

# **Connecticut Eviction Right to Counsel Annual Independent Evaluation January 1 to November 30, 2023**

Prepared for: Connecticut Bar Foundation

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#### ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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# Section I-Executive Summary

## *Key Findings*

The second year of Connecticut’s eviction right to counsel (CT-RTC) implementation has occurred amidst a variety of economic challenges including significant housing inflation, low rental vacancy rates, and increase in homelessness. Throughout 2023, the Providers<sup>1</sup> have continued to demonstrate commitment to implementing and expanding CT-RTC, refining data collection to enable a robust quantitative evaluation, and assisting clients achieve their goals.

In September 2023, CT-RTC services were expanded to 10 additional zip codes. Since CT-RTC launched in January 2022, more than 3,800 Connecticut renter households have been served, of which approximately 2,100 were served in 2023 (through November). Based on data collected by the Providers, an estimated 9,000 individuals were living in the more than 3,800 renter households served by CT-RTC.

Additionally, the availability of rental assistance in Connecticut was expanded through UniteCT, the Eviction Prevention Fund, and CareerConneCT for eligible tenants.

It is important to note that this report was prepared at this time to comply with the December 31, 2023 statutory reporting deadline but does not represent a full year of data for 2023. Stout has presented metrics throughout the report that are cumulative (i.e., since the launch of CT-RTC in January 2022 through November 30, 2023) and metrics that are for clients assisted in 2023 (through November 30), the most recent data reporting available from the Providers.

## *CT-RTC Attorneys Continue to Assist Clients with Achieving Their Goals Although with Less Frequency in 2023 Compared to 2022*

In 2023 (through November), in CT-RTC cases where the client received extensive service, the Providers assisted clients in achieving approximately 64% of all clients’ case goals.<sup>2</sup> In 2022, the Providers assisted clients in achieving approximately 73% of their goals. The Providers shared that the decrease in the goals achieved metric is likely a result of:

- The low vacancy rates, particularly when a rental property owner is evicting for lapse of time (i.e., the lease term expired, and the rental property owner does not want to renew);
- The lack of alternative affordable housing for clients; and
- Some rental property owners’ unwillingness to participate in the rental assistance program.

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<sup>1</sup> The Providers include Connecticut Legal Services, Connecticut Veterans Legal Center, Greater Hartford Legal Aid, New Haven Legal Assistance Association, Inc., and Statewide Legal Services of Connecticut.

<sup>2</sup> Based on goals the 3 most frequently stated client goals.

The table below shows the 3 most common goals, with the frequency of the goal being achieved, the number of clients with the goal, and the percentage of clients with that goal since CT-RTC launched in January 2022 and for cases closed in 2023 (through November).

<b>Goal Metrics for CT-RTC Clients from January 2022 through November 2023</b>			
<b>Client Goal</b>	<b>Frequency Goal Was Achieved</b>	<b># of CT-RTC Clients with Goal<sup>3</sup></b>	<b>% of CT-RTC Clients with Goal<sup>4</sup></b>
Prevent involuntary move	64%	875	80%
Prevent eviction judgment	68%	790	72%
Secure 30 days or more to move	75%	607	55%
<b>Goal Metrics for CT-RTC Clients from January through November 2023</b>			
<b>Client Goal</b>	<b>Frequency Goal Was Achieved</b>	<b># of CT-RTC Clients with Goal<sup>5</sup></b>	<b>% of CT-RTC Clients with Goal<sup>6</sup></b>
Prevent involuntary move	60%	530	78%
Prevent eviction judgment	62%	461	68%
Secure 30 days or more to move	75%	389	58%

During the client intake/interview process, clients are asked what their goal(s) for the case are, and CT-RTC attorneys provide guidance and counseling as to what may reasonably be achievable based on the case circumstances. For purposes of Stout’s eviction right to counsel program evaluations, including the evaluation of CT-RTC, the Providers collect data regarding whether clients’ goals were achieved. In Stout’s experience, it is challenging to determine the percentage of tenants who, but for representation, would have been removed from their home by a sheriff. This is because data related to executed evictions is often incomplete and inconsistently recorded, and feedback from stakeholders throughout the country indicates that many tenants move during the period between a judgment for possession being entered and the date that they would have been removed from their home by a sheriff. For these reasons, Stout

<sup>3</sup> Clients can have more than 1 goal for their case.

<sup>4</sup> Total will be greater than 100% because clients can have more than 1 goal for their case.

<sup>5</sup> Clients can have more than 1 goal for their case.

<sup>6</sup> Total will be greater than 100% because clients can have more than 1 goal for their case.

continues to rely on the goals that clients are communicating to attorneys and whether they are achieved.

*Client's Owed Fewer Months of Back Rent, Were More Likely to Want to Stay in Their Home, Were More Likely to Indicate They Would Experience Unsheltered Homelessness if They Had to Move, and Had Less Time to Move in 2023 Compared to 2022*

In 2022, more than 30% of clients owed more than 6 months of back rent, and approximately 10% owed 1 month of back rent. In 2023 (through November), approximately 16% of clients owed more than 6 months of back rent, and approximately 22% owed 1 month of back rent. Clients owing fewer months of back rent could be indicative of rental property owners returning to pre-pandemic eviction filing practices, which were generally to file when someone is 1 to 2 months in arrears rather than longer periods while they awaited rent assistance funds.

The percentage of clients who indicated they wanted to stay in their home increased slightly from 68% in 2022 to 72% in 2023 (through November).<sup>7</sup> There are several reasons why a client would want to stay in their home, including being near their employment, family and friends, and other community assets (including school for their children), as well as because there is a lack of affordable housing elsewhere. Connecticut rent continued to increase in 2023, resulting in persistently low vacancy rates and few (if any) alternatives for renters with low incomes who need to seek alternative housing.<sup>8</sup>

While CT-RTC attorneys continued to secure additional time for clients to move (when they want to or have to), the distribution of the number of days to move changed between 2022 and 2023. From 2022 to 2023, the percentage of clients who:

- Had less than 30 days to move increased approximately 8 percentage points;
- Had 30 to 60 days to move increased approximately 6 percentage points;
- Had 61 to 90 days to move decreased approximately 4 percentage points; and
- Had more than 90 days to move decreased approximately 10 percentage points.

In 2023 (through November), approximately 25% of clients indicated that if they had to move, they would live unsheltered or on the street. This is an increase of approximately 8 percentage points from 2022 when approximately 17% of clients indicated they would live unsheltered or on the street if they were forced to move. There appear to be factors that influence whether a client thinks they may experience unsheltered homelessness if they had to move. Clients

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<sup>7</sup> Clients with the goal of “prevent involuntary move” can be segmented into 2 populations: clients who want to stay in their home and clients who do not want to stay in their home but are seeking assistance to minimize the disruption that moving can have.

<sup>8</sup> Brone Abigail. “Rent increases slowed in CT, but the cost of rent isn’t dropping.” Connecticut Public Radio. August 26, 2022.

identifying as Hispanic disproportionately indicated they would live on the street or unsheltered if they had to move – approximately 33% of clients identify as Hispanic, but of the clients indicating they would live on the street or unsheltered, approximately 46% identify as Hispanic. Approximately 31% of clients who identify as male indicated they would live on the street or unsheltered if they had to move compared to approximately 23% of clients who identify as female.

### *Clients Who Indicate They or Someone Else in the Household Has a Disability Are Likely Experiencing Significant Housing Precarity*

Stout analyzed combinations of data elements collected during the client intake/interview process to deepen its understanding of the 49% of client households where someone in the household has a disability.<sup>9</sup> Stout’s multi-variable analyses indicated that a client household with the presence of disabilities is likely experiencing a higher degree of housing insecurity and cost burden, sometimes due to not being able to work and receiving a fixed income. Client households with the presence of disabilities could experience more significant consequences of eviction, such as subsidy termination, given they are more likely to be living in subsidized or public housing or receive a voucher. They may also require more housing social safety net responses if they are forced to move and experience homelessness, as client households with disabilities are more likely to indicate they would enter shelter than client households without disabilities.

### *Clients Who Are Veterans Differ Demographically from Non-Veteran Clients and Are Able to Stay in Their Homes More Frequently*

Stout’s multi-variable analyses indicated that clients who are veterans, compared to clients who are not veterans, are older, more likely to be male and single, have lived in their homes longer, and are able to stay in their homes more frequently. Approximately 72% of clients who are veterans indicated they wanted to stay in their home, and of the 72% who wanted to stay, approximately 73% were able to stay. These metrics are compared to approximately 69% of clients who are not veterans indicating they wanted to stay in their home (which is similar to the frequency with which clients who are veterans want to stay), and of the 69% who wanted to stay, approximately 63% were able to stay.

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<sup>9</sup> The presence of disability is self-reported by clients.



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### *CT-RTC Results in Fiscal Benefits to Connecticut That Are Greater Than Current Program Expenditures*

Stout estimates that Connecticut has realized fiscal benefits of between \$17.6 million and \$21.4 million between January 31, 2022, and November 30, 2023, as a result of CT-RTC. Data provided to Stout by Connecticut Bar Foundation indicated that approximately \$7.6 million has been spent on CT-RTC since January 2022. For every \$1 spent on CT-RTC, Connecticut has likely realized \$2.32 to \$2.82 in fiscal benefits. Stout's evaluation of other jurisdictions' right to counsel programs found the estimated dollar value of a right to counsel ranged from \$2.76 to \$4.80. The estimated benefits were related to:

- Decreased need for housing social safety net responses – \$4.1 to \$4.9 million
- Decreased foster care costs for children experiencing homelessness – \$3.5 million to \$4.1 million
- Retained economic value of minimizing out-migration – \$2.6 million to \$3.1 million
- Increased employment and income stability – \$1.6 million to \$2.3 million
- Decreased need for Medicaid spending on health care – \$1.9 million to \$2.2 million
- Increased educational attainment for children – \$1.3 million to \$1.7 million
- Decreased need for responding to unsheltered homelessness – \$1.2 million to \$1.4 million
- Decreased incarceration costs associated with criminalizing people experiencing homelessness – \$700,000 to \$800,000
- Decreased need for unemployment benefits – \$400,000 to \$500,000
- Retained federal funding for Connecticut public schools – \$300,000 to \$400,000.

Stout's preliminary estimate of fiscal impact is likely significantly understated. Included in the calculation are the benefits of CT-RTC that can be quantified based on currently available data. However, Connecticut (as well as individual cities and counties within the state) would likely realize additional benefits that are not currently quantifiable based on available data.

## Section II-Year 2 Evaluation Findings

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## *Important Context for Understanding Year 2 Evaluation Findings*

Throughout 2023, there were several factors – both nationwide and specific to Connecticut – impacting the continued implementation and evaluation of CT-RTC. External factors related to the economy and housing inflation, the increase in homelessness in Connecticut, the net increase in Connecticut’s population, and the availability of rent assistance are important to understanding Stout’s evaluation findings and the system in which CT-RTC is operating. Additionally, the Connecticut General Assembly passed several tenant protections in July that became effective October 1, 2023.

### *Economic Trends and Housing Inflation*

While the Consumer Price Index (CPI) – which is a measurement of the average change in prices paid for goods and services – decreased in 2023 compared to 2022, the rent component of the CPI increased approximately 6% from September 2022 to September 2023, nearly double the change in CPI during the same period.<sup>10</sup> Despite less inflation, renters are paying significantly higher rents in Connecticut compared to pre-pandemic, which disproportionately impact renters with low incomes.<sup>11</sup>

According to an analysis of rents in Connecticut and United States Census Bureau data, the following rent increases from pre-pandemic 2020 to September 2023 were observed for one-bedroom rentals in Connecticut:

- New London County – 37% (the largest increase in the state)
- Hartford County – 29%
- New Haven County – 26%
- Fairfield County – 25%<sup>12</sup>

Additionally, interest rate increases during 2022 and 2023 have led many would-be-buyers to continue renting<sup>13</sup>, exacerbating the existing shortage of affordable rental units.<sup>14</sup> In Connecticut, 85% of low-income renters are cost burdened (i.e., spending more than 30% of their income on housing) and 86% struggle to pay rent each month.<sup>15</sup> In the third quarter of

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<sup>10</sup> Mutikani, Lucia. “Surging rents lift US consumer prices; underlying inflation grinding lower.” Reuters. October 2023.

<sup>11</sup> Coval, Amy et al. “Track how Connecticut’s rent prices compare across the state and beyond.” CT Insider. October 2023.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Justis, Andrew. “High Mortgage Rates are Killing the Rental Market.” Niskanen Center. September 2023.

<sup>14</sup> “The Gap: A Shortage of Affordable Homes, 2023.” National Low Income Housing Coalition. March 2023.

<sup>15</sup> “New Haven 2021 Equity Report.” DataHaven. August 2021.

