

Governing Multilevel Responses to Coronavirus Impacts on US and European Homelessness

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15th European Research Conference on Homelessness

September 24, 2021

- *The pandemic induced **significant progressive reforms***
- *The **crisis highlighted issues in coordinating multiple levels of governance** – federal/European Union, federal/member state, and state/regional/municipal – and public/private cooperation*
- *As emergency measures ease, **it is unclear if the massive funds that the pandemic made available will endure in the longer term.***
- *Given capacity and political constraints on top of housing shortages, **not all places will take advantage of the new opportunities to end homelessness.***

Outline

1. **Neoinstitutional theory** on exogenous shocks & policy breakthroughs
2. US & EU different starting points **multi-level governance arrangements & spatial variation in homelessness**
3. **New policy responses to COVID at different levels**
4. **Emergency measures gradually phased out**
5. **Multilevel governance problems revealed**
6. **Longer term interventions**
7. **Conclusions**

1. Neoinstitutional theory



Path dependency and exogenous shocks (Thelen, Mahoney)

- When a crisis (like the coronavirus pandemic) hits, pre-existing institutional arrangements experience shocks, disrupting path dependency and presenting opportunities for (progressive) change.
- The pandemic overwhelmed pre-existing subsidized housing programs, but it is unclear whether the short-term emergency arrangements will become the “new normal” or whether they revert to earlier institutions.



- Addressing **urban problems that vary spatially entails multiple levels of governance.**
 - Avoid methodological nationalism and state-centrism: international and EU social policy, decentralization/rescaling of welfare state, changing welfare mix (Oosterlynck, Novy, & Kazepov 2019).
- There is **local variation in public action** to address challenges like homelessness.
 - Laws, policies, and programs, their financing and implementation, overlap and sometimes conflict.
 - Variations in territorial organization, mode of governance and welfare regimes influence extent of local social innovation.
- Policy-making across different jurisdictional levels and coordinating provision by public authorities and non-state actors can **create new problems by shifting costs and authority and delegating responsibilities** downwards, upwards, or sideways (Magetti & Trein 2018)

**2. US & EU different starting points:
pre-pandemic multi-level governance
arrangements
Spatial variation**

Over generalized caricature of the US as a welfare laggard vs EU/interventionist welfare states, but not so with respect to homelessness policies.

- Europe has been slower to respond to homelessness
- Lack of official homelessness statistics (only a few countries, no European definition - ETHOS light)
- Converging towards Housing First as best practice

There is considerable variation in social policies across the American states, as there is across the EU member states

- Conventional distinction of US federalism vs EU subsidiarity: in fact, a continuum with some European federal states
- On both continents, federalism and multi-level governance enlist localities and private agents in reaching the homeless
- Local innovations may diffuse at the same scale or percolate upward
- But localities may also impede higher level interventions (NIMBYism, sweeps, etc.)
- State and local laws governing housing markets – evictions, tenant protections, etc. – vary so much that difficult to compare (Nelson et al. 2021)

Until pandemic, most homeless programs local and states' role in homeless governance was minimal, given unevenness in homelessness within states

- Federal pandemic relief in US via Treasury, FEMA or left to states to execute
- In EU, the ESF partly finance local initiatives for the homeless via member states.

Table HC 3.1.1a: Estimated number of homeless people, 2020 or latest year available

