

Evaluation of the San Diego Know Your Rights Tenant Education Program Final Report

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Project Overview & Key Findings

Estaba haciendo preguntas [en el taller] sobre cuánto deben aumentar las personas que rentan la casa en un año, cuál es el límite. Actualmente nos están subiendo tanto la renta, cada ratito, cada mes. No sabía yo si había un tope de cuánto ellos tenían que subírnos al año. Ese era uno de mis intereses, de hablar con ellos también. Sobre qué derechos tenía yo como una persona que estaba rentando y cuáles eran los derechos que ellos [propietarios] tenían también sobre nosotros los que rentamos.

I was asking questions [in the workshop] about how much the people who rent the house should be increasing in one year, what is the limit. Currently, they are raising our rent so much, every little while, every month. I didn't know if there was a maximum on how much [rent] they should raise in a year. That was one of my interests in talking to them too. Regarding what rights I had as a person who was renting and what were the rights that they [property owners] have over us who rent.

Residential tenants are often not aware of their basic rights which can result in displacement from housing. Displacement, including eviction, takes a tremendous toll on tenants and their families as it stems from, deepens, or leads to displacement and financial instability.¹ An abundance of research over the last few years links eviction with persistent adolescent and adult health problems, including stress that leads to or exacerbates health conditions.² Research has not documented community education initiatives or whether tenant education can decrease feelings of stress related to housing precarity, improve self-reported health, and measurably increase tenants' understanding about their rights. This evaluative study addresses that gap by focusing on a tenant educational program in San Diego, California. The Know Your Rights workshops, referred to as KYR for the remainder of this report, were part of the City of San Diego Eviction Prevention Program.³

¹ Stefanie DeLuca and Christine Jang-Trettien, "'Not Just a Lateral Move': Residential Decisions and the Reproduction of Urban Inequality," *City & Community* 19, no. 3 (September 2020): 451–88, <https://doi.org/10.1111/cico.12515>; Matthew Desmond, "Eviction and the Reproduction of Urban Poverty," *American Journal of Sociology* 118, no. 1 (July 2012): 88–133, <https://doi.org/10.1086/666082>; Matthew Desmond and Tracey Shollenberger, "Forced Displacement From Rental Housing: Prevalence and Neighborhood Consequences," *Demography* 52, no. 5 (August 19, 2015): 1751–72, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13524-015-0419-9>.

² Jack Tsai et al., "Longitudinal Study of the Housing and Mental Health Outcomes of Tenants Appearing in Eviction Court," *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology* 56, no. 9 (September 1, 2021): 1679–86, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00127-020-01953-2>; Seungbeom Kang, "The Cumulative Relationship between Housing Instability and Mental Health: Findings from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics," *Journal of Social Distress and Homelessness* 31, no. 2 (July 3, 2022): 191–203, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10530789.2021.1925038>; Morgan K. Hoke and Courtney E. Boen, "The Health Impacts of Eviction: Evidence from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health," *Social Science & Medicine* 273 (March 1, 2021): 113742, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2021.113742>; Megan E. Hatch and Jinhee Yun, "Losing Your Home Is Bad for Your Health: Short- and Medium-Term Health Effects of Eviction on Young Adults," *Housing Policy Debate* 31, no. 3–5 (September 3, 2021): 469–89, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10511482.2020.1812690>.

³ In January of 2022, Legal Aid Society of San Diego contracted with the former Executive Director of City Heights Community Development Corporation (CHCDC), Laura Ann Fernea, and with Alliance of Californians for

This study was undertaken by a team of researchers at Homelessness Hub at UC San Diego, led by Dr. Jennifer Nations. Our motivating research questions for this evaluation include: Does the KYR workshop educational intervention have a measurable impact on the self-rated stress, health, and rights awareness of low-income renters in select San Diego regions? Did workshops improve short-term housing outcomes in any measurable way? Our focus population is renters in low-income neighborhoods of the City of San Diego and Chula Vista who attended workshops and residents of these same neighborhoods who did not attend workshops.

Our team used a mixed-method study design to collect and analyze data to evaluate KYR workshops between April, 2022 and June, 2023. The evaluation assesses the health and knowledge impacts of workshops on low-income renters in San Diego, as well as the short-term impacts of KYR workshops on displacement and other housing outcomes. We report on findings from matched surveys from 209 tenant workshop participants, in-depth interviews with 98 tenants, group interviews with 100 tenants, observation notes from 82 workshops, and group interviews with staff representing 9 community-based organizations. We also worked with community partners to convene four community feedback meetings where we shared findings with community members and organization staff and listened as they identified what aspects of our study resonated with the experiences of people in their communities. A second report using related data focuses on tenant research participants' housing concerns and experiences and is available upon request.

Tenants were motivated to attend a KYR workshop because someone they trusted recommended it, they were searching for answers or assistance for an ongoing issue, or because they generally wanted to be more educated about the rights of tenants for themselves or their community. They came with questions like the tenant quoted above. Overall, tenants spoke positively of workshops and showed considerable gains in rights awareness after attending. They showed little to no improvement in self-reported health. The diverse reasons that motivated workshop attendance meant that a minority of workshop participants were facing imminent housing displacement. As such, we were unable to systematically track whether rights awareness prevented displacement and look instead to other metrics of evaluation, such as the possible emotional benefits of workshops and legal resource awareness on tenants. The first goal of this evaluation is to improve tenant educational programming. The second goal, given the positive impacts we found the workshops to have, is to promote tenant education programs as a low-cost and effective eviction prevention intervention.

Community Empowerment (“ACCE”) to initiate a tenant education and outreach program funded by the City of San Diego’s Eviction Prevention Program. CHCDC then contracted with twelve Community Based Organizations (“CBOs”) in San Diego to contact community members potentially at risk of eviction. The outreach and workshops were targeted toward renters in communities with higher rates of evictions and greater ethnic, racial, and linguistic diversity, with the goal of helping people avoid eviction by learning about their rights and responsibilities as renters. The City’s Eviction Prevention Program ended in June 2023. This is the first report in a two-report series summarizing findings from the study *Understanding and Preventing Housing Instability in San Diego’s Low-Income Neighborhoods*, undertaken by researchers at Homelessness Hub at UC San Diego with Dr. Jennifer Nations as Principal Investigator.

Key Findings

- Surveys and interviews show knowledge gains after workshop attendance, suggesting that workshops achieved a primary goal of increasing tenants' understanding of their housing rights and responsibilities.
- Tenants who attended workshops knew more about their rights than participants who did not, suggesting that a lack of engagement with workshops correlates with a lesser understanding of tenant law and tenant rights.
- Nearly all tenants who participated in group and individual interviews expressed gratitude for the opportunity to learn about their rights and many attributed knowledge gains and resilience to the workshops. Refugee and immigrant tenants overwhelmingly reported gaining critical new insights and receiving emotional benefits.
- Surveys suggest no statistically discernible decrease in self-reported stress or improvement in self-reported health after workshop attendance. Forty-six interviewed tenants described a reduction in stress after workshops; 24 described increases or no change in stress after workshops, either because the workshop did not address their problem, they felt discouraged about their lack of rights as tenants, or they did not sense impact beyond tenants' rights knowledge gains.
- Tenants who attended workshops were much more likely to know about legal resources and be able to identify a means to access them, when compared with tenants who had not attended. This suggests that community-based organizations (CBOs) serve as a critical bridge between legal services and tenants and that individuals disconnected from CBOs were less likely to attend a workshop or have a starting point for accessing legal assistance. It also suggests that CBOs and similar organizations are an ideal vehicle for continued outreach and education for tenants.

Key Recommendations

We made six recommendations for outreach and workshop improvement in our interim evaluation report (available on request). Many of these recommendations were adopted, including suggestions for increasing attendance, holding workshops on more targeted topics, distributing copies of PowerPoint slides, and improving data collection for workshop registrants. The end of the City of San Diego's Eviction Prevention Program (EPP) has led to the end of most KYR workshops.⁴

- **Restart KYR outreach and workshops for tenants.**
 - Hold simplified (i.e., fewer topics) workshops on rotating topics on a regular basis for general audiences.

⁴ The end of the EPP has led to the cessation of monthly Know Your Rights workshops, although organizations including Legal Aid Society of San Diego, San Diego Volunteer Lawyer Program, California Law Project, and the Alliance of Californians for Community Empowerment continue tenant educational and similar services through different programs. Also see footnote 3 for more information about the EPP and KYR workshop creation.

- Hold focused workshops in collaboration with CBOs; work with CBOs to be sure workshop content addresses the needs of a given community and is shared in ways that are linguistically and technologically accessible to diverse audiences.
- Expand the CBOs involved in tenant outreach and education beyond the 12 initially involved; work with schools, churches, and other organizations to reach tenants who have not been reached.
- Support the efforts of CBOs, school and church groups, and other organizations to disseminate tenant education through pre-recorded messages and infographics covering general information.
- **Improve and increase sources for tenant legal assistance information.** Create a guide detailing the help provided by the various legal assistance organizations, and the populations they can serve, with contact information.
- **Improve support for tenants in crisis through direct connection to legal resources and case management.**
 - Develop an additional format for tenant education and outreach events where legal assistance agencies come together to consult with tenants on-site, in conjunctions with KYR workshops.
 - Case management is necessary for a subset of tenants whose needs extend beyond what legal agencies can provide, such as if a family is at risk of eviction and needs financial support to not become homeless.

As we document in this report, KYR workshops have clear benefits for tenants and should be continued. However, we emphasize that educational programming and legal assistance are insufficient to prevent displacement. The primary challenge of tenants we surveyed and interviewed was the cost of rent. A Somali refugee put it bluntly: people in their community are prepared to deal with a host of housing challenges (e.g., habitability, contentious relationships with property management, and even racial discrimination), but none of that matters if rent increases continue to outpace income gains. Tenant rights education and support must be accompanied by rent relief.

Study Scope & Methodology

Data collection for this study was initiated to evaluate the KYR workshop impact on tenant stress, health, and rights awareness. The demand for legal assistance by tenants threatened with eviction far exceeds supply, a situation exacerbated by California's fast eviction timeframe requiring tenants to respond to court-initiated eviction orders in less than a week. Tenants faced with an eviction threat may "self-evict," or leave without contest. For tenants that remain, a lack of knowledge limits their ability to resolve issues with a landlord before a court eviction is filed. Low-income tenants are less likely to understand court processes or their rights, and the vast majority lose their cases. Community and legal organizations in San Diego, under the leadership

of Laura Ann Fernea, initiated KYR workshops to empower tenants by educating them of their rights and responsibilities, which they believed could prevent unnecessary and unlawful evictions. Such interventions were seen as especially critical for low-income and non-English speaking tenants, who are more likely to fail to answer court documents and fail to appear in court. Our study team's work began shortly after KYR workshops were initiated (data collection began April 2022; workshops began February, 2022) and extended through the end of the EPP, in June, 2023. Below we list the data collection methods we employed. Thorough descriptions and data collection instruments can be found in Appendix A.