2023, Connecticut had the one of the lowest rental vacancy rate in the country with approximately 3% of rental units available.<sup>16</sup>

### *Net Increase in Population and Increase in People Experiencing Homelessness*

According to data published by the United States Census Bureau Connecticut experienced a net increase (i.e., more people moved to Connecticut than left the state) in population in 2021 and 2022. Approximately 10,000 and 57,000 people moved to Connecticut from other states in 2021 and 2022 respectively.<sup>17</sup> The new residents were primarily from New York and Massachusetts.<sup>18</sup> The increase in housing costs after the height of the pandemic was likely a primary factor in households' choosing to relocate to Connecticut in 2021 and 2022.<sup>19</sup> High demand for housing and low inventory have raised concerns among Connecticut non-profit organizations and policymakers that residents are struggling to afford rent and the relatively high incomes of households relocating to Connecticut have put upward pressure on housing prices.<sup>20</sup>

Coupled with the migration of residents to Connecticut, the increase in rent, and the low vacancy rate is the increase in the number of Connecticut residents experiencing homelessness. After nearly 10 years of decreases in the number of people experiencing homelessness in Connecticut, in 2022 and 2023, the number of people experiencing homelessness in Connecticut increased.<sup>21</sup> From 2021 to 2022, the number of people experiencing homelessness increased 13%, and from 2022 to 2023, the number of people experiencing homelessness increased 3%.<sup>22</sup> Local stakeholders indicated in public testimony that pandemic-related economic challenges have persisted for Connecticut residents with low incomes, and when combined with the lack of affordable housing, has resulted in an increase in homelessness.<sup>23</sup>

### *The Availability of Rent Assistance in Connecticut*

UniteCT, Connecticut's pandemic-era rent assistance program, stopped accepting new applications in February 2022.<sup>24</sup> In October 2022, UniteCT received an additional \$11 million in federal funding through the emergency rental assistance reallocation process, and the state

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<sup>16</sup> iPropertyManagement.com referencing data from U.S. Census Bureau. 2023.

<sup>17</sup> Johnston, Taylor. "Connecticut gained 57,000 residents in 2022, the state's biggest increase in almost two decades." CT Insider. November 2023.

<sup>18</sup> Bordonaro, Greg. "CT gained nearly 57k residents from other states in 2022; most came from NY, Mass." Hartford Business Insider. October 2023.

<sup>19</sup> Perry, Andrew. "Housing Costs, Not Taxes, Drive Migration out of New York." Fiscal Policy Institute. January 2023.

<sup>20</sup> Fitch, Marc. "Connecticut saw influx of 81,000 people from other states in 2022." CII. October 2023.

<sup>21</sup> Monk, Ginny. "Report: Homelessness in CT increased for second year in a row." CT Mirror. August 2023.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> "What is the UniteCT Eviction Prevention Fund, and can it help me stay in my home?" CT Mirror. February 2023.

combined the \$11 million with \$1.5 million earmarked by the legislature for the Eviction Prevention Fund (EPF).<sup>25</sup> The Connecticut Department of Housing indicated it envisioned the \$12.5 million being spent over the next 3 years, although the pace with which the funding would be spent was contingent upon the volume of applications.<sup>26</sup> Stout understands from the Providers that this rental assistance was primarily for tenants who were at imminent risk of being removed from their homes. In addition to the EPF, funding is available for tenants through the Moving Assistance Program (MAP) which provides security deposit assistance for eligible tenants seeking to move within Connecticut.<sup>27</sup>

In June 2023, Governor Lamont designated \$30 million in federal pandemic relief funding to making rent assistance available for qualifying participants in CareerConneCT, which is the state’s workforce training program, and participants in other federally funded workforce training programs.<sup>28</sup>

In jurisdictions throughout the country where Stout is working, stakeholders ranging from tenant advocates to rental property owners have communicated the importance of sustainable rent assistance as an essential complement to eviction right to counsel programs.

### *Tenant Protections Enacted by Connecticut General Assembly*

In mid-2023 , the Connecticut General Assembly passed several tenant protection measures in an effort to assist with challenges Connecticut low income renters have been experiencing. The bill, which was signed by Governor Lamont in July, went into effect on October 1, 2023. The tenant protection measures include:

- Prohibition of rental property owners charging a tenant more than one late fee for delinquent rent;
- Maximum amounts for late fees and tenant screening reports (charged to the prospective tenant);
- Prohibition of rental property owners charging application processing fees;
- Allowance of a joint unit inspection by the rental property owner and the tenant prior to moving into the unit and the ability for a prospective tenant to request defective conditions or damages to be noted; and

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> “UniteCT Moving Assistance Program.” Connecticut Department of Housing.

<sup>28</sup> “Governor Lamont Announces Rental Assistance Available for Participants of CareerConneCT.” The Office of Governor Ned Lamont. June 2023.

- Sealing of eviction records within 30 days for cases where the case is withdrawn by the rental property owner, if the tenant wins the case, or if the case is dismissed by the judge.<sup>29</sup>

These tenant protections may enhance CT-RTC and could enable new legal strategies or defenses to be developed by CT-RTC attorneys.

### *CT-RTC Client Goals and Goals Achieved*

During the intake/interview process, the Providers ask clients what their goals are for the case. Generally, only clients who receive extensive services complete the full intake/interview process and have stated goals recorded. Stout's evaluation is centered on client goals that were achieved or not achieved for clients receiving extensive service. Since CT-RTC started in January 2022 and for clients served in 2023 (through November), approximately 62% of clients received extensive services.<sup>30</sup>

In 2023 (through November), in CT-RTC cases where the client received extensive services, the Providers assisted clients in achieving approximately 64% of all clients' case goals.<sup>31</sup> In 2022, the Providers assisted clients in achieving approximately 73% of their goals. The Providers shared that the decrease in the goals achieved metric is likely a result of:

- The low vacancy rates, particularly when a rental property owner is evicting for lapse of time (i.e., the lease term expired, and the rental property owner does not want to renew);
- The lack of alternative affordable housing for clients; and
- Some rental property owners' unwillingness to participate in the rental assistance program.

The table below shows the 3 most common goals, with the frequency of the goal being achieved, the number of clients with the goal, and the percentage of clients with that goal since CT-RTC launched in January 2022 and for cases closed in 2023 (through November).

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid. Stout also understands that the Providers were engaged with advocacy surrounding the sealing of eviction records throughout 2023.

<sup>30</sup> The calculation to determine the percentage of clients who received extensive services is the number of clients who received extensive services divided by the total number of clients who received extensive services, brief services, counsel and advice, limited representation, or other services. Stout understands that "other services" may include but is not limited to: referrals to other organizations, assistance completing rental assistance applications or applications for other programs, and identifying other community resources to assist clients.

<sup>31</sup> Based on goals the 3 most frequently stated client goals.

<b>Goal Metrics for CT-RTC Clients from January 2022 through November 2023</b>			
<b>Client Goal</b>	<b>Frequency Goal Was Achieved</b>	<b># of CT-RTC Clients with Goal<sup>32</sup></b>	<b>% of CT-RTC Clients with Goal<sup>33</sup></b>
Prevent involuntary move	64%	875	80%
Prevent eviction judgment	68%	790	72%
Secure 30 days or more to move	75%	607	55%
<b>Goal Metrics for CT-RTC Clients from January through November 2023</b>			
<b>Client Goal</b>	<b>Frequency Goal Was Achieved</b>	<b># of CT-RTC Clients with Goal<sup>34</sup></b>	<b>% of CT-RTC Clients with Goal<sup>35</sup></b>
Prevent involuntary move	60%	530	78%
Prevent eviction judgment	62%	461	68%
Secure 30 days or more to move	75%	389	58%

Of CT-RTC cases closed since its launch, approximately 95% of clients had multiple goals for their case. The 5 most common combination of client goals were:

- Prevent eviction judgment and prevent involuntary move;
- Prevent eviction judgment, prevent involuntary move, and secure 30 days or more to move;
- Prevent eviction judgment and secure 30 days or more to move;
- Prevent eviction judgment, prevent involuntary move, and avoid subsidy termination;
- Prevent involuntary move and secure 30 days or more to move.

### ***New Client and Case Characteristic Insights for 2023***

Stout identified and analyzed changes in client and case characteristics from 2022 to 2023 related to the amount of back rent clients owed, the likelihood of clients wanting to stay in their homes, the time CT-RTC attorneys were able to secure for clients to move when they had to move, and deepening its understanding of clients with disabilities. For each of these analyses,

<sup>32</sup> Clients can have more than 1 goal for their case.

<sup>33</sup> Total will be greater than 100% because clients can have more than 1 goal for their case.

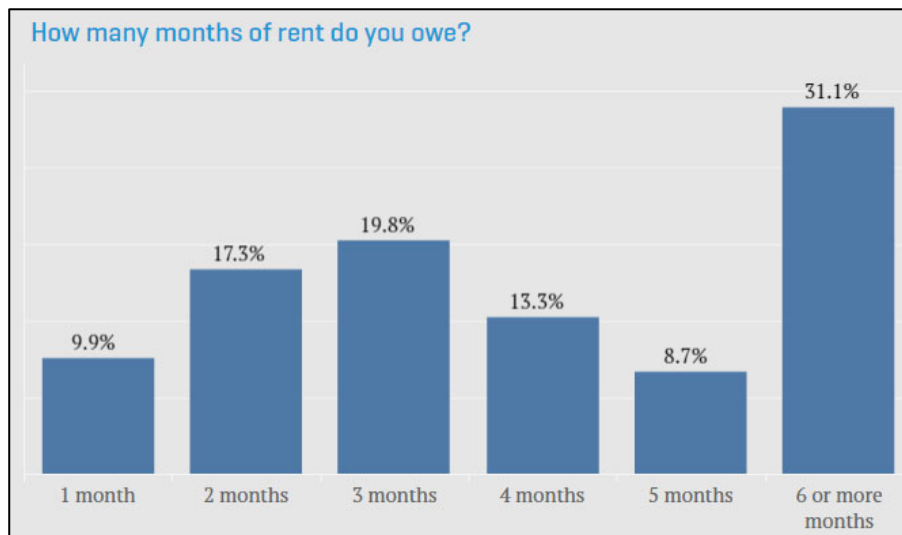
<sup>34</sup> Clients can have more than 1 goal for their case.

<sup>35</sup> Total will be greater than 100% because clients can have more than 1 goal for their case.

Stout also considered additional variables that may contribute to its understanding of factors that are influencing or appear to be correlated with the identified trends.

### *Clients Owed Fewer Months of Back Rent in 2023 Than in 2022*

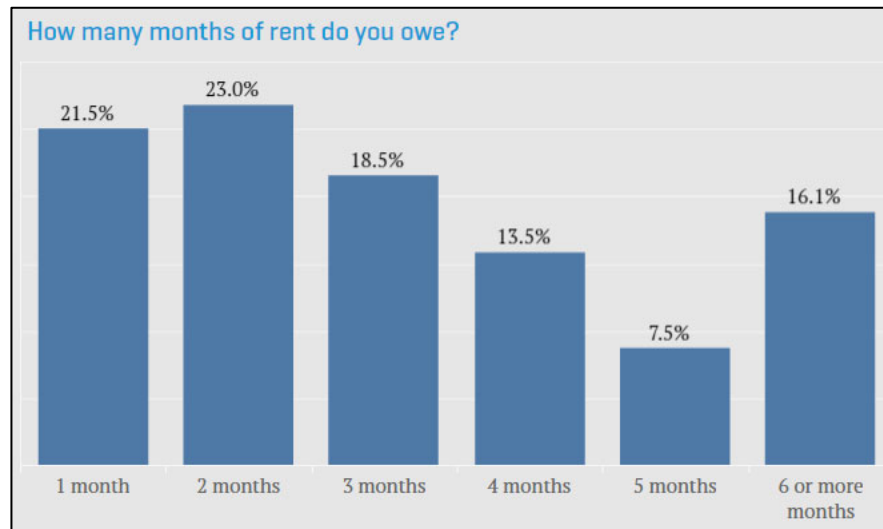
In 2022, more than 30% of clients owed more than 6 months of back rent, and approximately 10% owed 1 month of back rent (Figure 1).



**Figure 1 - 2022**

In 2023 (through November), the percentage of clients who owed more than 6 months of back rent decreased approximately 15 percentage points, while the percentage of clients who owed 1 month of back rent increased approximately 12 percentage points (Figure 2). In 2022, approximately 27% of clients owed 1 or 2 months of back rent, and in 2023 (through November), approximately 45% of clients owed 1 or 2 months of back rent.





**Figure 2 - 2023**

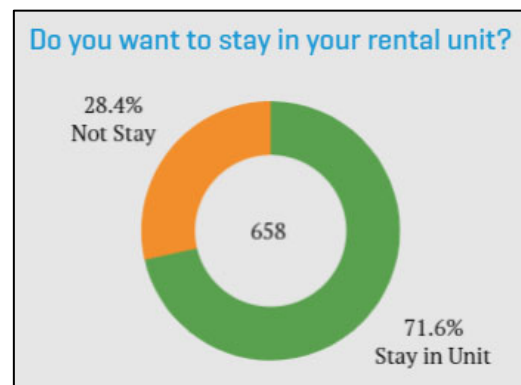
Clients owing fewer months of back rent is likely indicative of rental property owners returning to pre-pandemic eviction filing practices, which were generally to file when someone is 1 to 2 months in arrears rather than longer periods while they awaited rent assistance funds.

***Clients are More Likely to Want to Stay in Their Unit in 2023 Compared to 2022***

The percentage of clients who indicated they want to stay in their unit increased slightly from 68% in 2022 to 72% in 2023 (through November) (Figure 3 and 4).