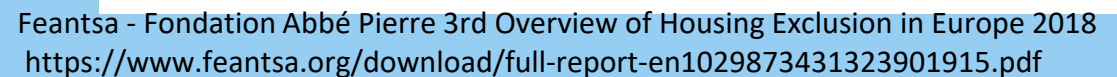
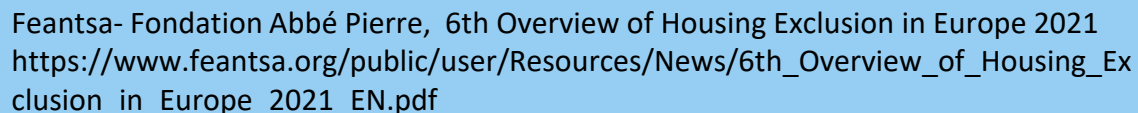
	Year	Number of homeless	Homeless as % of total population ¹	Figures include <i>more than</i> persons 1) living rough, 2) living in emergency accommodation, and 3) living in accommodation for the homeless?
Australia	2016	116,427	0.48%	Yes
Austria	2019	22,580	0.25%	Yes
Brazil	2015	101,854	0.05%	<i>Not provided</i>
Canada (2)	2016	129,127	0.36%	No
Chile	2019	14,013	0.07%	No
Colombia	2019	13,252	0.03%	Yes
Costa Rica	2020	3,387	0.07%	<i>Not provided</i>
Croatia	2013	462	0.01%	No
Czech Republic (3)	2019	23,830	0.22%	Yes*
Denmark	2019	6,431	0.11%	Yes
Estonia	2011	864	0.06%	No
Finland	2018	5,482	0.10%	Yes
France	2012	141,500	0.22%	No
Germany (4)	2018	337,000	0.41%	Yes
Greece	2009	21,216	0.19%	Yes
Hungary	2014	10,068	0.10%	Yes
Iceland	2017	349	0.10%	Yes
Ireland	2020	5,873	0.12%	No
Israel	2020	3,471	0.04%	Yes
Italy (5)	2014	50,724	0.08%	No
Japan	2020	3,992	0.00%	No
Latvia	2017	6,877	0.35%	No
Lithuania	2011	857	0.03%	No
Luxembourg (6)	2014	2,059	0.37%	Yes
Mexico	2010	40,911	0.04%	<i>Not provided</i>
The Netherlands	2018	39,300	0.23%	Yes
New Zealand	2018	41,644	0.86%	Yes
Norway	2016	3,909	0.07%	Yes
Poland	2019	30,330	0.08%	Yes
Portugal	2019	7,107	0.07%	No
Slovak Republic	2011	23,483	0.44%	Yes
Slovenia	2019	3,799	0.18%	No
Spain	2013	22,938	0.05%	No
Sweden	2017	33,250	0.33%	Yes
United States (7)	2020	580,466	0.18%	No
United Kingdom: (8)				
England	2020 (Q1-Q4)	(289,800 households)	(1.25% households)	Yes, but limited to certain priority categories; includes households threatened with homelessness
Northern Ireland	2020 (July-Dec)	(7,989 households)	(1.10% households)	Yes, but limited to certain priority categories; includes households threatened with homelessness and people living in temporary accommodation
Scotland	2020 (April-Sept)	(27,796 households)	(1.14% households)	Yes; includes households threatened with homelessness and people living in temporary accommodation as of 30 Sept
Wales	2019-20	(22,392 households)	(1.66% households)	Yes, but limited to certain priority categories; includes households threatened with homelessness (Section 66) and people living in temporary accommodation (Section 73)

