites	45.6%	37.3%	34.0%	35.8%	25.7%	36.9%
Median Rent as Share of Median Income - Asians	42.7%	49.4%	46.7%	40.6%	31.0%	48.0%

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey, 2021 Public Use Microdata & StreetEasy Data Dashboard; OSC analysis

Additionally, the median Black household had the highest rent burden in Manhattan, where median rent for December 2021 represented 105 percent of median household income in 2021.

Evictions

Between 2021 to 2022, the number of non-payment court cases (those that come from households that have not paid rent) increased by 33,092 to reach 89,046 (169.1 percent). The significant increase in the number of cases coincided with the ending of the statewide ban on evictions on January 15, 2022. As the eviction process tends to take three to six months, evictions ticked up beginning the second quarter of 2022. The

As nonpayment court cases remain elevated with 37,781 cases between January to May 2023 (an increase of 17.9 percent from the same period last year), tenants have been left without lawful

representation in court because of the shortage of public defenders despite New Yorkers' right to counsel. Legal Aid and other legal services providers have stated that they need additional funding to meet the greater demand for services. This has led to several proposals from the City Council to Mayor Adams asking to stop or limit cases of eviction proceedings in the City as tenants not having proper representation violates the Right to Counsel Law. However, as of May 17, 2023, no substantial action has been taken to change the law.¹⁷

Outlook

Despite the slow initial rollout of the Emergency Rental Assistance Program by New York State, many of New York City's residents, facing a growing rent burden before and throughout the pandemic, have been able to access critical funding. The City's decision not to administer its own program and instead access the State

program proved beneficial, with rental households receiving about \$2.5 billion, far more than the \$645 million they would have received directly from the federal government had it created its own program.

Improvement in the program's rollout is due, in part, to the changes implemented by the State's Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance to address many of the issues initially raised by OSC, including simplifying the application process, targeting assistance by demographic group, providing translated educational and outreach materials in additional languages and making data transparent. Current program reports are improved, providing breakouts by income, race, ethnicity and gender, though only at a broad geographic level. Greater detail could help further identify where demand remains, which is necessary to continue to provide assistance where needed. While it is noteworthy that Hispanic households made up a larger share of the ERAP program than they did of the initial COVID Rent Relief program statewide, for example, the extent to which the need has been met at the local level is unclear.

As the program closed to new applications in January 2023 with unpaid applications remaining, the State has committed additional funding to specifically fund the applications of public housing (i.e., NYCHA) renters that were prioritized last. The SFY 2023-24 budget also sets aside a smaller sum for rent arrears only for NYCHA households, though the amount falls short of current estimates of need for the agency.

As the impact of the pandemic and still-high inflation continue to be felt especially by lower-income households, and the influx of asylum seekers persists, the City's shelter population has risen dramatically, stressing City resources. Mayor Adams recently ended a 90-day length-of-stay requirement for those in shelters to be eligible for city-funded rental assistance but vetoed the City Council's bill to expand eligibility

for the CityFHEPS rental assistance program. City Council has since overridden the veto and the administration is weighing its options and next steps.

Rent remains unaffordable for many and wage growth has slowed from its robust pace during the beginning of 2022. A growing number of struggling households have been accessing other forms of emergency assistance for rent, energy or utility bills, and food assistance. Difficulties in accessing one-shot rental assistance for applicants who have already applied for ERAP funding suggests that further outreach may be necessary to educate applicants on their options for receiving emergency aid. Demand for existing public assistance programs may also continue to remain elevated, impacting City and State budgets, highlighting the importance of continued analysis of ERAP applicants and their rent burden for future policy and program decisions.

As expenses mount, lower-income households may also choose to relocate to more affordable places outside the City. The State and the City must continue to monitor renters' ability to make payments and ensure any future funding, including the most recent commitment in the State budget, reaches the households that need it the most.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Office of the New York State Comptroller (OSC), New York State Rent Relief Funding: Spotlight on New York City, August 2021. New York State Rent Relief Funding: Spotlight on New York City | Office of the New York State Comptroller.
- ² The \$4.5 billion total for rental assistance tracked by OSC includes the original program which catered to households earning less than 80 percent of the AMI, the later expansion to include households earning more than 80 percent and the Landlord Rental Assistance Program.
- ³ Office of the New York State Governor, "Governor Cuomo Announces \$3.5 Billion in Assistance for Renters and Small Businesses," press release, May 25, 2021, https://www.governor.ny.gov/news/governor-cuomo-announces-35-billionassistance-renters-and-small-businesses.
- The number of households statewide that received Emergency Rental Assistance Program assistance does not reflect unique households, as a household may receive ERAP assistance more than once as long as it does not amount to greater than 12 months of rent arrears.
- ⁵ New York State Department of Labor, Current Employment Statistics.
- ⁶ New York State Department of Labor, Unemployment Insurance Data.
- Daniel Kroop, "Report to the Committee on Finance and the Committee on Public Housing on the Fiscal 2024 Executive Plan and the Fiscal 2024 Executive Capital Commitment Plan for the New York City Housing Authority" City Council, May 19, 2023, Report on the fiscal 2024 preliminary plan and the fiscal 2023 mayor's management report (nyc.gov).
- Tatyana Turner, "NYCHA Expected to Get 'Significant Majority' of State Budget Rent Relief Funds," City Limits Report, May 17, 2023, NYCHA Expected to Get 'Significant Majority' of State Budget Rent Relief Funds (citylimits.org)
- ⁹ Iziah Thompson, "Forgotten: Rent Arrears in New York Public Housing Over the COVID-19 Pandemic," The Community Service Society, March 2, 2023, NYCHA Arrears V4.pdf (nexcesscdn.net).
- ¹⁰ NYC Housing Authority, NYCHA Metrics, May 2023, New York City Housing Authority NYCHA Metrics and Jasmine Sheena, "NYCHA Rent Collection Plummets to 65% — A Record Low for Agency," New York Post, January 24, 2023, NYCHA rent collection crashes to record low (nypost.com).
- ¹¹ Tracy Porpora, "While Rents Plummet Across NYC, Staten Island Apartments Are in High Demand," SILive Report, May 1, 2021, While rents plummet across NYC, Staten Island apartments are in high demand - silive.com.
- ¹² New York State Department of Taxation and Finance Personal Income Tax Study Files, 2019 to 2021.
- ¹³ Ibid.
- ¹⁴ New York City Rent Guidelines Board, 2023-24 Apartment/Loft Order #55, retrieved on July 06, 2023, 2023-24 Apartment/Loft Order #55 - Rent Guidelines Board (cityofnewyork.us).
- ¹⁵ Housing Data Coalition, Dataset: OCA Housing Records, retrieved on June 27, 2023. Unique non-payment cases account for only one individual or head of household per non-payment court case.
- ¹⁶ PropertyClub Team, NYC Eviction Process, June 19, 2023, NYC Eviction Process Guide (2023) | PropertyClub.
- ¹⁷ NYC Mayor's Public Engagement Unit, Right to Council, retrieved on June 29, 2023, Right to Counsel (nyc.gov) and Bill Miller, "New York City Tenant Advocates Say Right-to-Counsel Program Underfunded," The Tablet, May 17, 2023, New York City Tenant Advocates Say Right-to-Counsel Program Underfunded - The Tablet.

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