**Figure 3 - 2022**



**Figure 4 - 2023**

There are several reasons a client would want to stay in their unit, including being near their employment, family and friends, and other community assets (including school for their children), as well as because there is a lack of affordable housing elsewhere. Connecticut rent continued to increase in 2023, resulting in persistently low vacancy rates and few (if any)

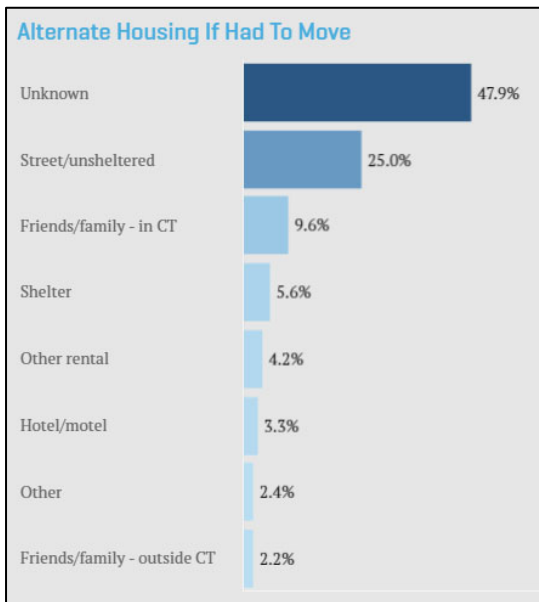
alternatives for renters with low incomes who need to seek alternative housing.<sup>36</sup> The lack of alternative housing options often results in clients indicating they want to stay in their home even if their home has defective conditions. Among clients who wanted to stay in their rental unit in 2023 (through November), approximately 62% indicated the presence of defective conditions, an increase of 3 percentage points from 2022.

### *Clients are More Likely to Become Unsheltered and Less Likely to Move in with Friends and Family if Forced to Move*

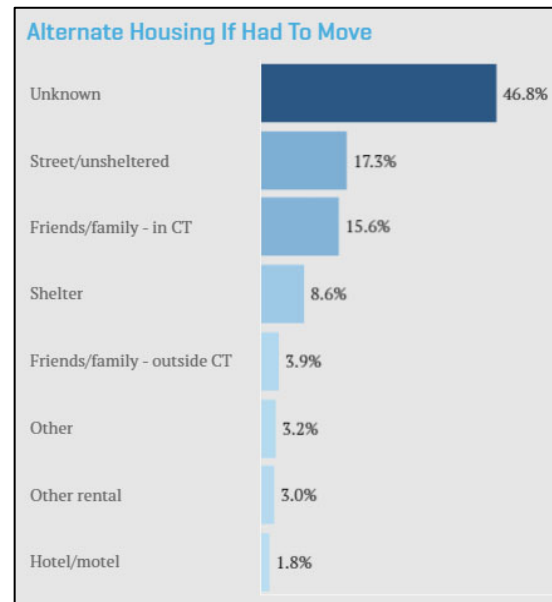
As previously described, housing inflation and stagnant wages have resulted in few alternatives for Connecticut tenants who must move as a result of an eviction. In 2023 (through November), approximately 25% of clients indicated that if they had to move, they would live unsheltered or on the street. This is an increase of approximately 8 percentage points from 2022 when approximately 17% of clients indicated they would live unsheltered or on the street if they were forced to move. Additionally, there was a year-over-year decrease in the frequency with which clients indicated they would move in with friends and family if they were forced to move. The percentage of clients indicating they did not know where they would go (i.e., “Unknown” responses) remained consistent between 2022 and 2023. The Providers in Connecticut and attorneys representing tenants in eviction right to counsel programs throughout the country shared that when a client responds that they do not know where they would go if they had to move it is because they likely do not have a plan for alternative housing – whether it is emergency shelter or another form of shelter. The “unknown” responses indicate significant housing precarity in that clients do not have plans for alternative housing or an expectation of what could happen if they had to move. In contrast, clients who responded with answers other than “unknown” have considered their situation and have the ability to know or expect what the outcome would be if they had to move. Figures 5 and 6 show client responses to where they would go if they had to move in 2022 and 2023 (through November), respectively.

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<sup>36</sup> Brone Abigail. “Rent increases slowed in CT, but the cost of rent isn’t dropping.” Connecticut Public Radio. August 26, 2022.



**Figure 5 - 2022**

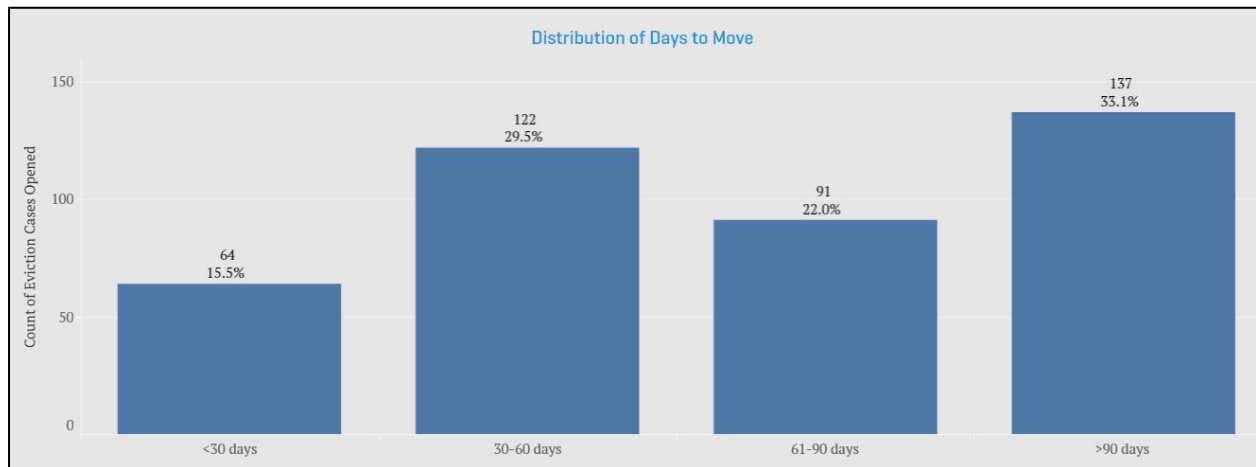


**Figure 6 - 2023**

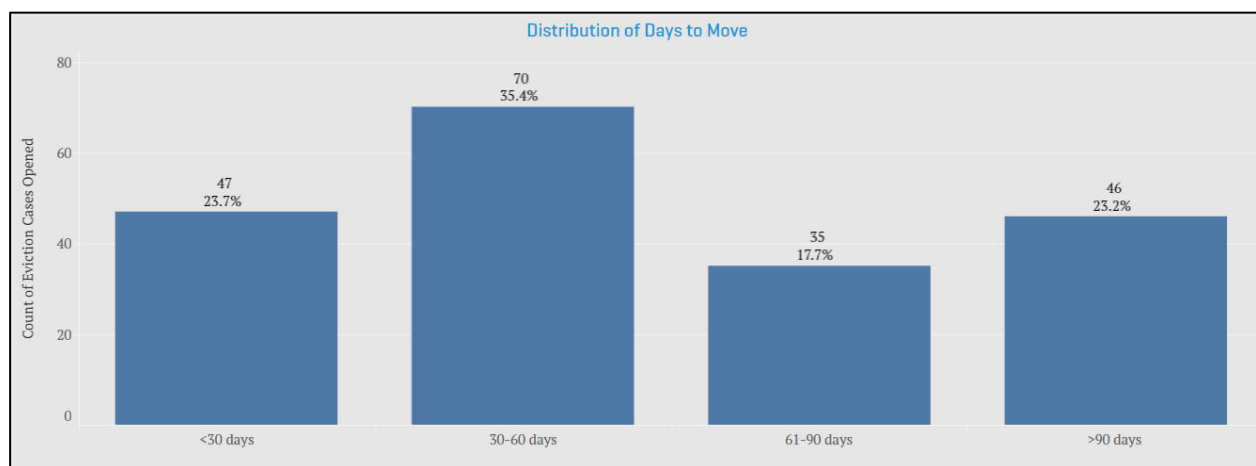
Ethnicity and sex appear to be factors that influence whether a client thinks they may experience unsheltered homelessness if they had to move. Clients identifying as Hispanic disproportionately indicate they would live on the street or unsheltered if they had to move – approximately 33% of clients identify as Hispanic, but of the clients indicating they would live on the street or unsheltered, approximately 46% identify as Hispanic. Approximately 31% of clients who identify as male indicate they would live on the street or unsheltered if they had to move compared to approximately 23% of clients who identify as female.

***Clients Likely Needed to Move in Fewer Days in 2023 than in 2022***

While CT-RTC attorneys continued to secure additional time for clients to move (when they want to or have to), the distribution of days to move changed between 2022 and 2023. Figure 7 shows the distribution of clients by the number of days CT-RTC attorneys secured for them to move in 2022, and Figure 8 shows the same data for 2023 (through November 30).



**Figure 7 - 2022**



**Figure 8 - 2023**

From 2022 to 2023, the percentage of clients who:

- Had less than 30 days to move increased approximately 8 percentage points;
- Had 30 to 60 days to move increased approximately 6 percentage points;
- Had 61 to 90 days to move decreased approximately 4 percentage points; and
- Had more than 90 days to move decreased approximately 10 percentage points.

Approximately 17% of clients with household incomes of 30% or less of the state median income were required to move in less than 30 days compared to approximately 23% of clients with household incomes of 30.1% to 50% of the state median income. Approximately 30% of clients identifying as African American or Black received more than 90 days to move compared to approximately 36% of clients identifying as White. Approximately 22% of clients identifying as Hispanic received less than 30 days to move compared to approximately 16% of non-Hispanic

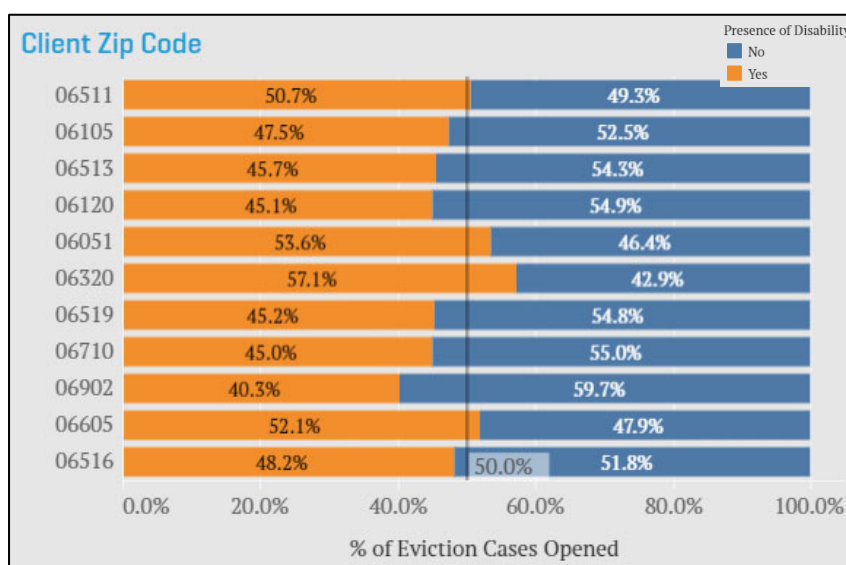
identifying clients, and approximately 27% of clients identifying as Hispanic received more than 90 days to move compared to approximately 32% of non-Hispanic identifying clients.

### *Deepening the Understanding of Clients with Disabilities*

Stout analyzed combinations of data elements collected during the client intake/interview process to deepen its understanding of the 49% of client households where someone in the household has a disability. Stout's multi-variable analyses indicated that a client household with the presence of disabilities is likely experiencing a higher degree of housing precarity and cost burden, sometimes due to not being able to work and receiving a fixed income. Client households with the presence of disabilities could experience more significant consequences of eviction, such as subsidy termination, given they are more likely to be living in subsidized or public housing or receive a voucher and may also require more housing social safety net responses if they are forced to move and experience homelessness.

Of the 49% of client households where someone has a disability, approximately 56% have a physical disability, approximately 43% have a mental disability, and approximately 1% have a hearing or vision impairment. Clients identifying as Hispanic less frequently indicate they or someone in their household has a disability (45%) compared to non-Hispanic identifying clients (52%).

Stout analyzed the presence of disabilities within client households by zip code. Figure 9 shows the presence of disabilities within client households by zip codes for zip codes with more than 100 clients since CT-RTC launched in 2022. Clients from zip codes 06051 and 06320 more frequently identify disabilities within their households, and clients from zip code 06902 less frequently identify disabilities within their households. Further analyses are necessary to understand whether and to what extent there are external factors contributing to a higher or lower presence of disability depending on the client's zip code.



**Figure 9**

Stout found that the presence of disabilities is more frequent in client households with subsidies, vouchers, or those living in public housing. Since CT-RTC launched in 2022, of clients with a subsidy or voucher or who live in public housing, approximately 61% indicate they or someone in their household has a disability. Of clients living in market rate housing (i.e., they do not have a subsidy, voucher, or live in public housing), approximately 46% indicate they or someone in their household has a disability.

