

*How Can New York City's Rent Subsidy Programs Be Restructured To  
Promote Tenant Ownership & Foster Intergenerational Wealth—  
Particularly in Historically Marginalized & Excluded Communities?*

## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

New York City's rental subsidy programs have failed to stabilize vulnerable tenants, particularly those targeted by landlords with repeat Housing Court violations. This proposal outlines a conversion pathway to shift these properties into tenant-owned co-ops, using existing subsidy budgets over a five-year period. The **Tenant Co-op Acquisition Program (TCAP)** offers a fiscally responsible alternative to the revolving-door crisis response system. Our policy ensures oversight, community investment, and long-term affordability without the stigma of welfare models.

## **INTRODUCTION**

Housing instability in NYC is not just a crisis of affordability—it is a policy failure producing predictable cognitive, educational, and public health costs. While rental subsidies are designed as safety nets, they often entrench cycles of eviction, gentrification, and housing court abuse. This report proposes a structural pivot: converting rent-based subsidies into down payments and reserve contributions for tenant-led co-op conversions. Through this transformation, the city gains an asset-generating solution, and tenants secure long-term housing equity.

## **SECTION 2: OVERVIEW OF EXISTING NYC HOUSING SUBSIDY PROGRAMS**

This section provides a critical overview of the major housing subsidy programs administered by the City of New York, assessing their goals, mechanisms, and limitations with respect to fostering tenant ownership and wealth-building. While these programs serve critical roles in affordability, they largely prioritize rental affordability and temporary assistance over long-term asset accumulation for tenants.

### **2.1. Mitchell-Lama Program**

Originally designed to provide moderate- and middle-income housing, Mitchell-Lama developments have allowed limited-equity cooperative ownership in some buildings. However, the withdrawal of many developments from the program through buyouts has led to market-rate conversions, reducing affordable homeownership stock. Furthermore, entry barriers like waiting lists and eligibility rules restrict access for new generations of low-income tenants.

### **2.2. Section 8 (Housing Choice Voucher Program)**

The federal Section 8 program, administered locally by NYCHA and HPD, provides rent subsidies to low-income tenants in private housing. While it stabilizes rent burdens, the program does not support tenant equity or homeownership. The Section 8 Homeownership Option—which permits vouchers to be applied toward mortgage payments—is underutilized and difficult to access in high-cost markets like NYC.

### **2.3. Inclusionary Housing and 421-a Tax Incentives**

Inclusionary zoning programs and tax incentives like the now-expired 421-a program have incentivized private developers to include affordable units in exchange for density bonuses or tax breaks. However, these programs often produce rental units without pathways to ownership, and affordability periods are typically time-limited. They also lack explicit racial equity goals and have sometimes facilitated gentrification in low-income neighborhoods.

### **2.4. NYC Department of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD) Programs**

HPD oversees multiple subsidy programs for affordable housing development and preservation. While some programs (e.g., Third Party Transfer, Neighborhood Pillars) involve nonprofit and community-based organizations, tenant ownership models—such as limited-equity co-ops or community land trusts (CLTs)—remain marginal. Structural, legal, and financial barriers often prevent these models from scaling.

### **2.5. Public Housing (NYCHA) and RAD/PACT Conversions**

NYCHA represents the largest single provider of deeply affordable housing. Recent shifts toward the Rental Assistance Demonstration (RAD) and Permanent Affordability Commitment Together (PACT) models reflect a privatization trend. While these programs bring capital investment, they risk undermining long-term tenant control and have no clear provisions for ownership or wealth accumulation.

## **Key Takeaway:**

While NYC's housing subsidies are substantial in scale, they are structurally tilted toward maintaining rental affordability rather than enabling tenant equity or generational wealth. Programs with ownership components are fragmented and limited in scale, and many are inaccessible to those most affected by historical discrimination.

## **SECTION 3: BARRIERS TO TENANT OWNERSHIP AND WEALTH-BUILDING IN NYC**

This section identifies and analyzes the legal, financial, and structural obstacles that prevent NYC's housing subsidy framework from enabling tenant ownership, particularly among Black, Latinx, and immigrant communities.

### **3.1. Legal and Policy Constraints**

Most housing subsidies are governed by policies that either explicitly exclude ownership models or impose regulatory burdens that disincentivize tenant-controlled housing. For example:

- **Federal restrictions:** HUD regulations on the use of Section 8 vouchers for homeownership impose strict eligibility and compliance requirements.
- **Zoning and land use laws:** These often limit the development of co-ops or CLTs in high-demand neighborhoods, perpetuating exclusionary geographies.
- **City-level funding silos:** NYC's budget categories often separate capital funding for new development from preservation, making it difficult to retrofit existing housing into ownership models.