Surveys

Two-part survey voluntarily taken by workshop attendees prior to educational programming and after. Includes validated stress scales, a health measure, and seven learning outcomes, plus type of housing and primary challenges facing tenants.

Collected 246 matched surveys, after dropping duplicates and missing data N=209

Observations

Observed 82 workshops, noted tenant questions at 62. Observation notes were analyzed through a labeling, enumerating, and categorizing process.

Interviews

Completed 98 individual interviews with tenants recruited through workshops and other sampling methods. Interviews were audio recorded with tenant consent, transcribed, and analyzed using coding software.

Completed thirteen group interviews hosted by five CBOs with 100 tenants, four interviews with CBO staff representing eight organizations, and four community feedback meetings with four organizations. Details were captured through notes which were also coded.

Tenant Participant Characteristics

Survey Participants

The two-part survey tool we designed had to fit in a five-minute window before workshops began and a three-minute window after workshops ended, but before tenants were invited to ask questions. To collect necessary data to evaluate the workshops, but not delay the beginning of KYR workshops, we excluded demographic and most tenant characteristic questions from the surveys. Because the CBOs registering attendees for workshops asked registrants to provide

personal information⁵, including names and contact information, our intention was to match workshop surveys with registration surveys and thereby be able to report on participant demographics for a majority of survey attendees. Gathering this information during registration presented challenges, as most community members were wary about providing private and potentially identifying information, even to organizations they trust. CBO staff explained that respondents were uncomfortable sharing their information which led staff to skip over many questions, often not even asking the registrant for the information at all. This led to extremely low response rates for some demographic questions. Doing so decreased our ability to accurately depict the demographics of the workshop participant population. Clearly, program staffs' (and researchers') goals regarding data collection are not consistently in alignment with what community members are willing to share.

We report the information gleaned from matching workshop surveys to registration surveys below but note that we cannot tell whether registrants declined to answer questions randomly. In other words, the following information is best interpreted as a summary of the characteristics and identities of the workshop registrants most willing to complete the demographic questions of the registration survey, rather than a clear reflection of who participated in workshops and therefore in the workshop survey. Only if registrants varied randomly in their decisions to answer the questions could we be sure these characteristics represent the population for the survey portion of this study, but this is undetermined and unlikely. We report demographic information from the registration surveys for attendees who completed workshop surveys. We also report sample proportions for the sub-sample of people who did not have missing workshop registration survey data.

The following show characteristics of the residents who participated in the workshop surveys and completed a form when they registered for the workshops. Of the individuals who were willing to answer demographic questions, survey workshop participants overwhelmingly identified as women and as Hispanic or Latino/a. Half spoke Spanish. Eight percent of registrants who completed a workshop survey identified as Black or African American, 63 percent as White, and over 8 percent as multi- or bi-ethnic. Nearly 18 percent identified themselves as "other."

⁵ The KYR workshop registration form requested participants' racial, ethnic, gender, and linguistic identities, as well as their income, family size, ZIP codes, name, and email address or phone number.

Table 1. General Demographics of Survey Participants (N=246).

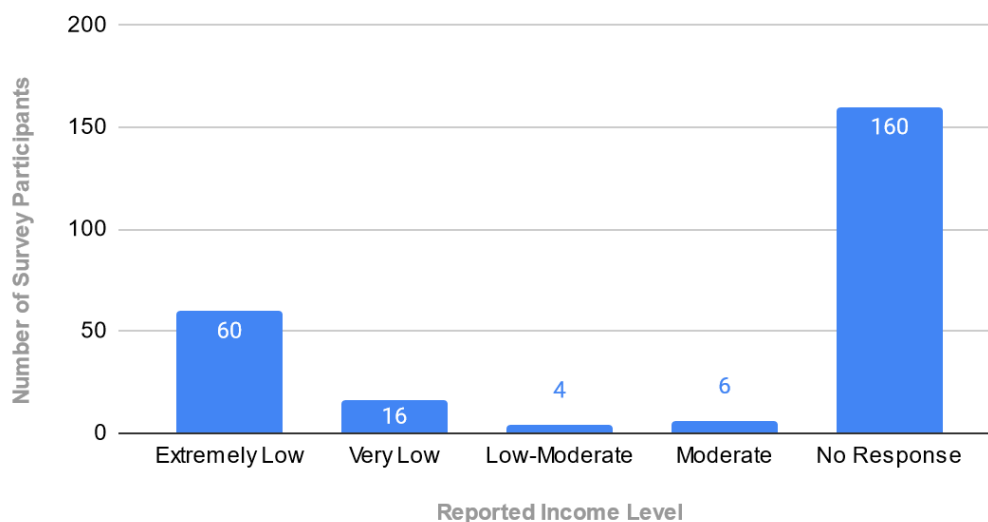
Variable	Indicated by Tenant	Percentage	Percentage*
Gender Identity			<i>n</i> =92
Female	79	32.1%	85.9%
Male	12	4.9%	13.0%
Nonbinary	1	0.4%	1.1%
No Response	154	62.6%	
Language Spoken			<i>n</i> =88
English	44	17.9%	50.0%
Spanish	43	17.5%	48.9%
Oromo	1	0.4%	1.1%
No Response	158	64.2%	
Ethnic Identity			<i>n</i> =84
Hispanic/Latino	46	18.7%	54.8%
Not Hispanic/Latino	38	15.4%	45.2%
No Response	162	65.9%	
Racial Identity			<i>n</i> =84
White	53	21.5%	63.1%
Black/African American	7	2.8%	8.3%
American Indian/Native American	1	0.4%	1.2%
Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander	1	0.4%	1.2%
Bi-ethnic	5	2.0%	6.0%
Multi-ethnic	2	0.8%	2.4%
Other	15	6.1%	17.9%
No Response	162	65.9%	

Note: Not all percentages will add up to 100% due to rounding.

* Percentage ratios excluding no response data

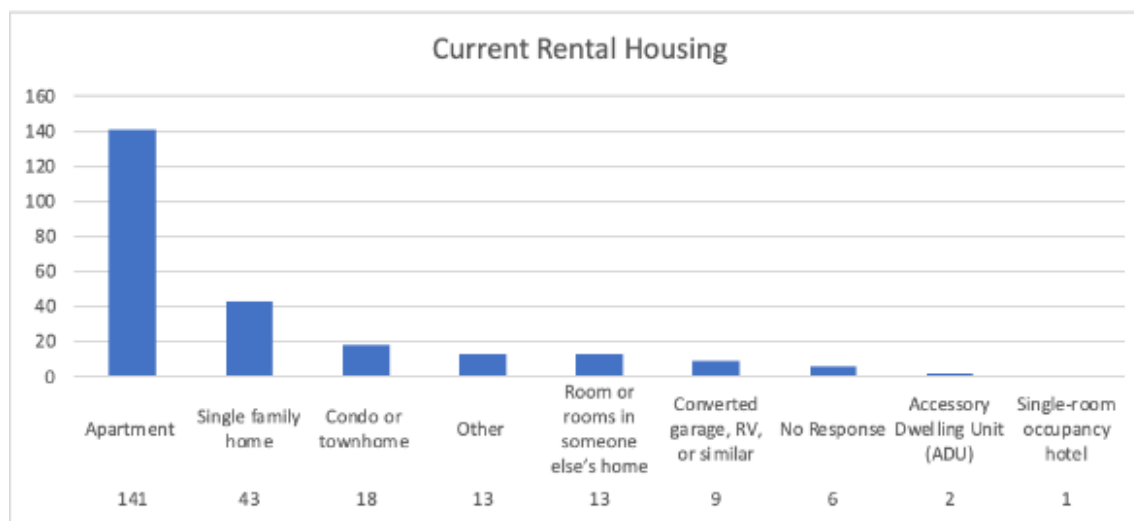
Of the 86 participants who reported their income during the registration process, 88 percent (76 of 86) qualified as extremely or very low-income, based on their earnings and size of household.

Figure 1. Income Level Reported by Survey Participants (N=246).



The workshop survey did ask one question about participant characteristics: the type of housing they were currently renting. Nearly all workshop survey respondents answered this question. Tenant participants overwhelmingly rented apartments, a smaller number rented single family homes or condos or townhomes.

Figure 2. Current Rental Housing (N=246).



Interview Participants

A majority of the 98 tenants who completed individual interviews identified as female, Latina/o or Hispanic, and as single heads of households. They were typically extremely low-income by area median income standards and tended to live in apartments. Black identified respondents made up 21 percent of the sample, 31 percent identified as White, and 24 percent as “other.”

Table 2. Demographic Information for Individual Tenant Participant Interviews (N=98).

Variable	Numbers of Tenants	Percentage
Gender		
Female	79	84%
Male	11	12%
Non-Binary	1	1%
Other	1	1%
No Response	2	2%
Race		
Black or African American	20	21%
White or Caucasian	31	33%
Multiracial	2	2%
Other	24	26%
Choose not to Answer	10	11%
Ethnicity		
Hispanic/Latino(a)	51	54%
Not Hispanic/Latino(a)	20	21%
No Response	23	24%
Single-Head of Household		
Yes	51	54%
No	42	45%
No Response	1	1%
Legal Status*		
Undocumented Tenants	32	33%
Mixed-Status Households	3	3%
Primary Language Spoken at Home		
English only	19	20%
English and Spanish Equally	5	5%
Spanish only	63	67%
Haitian Creole	14	14%
Amharic	1	1%
Creole, Spanish, French	1	1%

*Note: Tenant participants indicated whether their primary language was English and could fill in a second question in case it was a different language. Spanish speakers could complete the survey in Spanish and Haitian Creole speakers filled out the survey with assistance of an interpreter. *The survey did not ask tenants about their legal status. Instead, this information was volunteered during interviews.*

During interviews, 36 percent of the 98 participants identified themselves as undocumented. It is possible that this number is higher - we did not explicitly ask tenants to report their documentation status.

Table 3. Income and Housing for Tenant Participants in Individual Interviews (N=98).

Variable	Indicated by Tenant	Percentage
Type of Rental		
Apartment	44	47%
Room or Room in Someone Else's Home	13	14%
Single-Family Home	16	17%
Converted Garage, RV, or Similar	9	10%
Townhome or Condo (Garage Included)	9	10%
Other	3	3%
Monthly Rent		
\$499 or less	5	5%
\$500-\$749	5	5%
\$750-\$999	16	17%
\$1,000-\$1,249	16	17%
\$1,250-\$1,499	14	15%
\$1,500-\$1,749	20	21%
\$1,750-\$1,999	12	13%
\$2,000-\$2,249	4	4%
\$2,250-\$2,499	1	1%
\$2,500-\$2,749	1	1%
\$2,750-\$2,999	0	0%
\$3,000 or more	0	0%
Housing Support		
Designated Affordable Housing	11	12%
Section 8 Voucher	10	11%
Other	12	13%
No Response	61	65%

Table 3. Cont. Income and Housing for Tenant Participants in Individual Interviews (N=98).