Since CT-RTC launched in 2022, approximately 60% of clients who were not employed at the time of receiving CT-RTC services indicated they or someone in their household had a disability. Of the approximately 60% of clients who were not employed at the time of receiving CT-RTC services, approximately 57% indicated they had a physical disability, approximately 42% indicated they had a mental disability, and approximately 1% indicated they had a hearing or visual impairment.

Approximately 29% and 41% of clients who were employed part time and full time (respectively) indicated they or someone in their household had a disability. Of the 29% of clients who were employed part time, approximately 51% indicated they had a mental disability, and approximately 49% indicated they had a physical disability. Of the 41% of clients who were employed full time, approximately 58% indicated they had a physical disability, approximately 40% indicated they had a mental disability, and approximately 1% indicated they had a hearing or visual impairment. Clients who are employed part time reported the presence of mental disabilities more frequently (51%) than clients who were employed full time (40%). Figure 10 shows the employment status of CT-RTC clients by the presence of disability.

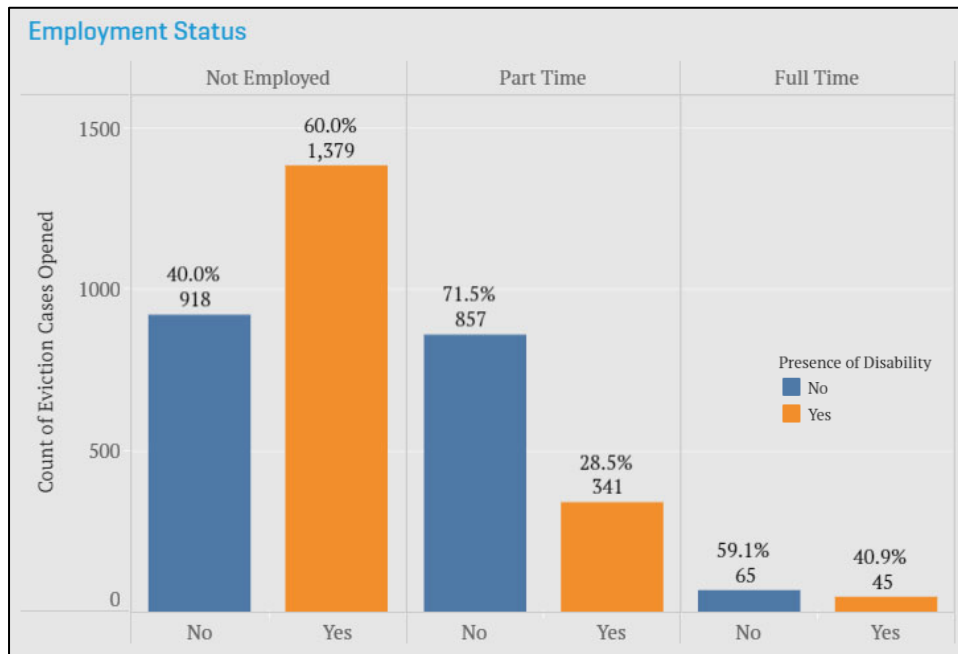


Figure 10

Clients with disabilities are more likely to indicate they would enter a shelter or move in with friends and family outside of Connecticut if they had to move compared to clients without disabilities. Figure 11 shows client responses to the question, “if your household had to move, where would you go?” by the presence of disability within the household. The blue bars represent households without a disability, and orange bars represent households with a disability.

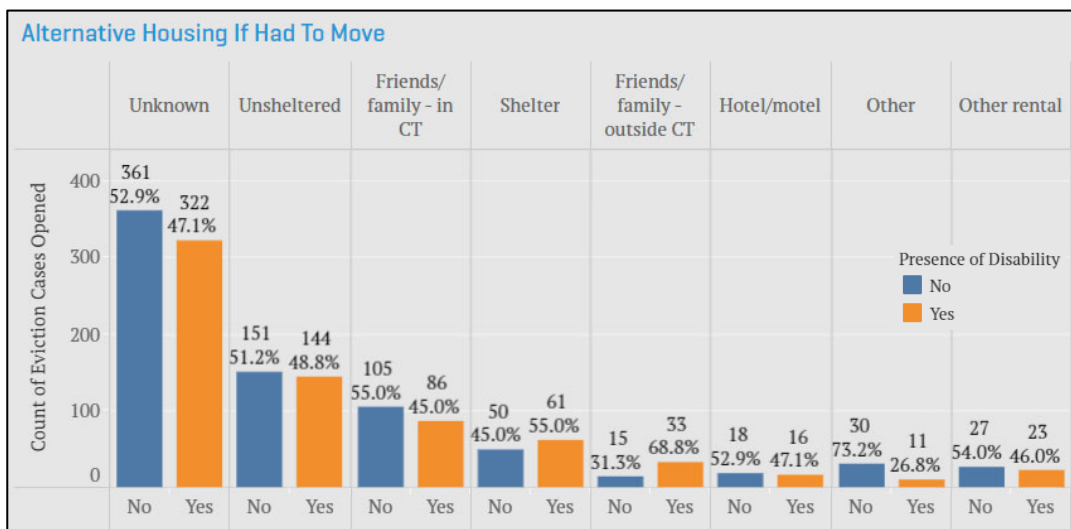


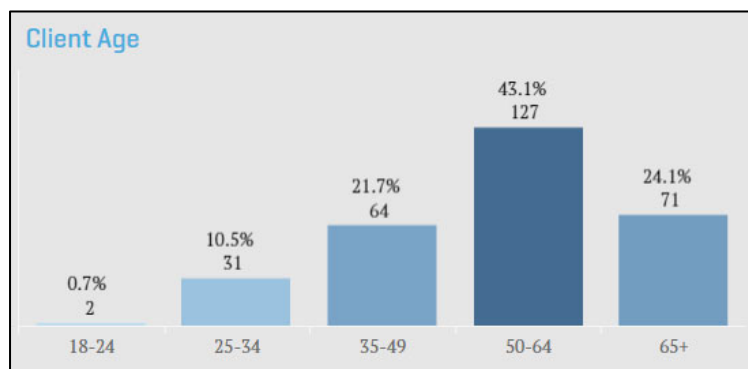
Figure 11

### Deepening the Understanding Clients who are Veterans

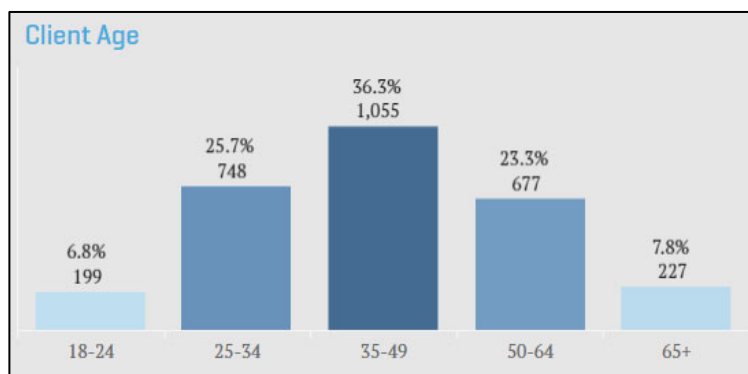
Similar to its analysis of clients with disabilities, Stout analyzed combinations of data elements collected during the client intake/interview process to deepen its understanding of the more than 300 CT-RTC clients who are veterans.<sup>37</sup> Stout’s multi-variable analyses indicated that clients who are veterans, compared to clients who are not veterans, are older, more likely to be male and single, have lived in their homes longer, and are able to stay in their homes more frequently.

Approximately 84% of veteran clients were male compared to approximately 27% of non-veteran clients. Approximately 16% of veteran clients were female compared to approximately 73% of non-veteran clients.

Approximately 43% of veteran clients were between the ages of 50 and 64 compared to approximately 23% of non-veteran clients. Figures 12 and 13 show the distribution of client ages for veteran and non-veteran clients, respectively.



**Figure 12 - Veterans**

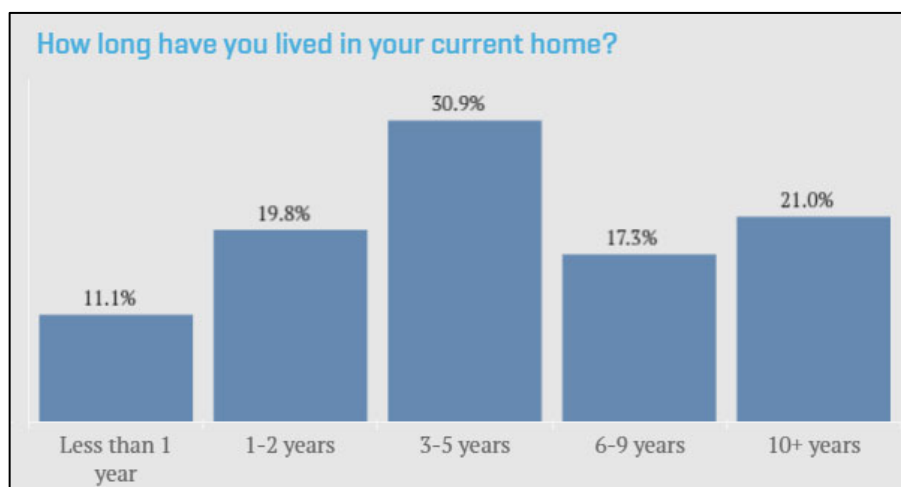


**Figure 13 – Non-veterans**

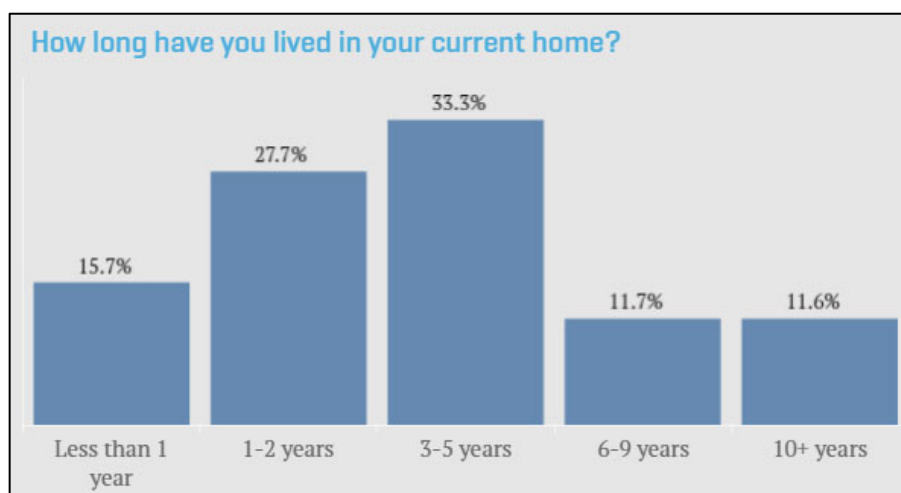
<sup>37</sup> CVLC assisted 98% of all clients who are veterans.



Clients who are veterans have been living in their homes significantly longer than non-veteran clients. Approximately 21% of clients who are veterans have been living in their homes for 10 or more years compared to 12% of non-veteran clients, which could indicate a greater degree of past housing stability. Figures 14 and 15 show metrics associated with how long clients have lived in their homes by whether they are a veteran.



**Figure 14 - Veterans**



**Figure 15 – Non-veterans**

Approximately 72% of clients who are veterans indicated they wanted to stay in their home, and of the 72% who wanted to stay, approximately 73% were able to stay. These metrics are compared to approximately 69% of clients who are not veterans indicating they wanted to stay in their home (which is similar to the frequency with which clients who are veterans want to stay), and of the 69% who wanted to stay, approximately 63% were able to stay. Veterans may be eligible for a variety of education, employment, and health care programs which could be a

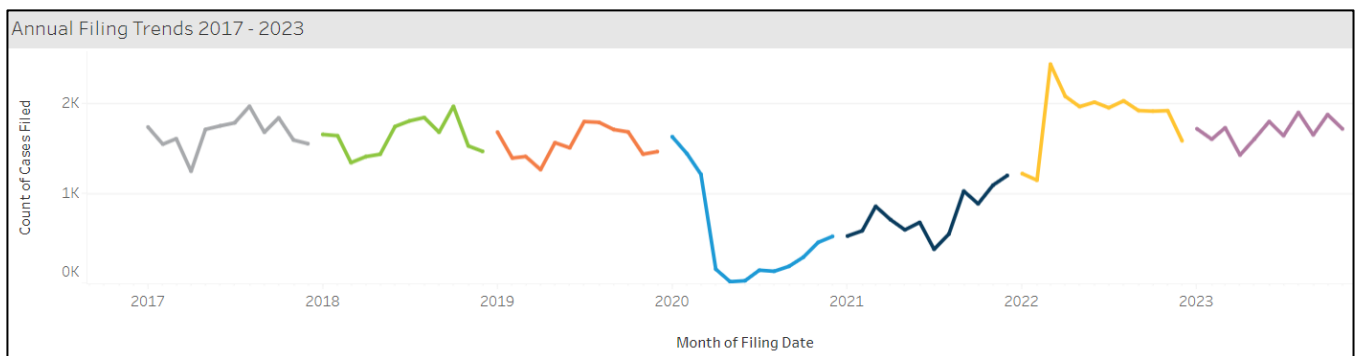
factor impacting the higher frequency with which veterans are able to stay in their homes compared to clients who are not veterans.