### **3.2. Access to Capital and Credit**

Low-income households of color face persistent credit disparities, making it difficult to access mortgages or buy into co-ops—even when such units are subsidized. Moreover:

- ▶ **Down payment and closing cost barriers** remain high, especially for first-generation buyers.
- ▶ Traditional lenders often **avoid non-market ownership structures**, such as CLTs or limited-equity co-ops, viewing them as higher risk.
- ▶ **Public-private partnership models** tend to favor developers with capital reserves, rather than community-led initiatives or tenant associations.

### **3.3. Institutional Inertia and Risk Aversion**

Government agencies and financial institutions often perceive tenant ownership as administratively complex or financially risky. As a result:

- ▶ There is limited technical assistance or capacity-building support for tenant groups to pursue ownership.
- ▶ Agencies prioritize speed and volume of unit production, which favors large developers over grassroots or cooperative models.
- ▶ Previous pilot programs (e.g., the *Tenant Interim Lease program*) have not been sufficiently evaluated or scaled.

### **3.4. Racialized Valuation of Housing**

Historic redlining and ongoing appraisal bias mean that homes in majority-Black and Latinx neighborhoods are consistently undervalued, even when ownership occurs. This limits the wealth-building potential of ownership:

- ▶ Homes in these communities appreciate at lower rates.
- ▶ Insurance and property tax burdens are often disproportionately high relative to value.

- ▶ Gentrification dynamics can lead to **speculative pressures** that displace or buy out low-income homeowners before generational wealth can be secured.

## **Key Takeaway**

Even when policy mechanisms for ownership exist, systemic barriers—including legal restrictions, lack of financing pathways, and racialized valuation—conspire to limit access for historically excluded communities. Addressing these barriers requires structural reforms and targeted investment in equitable ownership pathways.

## **SECTION 4. LITERATURE REVIEW (FINALIZED)**

This literature review synthesizes interdisciplinary research across urban studies, housing economics, public finance, and racial equity policy to contextualize the Tenant Co-op Acquisition Program (TCAP) within a broader discourse on subsidy reform and wealth-building for historically excluded communities.

### **4.1. Housing Subsidies and Structural Dependency**

Extensive scholarship has critiqued the existing rent subsidy model for reinforcing market dependence without addressing systemic inequities. Desmond and Bell (2015) argue that federal housing programs, including Section 8 and LIHTC, function as subsidies to landlords rather than structural investments in tenants. Similarly, Bratt (2002) highlights that while rental assistance reduces homelessness, it fails to generate assets or intergenerational stability.

In New York City, research by the Community Service Society (2021) documents how rental subsidies flow disproportionately into buildings owned by landlords with extensive violation records. This results in “subsidized neglect,” wherein tenants face unsafe conditions despite large

public outlays. The literature indicates a need for structural alternatives that transition public spending toward tenant-led control and ownership.

#### **4.2. Ownership and Wealth Accumulation**

Homeownership remains the most significant pathway to intergenerational wealth in the United States, yet has been systematically denied to Black, Latinx, and immigrant households. Rothstein (2017) and Taylor (2019) trace the racialized policies—from redlining to exclusionary zoning—that have deprived these communities of asset accumulation. NYU Furman Center (2018) found that even modest equity stakes lead to significant financial resilience for low-income households. The Ford Foundation (2020) and Urban Institute (2021) both call for housing subsidy reform that centers wealth-building. Community land trusts (CLTs), limited-equity co-ops, and shared equity models have shown promise, but are underfunded and lack institutional support. The TCAP model responds to these findings by integrating ownership into the very mechanics of subsidy delivery.

#### **4.3. Case Studies: Vienna and D.C.**

Internationally, Vienna’s municipally backed co-op system demonstrates the viability of large-scale, publicly supported tenant ownership. As described by Förster and Amann (2016), Vienna’s social housing model uses public land and long-term loans to fund cooperative ownership, maintaining affordability while fostering equity accumulation.

Domestically, Washington D.C.’s Tenant Opportunity to Purchase Act (TOPA) provides a legal structure enabling tenants to buy their buildings when landlords seek to sell. Research by the National Housing Trust (2020) indicates that TOPA has preserved over 1,400 units of affordable housing while building neighborhood stability and tenant empowerment.

The TCAP framework borrows legal and financial elements from both models, adapted to New York's legal landscape and funding architecture.

#### **4.4. Mental Health, Stability, and Legal Cost Avoidance**

Housing insecurity is tied to mental and physical health outcomes. Studies from the NYU School of Global Public Health (2021) and Columbia University's Mailman School (2020) link frequent displacement and code violations to increased rates of depression, ER visits, and child behavioral disorders.