Variable	Indicated by Tenant	Percentage
Annual Income		
Below \$27,350	65	69%
Between \$27,351-\$35,150	19	20%
Between \$35,151-\$42,200	5	5%
Between \$42,201-\$48,450	2	2%
Above \$48,000	2	2%
No Response	1	1%
Sources of Income		
Earnings or Wages from Paid Work	57	50%
Disability Income	6	5%
Cash Assistance, CalWORKs, or TANF	16	14%
Retirement or Survivor's Pension	2	2%
Unemployment Income	1	1%
Supplemental Security Income (SSI)	7	6%
Alimony, Child Support	3	3%
Other	20	17%
No Response	3	3%
Number of People in Household		
1 (Just me)	8	9%
2	9	10%
3	22	23%
4	25	27%
5	16	17%
6	9	10%
7	0	0%
8	1	1%
9	1	1%
10	2	2%
No Response	1	1%
Characteristics of Household Members		
There are Children under the Age of 18	58	72%
There are Adults over the Age of 64	11	14%
There is Someone with Mental or Physical Disabilities	12	15%

Note: Tenant participants could indicate multiple sources of income and characteristics of household members.

We also used the interview survey to record the primary concerns facing tenants. These, and many other details about tenant participants' housing experiences and concerns can be found in the second report for this research project.

We did not request personally identifying information from group interview participants; we report the organizations that hosted groups, number of attendees, and languages spoken for the group interviews.

Table 4. Group Interview Details (N=100 tenants).

<u>Organization Name</u>	<u>Number of Participants Total</u>	<u>Languages Spoken</u>	<u>Number of Interviews Held with Group</u>
Casa Familiar	8	English & Spanish	1
Horn of Africa	11	Somali	1
Karen Organization of San Diego	34	Burmese & Karen	3
Neighborhood House Association Head Start	39	English & Spanish	7
United Women of East Africa	16	Arabic	1

The next section provides an overview of the KYR workshop format and content. The sections following that detail the impact of workshops on tenant rights awareness, resource awareness, emotional and physical health.

Workshop Format and Content

The tenant education and outreach work funded by the City of San Diego included tenant education courses which offered a foundation of knowledge on tenant rights and responsibilities. During a typical workshop, an instructor from CHCDC (Anjie Frias) or ACCE (usually Jose Lopez) would provide an overview of general laws and policies that govern the tenant-property owner exchange. The topics addressed during workshops included, but were not limited to, tenant and property owner responsibilities, the typical steps to apply for a rental, the typical steps for moving out of a unit, changes to rental agreements, habitability, common defenses to an unlawful detainer, laws related to retaliation, the process of terminating a tenancy, and tenant remedies if the landlord fails to do repairs.

The general workshops entailed presentation slides and a verbal presentation which lasted an average of 30 minutes. This was followed by a question-and-answer portion where tenants could ask for clarification of how general principles might apply to them personally and workshop providers could suggest referrals to legal services. Question and answer periods were typically 30 minutes long. Tenants also had access to a pre-recorded, 10-minute workshop video that covered the same material and was typically shown to them by CBO staff. All workshop types

were created in English and translated into Spanish, Karen, Burmese, Somali, Arabic, Haitian Creole, and ASL. Learning outcomes for both types of workshops were identified in collaboration with former CHCDC staff members Laura Ann Fernea and Anjie Frias. All study measurement instruments—including surveys, observation tools, and interview guides—were designed by the UC San Diego research team with input from the community organizations who supported the workshop aspect of the Eviction Prevention Program.

Presentation information varied over time in response to changes in relevant laws and programs. For example, the California guidebook for tenants and landlords was always mentioned but added as a visual to the workshop slides in early 2023 and information on the tenant protection ordinance for the City of San Diego was added in May 2023 in response to its enactment. The educational goals for the workshops did not vary significantly over time for the standard presentation.⁶ KYR workshops were held in-person and online. CBOs organized workshops during mornings, afternoons, and evenings, generally during times when they believed tenants would be most likely to attend.

Based on our observation of 82 workshops, and interviews with CBO staff and tenants who attended workshops, we describe what worked well in the execution of the workshops and what did not. We follow that with recommendations for improving workshops moving forward.

Languages

Translation was typically provided by qualified staff at workshops. CBO staff, particularly Bethlehem Degu at SDRCC, and former CHCDC staff members Cierra Johnson and Anjie Frias, worked together to have interpreters for every linguistic community represented at a given workshop. We did not hear criticism from CBO staff or tenant interview participants about language barriers or a lack of clarity related to translation.

At several ACCE workshops, a technological failure or the absence of an interpreter did prevent the possibility of the simultaneous interpretation feature on Zoom, whereby English and Spanish participants can listen to and watch the presentation at the same time. This led to a longer workshop, diminishing the amount of time tenants had to ask questions. During workshops hosted by the Neighborhood House Association (NHA), our research team noticed that Spanish translation did not consistently keep pace with what the presenter shared in English and that some aspects of the presentation were not interpreted correctly. This led to a lack of translation for some of the details shared in the workshop, some minor misinformation, and a lack of translation for some of the tenant questions and instructor responses. At one NHA-hosted

⁶ Beginning in August of 2022, CBOs were given the option to choose between the standard KYR workshop presentation or a targeted workshop covering three select topics of their choosing. A total of twenty-five targeted workshops were hosted between August 2022 to June 2023. We did not collect surveys at the targeted workshops due to language barriers, a lack of time, and dissimilarity with the remainder of the workshops in the study.

workshop, four attendees spoke Haitian Creole, but no interpretation was provided by the convening organizations. The child of one Haitian Creole attendee acted as interpreter.

Slide Content & Presentation Methods

In a small number of cases, typically when no audio visual equipment was available for an in-person workshop, tenant attendees were given paper copies of the slide presentation. As we describe below, having these copies provided attendees with a physical aid they appreciated. In particular, it helped them retain information that other attendees forgot related to legal resources.

Workshops focused on general information relevant to tenants, but at times included background information that tenants found confusing. For example, workshop presenters described both expired and existing rent limitations.

During the question-and-answer period after KYR presentations ended, tenants largely asked clarification questions about how certain provisions applied to their unique circumstances. Since the presenters were not providing legal advice they often could not speak to these unique circumstances. However, there was information presenters could have potentially clarified to anticipate some of the most common questions asked. In particular, tenants often sought clarification about whether rent increase limits applied to them. Presenters would then explain that the age of the tenants' property, the type of property (e.g., apartment, single family home, etc.), and the type of rental agreement (e.g., year lease versus month-to-month) would determine relevant limits. Presenters sometimes fielded this same question multiple times in one workshop. Providing a worksheet that tenants could fill in to specify property and rental agreement types, as well as age of property and type of property owner, could help tenants better understand the law as it applies to their unique situation.⁷ For all tenants, especially those where it remains unclear whether their housing is subject to limitations, the suggestion to advise with an attorney could remain in place (i.e., the worksheet would not replace seeking legal assistance). A tool of this kind would have the added benefit of making the workshops more interactive.

Recommendations

- More advanced preparation for interpreters could prevent miscommunication and the omission of important information.
- Providing printed information to tenants, such as a copy of presentation slides or some shorter version of the same, can help tenants retain critical information.
- Focus on the most current rent limitation laws, or most up-to-date tenant protection information, rather than expired policies or protections.

⁷ KYR workshops did introduce tenants to www.tenantprotections.org, created by ACCE, which allows a tenant to walk through their own scenarios to make a determination as to whether their rental qualifies under the rent limitation law. Tenants did not use this resource during workshops, and in our interviews none mentioned having used it, so including an activity of this kind as a workshop component may be more effective.

- Consider introducing a worksheet that guides tenants through the factors that determine whether rent limits apply under different circumstances.

Workshop Impact on Rights and Resource Awareness

The knowledge survey results suggest a significant increase in tenants' beliefs that they could correctly answer seven learning outcome questions. In general, tenants did not overestimate their ability to answer those questions. Interviews provided additional insights into what tenants learned from workshops, differences in rights awareness between tenants who attended and those who did not (of the 98 tenants we interviewed, 71 attended at least one workshop), what information tenants learned from other sources, and what misunderstandings persist among tenants who did and did not attend workshops. Group interview participants described similar knowledge gains as individual interview participants.

Rights Awareness Gains Among Workshop Attendees in Surveys and Interviews

On average, tenants indicated a higher rating on the post-survey for all seven knowledge questions ($M=3.15$, $SD= 1.22$) than the pre-survey ($M=1.86$, $SD= 1.51$). This increase of 1.29, 95% CI [1.18, 1.40] was statistically significant $t(134)$, $p<.001$. This suggests that there was a strong effect observed on tenants' self-reported knowledge after attending the workshop (see Table 5).

Table 5. Difference Between Knowledge Survey Scores from Pre- to Post-workshop Survey, T-test Statistics ($N=134$).