### *Analysis of Landlord-Tenant Filing Data*

Stout analyzed detailed docket information to develop a deeper understanding of landlord-tenant filings in Connecticut. The analyses included annual filing trends, geographic concentrations of filings, plaintiff and defendant/tenant representation, and estimated percentage of defendants/tenants appearing for their cases.

### *Number of Landlord-Tenant Filings in Connecticut*

Between 2017 and 2019, there was an average of approximately 19,600 landlord-tenant filings annually in Connecticut, and in 2022 there was approximately 22,100 landlord-tenant filings. In 2023 (through November 30), there were approximately 18,600 landlord-tenant filings in Connecticut. The number of landlord-tenant filings in 2023 is consistent with pre-pandemic levels. However, landlord-tenant filings in 2023 will exceed landlord-tenant filings in 2019, when an estimated 18,600 cases were filed. Figure 16 shows the annual landlord-tenant filing trend in Connecticut from January 1, 2017 through November 30, 2023.



**Figure 16**

Landlord-tenant filings in Connecticut in 2023 (through November 30), were primarily concentrated in zip codes New Haven (06511, 06513, 06516), Hartford (06105, 06106, 06114) Bristol (06010), Meriden (06450), Norwich (06360), and Stamford (06902) which is consistent with filings in 2022. Figure 17 shows landlord-tenant filings by zip from January 1, 2023, through November 30, 2023.

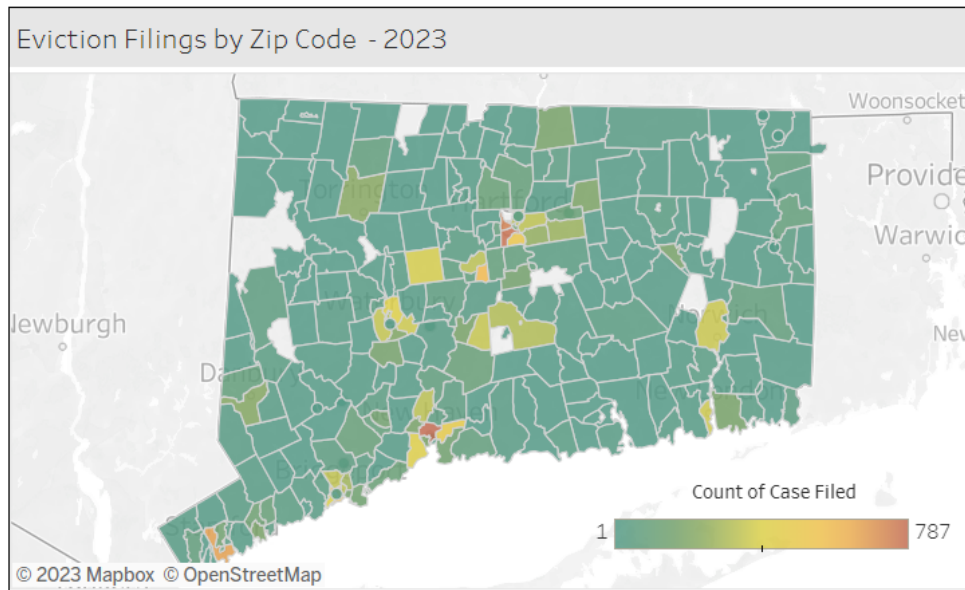


Figure 17

**Party Representation Rates in Connecticut Landlord-Tenant Filings**

The pie chart in Figure 18 shows the percentage of landlord-tenant filings in RTC zip codes in 2022 by party representation, and Figure 19 shows the same data for 2023 (through November 30). Year-over-year, there was approximately a 1 percentage point increase in the frequency with which both parties were represented and approximately a 1 percentage point decrease in the frequency with which only the plaintiff was represented in RTC zip codes.<sup>38</sup>

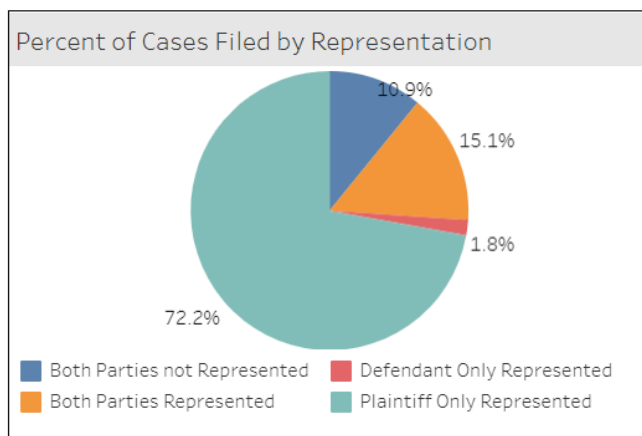


Figure 18 - 2022

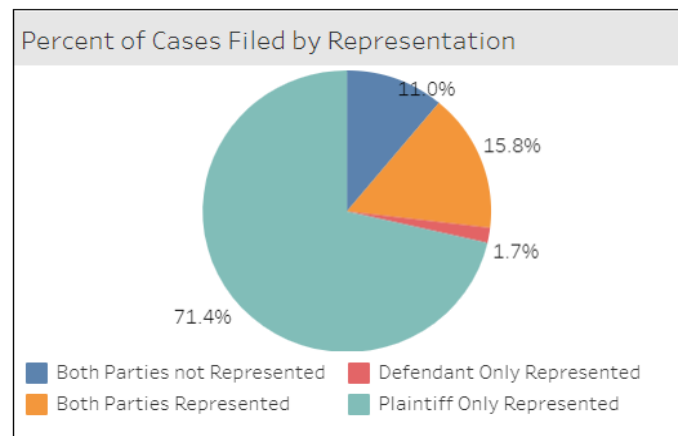


Figure 19 - 2023

<sup>38</sup> In September 2023, CT-RTC services were expanded into 10 new zip codes. The addition of these zip codes in late 2023 and the timing delay associated with indications of representation being reflected in court docket data likely results in an understatement of the percentage of cases in which the tenant/defendant is represented.

In 2022, approximately 17% of all landlord-tenant filings in CT-RTC zip codes had at least 1 defendant/tenant represented, and in 2023 (through November 30) approximately 18% of landlord-tenant filings in CT-RTC zip codes had at least 1 defendant/tenant represented.

The green bars in Figure 20 show the monthly number of landlord-tenant cases filed in CT-RTC zip codes, and the orange line shows the percentage of landlord-tenant cases filed where at least 1 defendant/tenant was represented in CT-RTC zip codes. From January through September 2023, an average of approximately 19% of tenants in CT-RTC zip codes were represented each month. The number and percent of cases where at least 1 defendant/tenant is represented for September is understated, and complete data for October is not yet available. The docket data does not always reflect representation by legal counsel in the same month of the filing.

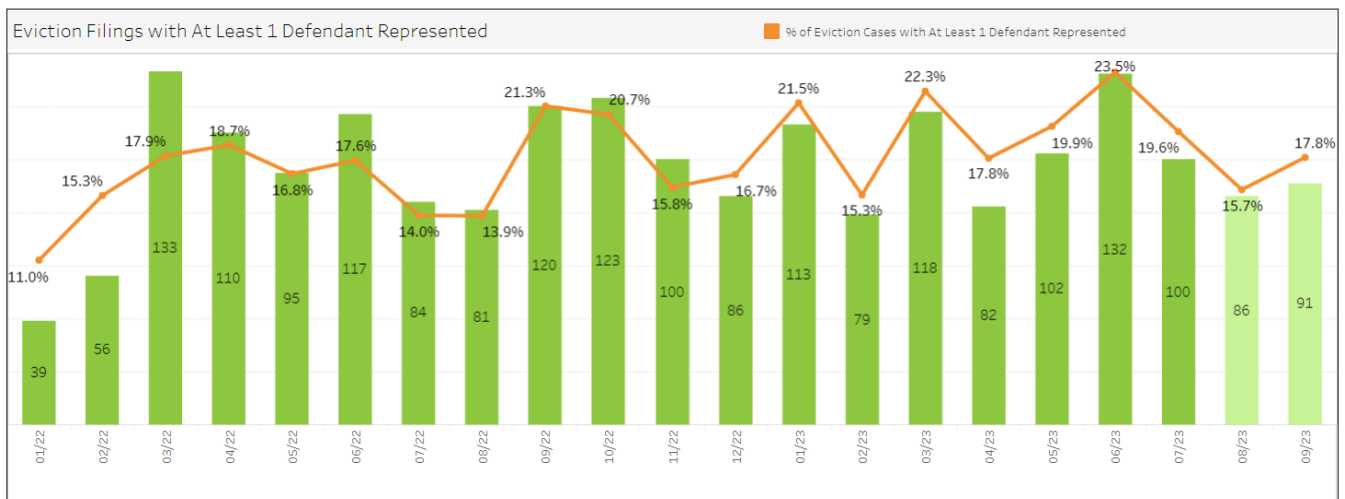


Figure 20

### Tenant Appearance Rates in Connecticut Landlord-Tenant Filings

From 2017 through 2019, the court docket data indicates an estimated 68% of tenants in Connecticut appeared (either pro se or via counsel) for their case, and in 2021, the court docket data indicates an estimated 64% of tenants in Connecticut appeared for their case. After CT-RTC launched in January 2022, the percentage of cases where court docket data indicated the tenant appeared for their case increased in RTC zip codes compared to non-RTC zip codes.

In 2022 in non-RTC zip codes, the court docket data indicates an estimated 68% of tenants appeared for their case, and in 2022 in RTC zip codes, the court docket data indicates an estimated 71% of tenants appeared for their case.

In 2023 in non-RTC zip codes, the court docket data indicates an estimated 70% of tenants appeared for their case, and in 2023 in RTC zip codes, the court docket data indicates an estimated 73% of tenants appeared for their case. While the percentage of cases where the

docket data indicates tenants appeared for their case increased year-over-year in non-RTC and RTC zip codes, the percentage of tenants appearing for their cases in RTC zip codes increased more than in non-RTC zip codes. It is important to appreciate that the tenant appearance rate and the tenant representation rate are not synonymous:

- The tenant appearance rate measures how frequently tenants appear for their cases – either representing themselves or having their attorney appear on their behalf.
- The tenant representation rate measures how frequently tenants are represented by an attorney.

It would be reasonable to expect that the tenant appearance rate would be higher for tenants who are represented compared to those who are unrepresented due to attorneys being able to appear on tenants' behalf.

### *Estimated CT-RTC Eligible Tenant Representation Rate and Assisted Rate*

Stout used data provided by the Providers, the number of landlord-tenant filings in each CT-RTC zip code (January 1, 2022, through November 30, 2023), and publicly available research/data to develop an estimate of: (1) the extensive service rate for CT-RTC eligible residents and (2) the assisted rate<sup>39</sup> for CT-RTC eligible residents. These estimates provide insights into the percentage of all CT-RTC eligible residents represented and assisted from January 31, 2022, through November 30, 2023, in each CT-RTC zip code.<sup>40</sup> Data from the Connecticut Judicial Branch for landlord-tenant filings does not include information regarding household income. Therefore, the number and percentage of households that may be eligible for representation or assistance through CT-RTC must be estimated.