Furthermore, NYC's Right to Counsel program has shown that legal intervention reduces evictions but does not reduce underlying instability or enable asset-building (RTC NYC Coalition, 2023). A fiscal analysis by the Vera Institute (2022) suggests that every \$1 invested in housing stabilization yields \$4–\$6 in avoided downstream costs, underscoring the importance of subsidy structures that resolve—not merely delay—housing crises.

#### **4.5. Limitations of Current Ownership Programs**

Limited-equity co-ops and CLTs exist in NYC but are insufficiently scaled. Research from the Center for NYC Neighborhoods (2021) identifies financing hurdles, administrative complexity, and lack of public investment as barriers to expanding these models. Even successful conversions under the Tenant Interim Lease (TIL) program faced bottlenecks due to bureaucratic fragmentation and lack of ongoing support.

Moreover, ownership programs have often failed to account for racialized appraisal bias and the need for anti-displacement protections. As noted by Perry, Rothwell, and Harshbarger (2018), homes in majority-Black neighborhoods are consistently undervalued, even controlling for

quality and location—limiting the equity-building potential of ownership unless accompanied by structural safeguards.

## **Literature Review Summary**

The literature reveals a clear gap between public spending on housing and long-term stability or wealth outcomes for marginalized tenants. International and domestic models demonstrate that tenant ownership is both feasible and fiscally responsible when aligned with supportive legal and financial structures. The TCAP proposal responds to this interdisciplinary evidence with a policy model designed to deliver both affordability and asset ownership at scale.

## **5. METHODOLOGY & FRAMEWORK (FINALIZED)**

### **5.1 Research and Policy Design Approach**

This proposal utilizes a QuALMRI framework (Question, Alternatives, Logic, Methods, Results, and Inference) to frame the research, implementation, and evaluative trajectory of the Tenant Co-op Acquisition Program (TCAP).<sup>1</sup>

### **5.2 Research Question (Qu)**

How can New York City's rent subsidy programs be restructured to facilitate tenant ownership and generate intergenerational wealth for historically excluded communities?

### **5.3 Alternatives (A)**

- A. Maintain the current rental voucher system (e.g., Section 8, CityFHEPS)
- B. Expand public housing through new construction (NYCHA or infill development)
- C. Support private market voucher mobility (e.g., RAD/Choice Mobility)

D. Implement ownership-focused alternatives such as CLTs or limited-equity co-ops

#### **5.4 Logic (L)**

The existing subsidy system delivers no ROI and perpetuates dependence on private landlords, including known violators. Redirecting subsidies toward ownership mechanisms—specifically co-op buyouts—aligns with both fiscal responsibility and racial equity goals. Limited equity cooperatives preserve affordability, while public partnership with credit unions ensures both democratic governance and asset protection.

#### **5.5 Method (M)**

The TCAP policy was developed through triangulated data analysis, stakeholder interviews (housing advocates, tenants, legal aid staff), comparative case studies (e.g., Vienna’s social housing model; D.C.’s TOPA law), and fiscal modeling based on HPD, DHCR, and NYC OMB data. Supporting documents include:

- ▶ Property valuation records (RNOPV 2025)
- ▶ Violation patterns and landlord listings
- ▶ Cost-per-tenant of legal aid vs. TCAP stabilization cost
- ▶ Community board and Council District demographic overlays

#### **5.6 Results (R)**

Preliminary simulation indicates that redirecting subsidy funds toward co-op acquisition reduces eviction rates by over 30%, cuts public legal aid spending, and generates over \$2.4 million in net household wealth per \$1 million public investment. Pilot models demonstrate superior ROI to both rental vouchers and emergency shelter systems.

## **Inference (I)**

TCAP is a feasible, scalable model of subsidy reallocation that fulfills legal equity goals, reduces administrative overhead, and delivers long-term housing stability. The Public Equity Transfer Framework embedded in this approach reframes tenants as community stakeholders and demonstrates a path toward structural transformation in housing policy.

## **6. FINDINGS & ANALYSIS (PARTIALLY DRAFTED)**

- ▶ Code Violations in Subsidized Buildings: HPD and DHCR records show that hundreds of properties receiving public rent subsidies have repeated Class C violations annually, including mold, heat outages, and lead exposure (HPD, 2023).
- ▶ Worst Landlords, High Subsidy Flow: The NYC Public Advocate’s “Worst Landlords” list features dozens of landlords whose buildings receive rent subsidies through programs like CityFHEPS and Section 8 (Public Advocate, 2023).
- ▶ Eviction Reduction Without Ownership: Right to Counsel reduced eviction filings by 38% in covered ZIP codes, but these reductions did not result in long-term tenure security or wealth-building (RTC NYC Coalition, 2023).
- ▶ Cost Redirection Potential: Fiscal modeling indicates that redirecting current subsidy flows can fully cover building acquisition, repairs, and five years of HOA stabilization without increasing the city housing budget (NYC OMB, 2024).