Variable	Pre-survey Mean (SD)	Post-survey Mean (SD)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval		<i>t</i>
				Lower	Upper	
Confidence	1.86 (1.51)	3.15 (1.22)	1.29***	1.18	1.40	23.30

*** $p<.001$, ** $p<.01$, * $p<.05$

Standard Deviation in parenthesis

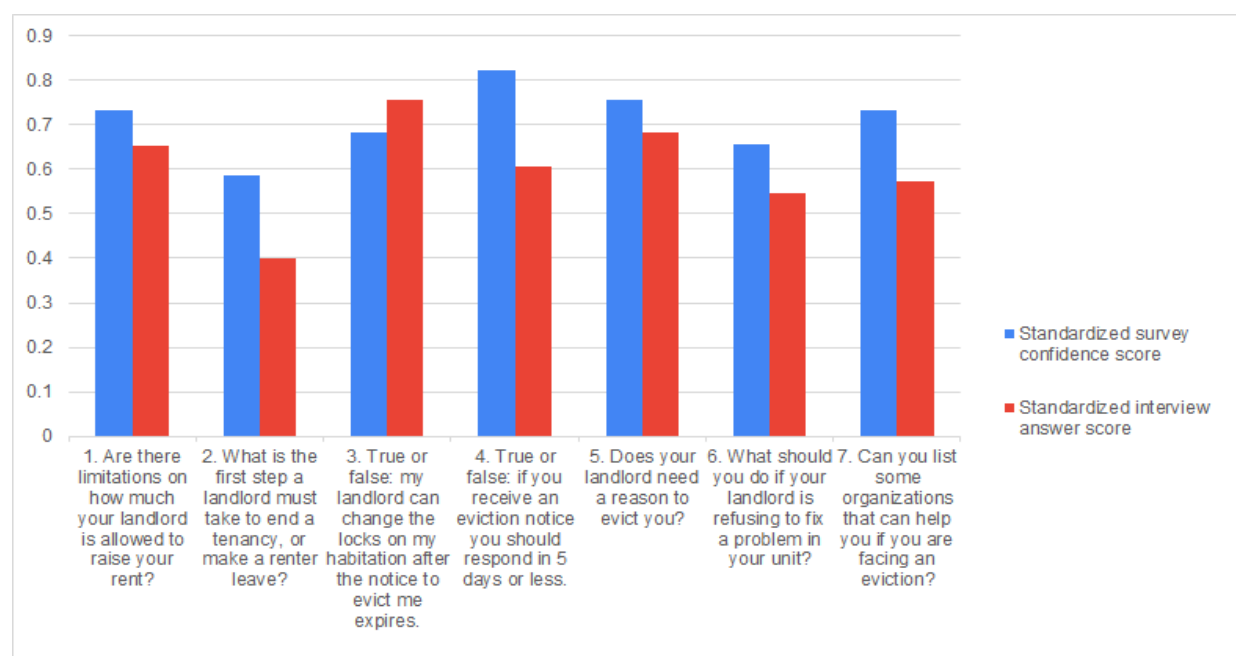
Degrees of Freedom(*df*) for t-test = 133

Tenants' response to each of the seven knowledge questions independently showed a significant increase in their confidence to correctly answer the underlying question. A table showing a t-test statistic for each question can be found in Appendix B.

To compare the confidence score as measured in the post-survey for workshop participants with the percent correct for interview participants, we standardized the averages for both type of measure by subtracting the average by the minimum possible score and dividing the result by the difference between the minimum and maximum scores. The knowledge survey questions reflect

tenant confidence in knowing an answer while the interview knowledge questions reflect their ability to answer the questions. Comparing standardized scores for tenants' belief in their knowledge and their actual, measured knowledge, shows when tenants over or underestimated their ability to answer a given question.

Figure 3. Comparison of Standardized Survey Confidence Scores and Standardized Proportion Correct Answers for Rights Awareness Learning Outcomes.

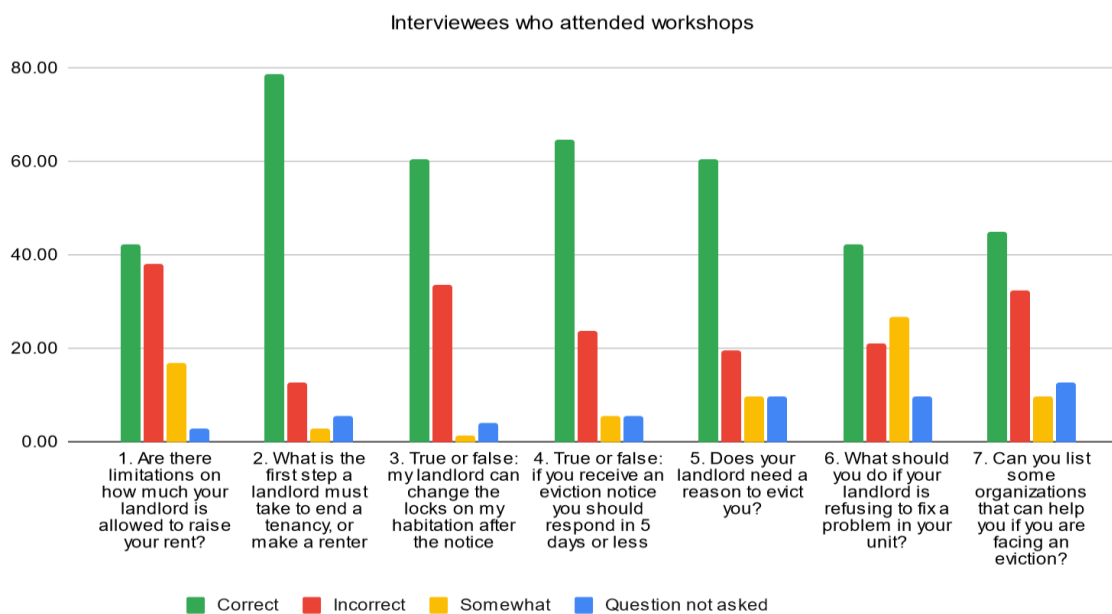


In general, tenants' estimation of their ability to answer the knowledge survey questions was proximate to their actual ability to answer the questions correctly. The biggest gaps between confidence and measured knowledge were for the steps a property owner is meant to take to end a tenancy and how quickly a tenant needs to respond to an eviction order. Tenants slightly overestimated their ability to name organizations that could help them if faced with an eviction, as well. However, for each of these questions—numbers 2, 4, and 7—an additional 6, 4, and 12 tenants (respectively) were partially correct in their answers. For example, when asked “True or false? If you receive an eviction notice you should respond in 5 days or less,” they did not correctly answer “true,” but they did say they would immediately take the notice to the courthouse for help, or that they would contact Legal Aid Society right away. Fewer tenants were able to name from memory or produce a list of legal organizations for question 7, but most tenants who attended a workshop could name at least one organization which does provide referrals to legal aid organizations. Details on how we scored tenants' answers to the seven knowledge questions is found in Appendix B.

Rights Awareness for Workshop Attendees versus Non-Attendees

Tenants who attended workshops were more likely to answer questions correctly than tenants who did not attend. For question 1, which asked about limitations on rent increases, the correct answer was “10 percent.”⁸ Of interviewees who did not attend workshops, 74 percent answered incorrectly while for those who did attend, 38 percent answered incorrectly. Tenants who answered incorrectly struggled to remember the exact amount of a legally allowable rent increase but were often close to 10 percent (in these instances, when a tenant could not remember if the amount was 10 or something close, we marked their answer as somewhat correct). Those who answered this question wrong typically said there were no limitations on rent increases or that the cap was 20 percent or more, while others simply did not give an answer due to lack of knowledge.⁹

Figure 4. *Question Answers for Seven KYR Workshop Learning Outcomes for Tenants Who Attended Workshops (N=71)*

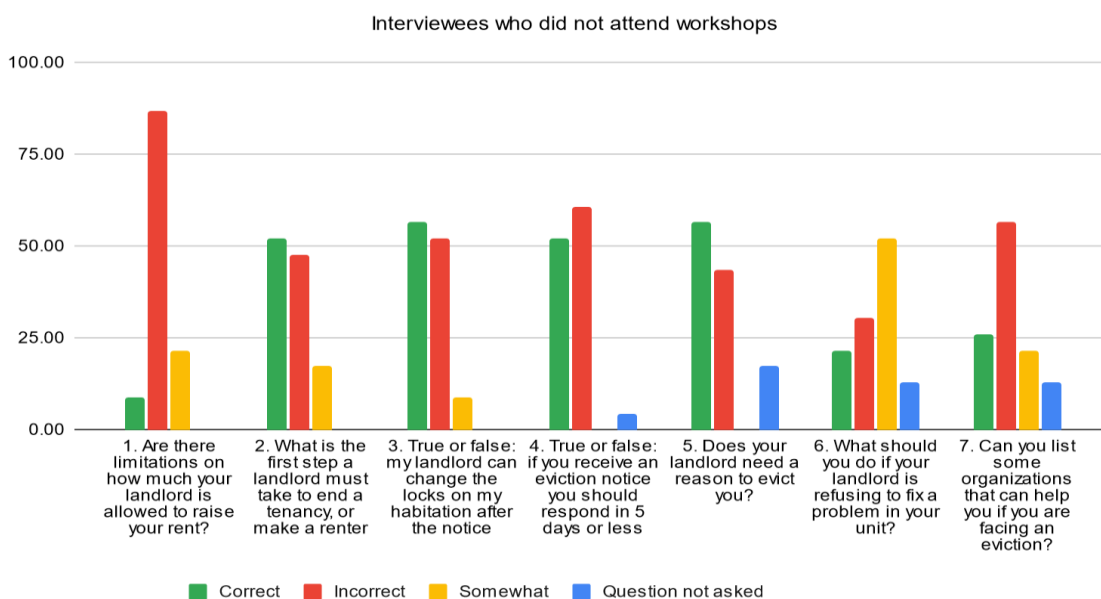


⁸ This is an annual formula set forth under the Tenant Protection Act of 2019 (codified at California Civil Code 1947.12) which states that landlords cannot raise rent more than 10% total or 5% plus the percentage change in the cost of living (whichever is lower) over a 12-month period for protected properties.

⁹ It is factually accurate that some properties in California are not subject to the rent limitation law (California Civil Code 1947.12). However, when tenants responded that there was no limit, they believed there was no limit for any rental property; no tenant mentioned the distinction and answered that there was no limit for their particular property. A small number of tenants explained that property eligibility for rent limitation varied by property type and age, but they also answered that there were limitations of 10 percent and therefore answered this question correctly.

The answer to question two was that the landlord must give a written notice requesting that a tenant move out of a unit as a first step to end a tenancy. The majority of workshop attendees and non-attendees answered this question correctly (78 and 52 percent, respectively). Tenants who had attended a workshop got this answer correctly either because they learned the information in a workshop or because they had previously received a written notice and were attending a workshop to further investigate a way to help themselves. Tenants who had not attended workshops tended to answer this question correctly based on personal experience or the experience of an acquaintance that they had heard about. In some cases, they specified that the property owner must give a written notice, which is the correct answer. In other cases, they said that the property owner must give the tenant time to move out, but did not know a written notice was required or that the length of time given for the tenant to leave varied.¹⁰

Figure 5. Question Answers for Seven KYR Workshop Learning Outcomes for Tenants Who Did Not Attend Workshops (N=27).



A majority of both attending and non-attending tenants answered question 3 correctly (the answer is “false”). Personal experience and the workshops informed workshop attendees, while non-attendees mostly relied on their or an acquaintance’s experience for their answer. Some answered based on what they thought seemed logical. One tenant answer correctly, that the property owner could not change the locks of the house. When asked whether they got that information from friends or personal experience, the tenant interviewee said “No, porque si yo estoy pagando un hogar y vienen y me dicen, 'Tienes que salir 30 días', o dos, tres meses, y que

¹⁰ These requirements and other information about unlawful detainers can be found here: <https://selfhelp.courts.ca.gov/eviction>

vengan a la semana a cambiarme las chapas, no, porque no es lo suficiente tiempo.” // “No, because if I’m paying for a home and they come and tell me, ‘You have 30 days,’ or two, three months, and they come in a week to change the locks, no, because that is not sufficient time.”