In Stout's Year 1 evaluation report, it estimated that approximately 24% of all households in CT-RTC zip codes that were likely eligible for CT-RTC received some form of assistance from the Providers. Throughout 2023, CT-RTC expanded to several zip codes. Because of the timing of the expansion of services, Stout performed 2 separate analyses for its Year 2 evaluation report related to the eligible tenant representation and assisted rates:

- Calculation 1 – a Year 2 estimate of the eligible tenant representation and assisted rates in the zip codes in which CT-RTC originally launched in 2022. The purpose of

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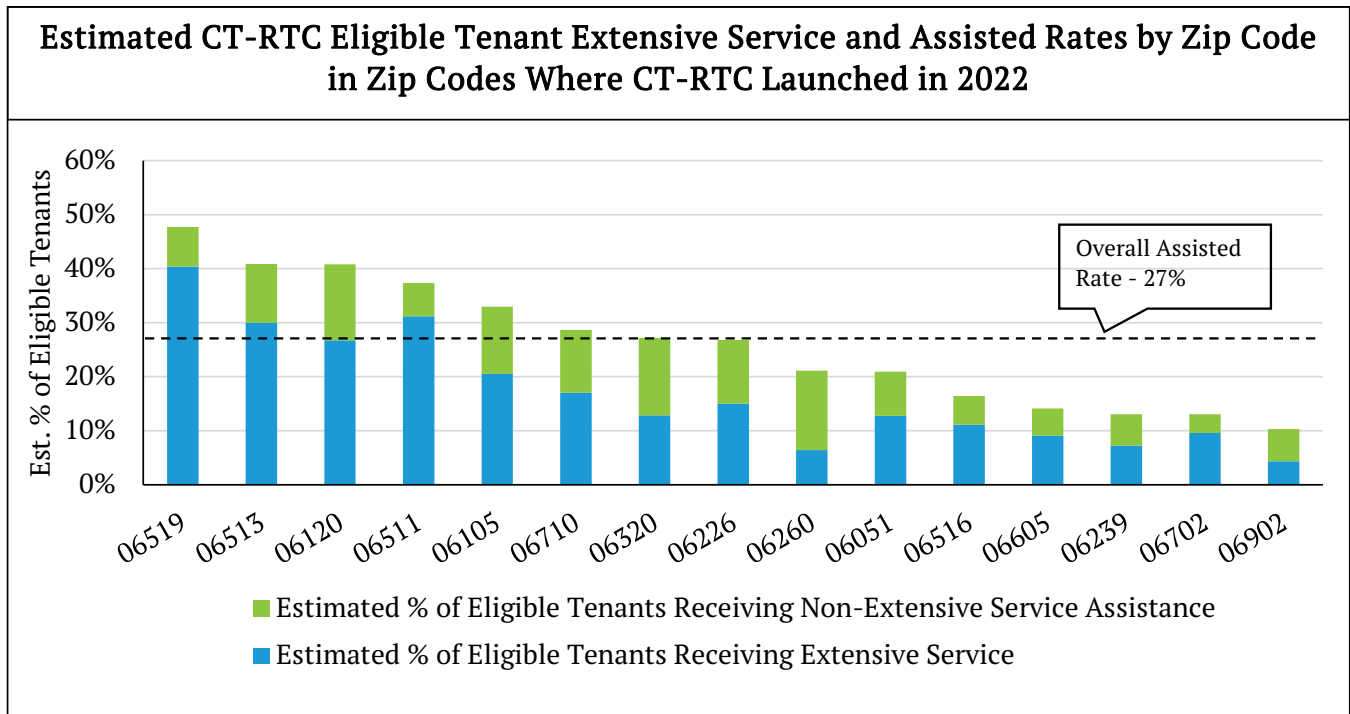
<sup>39</sup> The estimated assisted rate is the percentage of CT-RTC eligible households receiving extensive service, limited representation, and brief advice and counsel. The estimated assisted rate is a broader metric than the representation rate and is intended to demonstrate the percentage of CT-RTC eligible households that have received some form of assistance from CT-RTC.

<sup>40</sup> The estimated extensive service and assisted rates are understated. The estimates do not include the number of tenants who are eligible for CT-RTC but opt for private representation/assistance.

this analysis is to provide a consistent year-over-year measurement of the eligible tenant representation and assisted rates.

- Calculation 2 – a cumulative estimate of the eligible tenant representation and assisted rates in all zip codes where CT-RTC services have been available since the 2023 expansion. The purpose of this analysis is to provide an estimate of the eligible tenant representation and assisted rates in all zip codes where CT-RTC services have been available in 2022 and 2023. It is important to appreciate that Calculation 2 includes an input for the number of landlord-tenant filings in 2023 (through November 30) while CT-RTC services may have not been available in all zip codes for the same period. This is due to CT-RTC services being expanded at different times during the year. Because of the timing difference, the estimated eligible tenant representation and assisted rates in Calculation 2 will be less than the rates in Calculation 1. As CT-RTC services are available in the expansion zip codes for longer, the rates in Calculation 2 will increase.

Using the parameters described in Calculation 1, Stout estimated that 27% of all likely eligible households in CT-RTC zip codes that were originally launched in 2022 received some form of assistance from CT-RTC – an increase of 3 percentage points from Stout’s Year 1 evaluation report. Figure 21 shows the zip code metrics for Calculation 1.



**Figure 21**

Using the parameters described in Calculation 2, Stout estimated that 21% of all likely eligible households in CT-RTC zip codes that launched in 2022 or 2023 received some form of assistance from CT-RTC. As previously described, zip codes where CT-RTC services became available during 2023 were added throughout the year. For this reason, the Calculation 2 assisted rate is less than the Calculation 1 assisted rate. As CT-RTC services continue to be offered in CT-RTC zip codes that were added in 2023, Stout would expect the assisted rate to increase.

It is important to note that CT-RTC service levels other than extensive services are not a reflection of capacity constraints but rather based on the attorney's assessment of client needs. When clients receive brief services, advice and counsel, or limited representation it is because it is the level of assistance that the client needs, as determined by the CT-RTC attorney through discussion with the CT-RTC client, or it is a function of when in the eviction process a client seeks legal representation. In no circumstance should brief services, advice, and counsel, or limited representation be perceived as being less than adequate or a client not receiving the level of service they need. The spectrum of services a client may receive from CT-RTC includes extensive service (the most intense level of service) to brief services/advice and counsel (the least intense level of service). Clients requiring extensive service often are experiencing significant substantive legal issues, complex fact patterns, disputes of fact, and/or challenges navigating the eviction process alone. There are also clients who simply need brief services/advice and counsel about what to do next in their case. This could include assistance from an attorney completing and filing an answer or counsel from an attorney about how to negotiate with the rental property owner. Regardless of service level, the Providers are providing clients the services they need depending on the circumstances of the case and the professional opinion of the attorney.

## Section III-Preliminary Estimate of Fiscal Benefits



The impacts and costs of eviction to states, cities, counties, and municipalities are significant and multi-dimensional. Substantial reporting has documented the negative impact that evictions have on individuals, families, businesses, and communities. While many of these impacts are not yet quantifiable, clear fiscal costs or economic impacts of disruptive displacement do exist. This section details preliminary estimates of fiscal impact that CT-RTC is having on publicly funded systems in Connecticut. These preliminary estimates of fiscal impacts provide insight into how representation in eviction cases could mitigate these costs or assist in redirecting the funds to other efforts undertaken by Connecticut.

Additionally, it is important to consider the economic impacts to key stakeholders in the eviction process, including rental property owners. Rental property owners Stout has engaged with throughout the country have explained the potential economic impacts and costs that they experience when filing evictions, which many use as a measure of last resort. The economic impacts and costs they communicate include but are not limited to attorney fees, filing fees, and other court costs; the time and costs associated with tenant screening and due diligence; costs of repair and maintenance to units needing to be re-rented; and the economic impact of tenants not paying rent as their eviction is being litigated.

It is important to appreciate that CT-RTC, as is the case with other eviction right to counsel programs Stout has evaluated, is primarily assisting tenants with substantive legal issues, often challenging personal circumstances, serious consequences that could arise from disruptive displacement (such as unsheltered homelessness), and a variety of complex disputes with the rental property owner. CT-RTC, like other eviction right to counsel programs Stout has evaluated, rarely see clients that do not have these issues and complications with their cases and circumstances, representing a subset of all instances of delinquency and landlord-tenant filings (a subset of typically the most serious and severe cases). This is important context when considering potential fiscal impacts as well as the potential impacts of an eviction right to counsel for other stakeholders, including rental property owners, courts, and social service providers.

Stout relied on client interview data from the Providers to develop these estimates. Client circumstances and case characteristics often vary. Because of this variation, not all interview questions apply to all CT-RTC clients and, therefore, are not asked to all clients. While the goal is to ask all CT-RTC clients all questions applicable to their circumstance and case, Program staff exercise discretion during the interview process. There may be interview questions not asked based on a client's lived experiences, comfort level with certain topics, and/or having to recount traumatic experiences. A primary data element for Stout's preliminary fiscal impact calculations is how CT-RTC clients answered the interview question, "If you have to move, where could your household stay?" Answers to this question inform the degree to which clients

would need assistance from publicly funded social safety net systems in Connecticut and the likelihood of other fiscal impacts (e.g., economic value lost due to out-migration).

Stout used the percentage of CT-RTC clients for which the Providers were able to achieve their goals (for the 3 most frequently cited goals) as the basis for the percentage of CT-RTC clients who likely avoided disruptive displacement through CT-RTC. Using this data, Stout estimates the Providers assisted in avoiding disruptive displacement<sup>41</sup> for between 64% and 75% of CT-RTC clients from January 31, 2022, to November 30, 2023.

In the Year 1 evaluation report, Stout calculated fiscal benefits relating to housing social safety net responses, Medicaid spending on health care, out-of-home foster care placements, sustained education funding for children in Connecticut schools, and the economic value of reduced out-migration from Connecticut. For the Year 2 evaluation report, Stout updated these fiscal impact calculations using cumulative CT-RTC data from January 2022 through November 2023 and calculated additional fiscal impacts relating to increased educational attainment for children in client households, increased economic activity as a result of increased employment, the costs of criminalizing people experiencing unsheltered homelessness, and public spending in response to unsheltered homelessness.

### *Estimated Total Preliminary Fiscal Benefits Since Implementation of CT-RTC*

Stout estimates that Connecticut has realized fiscal benefits of between \$17.6 million and \$21.4 million between January 31, 2022, and November 30, 2023, as a result of CT-RTC. Data provided to Stout by Connecticut Bar Foundation indicated that approximately \$7.6 million has been spent on CT-RTC since January 2022. For every \$1 spent on CT-RTC, Connecticut has likely realized \$2.32 to \$2.82 in fiscal benefits. Stout's evaluation of other jurisdictions' right to counsel programs found the estimated dollar value of a right to counsel ranged from \$2.76 to \$4.80. The estimated benefits were related to:

- Decreased need for housing social safety net responses – \$4.1 to \$4.9 million
- Decreased foster care costs for children experiencing homelessness – \$3.5 million to \$4.1 million

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<sup>41</sup> Stout uses the phrase “disruptive displacement” to capture outcomes of cases beyond “winning” and “losing.” For example, there may be circumstances where tenants did not have a formal eviction order issued against them and therefore were not displaced. However, they have still experienced disruption in their lives because of the landlord-tenant filing, such as entering a negotiated settlement with unrealistic payment terms resulting in additional financial strain. Additionally, there may be circumstances where a tenant loses possession of their home but was granted an extra 30 days to vacate. In this situation, disruptive displacement may have been avoided because of the additional time to find alternative, suitable housing.

- Retained economic value of minimizing out-migration – \$2.6 million to \$3.1 million
- Increased employment and income stability – \$1.6 million to \$2.3 million
- Decreased need for Medicaid spending on health care – \$1.9 million to \$2.2 million
- Increased educational attainment for children – \$1.3 million to \$1.7 million
- Decreased need for responding to unsheltered homelessness – \$1.2 million to \$1.4 million
- Decreased incarceration costs associated with criminalizing people experiencing homelessness – \$700,000 to \$800,000
- Decreased need for unemployment benefits – \$400,000 to \$500,000
- Retained federal funding for Connecticut public schools – \$300,000 to \$400,000.

Stout’s preliminary estimate of fiscal impact is likely significantly understated. Included in the calculation are the benefits of CT-RTC that can be quantified based on currently available data. However, Connecticut (as well as individual cities and counties within the state) would likely realize additional benefits that are not currently quantifiable based on available data.

These benefits that are not currently quantifiable include but are not limited to:

- The education costs, juvenile justice costs, and child welfare costs associated with children experiencing homelessness
- The negative impact of eviction on tenants’ credit score, ability to re-rent, and the potential loss of a subsidized housing voucher
- Certain additional costs associated with homelessness, such as additional law enforcement and incarceration costs
- The cost of family, community, and neighborhood instability
- Preservation of financial and personal assets
- A reduction, over time, of the number of eviction cases filed, resulting in improved use of Connecticut Judicial Branch resources.

### *Decrease in the Need for Housing Social Safety Net Responses*

While homelessness may not always be experienced immediately following an eviction, eviction remains a leading cause of homelessness. Based on data collected during the interview process, approximately 16% of CT-RTC clients who completed the interview process and received extensive service indicated that if they had to move, they would move to an emergency shelter.<sup>42</sup> The estimated annual cost to provide a housing social safety net response for these client households would have been approximately \$22,700 per household per year if the Providers were unable to avoid disruptive displacement for these clients.<sup>43</sup> In Connecticut, an estimated 28% of households experiencing homelessness who exit homelessness return to homelessness.<sup>44</sup> The Providers avoided disruptive displacement for between 64% and 75% of CT-RTC clients (an estimated 141 to 165 client households) from January 31, 2022, through September 30, 2023, which likely resulted in first and second housing social safety net response<sup>45</sup> fiscal benefits of \$4.1 million to \$4.9 million to Connecticut.

Emergency shelter costs are one form a social safety net response to the need for shelter, even in jurisdictions without a right to shelter and where people are experiencing unsheltered homelessness. Emergency shelter costs provide a proxy for the costs jurisdictions bear (or are willing to bear) in response to the most severe form of housing instability. Furthermore, the incremental nature of the emergency shelter system, even as homelessness increases and shelters may be at capacity, does not restrict the quantification of this fiscal impact because the costs may manifest in other ways, particularly if households are unable to enter emergency shelter and must use other Connecticut social safety net systems or resources to achieve housing stability.

### *Fiscal Benefits Associated with Decreased Foster Care Costs for Children Experiencing Homelessness*

An estimated 4% of children from evicted families are placed in foster care and generally remain there for at least one year.<sup>46</sup> Using publicly available data, Stout estimates that the annual cost

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<sup>42</sup> The estimated 16% is based on Stout's extrapolation methodology to distribute answers of "nowhere to go" among other categories.

<sup>43</sup> "2022 HUD Function and PIT Count, Funding per PIT Capita Ranked by CoC." National Homeless Information Project.

<sup>44</sup> Based on data published by Connecticut Coordinated Access Network.