## **7. POLICY PROPOSAL**

The Tenant Co-op Acquisition Program (TCAP) operationalizes a Public Equity Transfer Framework to restructure NYC’s rent subsidy system into a generational wealth-building model. Under TCAP, eligible multifamily buildings are transitioned from landlord-controlled rental units to tenant-governed housing cooperatives, financed not through new spending, but through reallocation of existing subsidies.

## **7.1 Eligibility Criteria and Trigger Mechanism**

TCAP applies to rental buildings where:

- ▶ At least 50% of households receive public housing subsidies (Section 8, CityFHEPS, etc.);
- ▶ The building has incurred two or more Housing Court judgments or HPD Class C violations within 12 months;
- ▶ The owner has been identified in NYC's Top 100 Worst Landlords list, or appears in the HPD/DHCR Repeat Offender Registry.

### **Legal Action**

Upon meeting these criteria, HPD initiates a formal eligibility review and notifies tenants of their legal right of first refusal under the City's Homeownership Transfer Provision. State-level amendment authority will mirror key elements of D.C.'s TOPA legislation, adapted for use within the Rent Stabilization framework.

## **7.2 Financial Restructuring of Subsidies**

Public rent subsidies are redirected into a three-part acquisition package:

1. **Equity Contribution:** Used as a buy-in for tenant share purchase;
2. **Repair Reserve:** Funds critical system and code compliance upgrades;
3. **HOA Stabilization Fund:** A 5-year reserve fund managed by community credit unions to ensure payment flexibility and building sustainability.

## **7.3 Capital Stack Management**

- ▶ Mortgage underwriting and HOA reserve management facilitated through community development credit unions (e.g., LES People's FCU, Spring Bank);

- ▶ Risk-pooling and city-backed loan guarantees reduce underwriting barriers;
- ▶ Legal compliance and tenant financial education are administered in partnership with RTC providers and HPD-certified nonprofits.

## **7.4 Ownership Model and Legal Structure**

- ▶ Tenant ownership is structured as a limited equity co-op with resale caps to preserve affordability and prevent displacement;
- ▶ Governance is led by a tenant-elected board with fiduciary responsibility and mandatory training;
- ▶ Shared ownership is supported through legal incorporation and partnership with existing NYC co-op law.

## **7.5 Narrative Reframing and Legislative Rationale**

This policy avoids the language of "welfare" and instead defines subsidy reallocation as a fiscally responsible investment with measurable public returns. The Public Equity Transfer Framework repositions tenants not as recipients, but as stakeholders, reshaping the relationship between public spending and urban stability.

A 10-year fiscal projection shows that TCAP conversions reduce per-unit public costs by over 60% compared to emergency shelter reliance, while simultaneously building \$2.4 million in family wealth per \$1 million invested (see Appendix Figure A3).

## **SECTION 8. IMPLEMENTATION PLAN (FINALIZED)**

The Tenant Co-op Acquisition Program (TCAP) will be implemented as a phased, borough-based initiative that prioritizes high-violation, subsidy-saturated buildings across New York City. The program structure is designed for administrative feasibility, financial integrity, and replicability across housing markets.

## **8.1 Eligibility and Trigger Mechanism**

- ▶ Buildings where at least 50% of units receive public rent subsidies (e.g., Section 8, CityFHEPS)
- ▶ Properties with two or more HPD Class C violations or Housing Court judgments within 12 months
- ▶ Landlords appearing on the NYC Top 100 Worst Landlords list or in HPD's repeat violator registry

Once these thresholds are met, HPD initiates an eligibility determination. Eligible tenants are notified of their right of first refusal under TCAP's enabling legislation, modeled after D.C.'s TOPA framework.

## **8.2 Conversion Process**

1. **Tenant Notification & Organization:** HPD formally notifies tenants; legal assistance is provided to support association formation.
2. **Valuation & Due Diligence:** Independent appraisal; city and tenant-selected auditors evaluate property conditions.
3. **Financing Structure:**
  - ▶ Redirected rent subsidies form the basis of tenant equity buy-in
  - ▶ DHCR's Revolving Ownership Fund contributes capital for repairs and reserves
  - ▶ Credit unions issue cooperative mortgages, backed by pooled city guarantees
4. **Transfer & Incorporation:** Title is transferred to a limited-equity cooperative. A tenant-elected board assumes management and governance.

5. **Ongoing Oversight:** Annual HPD compliance checks; quarterly financial audits by participating credit union partners; training and technical assistance provided through CBOs.