Tenants who did not attend workshops were more likely to get question 4 incorrect (the answer is “true”) whereas a majority of workshop attendees got the answer correct and had learned this information from a workshop (64 percent). Question 5 was answered correctly by a majority of interviewees in both attendance categories (60 percent for attendees, 56 percent for non-attendees). Approximately half of people answered the question based on logic, rather than what they learned in the workshop. It seemed logical, or just, that the property owner would need a reason to evict them, so most people answered “yes” and got the answer correct. Tenants gave answers like this one: “Mientras uno pague la renta con tiempo y no haga como daños a la propiedad, creo que no tendría por qué desalojar.” // “As long as one pays the rent on time and doesn’t damage the property, I believe they wouldn’t have a reason to evict them.” Better question wording would have improved our ability to assess whether tenants understood what the law requires of property owners.

Tenants struggled to answer question 6 about what they should do if a property owner is not fixing a problem in their unit. Workshop instructors informed tenants that putting repair needs in writing could facilitate clear communication with property owners or managers. This was the answer 42 percent of workshop attendees gave while non-attendees gave this answer only 21 percent of the time. Twenty-two percent of all 98 tenants said that if a landlord was not fixing something they would withhold their rent until it was fixed. This tactic was mentioned during workshops but was provided as an example that could result in an eviction for non-payment of rent. In addition, at least two tenants explicitly said they found this question confusing because they interpreted this question as asking what they should do after they had already made a request in writing and they simply did not know what the next step was if the property owner was not responding.

Workshop attendees were much more likely to be able to identify organizations that could help them find legal support than were non-attendees (42 and 26 percent answered correctly).

Tenants who attended workshops were more likely to know the correct answers to questions because they recalled the information from workshops, as opposed to knowing the answers because they learned the information elsewhere. Among workshop attendees, roughly one-fourth of interviewees (19 individuals) reported having done their own research outside of workshops or having past experience with displacement that provided them with insights. Among non-attendees, nearly half had done their own research (13 individuals). Initiative to learn about tenant rights is commendable but can be problematic when tenants are given incorrect information by friends, family, or other sources. For example, when asked about legal limits on

rent increases one tenant said: “I read some stuff. As far as I think it was 17 percent plus inflation and inflation is from last November to this November.”

In group interviews, we could not assess participants’ performance on learning outcomes. Instead, we asked participating tenants to tell us what, if anything, they had learned from workshops. Most participants reported learning more about legal resources and the need to document communication with their property owners. They shared the following insights about how workshops impacted them¹¹:

I learned that we should document our communication with the landlord and that we should take pictures of the unit before and after renting to have evidence of the condition of the unit.

I learned about our rights as a tenant and what we should do in case of an eviction.

I should start texting the property owner instead, so it is on record too.

There were some things mentioned specifically with different approaches to repairs when the owner is not responding that have their advantages and disadvantages. It was great to hear the documentation part.

Of the 71 tenant interviewees who attended a workshop, 60 were able to describe information they learned from the workshops. For example, one tenant said “I have been living here [United States] for seven years, and for example, I didn’t know that they should notify you before an eviction. The same applies to rent increases regarding how much time before they should send the notifications. They did increase the rent and they sent us notifications, but I didn’t know how much time before the increase they should inform us. Or, for example, if something is broken, or something is not working in the apartment you can complain.” Other immigrants and refugees who came to the United States as adults also found the information helpful as they were navigating a new system. One Haitian refugee who had been informally evicted when subleasing from a master tenant said, “...I learned a lot and before I didn’t know when the landlord asked me to leave it had to be a formal process.”

Five participants had more critical responses to a question about what they remembered or gained from the workshops. Four of those felt that nearly all of the information in the workshop was irrelevant to their unique situation, although they could see how others might benefit:

Interviewer: “Did they cover the material that you really needed in that moment?”

¹¹ Unlike the individual interviews, we did not audio record group interviews. These insights are not direct quotations. Researchers took notes and paraphrased tenants’ responses, attempting to stay as close to the respondent’s original wording as possible.

Interviewee: “I think I had to do all the work. They gave the groundwork for it and I think, that's what a person needs to do. They went over the options, and what things meant which I thought was very important. I mean like, how many days do you have respond to this? Because a lot of people do not know these things. Nobody knows them until they have to deal with them.”

Another participant made a similar point that for people with few research skills or for whom this information is new the workshops would be very valuable, but the workshop did not benefit them because it did not (or could not) cover their specific housing concerns. One critical workshop attendee expressed frustration over what they viewed to be incorrect information.¹² Of the remaining six participants, four could not remember anything (“no se me pega nada” or “nothing sticks to me”) and two did not give a clear answer to the question about what they gained from the workshops.

Resource Awareness for Workshop Attendees and Non-Attendees

Workshops provided attendees with information about legal resources for tenants.¹³ During interviews, all participants—including tenants who had not attended workshops—were asked whether they could identify legal resources and where they would recommend other people go if they have a problem, such as an eviction or other housing challenge that could lead to displacement. They were also asked where they learned information about resources if they indicated having such information. The goal with these questions was 1) to determine whether tenants could access contact information for legal assistance organizations, 2) the primary resource(s) tenants said they would turn to, or suggest others turn to, in the event of an eviction threat or other housing challenge, and 3) where tenants learned about resources, whether from workshops or other sources. Table 5 shows that workshop attendees were more likely to be able to name resources that provide legal aid to tenants as compared to non-attendees. Tenants’ answers were considered correct if they could name specific organizations that provided legal

¹² The tenant who referenced incorrect information was told that Section 8 units were not covered by AB1482 for a rent increase notice. She did research herself and found information suggesting that they were. This is not a settled legal matter, however: Section 8 housing is not explicitly addressed in AB 1482

https://leginfo.ca.gov/faces/billTextClient.xhtml?bill_id=201920200AB1482. Some experts argue that Section 8 housing (used for private market rentals) is covered. <https://wclp.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/AB-1482-Factsheet-HCVs-and-Affordable-Housing.pdf>. However, the San Diego Housing Commission has told tenants it is not, <https://voiceofsandiego.org/2022/03/17/housing-subsidies-cant-keep-pace-with-surgin-rents/>

¹³ This was done in every workshop, when the instructor presented a Free Legal Resources slide including the names and contact information for three legal assistance organizations (Legal Aid Society of San Diego, Community Law Project, San Diego Volunteer Lawyer’s Program). A second slide followed, including the names and contact information for ACCE organizers. For select presentations, information about Partnership for the Advancement of New Americans was also included. The legal resources slide was often shown again as tenants asked questions and the instructor’s answer was to suggest that the tenant communicate with one of the organizations. The slide would have only been presented once if tenants did not have questions that elicited a review of it. Because the focus of the workshops was on eviction prevention and because there were so few rent support programs with adequate funding during the period of this study, there was rarely information shared about rental assistance. Thus, when we refer to resources in this report, we are referring to legal resources relevant to tenant rights and residential property rental arrangements.

assistance or organizations that could direct them to legal assistance, or if they told us they could not remember exact names but had a picture of the workshop slide that included contact information. Workshop attendees (47 percent) were more likely than those who did not attend workshops (22 percent) to identify organizations they could turn to for help. For example, a tenant who was asked “If you knew someone who was being evicted, where would you tell them to go?” They could not remember organization names but had workshop information saved. They explained, “Le daría el número o el link de lo que ustedes me dieron, para encontrar a clínicas legales. Le daría la información que me dieron a mí, a dónde yo ir.” // “I would give them the number or the link that you all gave me, to find the legal clinics. I would give them the information that was given to me, to where I would go.”

Some tenants struggled to recall the information from the workshops and did not take photos or walk away with any physical materials. One participant commented: “Eso sí no puse atención a dónde iba a pedir esa ayuda cuando vinimos aquí a escuchar, porque eso es lo que hice yo, escuchar y se me olvidó.” // “I didn’t pay attention about where to go when we came to listen, because this is what I did, I listened and I forgot.”

Others could not recall the information but could identify a starting point for a legal housing matter, such as one participant who said she would go to the court: “... yo no me acuerdo, pero yo pienso que iría a la corte. Lo llevaría allí, -- Me iría a informarme a la corte, de dónde pueda hacer una demanda que me están desalojando. No sé si haya otro lugar, no me acuerdo qué decía el taller.” // “...I think I would go to the court. I would take the eviction notice there...I would go inform myself at the court, of where I can start a petition because they’re evicting me. I don’t know if there is another place, I don’t remember what they said in the workshop.”

Table 6. Tenant Interviewee Answers to Question, “Do you know of organizations that can help you if threatened with eviction or related housing problem” (N=98).

	Correct	Incorrect	Somewhat correct	Question Not Asked	Total
All Tenant Interviewees	40	33	12	13	98
Perc %	40.8%	33.7%	11.2%	13.3%	
Tenants Attended	34	20	7	10	71
Perc %	46.6%	28.8%	9.6%	15.1%	
Tenant Did Not Attend	6	13	5	3	27
Perc %	22.2%	48.1%	18.5%	11.1%	

Interviewees who attended workshops were generally more connected to community-based organizations and legal services than those who did not attend workshops. This is at least partially an artifact of how we recruited participants. Interviewees who had not attended workshops were more likely to reference school and government organizations as supports for their various

financial needs than were workshop attendees, suggesting that they were somewhat connected to assistance, just not the programs dedicated to tenant rights education.

Group interview participants, all of whom had attended a workshop, described similar types of resource awareness and a mix of connectedness to CBOs, legal organizations, and other supports. For example, in one group interview with parents of a subsidized daycare program, research staff's notes reflected the following:

One participant said she would go to 2-1-1 if she had a housing problem, she calls them when she has questions, although said she had not used them for housing issues. A second tenant agreed that they would call 2-1-1.

Two people said LASSD had helped them in the past with non-housing related issues, and now that they see them listed on the workshop information packet they would reach out to them again. Both had positive experiences with LASSD, even if LASSD could not address the specific needs they had at the time.

Growing the number of CBOs that are aware of legal resources and know when a tenant may need such support could improve resource awareness for all low-income tenants.

Recommendations

- KYR workshops should be offered again, in both specialized and general formats, on a regular and recurring basis.
- CBOs should collaborate with workshop providers to recruit participants and ensure linguistic and cultural accessibility of workshop content.
- A-synchronous KYR workshop options should be made available for use by CBOs.
- Increase the number of CBOs and other agencies that can make referrals to legal and housing case management resources for tenants.
- Provide housing case management for tenants who need support beyond legal assistance in order to prevent displacement and possible homelessness (e.g., aid for moving expenses, income or job supports, help finding new housing, etc).
- Increase the amount of legal resources available to tenants in order to handle the demand created by referrals.
- Workshops can close remaining gaps in tenant knowledge by:
 - More thoroughly reviewing the repair request process, which repairs are the tenant's responsibility and which are the property owner's responsibility, and action steps tenants can take after 30 days have passed since the initial request to the landlord.