<sup>45</sup> The first housing social safety net response is the initial entry into emergency shelter, and the second is the subsequent return to emergency shelter for households that experiencing homelessness again after exiting emergency shelter.

<sup>46</sup> Berg, Lisa and Brannstrom, Lars. "Evicted children and subsequent placement in out-of-home care: a cohort study." Public Library of Science. April 18, 2018.

of foster care per child is approximately \$99,000 in Connecticut.<sup>47</sup> Using these inputs, Stout estimates fiscal benefits associated with fewer children (an estimated 35 to 41) entering foster care in Connecticut of approximately \$3.5 million to \$4.1 million since January 2022 as a result of CT-RTC.

### *Retained Economic Value by Minimizing Out-Migration*

Interview data indicates that more than 100 client households (with more than 300 individuals within them), if forced to move, would leave Connecticut. Using this metric and an estimated \$12,000 in economic value (e.g., federal funding, state and local tax revenue, dollars spent in state and local economies) per person,<sup>48</sup> Stout estimates that Connecticut likely retained \$2.6 million to \$3.1 million in economic value since January 2022 as a result of CT-RTC.

### *Economic Impacts Associated with Employment and Income Stability*

Research has demonstrated the impact of eviction on employment stability, particularly the increased likelihood of a person experiencing job loss after being evicted.<sup>49</sup> Stout estimates approximately 15% of tenants with a high likelihood of disruptive displacement would likely experience job loss because of disruptive displacement.<sup>50</sup>

To calculate the decreased economic activity in Connecticut due to job loss resulting from disruptive displacement, Stout estimated the income lost by the individuals who lost their jobs due to disruptive displacement. To develop a conservative estimate, Stout used:

- Connecticut's hourly minimum wage;
- The estimated number of hours CT-RTC clients worked per week<sup>51</sup>;

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<sup>47</sup> Estimated using proposed budget data for foster care services in Connecticut's FY 2022-2023 Biennial Budget.

<sup>48</sup> Estimated by Stout using data from: (1) Aguilar, Louis. "Detroit population continues to decline, according to Census estimate." Bridge Michigan. May 2020. (2) "State and Local Expenditures." Urban Institute. 2018. Referencing State & Local Government Finance Data Query System and Data from U.S. Census Bureau, Annual Survey of State and Local Government Finances, Volume 4. 2020. (3) Present value of investments that cities and states have been willing to make to attract new residents.

<sup>49</sup> Desmond, Matthew and Gerhenson, Carl. "Housing and Employment Insecurity among the Working Poor." Harvard University. January 11, 2016.

<sup>50</sup> Based on data and metrics reported in Desmond, Matthew and Gerhenson, Carl. "Housing and Employment Insecurity among the Working Poor." Harvard University. January 11, 2016.

<sup>51</sup> Stout used publicly available research to calculate the weighted average number of hours worked per week for Connecticut residents employed in the service sector, which was approximately 30 hours. Service sector employment is often characterized by low wages. Because nearly all CT-RTC clients have household incomes at or below 60% of the state median income, Stout determined the estimated weekly hours worked for service sector employees would be a reasonable proxy for the number of weekly hours CT-RTC clients may be working. See Schneider, Daniel and Harknett, Kristen. "Working in the service sector in Connecticut." Shift. 2018. Stout also considered data from its independent evaluation of Oakland County, Michigan's expanded tenant representation

- The average duration of unemployment;
- The estimated percentage of Connecticut residents who apply for and receive unemployment benefits;
- The average weekly unemployment benefits payment in Connecticut;
- The average number of weeks unemployment benefits are received; and
- The Connecticut Final Demand RIMS II Economic Multiplier for Private Households.

The difference in the potential total income lost by individuals who experienced job loss as a result of disruptive displacement and the potential unemployment benefits paid to them is the net income lost by individuals who experienced job loss as a result of disruptive displacement. The economic impact associated with disposable income spending can be estimated using an economic multiplier. The estimated economic impacts (attributable to an estimated 200 to 243 individuals) associated with employment and income stability using the inputs described previously has been approximately \$1.6 million to \$2.3 million since January 2022 as a result of CT-RTC.

#### *Fiscal Benefits Associated with Decreased Need for Medicaid Spending on Health Care*

Stout estimated Medicaid spending on healthcare by Connecticut that may be avoided for tenant households likely at high risk of disruptive displacement. The two categories of care that could reasonably be quantified are in-patient care and emergency room care. Stout used the following data points to estimate the fiscal benefits associated with the decreased need for Medicaid spending on health care in Connecticut:

- The estimated percentage of client households that would have likely experience homelessness as a result of disruptive displacement;
- In-patient care and emergency room care utilization rates for people experiencing homelessness compared to people not experiencing homelessness;
- The estimated Medicaid enrollment rate;
- The estimated average cost of in-patient care and emergency room care per person experiencing homelessness; and
- The estimated portion of Medicaid paid by Connecticut.

Using these inputs, Stout estimates approximately 183 to 280 clients avoided the increased need for Medicaid funded health care, and Connecticut likely realized fiscal benefits associated with a decreased need for Medicaid health care spending of \$1.9 million to \$2.2 million since January 2022 as a result of CT-RTC.

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program where civil legal services organizations were collecting how many hours per week clients were working, which was an average of 36 hours.



### *Economic Impacts Associated with Increased Educational Attainment for Children*

School-aged children who experience homelessness face significant mental and physical health challenges that prevent students from focusing on their education.<sup>52</sup> These challenges can result in students experiencing homelessness to become chronically absent from school.<sup>53</sup> Even after just one year of chronic absenteeism, students are significantly less likely to complete high school.<sup>54</sup>

Stout used the following data points to estimate the fiscal benefits associated with increased educational attainment and the resulting economic activity:

- The estimated percentage of children in client households;
- The estimated percentage of children in client households who would have likely experienced homelessness but for CT-RTC;
- The estimated percentage of students who complete high school;
- The estimated incremental difference in lifetime earnings of students who do not complete high school compared to those who complete high school; and
- The Connecticut Final Demand RIMS II Economic Multiplier for Private Households.

Using these inputs, Stout estimates economic impacts associated with increased educational attainment for an estimated 56 to 65 children in CT-RTC client households of \$1.3 million to \$1.7 million.

### *Fiscal Benefits Associated with Decreased Need to Respond to Unsheltered Homelessness*

To address the recent increase in unsheltered homelessness, the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development awarded Connecticut an \$18 million 3-year grant to fund an access point to homeless services, outreach to people experiencing unsheltered homelessness, and permanent supportive housing.<sup>55</sup> Stout believes that the annual grant funding of \$6 million is a reasonable estimate as to the amount Connecticut would be willing to spend to provide services to individuals experiencing unsheltered homelessness because it sought funding to create services and programs targeting people experiencing unsheltered homelessness. According to the 2023 Point-in-Time study, there are approximately 500 individuals experiencing unsheltered homelessness in Connecticut.<sup>56</sup> This results in a reasonable proxy of

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<sup>52</sup> Bishop, Joseph. "Our Children Can't Wait: The Urgency of Reinventing Education Policy in America"

<sup>53</sup> "Chronic Absenteeism Among Students Experiencing Homelessness in America." National Center for Homeless Education. 2022.

<sup>54</sup> "Research Brief: Chronic Absenteeism." University of Utah, Utah Education Policy Center. 2012.

<sup>55</sup> "Governor Lamont and Congressional Delegation Announce Connecticut Receiving \$18 Million Federal Grant To Address Unsheltered and Rural Homelessness." State of Connecticut, Governor Ned Lamont. February 3, 2023.

<sup>56</sup> "2023 HIC PIT Report." Advancing Connecticut Together.

approximately \$12,000 per individual experiencing unsheltered homelessness per year in Connecticut.

Using data from the interview processes indicating the percentage of clients who would have likely experienced unsheltered homelessness but for CT-RTC, Stout estimates 97 to 114 CT-RTC clients avoided unsheltered homelessness, and the fiscal benefits associated with a decrease in the need to respond to unsheltered homelessness of \$1.2 million to \$1.4 million since January 2022 as a result of CT-RTC.

### *Fiscal Impacts Associated with Decreased Incarceration Costs Related to Criminalizing Homelessness*

Individuals experiencing homelessness are more likely to experience interactions with police, be fined for quality-of-life crimes, and be arrested, relative to housed individuals.<sup>57,58,59,60</sup> A study on homelessness in Minnesota found that 12% of adults experiencing homelessness had been incarcerated within the past year.<sup>61</sup> Researchers also found that 23% of New York City recent shelter occupants had been incarcerated within the past two years.<sup>62</sup> Stout estimates that the average incarceration cost per individual in Connecticut is approximately \$8,200.<sup>63</sup> Using these inputs, Stout estimates 82 to 96 CT-RTC clients may have avoided being criminalized for experiencing homelessness, and the fiscal benefits associated with a decrease in the incarceration and criminalization of people experiencing homelessness has been \$700,000 to \$800,000 since January 2022 as a result of CT-RTC.

### *Fiscal Benefits Associated with the Decreased Need for Unemployment Benefits*

As previously discussed, eviction and the eviction process have been linked to employment disruption and job loss, both of which can result in an increased demand for unemployment

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<sup>57</sup> Speiglmán, Richard, Green, Rex S. "Homeless and Non-Homeless Arrestees: Distinctions in Prevalence and in Sociodemographic, Drug Use, and Arrest Characteristics Across DUF Sites." National Institute of Justice. 1999.

<sup>58</sup> Herring, Chris. "Complaint-Oriented Policing: Regulating Homelessness in Public Space." American Sociological Association. 2019.

<sup>59</sup> Bailey, Madeline, Crew, Erica, Reeve, Madz. "No Access to Justice: Breaking the Cycle of Homelessness and Jail." Vera Institute of Justice. 2020.

<sup>60</sup> Zakrisson, Tanya, Hamel, Paul, Hwang, Stephen. "Homeless People's Trust and Interactions with Police and Paramedics." Journal of Urban Health. 2004.

<sup>61</sup> "Overview of Homelessness in Minnesota 2006." Wilder Research. 2007.

<sup>62</sup> Metraux, Stephen, Caterina, Roman, Cho, Richard. "Incarceration and Homelessness." US Department of Veterans Affairs. 2008.

<sup>63</sup> Based on the per night incarceration cost in Connecticut and the United States Bureau of Justice Statistics research on the average duration of a jail stay in Connecticut.



benefits. Stout used the following data points to estimate potential fiscal benefits related to fewer unemployment benefits paid:

- The estimated percentage of Connecticut residents who apply for and receive unemployment benefits;
- The average weekly unemployment benefits payment in Connecticut; and
- The average number of weeks unemployment benefits are received.

Using these inputs, Stout estimates fiscal benefits associated with approximately 68 to 80 CT-RTC clients not needing unemployment benefits and fewer unemployment benefits paid of potentially \$400,000 to \$5,000 million since January 2022 as a result of CT-RTC.

### *Retained Federal Funding for Connecticut Public Schools*

Housing instability not only impacts several facets of students' education such as test scores, level of educational attainment, and likelihood of completing high school, but also the public school system. Because Connecticut schools are allocated federal funding based on the number of students enrolled, when students leave Connecticut, funding is lost.

Connecticut receives approximately \$2,300 in federal funding per student enrolled in Connecticut schools.<sup>64</sup> Data collected during the evaluation indicates that between approximately 150 and 175 children in CT-RTC households likely remained in Connecticut as a result of CT-RTC. Minimizing out-migration and keeping children enrolled in Connecticut public schools likely resulted in \$300,000 to \$400,000 in federal funding retained by Connecticut since January 2022 as a result of CT-RTC.

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<sup>64</sup> Estimated using data from Summary of Public Elementary-Secondary School System Finances by State for Fiscal Year 2021 compiled by the United States Census Bureau.

# Section IV-Qualitative Evaluation Findings

## *Provider Feedback on Year 2 of CT-RTC*

The Providers shared qualitative feedback to Connecticut Bar Foundation as a part of its request for semi-annual narrative reports. Stout reviewed the narrative reports and summarized feedback from the Providers regarding successes, challenges, and new trends or patterns identified during Year 2 of implementation.

### *Successes*

Providers indicated that staff efficiency continued to improve during 2023, resulting in the ability to effectively manage the caseloads of newly hired attorneys while attorneys hired last year became more experienced and increased the frequency with which they handled cases independently. Several Providers shared the ability to expand services to new zip codes and examples of how CT-RTC cases assisted with or informed work on legal advocacy in other matter areas. One Provider described how they were able to better advocate for state legislation surrounding tenant protections because of their experience with CT-RTC clients. Providers also shared how working with CT-RTC clients informed the referral clients to other legal aid services within the organization to assist with non-housing related legal issues, which would not have occurred but for CT-RTC.

### *Challenges*

The Providers communicated several challenges since the launch of CT-RTC, such as challenges in hiring staff, lack of alternative rental options for clients, and some Providers indicated they experienced challenges with case volumes. The most common difference Providers shared between the current environment and the environment pre-pandemic is the lack of affordable housing and low vacancy rates across Connecticut. This is compounded by Providers noting that plaintiffs seem to be less willing to accept solutions that do not involve relocating the tenant. Providers communicated that plaintiffs are more focused on securing a judgment, even when options such as rental assistance are available. Providers stated that clients often need additional support services such as case management, financial counseling, and mental health services.