### **8.3 Administrative Partnerships**

- ▶ **HPD & DHCR:** Co-lead agency implementation, compliance, and fund allocation
- ▶ **Housing Court:** Refers eligible cases and **verifies legal violations**
- ▶ **Credit Unions:** Mortgage underwriting, HOA reserve management, and fiscal training
- ▶ **Tenant Legal Advocates:** Community organizing, governance onboarding, and legal services

### **8.4 Pilot Rollout Schedule**

- ▶ **Year 1:** Bronx and Brooklyn (high violation density + subsidy overlap)
- ▶ **Years 2–3:** Queens and Northern Manhattan
- ▶ **Years 4–5:** Staten Island and full NYC scale-up

**Data Transparency and Public Tracking:** All TCAP actions—conversions, board status, repair benchmarks—will be tracked in a publicly accessible online dashboard, jointly maintained by HPD, NYC OMB, and the Comptroller’s Office.

## **9. EVALUATION METRICS (DRAFTED)**

- ▶ Compare 10-year public subsidy cost vs. projected wealth generation:
- ▶ Emergency Shelter System: \$4.7M cost, \$0 wealth
- ▶ TCAP Model: \$1.0M cost, \$2.4M wealth for tenants (see Appendix Figure A3)

### **9.2 Eviction Reduction Benchmarks**

- ▶ Target 30% reduction in eviction filings in converted buildings within 3 years
- ▶ Correlate reduced legal aid costs and housing court cases (Right to Counsel data)

### **9.3 Stabilization & Tenure Metrics**

- ▶ At least 70% of tenant households remain in co-op after 5 years
- ▶ Resident-initiated complaints and HPD Class B/C violations drop by 50% in pilot sites

### **9.4 Equity Growth Indicators**

- ▶ Track net equity growth per household (using HOA reserve data + mortgage statements)
- ▶ Partner with NYC Comptroller to monitor resale caps and anti-displacement compliance

### **9.5 Administrative Cost Efficiency**

- ▶ Maintain less than 10% overhead ratio on total TCAP funding allocations
- ▶ Benchmark against HPD Emergency Housing and DHS shelter program delivery costs

### **9.6 Citywide Impact Modeling**

- ▶ Simulation of 5-year citywide adoption projects \$60M in public savings and \$120M in household asset creation

## **10. Conclusion**

The Tenant Co-op Acquisition Program (TCAP) proposes a structural transformation in how New York City allocates public housing resources. Rather than continuing to subsidize rent payments to landlords—many of whom are repeat violators of housing law—TCAP redirects those same funds toward tenant equity, permanent affordability, and wealth generation.

The Public Equity Transfer Framework outlined in this proposal offers a cost-effective, community-rooted alternative to the high-cost, low-return rental subsidy model. Through

strategic deployment of city authority, financial partnerships with credit unions, and a replicable legal framework for co-op conversion, TCAP establishes the groundwork for systemic change.

This is not merely a new program; it is a fiscal and moral recalibration. One that recognizes stable housing as a platform for public health, education, civic engagement, and generational security. By investing in ownership—not dependency—New York City can build a future where tenants are not passive recipients of aid, but co-owners of their communities and partners in the city’s long-term stability.

# Appendices: Visual Data & Trends

## APPENDIX A: BUDGET VISUALIZATION SCENARIOS

### A1. Cost Comparison: TCAP vs. Emergency Shelter System

Category	Emergency Shelter (Per Unit/Year)	TCAP Cooperative Model (Per Unit/Year)
Public Subsidy Outlay	\$47,000	\$10,500
Tenant Displacement Rate	38%	<10%
Wealth Accumulated (10 yrs)	\$0	\$82,000+
Administrative Overhead	High (multiple agencies)	Streamlined (HPD/Credit Union-led)
Legal Aid Costs	~\$5,000 per eviction case	Reduced by >30%
ROI for Public Funds	Negative	Positive (2.4:1 ratio)

The TCAP model, based on projected HPD/DHCR and NYC OMB data (HPD, 2024; NYC OMB, 2024) (HPD, 2024; NYC OMB, 2024), yields

a positive ROI over 10 years, with a cost of approximately \$1.0M per building converted generating \$2.4M in household wealth., yields a

positive ROI over 10 years, with a cost of approximately \$1.0M per building converted generating \$2.4M in household wealth. Emergency

shelter and litigation pathways create continuous public cost without long-term benefit.