- More clearly communicating that the only way a property owner can terminate a tenancy, even for undocumented renters, is by providing a written notice.
- Emphasizing, in presentations and with a written print out, that tenants must respond to an unlawful detainer suit within five days of receiving it.
- Tenants who were part of undocumented households described being hesitant to address housing issues. Additional workshop information targeted to undocumented tenants and the implications of voicing their concerns could further support their decision-making and understanding of their rights.

Workshop Impacts on Tenants' Self-Reported Health

In this section, we present results from the physical health and stress measures tenant participants completed at KYR workshops. We employ t-test statistics which show no statistically meaningful impact of the workshops on stress or health from before to after workshops. Interview data suggests mixed emotional benefits for the workshops, which may explain the negligible impact of workshops on stress. This analysis supports the conclusion that workshops are not a sufficiently impactful intervention to change tenants' emotional or physical health from before to after being informed about their rights. However, it does show that rights awareness can have emotional benefits when renters are newer to the United States, and/or when it provides tenants with community and solidarity.

Tenant Self-Reported Physical Health

Overall, surveyed tenants rated their health close to 3 out of 5 on a five-point scale. As shown in Table 7, tenants rated their physical health identically on the pre- and post-surveys: mean of 2.92 with a standard deviation of 1.12 for the pre-survey and a mean 2.92, standard deviation 1.09 for the post-survey. This lack of difference, 0.00, (95% confidence interval [-.08, 0.08]) was not statistically significant $t(231)=0.00$, $p>0.05$. In other words, the results may be due to random chance. This suggests that there was no effect observed following the workshop presentation on the self-reported physical health of tenants.

Table 7. Physical Health Survey Paired T-test (N=98).

Variable	Pre-survey Mean (SD)	Post-survey Mean (SD)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval		<i>t</i>
				Lower	Upper	
Physical Health	2.92 (1.12)	2.92 (1.09)	0.00	-0.08	0.08	0.00

*** $p<.001$, ** $p<.01$, * $p<.05$

Standard Deviation in parenthesis

Degrees of Freedom(*df*) for t-test = 231

Among the tenants who rated their health as “good” or “very good,” some described health conditions that led interviewers to ask why they had rated their health as good. They explained

that they did not want to complain about their problems. This insight does not change the finding about the role of KYR workshops' impact on health, but it does suggest that tenants' health may be poorer than is reflected in surveys.

Tenant Self-Reported Stress

The stress assessment measured whether the KYR workshops have a discernible impact on self-rated stress (see the four measures in Appendix A). Two of the questions asked respondents to rate positive feelings and two asked respondents to rate negative feelings, so we rescaled two so that a lower rating indicates a decreased level of stress for all four measures. In other words, a lower score is a better outcome in the sense that it indicates a decrease in stress. Because the survey was voluntary, not all workshop attendees completed it, and not all who took the pre-workshop survey completed the post-workshop survey. In the analyses that follow, we limit the sample to only workshop participants who took both the pre-and post-workshop surveys.

Results for the combined score across all four stress measures show that the workshop intervention had an indeterminate impact on stress levels. Tenants indicated a slightly lower rating on the post-survey than the pre-survey, or a slight reduction in stress levels. The pre-survey mean was 1.61 with a standard deviation on 0.99 and the post-survey mean was 1.56 with a standard deviation of 0.97. This difference (0.05, 95% confidence interval [-0.11,0.02]) was not statistically significant ($t(210)=-1.47, p>0.05$). The p -value (0.14) is larger than $p>0.05$ indicating that the results may be due to random chance. Overall, this suggests that the workshop may have a positive impact on participants' stress, but we cannot be certain.

Table 8. Combined Stress Scale Paired T-test (N=98).

Variable	Pre-survey Mean (SD)	Post-survey Mean (SD)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval		t
				Lower	Upper	
Stress	1.61 (0.99)	1.56 (0.97)	-0.05	-0.11	0.02	-1.47

*** $p<.001$, ** $p<.01$, * $p<.05$

Standard Deviation in parenthesis

Degrees of Freedom(df) for t-test = 210

We show t-test statistics for each of the individual stress measures in Appendix C.

Tenants who participated in individual interviews shared different ways the workshop had impacted them and their health that are not well-captured in the survey results, likely because workshops had multiple directional effects on stress for participants: positive, negative, and neutral. This was partially related to the tenants' motive for attending, previous housing research, and the length of time they had been a tenant in the United States. More specifically, we noted a difference in perception of workshop utility and effect on stress between participants who came

to the United States as adults and those who had lived in the United States for most or all of their lives.

Workshops Decrease Stress by Providing Community, Knowledge, & Confidence

Forty-six of the 71 tenant participants who attended a workshop expressed that workshops alleviated some of their housing stress. They attributed this to learning about their rights, and learning about resources and tools they could use to deal with housing problems, including tenant organizing. One tenant reported gaining the confidence to communicate with their property management.

“Para mí, yo siento que es algo donde aprendes bastante cuando lo tomas. Una vez que tú tomas este taller, tu manera de ver las cosas como una persona que esté rentando, cambia por completo [...] Para mí, de mi cambio que yo miré, fue el poder estar más informada. Cuando voy y algo una petición- me pasó a los dos días [de la petición], pedí que vinieran a arreglar algo. [...] Le dije, ‘No, es que yo ya te pagué mi renta y yo tengo el derecho a que tú vengas y le des mantenimiento a lo que yo necesito.’ [...] Como a la media hora llegaron. [...] Al darme cuenta que en realidad yo tengo derecho y lo puedo hacer, cambió en mi seguridad para pedir las cosas.”

—

“For me, I feel that it is something where you learn a lot when you take it. Once you take that workshop, your way of looking at things as a renter changes completely. [...] For me, that change that I saw, was the power to be better informed. When I go and make a request- it happened that two days passed [after the request], and I asked that they come to fix something. [...] I told them ‘No, I paid my rent and I have the right that you come and give maintenance to what I need.’ [...] About half an hour later they came. [...] Once I realized that in reality, I do have a right and that I can do it, it changed my confidence in asking for things.”

A tenant shared that the KYR workshop information helped them manage their stress by feeling more equipped to address their issues.

“Sí, mejora [el estrés], porque ya sabes más cosas, no te vas a estar preocupando por lo que no es y por lo que sí es. Es como que dices, ‘A bueno, ya sé qué tengo que hacer, o cómo lo puedo hacer’.”

—

“Yes, it got better [the stress], because now you know more things, you are not going to worry for what isn’t and for what is. Like you might say, ‘Well, I know what I have to do, or how I can do it’.”

Over half of tenant interview participants attended the workshops to learn their rights and how to deal with hypothetical housing issues. These tenants were more likely to report feeling reassured after the workshop than tenants undergoing a housing crisis.

The positive experiences five tenants had with the workshop motivated them to take on activism roles within tenant advocacy organizations or in their communities in order to spread awareness, assistance, and resources to other tenants. One tenant shared that although their housing issue was not covered in the workshop, they found it helped create a sense of community to know they were not alone in their struggles: “I think being in community with other people who were standing up for themselves helped, the unity.” Another tenant was driven by a no fault eviction¹⁴ to take on an activism role and help prevent negative experiences for other tenants.

“The [eviction] notice is extremely threatening, it's extremely scary and terrifying, and you know, I can't say that it's been easy trying to turn, you know, complete despair and trauma into leadership. But I don't have much of a choice. I could lay down and I don't know, I could put myself in the street, like my neighbor did.”

Even tenants without personal housing struggles felt motivated to get involved and support other tenants in their communities: “...he podido orientar a otras gentes, que realmente sí se están quedando sin casa, o que están en la calle, o que están teniendo problemas.” // “I have been able to guide other people who are actually left without a house, or are on the streets, or having problems.”

Workshops Increase Frustration, Anger, and Stress Due to Perceived Lack of Rights

Six participants reported that they experienced increased stress or frustration after attending a KYR workshop. When tenants attended the workshop due to an urgent housing situation, the workshop did not necessarily provide a definitive answer about their rights, which is what they hoped to find. When asked what they remembered about the workshop, a tenant shared,

“¿Te digo la verdad? Sí me acuerdo, pero me entristeció, porque no hay mucha ayuda para uno. Eso me quedó más grabado.”

—
“Can I tell you the truth? I do remember, but it made me sad, because there is not a lot of help. That is what stuck with me the most.”

One tenant described facing an eviction notice due to non-payment of rent and feeling uncertain if they should fight it. The tenant explained they did in fact pay their rent but had thrown away the receipts. Following the workshop, they felt increased frustration because they had a realization that as tenants they do not have much power and are at the whim of the landlord. Unable to prove their rent payment, they felt going to court would be too risky and instead, decided to pay the rent cost once again to maintain their housing.

“Sí, de hecho, el taller iba a determinar mi respuesta, porque hasta un día antes yo estaba, ‘Que me lleven a corte.’ Yo sentí que el taller me iba a dar ese extra, de, ‘Ah, sí, vete a

¹⁴After more than ten years living in a small apartment complex, this tenant received a no-fault eviction notice after the property was sold, which coincided with the end of the City of San Diego No Fault Eviction Moratorium and before the 2023 Tenant Protection Ordinance was adopted. The new owner was undertaking a substantial remodel. The tenant was one of several who had been in the building for many years and was paying some of the lowest rents. They, and others, were served with an eviction notice and began organizing with ACCE to slow down the process. More information on eviction types can be found here: <https://oag.ca.gov/consumers/general/landlord-tenant-issues>.

corte,' pero cuando vi que ellos [propietarios] también tienen argumentos válidos [...] Dije, 'No, tengo mucho que perder.' Me orientó mucho, por eso hasta tomé la decisión de quedarme [fuera de la corte]."

—
 "Yes, actually, the workshop was going to determine my answer, because even a day before I was like, 'They can take me to court.' I felt that the workshop was going to give me that extra of 'Ah, yes let's take it to court,' but when I saw that they [landlords] also have valid arguments [...] I said, 'No, I have too much to lose.' It guided me a lot, that is why I took the decision to stay [out of court]."

Another tenant expressed growing feelings of frustration from all the information provided that it became difficult to decide what they should do.

“Interviewer: Since learning about your rights as a renter, has that changed the amount of stress you feel in relation to your housing?”

Interviewee: Yeah, it does. It's like the more I know, the more I get angry... The more I know the more it's stressful to know because I don't know what [to do] to fix it. I don't know what to do, and I don't know how much he's [property owner] gonna take advantage.”