### *New Trends and Patterns*

Providers observed several trends and patterns that varied geographically. For example, one Provider shared that its staff was more frequently being presented agreements by plaintiff counsel where a tenant would be able to stay and pay the back rent owed as a result of the availability of rent assistance while another Provider reported fewer rental property owners offering such agreements and more rental property owners rejecting rent assistance payments. Other trends shared by the Providers included but were not limited to:

- More affidavits of non-compliance;

- Continuances<sup>65</sup> being denied more frequently;
- More cases being scheduled on a single day; and
- An increase in the frequency with which clients were in landlord-tenant proceedings for lapse of time, particularly in the context of property sales.

### *Positive Client Stories and Systemic Impact of CT-RTC*

Joe, a Marine Corps veteran, and his partner Kathy used to live in a fairly wealthy neighborhood in Kent. Unfortunately, during COVID, investors began to purchase property in their area to create boutique hotels and other non-resident properties. Their house was already in very poor condition, and now they were being asked to leave. But, because of rising housing costs, they could not leave as quickly as their landlord insisted and they were being pressured to. They were worried they would become homeless. As Kathy shared: “If we had not had an attorney, we would have been torn up. We would have been on the street. [CVLC and the RTC program] gave us more than enough time to find a place and move out. We are the lucky ones.”

A client was being evicted on the grounds of “nuisance” but the evidence showed that the neighbor was actually harassing the client and making repeated calls to the landlord to complain unduly about them. The NHLAA attorney got the landlord’s attorney to withdraw the case after initial litigation. This kind of “nuisance” case can present a significant challenge to tenants, because they are highly fact-intensive and involve a lot of “he said, she said,” in addition to general bias against tenants.

A GHLA attorney was able to negotiate an out-of-court resolution with UniteCT for a tenant who had fallen behind on rent when she had an unexpected expense: she had to travel due to a death in the family and she and her husband took custody of her husband’s children from a prior relationship. The agreement negotiated by GHLA resulted in the withdrawal of the eviction matter, rather than a judgement against the client, which is better for the tenant’s record, particularly with the new law coming into effect July 1, 2024. Unite CT paid off the balance, preserving the client’s subsidized housing.

Connor was a 23-year-old mentally disabled man living alone in his first apartment. He had no income to support himself, nor was he receiving any other benefits at the time he contacted us. His rent was \$1,300 per month. Connor's mental disability made it difficult for him to understand and respond to the eviction notice he received. He continued to make partial payments to his landlord in spite of the eviction notice. One day, Connor received an execution, which was a court order giving his landlord permission to evict him. The execution was

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<sup>65</sup> A continuance is a request to the court to reschedule a hearing for a later date.

scheduled for the following day at 8:00 am. Connor did not know what to do and called a friend for help. His friend told Connor to contact SLS for legal assistance and he helped Connor make the connection. An SLS RTC attorney explained to Connor that his situation was dire and he needed to file an injunction immediately with the court. An injunction is a court order that temporarily prevents the landlord from evicting a tenant. The attorney helped Connor file the injunction but explained that there was no guarantee that the judge would grant it. Despite the uncertainty, the attorney drafted a compelling injunction. While the injunction was ultimately denied, the court ordered that the execution could not be issued for three weeks, giving Connor three additional weeks to find a new place to live. During this time, SLS advocates assisted Connor with applying for public benefits and encouraged him to find additional support through his family. Connor was grateful to SLS for helping him avoid an eviction, find a new place to live, and increase his finances. He is now living in a new apartment with his family and is starting to get his life back on track.

Represented a victim of protracted domestic violence by their partner in restraining order and divorce matter as well as in defending against an eviction. The restraining order provided that their spouse would pay the rent and utility bills. However, immediately following the imposition of the restraining order, the landlord, who was friends with the spouse, served the client a notice to quit. Although the client wanted to stay in the apartment they realized they would need to move. GHLA negotiated for six months for her to find a new place to move with her infant child, and a reduced rent during that time. The client was able to find an apartment and the summary process was opened and vacated and the eviction was withdrawn, which will protect their actual name.

As a result of client representation through CT-RTC, attorneys at GHLA developed a proposed federal class action challenging the rent calculation policies and practices of the Housing Authority of the City of Hartford (HACH). The complaint was filed in October 2023 and alleged HACH has been overcharging rent based on improper calculation of tenants' income.

### *Stakeholder Engagement*

In early- and mid-2023, Stout met with representatives from the Connecticut Department of Housing, the Coordinated Access Network, Hartford Public Schools, and the Connecticut Veteran Affairs' Errera Community Clinic as well as tenant organizers. The purpose of these meetings was for Stout to continue to learn from local stakeholders' experience and expertise within Connecticut's eviction / housing instability ecosystem.

The stakeholders discussed the continued importance of emergency rental assistance and creating new affordable housing throughout the state, particularly considering the recent increases in the number of people experiencing homelessness. Representatives from Hartford

Public Schools and the Connecticut Veteran Affairs' Errera Community Clinic offered insights into certain populations – children and veterans – and how eviction and housing instability can have specific impacts on them. A representative from Hartford Public Schools who assists children experiencing homelessness shared that they have observed a significant increase in the frequency with which children are living in doubled up situations. They indicated that the instability and frequent moves can make attending and engaging at school challenging for some students. Representatives from the Connecticut Veteran Affairs' Errera Community Clinic shared their experiences assisting veterans who were going through the eviction process<sup>66</sup> and the stress brought about by the process can be particularly challenging for veterans who may have mental health or substance abuse disorders. They also communicated that attorneys who are assisting or representing veterans during the eviction process are connectors to other community resources for their clients.

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<sup>66</sup> CT-RTC attorneys assisted more than 300 veterans since January 2022.

## Section V-Recommendations for 2024

Year 3 of implementing CT-RTC offers the opportunity to not only continue demonstrating the impact of CT-RTC for clients and the community but also to deepen and refine the understanding of the eviction landscape in Connecticut and identify opportunities for complementary and supplementary interventions. Based on its Year 2 evaluation findings, Stout recommends the following activities be undertaken in Year 3 of CT-RTC:

1. Develop and launch a post-service client feedback mechanism. Client feedback post-representation may provide insights into external challenges clients are experiencing that contribute to ongoing housing insecurity for CT-RTC clients.
2. Explore pathways for preventing eviction filings and opportunities for early intervention. There may be opportunities for CBF and the Providers to collaborate or partner with rental property owners or housing authorities to create pilot programs with the goal of avoiding eviction filings for tenants and the eviction process for rental property owners.
3. Develop a methodology for estimating the potential need for sustainable rental assistance. Stout has received feedback from stakeholders in jurisdictions throughout the country (including rental property owners) identifying sustainable rent assistance as an important complement to eviction right to counsel programs, particularly in assisting with the efficient and effective resolution of cases without substantive legal issues.
4. Consider opportunities for refined and enhanced data collection for the Year 3 independent evaluation. In other jurisdictions where Stout is conducting independent eviction right to counsel or access to counsel evaluations, legal services providers are collecting data about whether there are potential defenses, whether counterclaims were filed, if the client owed less than they would have if they were not represented, and if client experienced homelessness because of a past eviction, among other data points demonstrating client circumstances and the impact of representation.
5. Identify ways to sustain the Community Advisory Board developed through Yale's qualitative research and expand its membership to include additional stakeholders that could inform CBF and the Providers as CT-RTC is implemented statewide.
6. Develop a deeper understanding of circumstances where CT-RTC is most and least impactful. Stout learned from the Providers that there are situations where effective assistance for clients may be a service level other than extensive service. Segmenting clients and cases by certain characteristics can assist with triaging and resource planning, particularly when capacity is limited. Additionally, the Providers may consider a pilot activity to collect the court assigned case disposition of cases where a CT-RTC attorney provided a client brief services, advice and counsel, or limited representation.



7. Engage with the Connecticut Judicial Branch (Judicial) to assess additional opportunities for collaboration. There may be opportunities for CBF and the Providers to work with Judicial to develop best practices for improving messaging to people facing eviction, including when tenants are appearing pro se and may be eligible for CT-RTC services. Additional collaboration between Judicial, CBF, and the Providers could lead to greater consistency across state courts when interacting with potential CT-RTC clients.
8. Develop an understanding of the intersections between UniteCT's Moving Assistance Program (MAP) and CT-RTC. Stout learned that eligible tenants can receive security deposit funding assistance as an element of UniteCT through the MAP. Collaboration between the CT-RTC Programs and UniteCT regarding the MAP may identify opportunities to efficiently and effectively amplify the work and outcomes of both programs.

# Appendix A-Stout's Profile and Qualifications

Stout Risius Ross, LLC (Stout) is a global investment bank and advisory firm specializing in corporate finance, valuation, financial disputes, and investigations. In addition to these services, Stout’s professionals have expertise in strategy consulting involving a variety of socioeconomic issues, including issues of or related to access to justice and the needs of low-income individuals and communities.

Under the direction of Neil Steinkamp, who leads Stout’s Transformative Change Consulting practice, Stout is a recognized leader in the civil legal services community and offers the following services:

- Economic impact assessments and policy research for civil legal services initiatives
- Strategy consulting and action plan development for issues relating to access to justice
- Non-profit budget development, review, and recommendations
- Cost-benefit and impact analyses for non-profit initiatives and activities
- Data-driven program evaluation and implementation
- Dispute consulting and damages analyses for low-income individuals.

Neil Steinkamp is a Managing Director at Stout and a well-recognized expert and consultant on a range of strategic, corporate, and financial issues for businesses, non-profit organizations and community leaders and their advisors. Neil has extensive experience in developing strategic plans, impact analyses, data evaluation, and organizational change. His work often includes assessments of data reporting, data collection processes, the interpretation or understanding of structured and unstructured data, the review of documents and databases, the development of iterative process improvement strategies, the creation of data monitoring platforms to facilitate sustained incremental change toward a particular outcome and creating collaborative environments. Mr. Steinkamp also has premier experience with housing related issues, including eviction. He has authored numerous economic impact studies on providing low-income tenants with attorneys in eviction proceedings, one of which assisted in the passing of New York City’s historic right to counsel law. Mr. Steinkamp also currently serves as the court-appointed Independent Data Analyst in *Baez v. New York City Housing Authority*, overseeing NYCHA’s compliance with the timely remediation of mold and leak work orders.

In mid-2020, Stout developed innovative analyses of tenant household instability caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, the estimated rental debt owed, and estimates of how that instability could result in an unprecedented number of landlord-tenant filings in states throughout the country. Stout’s research and analyses have been cited in local and national publications, including, but not limited to, The New York Times, The Washington Post, CNBC, Reuters, Forbes, Politico, and Bloomberg, and was referenced in the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention September 4, 2020, Order enacting a nationwide eviction moratorium. Stout also

maintains an [Eviction Right to Counsel Resource Center](#) which includes Stout’s eviction cost-benefit analyses as well as a compilation of resources related to the eviction process, housing instability, racial bias, the impacts and economic costs of eviction, and draft and enacted legislation.

Stout has been engaged by more than 50 non-profit organizations serving low-income communities across the United States. These engagements often included program or public policy evaluations, return on investment analyses, and strategic action planning.

Over the past 7 years, Stout has developed premier expertise in analyzing data from and evaluating the impact of eviction-related programs, including but not limited to eviction rights to counsel, eviction diversion initiatives (pre- and post-filing), eviction prevention and defense programs, emergency rental assistance, expanded legal representation, and access to brief services. Stout has provided eviction-related consulting services or assistance in nearly 40 jurisdictions:

- Alaska
- Atlanta
- Baltimore
- Boston
- Chattanooga
- Chicago (Cook County)
- Cleveland
- Columbus (Ohio)
- Connecticut
- Delaware
- Detroit
- Fort Wayne
- Grand Rapids
- Harris County (Texas)
- Indianapolis
- Kings County (Brooklyn, NYC)
- Lansing
- Las Vegas
- Los Angeles (city and county)
- Maryland (statewide)
- Miami-Dade
- Milwaukee County
- Nashville
- Newark
- New Orleans
- New York City
- New York State (outside of New York City)
- Oakland County (Michigan)
- Pennsylvania (statewide)
- Philadelphia
- Portland (Oregon)
- Rhode Island
- South Carolina
- St. Petersburg
- Suffolk County (New York)
- Toledo
- Washington, DC

Neil is currently serving as the evaluator of eviction right to counsels in Cleveland, Milwaukee, Connecticut, and Maryland. Stout has conducted eviction right to counsel fiscal return on investment analyses and independent expert reports for advocates, coalitions, bar associations or government agencies in Baltimore, Delaware, Detroit, Newark, Pennsylvania, New York City, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, and New York (outside of New York City) and is currently conducting a cost-benefit analysis of an eviction right to counsel in South Carolina. Following the release of Stout's reports in Baltimore, New York City, Philadelphia, and Detroit, eviction right to counsel legislation was enacted. In these engagements, Stout worked closely with funders/potential funders, legal services organizations, rental property owners, academics studying housing and eviction, government agencies and the continuum of care, non-profits serving low-income residents, community organizers, and impacted residents.