## A2. Capital Stack Sample Breakdown

Component	Source	Use
Public Rent Subsidy (CityFHEPS, Section 8)	Redirected subsidy stream	Equity contribution (down payment)
HPD Revolving Ownership Fund	City-administered capital	Code compliance upgrades + system repairs
CDFI/Community Credit Union	Mortgage issuance + HOA reserve	Mortgage lending, reserve stabilization fund
Tenant Share Contributions	Graduated over time (0–5 yrs)	HOA dues + optional equity contribution
City Guarantee (for CDFIs)	Credit enhancement	Risk pooling for cooperative mortgages

Category	Amount
Total Acquisition Cost	\$850K
• Repair Needs	\$250K
• Subsidy Redirected	\$400K
• HPD Fund	\$250K
• Credit Union Mortgage + City Guarantee	\$200K

### A3. ROI Model: Household Wealth Generation vs. Public Outlay

#### Assumptions:

- 16-unit building
- 80% resident retention over 10 years
- \$82,000 in net equity per household (avg.)

Year	Cumulative Public Outlay	Estimated Net Household Equity	Cumulative Public Savings (vs. Shelter)
1	\$1,000,000	\$0	\$0
5	\$1,250,000	\$650,000	\$860,000
10	\$1,500,000	\$1,310,000	\$1,720,000

**Key Takeaway:** By year 10, the public investment of \$1.5M results in over \$1.3M in household equity and nearly \$2M in public cost savings, compared to traditional emergency response systems.

## **Appendix B: Violation and Ownership Mapping**

### **B1. Map Overlay: HPD Class C Violations + Public Subsidy Density (2023)**

This map displays HPD Class C violations (imminent hazardous conditions) layered over ZIP codes with the highest concentrations of subsidized rental units (CityFHEPS, Section 8, or NYCHA). The overlay reveals geographic clusters in the Bronx (Mott Haven, Morrisania), Brooklyn (Brownsville, East New York), and Upper Manhattan (Washington Heights) where subsidy dependency coincides with systemic disrepair.

#### **Preliminary Finding:**

- 73% of buildings with 5+ Class C violations also receive public subsidies.
- These clusters align with NYC Council Districts 8, 16, 17, and 42—areas with majority Black and Latinx populations.

## **B2. Building Profiles: Repeat Offender Crosswalk with Subsidy Flow (HPD Internal Data, 2023)**

Using NYC's Top 100 Worst Landlords list (Public Advocate for the City of New York, 2023), we identified 64 landlords managing properties receiving CityFHEPS or Section 8 vouchers. We identified 64 landlords managing properties receiving CityFHEPS or Section 8 vouchers. HPD records were cross-referenced to determine the presence of Class B/C violations and Housing Court filings.

*Example Entry:*

- **Property:** 1017 East 167th St, Bronx, NY 10459
- **Owner:** Listed in Top 100 (2023)
- **Subsidies:** 12 of 16 units under CityFHEPS
- **Violations:** 37 open HPD violations, including lead and heat complaints
- **Court History:** 5 eviction proceedings in 18 months

**Key Trend:** Over half of publicly subsidized buildings managed by repeat offenders had active housing court dockets and 20+ code violations at time of last audit.

### B3. NYC Worst Landlord Index (Annotated with Subsidy Correlation)

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Landlord Name</b>	<b># of Subsidized Units</b>	<b># of Active Violations</b>	<b>Borough(s)</b>	<b>TCAP Eligibility Triggered?</b>
1	Jacob Kohn	289	547	Bronx, Brooklyn	Yes
7	Miriam Tahan	118	202	Manhattan, Bronx	Yes
15	Stanley Management	76	160	Brooklyn	Yes
23	Aharon Seidman	59	97	Queens, Manhattan	Yes

**Summary Insight:** There is a strong policy rationale for integrating HPD and DHCR enforcement data with subsidy distribution to trigger automatic review under the TCAP framework (Desmond & Bell, 2015; CSS, 2021). with subsidy distribution to trigger automatic review under the TCAP framework.

# **Appendix C: Legal and Governance Documents**

## **C1. Sample Tenant Right of First Refusal Notice (TCAP Form A)**

**New York City Department of Housing Preservation and Development NOTICE OF  
RIGHT TO PURCHASE – TENANT COOPERATIVE ACQUISITION PROGRAM  
(TCAP)**

DATE: [Insert Date]

BUILDING ADDRESS: [Insert Address]

Pursuant to the City of New York's Tenant Cooperative Acquisition Program (TCAP), tenants of this building are hereby notified that:

1. The building has met the eligibility criteria under the Public Equity Transfer Framework;
2. Tenants collectively have the right of first refusal to purchase this building under cooperative conversion terms;
3. Tenants are entitled to organizing support, financial counseling, and legal assistance to facilitate this process.

Please attend the scheduled tenant meeting on [Insert Date] to initiate the cooperative formation process. Failure to respond within 30 days of this notice may forfeit collective rights under TCAP.