An African American participant explained that they had experienced racial discrimination in their housing and felt that while the workshop information may provide insights or tools for White or Hispanic tenants, it could not benefit them because exercising their rights could expose them to additional, discriminatory practices by property owners.

Workshops Have Negligible or Unclear Effects on Stress

Eighteen of 71 tenants shared that the workshop was informative but did not express a specific impact on their stress or any other emotion. One participant described it simply as “muy buena información,” or “really good information.” Another said, “A mí sí me gusta, a mí sí me interesa, porque aprendo cosas nuevas.”// “I like it, I am interested, because I learned new things.”

One tenant was hoping to learn about the protections against discrimination, specifically, for tenants with disabilities. They shared that the workshop did not have a significant impact on them because the topics covered were not applicable to their current concerns. “I think that because the issue wasn't necessarily mine that was being talked about, it was a little hard to focus on it.”

Gratitude for Adult Immigrants and Disillusionment for Others

Fifteen tenants who had arrived as adults in the United States talked favorably about the workshop. Tenants expressed being incredibly grateful to presenters for sharing introductory tenant knowledge.

“La mayoría de información, me servía muchísimo. [...] estaba muy emocionada de ver cómo estaba explicando todo este juego, todo lo que podemos sufrir también, cómo

alguien puede abusar de nuestra confianza [...] pensé que cualquier cosa me podía echar en la calle. Así pensaba en muchas cosas, pero al conocer mi deber, yo siento más ligero.”

—
 “The majority of the information was very useful. [...] I was very excited to see how she explained this game, also all the ways we can suffer, how someone can abuse our trust [...] I thought that anything could put me in the street. That's what I thought about a lot of things, but once I learned about my duty, I felt lighter.”

Tenants who had lived in the United States for a longer period of time did not perceive the workshops to have the same reductive effect on their stress levels,

“There's all these little things that I know a lot of landlords take advantage of because fighting it means there's an unequal playing field. If I lose, I'm homeless. There's an eviction on my record. If the landlord loses, he goes home and goes to bed and maybe complains to his wife or partner about what a bad day he had. The downside for the tenants really gives a lot of leverage to landlords to take advantage of the legal system in a lot of ways.”

This difference in perception was primarily due to their lived experience with the housing system as a renter, and thus overall disillusionment with the rental system. These tenants described feeling that the power is overwhelmingly on the side of property owners leaving tenants with no right to housing. These positive feelings about the workshop did not preclude sometimes desperate needs for help in relation to displacement, unaffordable rents, and other serious housing challenges.

Recommendations

- The presence of housing navigators and qualified attorneys at KYR workshops could alleviate the stress that tenants with pressing housing issues felt after attending workshops.
- Hosting workshops with community organizations and including information about tenant organizing can provide tenants with opportunities to build community around common concerns, which may help them manage overwhelming housing concerns.

Conclusion

We reiterate the need to continue tenant KYR workshops and to expand legal assistance for tenants. Workshops have clear benefits for tenant rights awareness. We also note that other tools are needed to address housing instability for tenants because KYR workshops are not a one-size-fits-all tool. Individualized legal resources are especially critical. The actions a tenant should take in a given situation cannot be addressed in an informational workshop. The information given there does not, and cannot, constitute legal advice, because a tenants' rights in a given

situation are shaped by individual circumstances, such as the nature of the rental agreement, the previous actions of the tenant and property owner, and more.

This research supports the continuation and expansion of KYR workshops. We reiterate that informational workshops and legal resources cannot, on their own, help low-income tenants avoid displacement or eviction because the number one issue driving these trends is high rental costs. While there are legal limits on how much a property owner can raise the rent, there are many types of properties that are exempt from these limitations.¹⁵ In addition, tenants pointed out that a 10 percent increase is significantly higher than the income increases most low-income people receive. Thus, in addition to expanding workshop reach and legal assistance, rental limits or rental supports are necessary to support stability for low-income tenants.

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¹⁵ <https://oag.ca.gov/consumers/general/landlord-tenant-issues#limits>

Appendix A

Surveys

To assess the impact of workshops on tenant participants, we designed a two-part survey that workshop attendees could voluntarily take prior to and after the workshop content was delivered. This design allowed us to treat the workshops as an intervention: we assumed that tenants came to workshops to learn new information and that by assessing their self-reported stress, health, and knowledge of tenants' rights prior to the workshop and after, we could measure the impact of workshops on tenant stress, health, and knowledge. The survey needed to measure health and knowledge impacts in a short period of time so that workshop providers would have sufficient time to get through their materials. As such, our stress measure has four questions rather than 10 and we used a knowledge assessment method rather than quizzing workshop attendees on learning outcomes.

Workshop hosts invited tenants to complete the pre-survey prior to the beginning of workshop presentations. It included validated scales that assess participant stress and physical wellbeing, as well as questions assessing seven learning outcomes. The pre-survey also asked tenants to indicate the type of housing they were renting and indicate which problems from a list they were worried about. Example items were "*Having enough money for rent*" and "*Habitability, or the condition of your home (e.g., things are broken or otherwise in poor condition)*".

Physical wellbeing was measured using a single-item, five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 indicating "Excellent" and 5 indicating "Poor" health. Stress was measured using four-items on a five-point Likert scale ranging from zero to four. The scale was meant to capture the frequency that a person has felt a certain way in the last month with 0 indicating "Never" and 4 indicating "Very Often. An example item was "*In the last month, how often have you felt that you were unable to control the important things in your life?*"

The four-question, validated stress measure assessed tenant stress before and after workshops and again at the time of interviews. The questions were derived from two peer-reviewed studies where the measure proved a reliable instrument (Vallejo, Karam). We modeled our Spanish translation off of the work of Eduardo Remor (https://www.cmu.edu/dietrich/psychology/stress-immunity-disease-lab/scales/.doc/pss_14_europeanspanish_dr_remor_version_2_0.doc). The single question, self-reported health measure is a validated scale developed in 1992 and used since (<https://sparqtools.org/mobility-measure/self-rated-health/#all-survey-questions>). We used Spanish wording that best conveyed the intent of the original scale, as determined through an experimental study that assessed various Spanish translations (Impact of the Terms "*Regular*" or "*Pasable*").

We adapted the knowledge survey questions from an educational tool used to assess student learning and alignment with course goals. A thorough explanation of this method is available in an article by Jon Clauss and Keven Geedey.¹⁶ Our team, which includes bi-lingual and bi-cultural researchers, consulted with CHCDC and ACCE staff on the translation of the knowledge survey questions, prior to deploying the survey. We identified seven learning outcomes with workshop providers Anjie Frias (former staff at CHCDC) and Jose Lopez (San Diego Director of ACCE). We designed test questions on these topics and asked participants to rate their ability to answer these questions using a five-point Likert scale where "0" meant they could not answer the question, "1" meant they could attempt to answer it but would probably get it wrong, "2" meant they are somewhat certain they could answer the question correctly, "3" meant they were fairly certain they could answer the question correctly, and "4" meant they could definitely answer the question correctly. An example item was "*True or false: my landlord can change the locks on my habitation after the notice to evict me expires.*" A higher score indicated a higher sense of confidence in their ability to answer the question correctly. In keeping with educators who have demonstrated the effectiveness of this tool, we also asked interview participants to give us complete answers to the questions which we then compared to survey results. This allowed us to identify the questions on which tenants over- or underestimated their ability to give correct answers.

The post-survey was distributed by workshop hosts after the formal presentation ended, but before the question-and-answer period. It asked tenants to answer the stress, health, and knowledge survey questions again. It also asked tenants to enter contact information if they were interested in participating in an individual interview. Both the pre- and post-surveys were available in English and Spanish. For virtual workshops, they were distributed as a link or QR code which led to a Qualtrics online survey tool. In-person workshop attendees also had a QR option or could complete a paper-based survey.

We collected 246 matched surveys during the study period. Responses with incomplete answers were dropped, as were duplicate records (i.e., people who took the survey more than once and not on behalf of another tenant). We also dropped cases where workshop participants lived outside of our study area (i.e., north of I-8, outside the City of San Diego or Chula Vista). The sample sizes in survey analysis reports below vary between 209 (for reports on questions asked only on the pre-survey) and 135 (for analysis of survey questions that required matched pairs and no missing data).

Observation of Workshops and Question and Answer

Members of our research team attended 115 workshops between August 30, 2022 and June 26, 2023. We took notes at 82 workshops, noting content, attendees, the amount of time provided for

¹⁶ Jon Clauss and Kevin Geedey, "Knowledge Surveys: Students Ability to Self-Assess," *Journal of the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning* 10, no. 2 (2010): 14–24.

our survey, and more. We also took notes on the questions tenants asked after workshop presentations at 62 workshops, to make a record for the types of issues, challenges, and questions tenants brought to workshops, given that many workshop attendees did not take the survey and did not volunteer to participate in a individual interview.

Interviews

Individual Interviews

Our team recruited tenants for in-depth interviews through the post-survey administered at workshops, verbally by research team members at about one-fourth of workshops, and through flyers and by word-of-mouth with the assistance of community organizations and people who had already completed an interview (i.e., “snowball sampling”). After obtaining consent, arranging for gift card delivery (each participant received a \$40 gift card), and confidentiality details, participants completed another survey that asked about their physical health, stress, and the seven knowledge questions from the pre-survey and post-survey. They were also asked to provide demographic information related to income, gender, race, ethnicity, household size, and more. We recorded interviews for transcription and detailed analysis. Interview questions covered topics on the workshop’s impact on tenants, their housing and eviction history, rent, changes in employment, relationship with their landlord, and rights and resource awareness. Five interviewees who did not meet the study’s income qualifications were excluded from our sample for a total sample of 98 tenant interview participants.

Group Interviews

We organized group interviews with community-based organizations. The interviews were held after in-person tenant workshops or as independent events. We conducted thirteen group interviews. Group sizes varied, ranging from two to sixteen participants for a total of 100 participants. We led group interviews in English and Spanish. For group interviews in Karen, Burmese, Somali and Arabic, we relied on interpreters provided by the community-based organization. Interview topics included tenant feedback on workshops, ongoing housing challenges for participants and people in their community, experiences with eviction, resource awareness, rent increases and other expenses, and COVID-era job loss and residential displacement. During interviews, participants were not required to disclose personal information and interviews were not audio recorded. Participants were invited to engage in conversation, though answering every question was not mandatory. Participants received a \$20 Walmart gift card as a participation incentive.