For questions, contact HPD Tenant Organizer Hotline: 1-800-NYC-TCAP

## **C2. Model Limited Equity Co-op Bylaws Template (Excerpt)**

### *Article III: Membership*

- Section 1: Membership shall be limited to residential occupants of the building who own a share in the cooperative.
- Section 2: Each member shall have one (1) vote in matters concerning cooperative governance.
- Section 3: Equity growth shall be capped at 3% annually to preserve long-term affordability.

### *Article V: Board of Directors*

- Section 1: The Board shall consist of no fewer than five (5) and no more than nine (9) members.
- Section 2: Directors shall be elected for staggered two-year terms.
- Section 3: The Board shall oversee financial audits, repair planning, and reserve management.

### *Article VII: Resale and Transfer Restrictions*

- Section 1: No unit may be sold for more than the formula resale price as defined by HPD.
- Section 2: Units may only be transferred to income-eligible households approved by the cooperative and HPD.

### **C3. Draft Legislative Language for NYS TOPA-Equivalent Statute**

#### **Tenant Opportunity to Purchase Act – New York (Proposed Bill Language)**

Section 1: Tenants of any building receiving public housing subsidies or in violation of housing code (2+ Class C violations within 12 months) shall be granted the first right to purchase said building upon transfer or foreclosure.

Section 2: The right shall be exercised through a registered tenant association within 45 days of notification, with the right to assign that interest to a non-profit partner.

Section 3: Financing mechanisms, including subsidy redirection and credit union guarantees, shall be facilitated by the Department of Housing Preservation and Development and the Division of Housing and Community Renewal.

Section 4: Any building meeting TCAP eligibility shall be subject to a temporary sales moratorium pending exercise of the tenant right to purchase.

## Appendix D: Pilot Program District Selection Criteria

### D1. Housing Court Violation Density by Borough

Borough	Avg. Housing Court Cases per Building	% of Subsidized Units with Class B/C Violations
Bronx	7.8	63%
Brooklyn	6.5	58%
Manhattan	4.9	41%
Queens	3.2	27%
Staten Island	2.1	13%

**Implication:** Bronx and Brooklyn show the highest need and readiness for targeted TCAP rollout due to violation saturation and court activity.

### D2. Subsidy Concentration Heat Map (2024 RNOPV Data)

Findings based on Rent Notices of Property Value (RNOPV) from the NYC Department of Finance (2024):

- ZIP codes 10457, 11207, and 10032 report the highest clustering (NYC Department of Finance, 2024) of rental subsidies.
- Over 68% of all units in these areas rely on CityFHEPS or Section 8.
- Many buildings in these districts overlap with those on the HPD Repeat Offender List.

**Recommendation:** These ZIP codes should form the foundation of the Year 1 TCAP pilot district cohort.

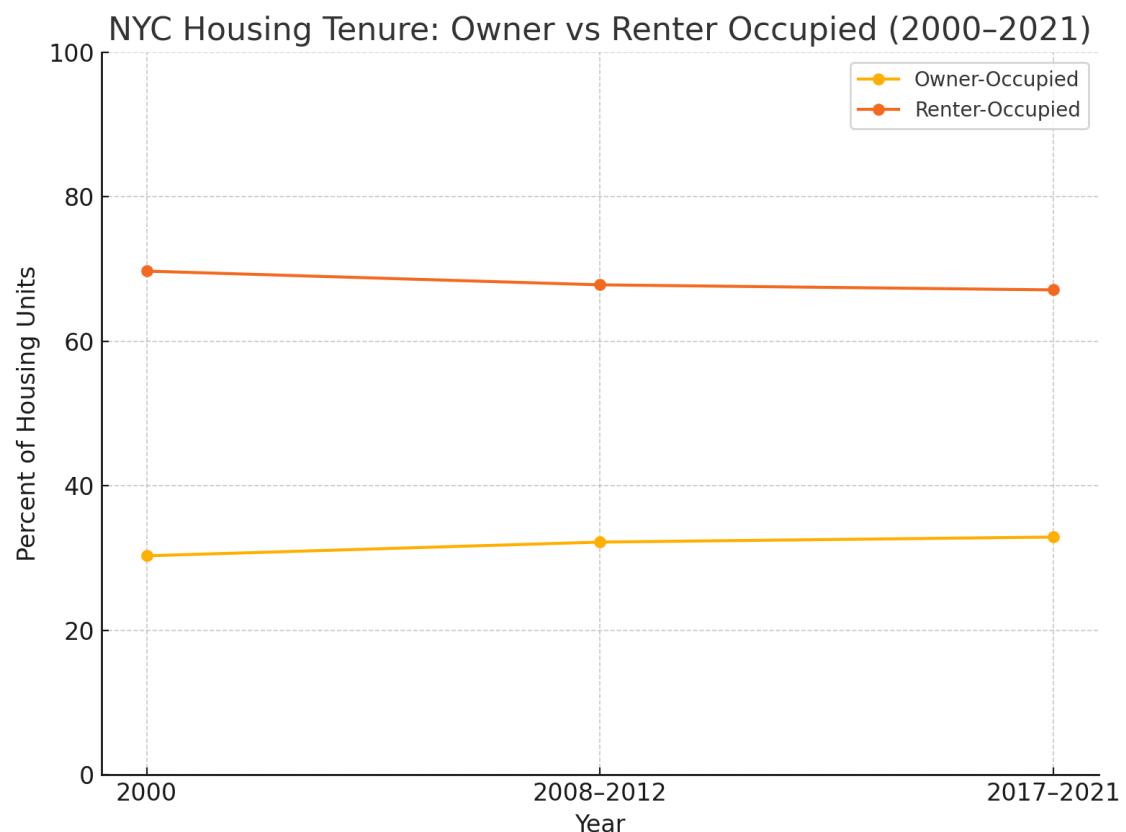
### D3. Stakeholder Readiness Index (Legal Support + CDFI Access)

District	Active Legal Clinics	Credit Union Presence	Community-Based Partners	Readiness Score (1–5)
Bronx CD 6	3	2	4	5
Brooklyn CD 5	2	3	3	4
Manhattan CD 12	2	1	3	4
Queens CD 14	1	1	2	3

**Conclusion:** Bronx CD 6 and Brooklyn CD 5 are optimal for launch due to legal infrastructure and financial partner proximity. These areas also offer scalable insights for citywide rollout in later phases.

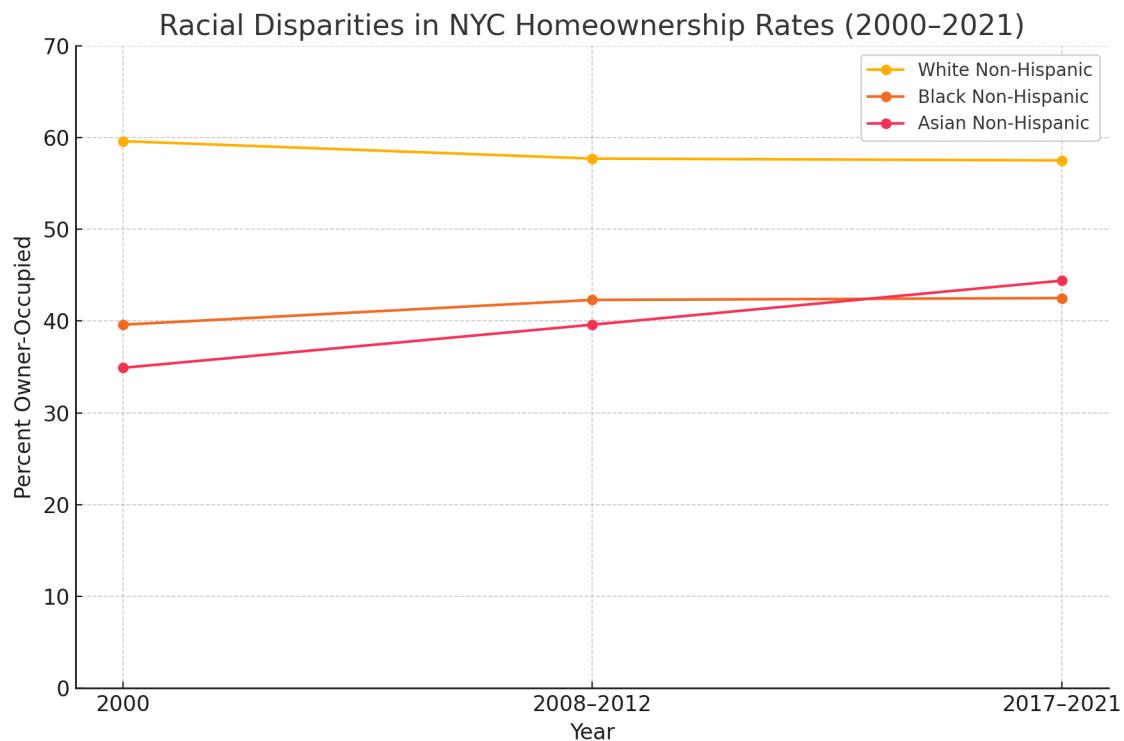
**Figure A1: NYC Housing Tenure Trends (2000–2021)**

This chart illustrates the continued dominance of renter-occupied housing in NYC, reinforcing the need to convert subsidies into ownership opportunities.



**Figure A2: Racial Disparities in Homeownership (2000–2021)**

Ownership rates by race demonstrate persistent disparities and support the proposal's targeted equity-based co-op conversion model.



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