Staff Interviews

Our team interviewed the staff from CBOs that were directly involved in recruiting workshop participants, doing outreach related to housing issues, and hosting workshops at various stages during the project. This included staff from ACCE, Casa Familiar, Chicano Federation, Haitian

Bridge Alliance, Horn of Africa, Karen Organization of San Diego, San Diego Refugee Communities Coalition, and United Women of East Africa. We held formal, group interviews with organization staff in summer and fall of 2022. Interview questions focused on the general work of the community-based organization, their typical areas of focus, how their work has evolved during the pandemic, and how tenant rights fit into their broader mission. Further discussions with CBO staff occurred during the course of the study as the research team attended workshops or arranged for CBO assistance with participant recruitment. Staff also participated in community feedback meetings. These interviews were reported on thoroughly in the interim report, but we include insights from them here, as relevant.

Community Feedback

The research team held four community feedback meetings with a total of thirty-eight participants from United Women of East Africa (UWEAST), Horn of Africa, ACCE, and Casa Familiar. The purpose of the meetings was to share research findings, verify that these findings resonated with tenants and CBO staff, and capture additional feedback. We presented research findings related to tenants' housing concerns, policy changes, and the KYR workshops. Although the majority of the tenants from Horn of Africa and Casa Familiar had previously participated in a workshop and a group interview, this was not the case for the UWEAST participants. The community feedback meeting with ACCE involved two organizers only.

There were several limitations to the delivery of the surveys. One limitation was that members of our research team could not attend every workshops to support the survey delivery. Time allotted for workshop attendees to complete the survey fluctuated across workshops. Even though we had asked that 5 minutes be given for the pre-survey and a minimum of 3 minutes be given for the post-survey, workshop providers sometimes—often by circumstances outside of their control—cut that time short or did not introduce the surveys at all. Additionally, in 2 workshops, the pre-survey and post-surveys were given in the wrong order. This led to some participants duplicating for either the pre-survey or post-survey as well and therefore did not answer some questions. Another limitation was that some participants attended multiple workshops and filled out the surveys on each occasion leading to duplicates. Participants sometimes began asking questions before the allotted time for the post-survey ended and possibly led to lower participation in the survey. Additionally, it would be unclear if the participants' answers to the knowledge questions were influenced by the presentation content or the question and answers. We controlled for this wide variation in outcomes by creating two distinct samples of survey data. Sample 1, used to report above, includes all non-duplicated survey responses where a person completed both pre- and post-surveys. Sample 2 begins with the same sample, but excludes survey data from workshops when insufficient time was given for participants to finish the workshops. Surveys from workshops where the order of surveys was reversed, or where the workshop topics did not cover the 7 learning objectives assessed through the knowledge survey questions, were excluded

from our analysis. We found no different between Sample 1 and Sample 2 in our analyses, but t-test results are available for Sample 2, if of interest to the reader.

Table 9. Sample 2 Difference Between Knowledge Survey Scores from Pre- to Post-workshop Survey, Paired T-test (N=76).

Variable	Pre-survey Mean (SD)	Post-survey Mean (SD)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval		<i>t</i>
				Lower	Upper	
Confidence	1.65 (1.47)	3.14 (1.22)	1.49***	1.34	1.63	20.01

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

Standard Deviation in parenthesis

Degrees of Freedom(*df*) for t-test = 75

Homelessness Hub at UC San Diego

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Housing and Homelessness



PRE-SURVEY

This survey is designed to assess what you do and do not know about your rights as a renter and to record your feelings within the past month. By completing this survey, you will help workshop creators improve the classes for future workshop attendees. This survey will take approximately 5 minutes to complete.

The information you share in this survey will be reviewed exclusively by the staff and contractors. Any identifying information, such as your name or contact information, will be kept confidential and not shared with anyone. Survey answers will be stored in a private file with names and other information removed.

This survey is voluntary; you can stop taking it at any time. Please contact Dr. Jennifer Nations for additional information about how data will be used, jnations@ucsd.edu

First and Last Name

Email address

Choose the best answer.

What type of housing are you currently renting?

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="radio"/> Apartment | <input type="radio"/> Converted garage, RV, or similar |
| <input type="radio"/> Condo or Townhome | <input type="radio"/> Single-room occupancy hotel |
| <input type="radio"/> Single-family home | <input type="radio"/> Accessory Dwelling unit (ADU) |
| <input type="radio"/> Room or rooms in someone else's home | <input type="radio"/> Other |

The next four questions ask you about your feelings and thoughts during THE PAST MONTH. In each case, please indicate the answer that represents HOW OFTEN you felt or thought a certain way. For each of the following questions, choose from the following alternatives:

- | | |
|------------------|------------------|
| 0 - never | 3 - fairly often |
| 1 - almost never | 4 - very often |
| 2 - sometimes | |

² means you are somewhat certain you can answer the question correctly.

³ means you are fairly certain you can answer the question correctly.

⁴ means you can definitely answer the question correctly.

Are there limitations on how much your landlord is allowed to raise your rent?

0 1 2 3 4

0= I cannot answer this question correctly

4= I can definitely answer this question correctly

What is the first step a landlord must take to end a tenancy, or make a renter leave?

0 1 2 3 4

0= I cannot answer this question correctly

4= I can definitely answer this question correctly

True or false: my landlord can change the locks on my habitation after the notice to evict me expires.

0 1 2 3 4

0= I cannot answer this question correctly

4= I can definitely answer this question correctly

True or false: if you receive an eviction notice, you should respond in 5 days or less.

0 1 2 3 4

0= I cannot answer this question correctly

4= I can definitely answer this question correctly

Does your landlord need a reason to evict you?

0 1 2 3 4

0= I cannot answer this question correctly

4= I can definitely answer this question correctly

What should you do if your landlord is refusing to fix a problem in your unit?

0 1 2 3 4

0= I cannot answer this question correctly

4= I can definitely answer this question correctly

Can you list some organizations that can help you if you are facing an eviction?

0 1 2 3 4

0= I cannot answer this question correctly

4= I can definitely answer this question correctly

We thank you for your time spent taking this survey.

In the last month, how often have you felt that you were unable to control the important things in your life?

- 0 - never
1 - almost never
2 - sometimes
3 - fairly often
4 - very often

In the last month, how often have you felt confident about your ability to handle your personal problems?

- 0 - never
1 - almost never
2 - sometimes
3 - fairly often
4 - very often

In the last month, how often have you felt that things were going your way?

- 0 - never
1 - almost never
2 - sometimes
3 - fairly often
4 - very often

In the last month, how often have you felt difficulties were piling up so high that you could not overcome them?

- 0 - never
1 - almost never
2 - sometimes
3 - fairly often
4 - very often

Which of the following is causing you stress related to your housing? Mark all that apply.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Having enough money for rent. | <input type="radio"/> otherwise in poor condition). |
| <input type="radio"/> Keeping a job. | <input type="radio"/> Family or roommates causing problems. |
| <input type="radio"/> Relations with landlord. | <input type="radio"/> Other problem not listed. |
| <input type="radio"/> Losing my housing. | <input type="radio"/> My housing is not causing me stress at this time. |
| <input type="radio"/> Other financial issues. | |
| <input type="radio"/> Habitability, or the condition of your home (e.g., things are broken or | |

In general, would you say your physical health is poor, fair, good, very good or excellent?

- | | |
|---------------|----------|
| 1 = excellent | 4 = fair |
| 2 = very good | 5 = poor |
| 3 = good | |

For this section, indicate your ability to answer the question based on what you know right now. You do not need to provide an actual answer, only indicate how well you think you could answer the question.

⁰ means you cannot answer the question

¹ means you can attempt to answer it but will probably get it wrong

Spanish translations of the survey are available, on request.

Due to the post-survey having an additional question added later on which asked about the participant's preferred method to be contacted, some participants included their phone number rather than email. Having the phone number as an additional contact led to these participants to have a higher response rate than those contacted solely through email. If participants did not complete the post-survey, they were not able to indicate a willingness to participate in the interview.

Individual tenant interview participants answered a series of closed and open-ended questions about the workshops (for the sample who participated in them). These questions were related to their:

- Understanding and knowledge of tenant rights
- Housing experiences and history
- Self-reported physical health and stress
- Income and employment
- Household members

Appendix B

Table 10. Individual Knowledge Survey Questions, Paired T-test (N=98).

Variable	N	df	Pre-survey Mean (SD)	Post-survey Mean (SD)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval		t
						Lower	Upper	
Limitations Rent	200	199	1.87 (1.39)	3.23 (1.17)	1.36***	1.13	1.59	11.63
Step to End Tenancy	211	210	1.67 (1.42)	3.13 (1.10)	1.46***	1.26	1.66	14.32
Change Locks	189	188	1.88 (1.58)	3.08 (1.30)	1.20***	0.95	1.46	9.26
Respond Five Days	194	193	1.81 (1.53)	3.23 (1.15)	1.42***	1.18	1.65	11.88
Landlord Needs Reason	202	201	2.28 (1.50)	3.30 (1.10)	1.02***	0.80	1.23	9.29
Landlord Refuse	197	196	1.79 (1.42)	2.91 (1.24)	1.12***	0.89	1.35	9.53
Help Organizations	189	188	1.62 (1.54)	3.18 (1.25)	1.56***	1.31	1.80	12.75

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

Standard Deviation in parenthesis

In the majority of individual interviews, tenants were asked the 7 knowledge questions. Interview transcripts were coded to determine whether participants provided "correct", "incorrect", and "somewhat correct" answers. When the question was not asked to the tenant, coders noted "question not asked."

Before delving into the question-specific analyses, it is important to clarify the meaning of each label:

- Correct: this label is assigned to responses that accurately and completely address the question asked, demonstrating a high level of knowledge or understanding regarding the subject matter.
- Incorrect: responses categorized as "incorrect" are those that provide information that was factually inaccurate, unrelated to the question posed, or the interviewee simply did not provide an answer to the question posed. These responses lack the desired accuracy and relevancy.
- Somewhat Correct: "somewhat correct" applies to responses that contain elements of accuracy but may also include inaccuracies or missing details. These responses partially addressed the question but fall short of being entirely accurate or comprehensive.
- Question Not Asked: this label pertains to instances where the interviewer did not ask the question—often because the interviewee indicated an unwillingness to talk about the topic or because the conversation deviated from the interview protocol.

Appendix C

Table 11. Individual Survey Stress Questions, Paired T-test (N=98).

Variable	N	df	Pre-survey Mean (SD)	Post-survey Mean (SD)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval		t
						Lower	Upper	
Control	229	228	1.75 (1.09)	1.61 (0.99)	-0.14*	-0.25	-0.02	-2.40
Confident	222	210	1.30 (0.88)	1.39 (0.93)	0.09	-0.03	0.22	1.45
Going Your Way	220	219	1.63 (0.87)	1.49 (0.85)	-0.14*	-0.25	-0.02	-2.40
Piling Up	220	219	1.73 (1.04)	1.74 (1.05)	0.01	-0.10	0.12	0.17

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

Standard Deviation in parenthesis