Spatial variation in homelessness

27. May 2021

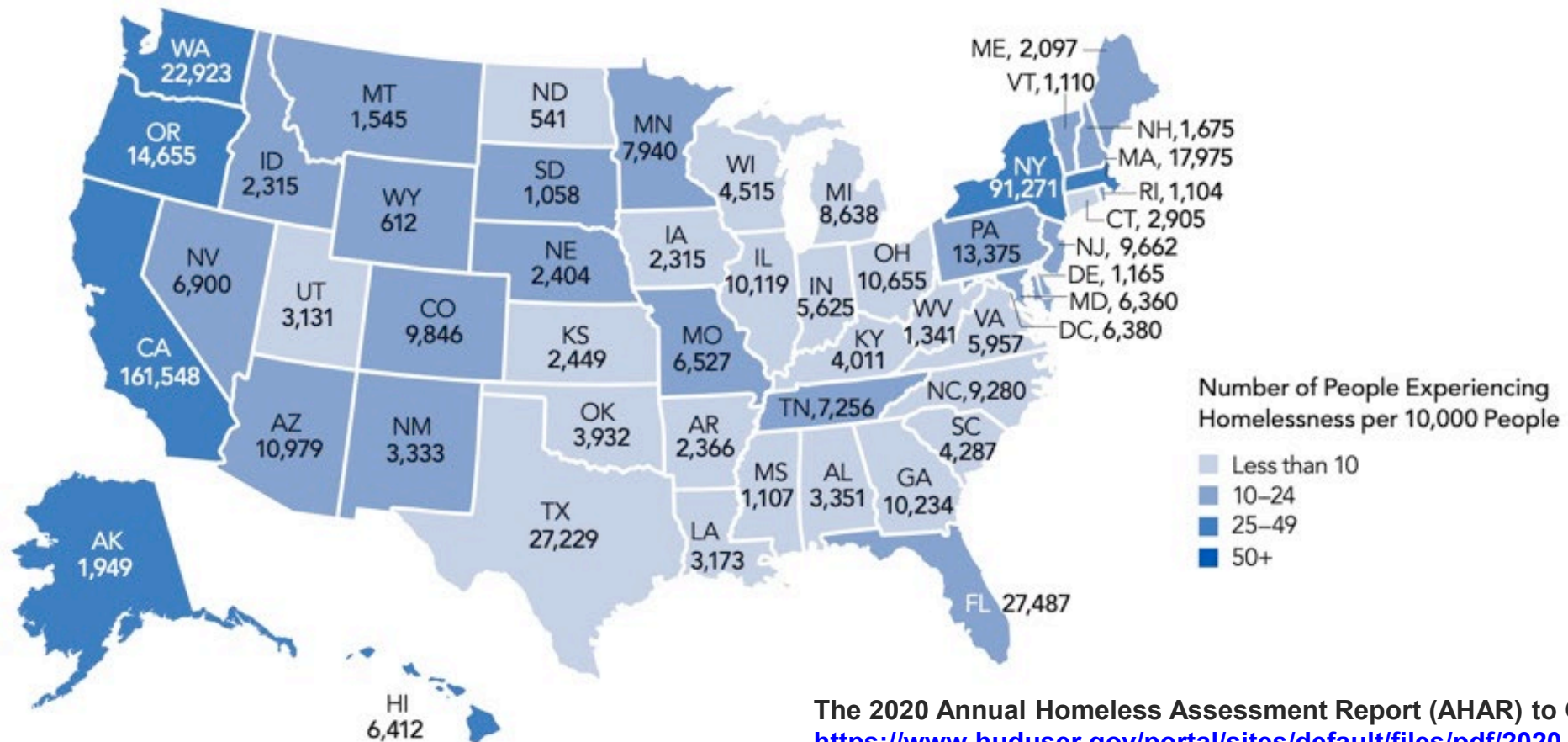
<https://www.oecd.org/els/family/HC3-1-Homeless-population.pdf>

- Subsidiarity: national/local responsibility



Spatial variation in homelessness in US

EXHIBIT 1.6: Estimates of People Experiencing Homelessness
By State, 2020



The 2020 Annual Homeless Assessment Report (AHAR) to Congress.
<https://www.huduser.gov/portal/sites/default/files/pdf/2020-AHAR-Part-1.pdf>

3. Multi-level responses to COVID-19 to protect and prevent homelessness

Stages of response to Covid

- **Immediate** emergency support



- **Most local level**

- **Short-term:** US and European actions to stimulate the economy in the immediate aftermath of the shutdowns cash transfers, wage subsidies to keep workers employed



- **National/Federal and/or regional**

- **Longer term:** As short-term measures expire new challenges. Longer-term capital investments such as modernized housing.



- **EU/Federal/National:** localities must address the longer-term challenges of permanently and rapidly housing the homeless and ending congregate shelters



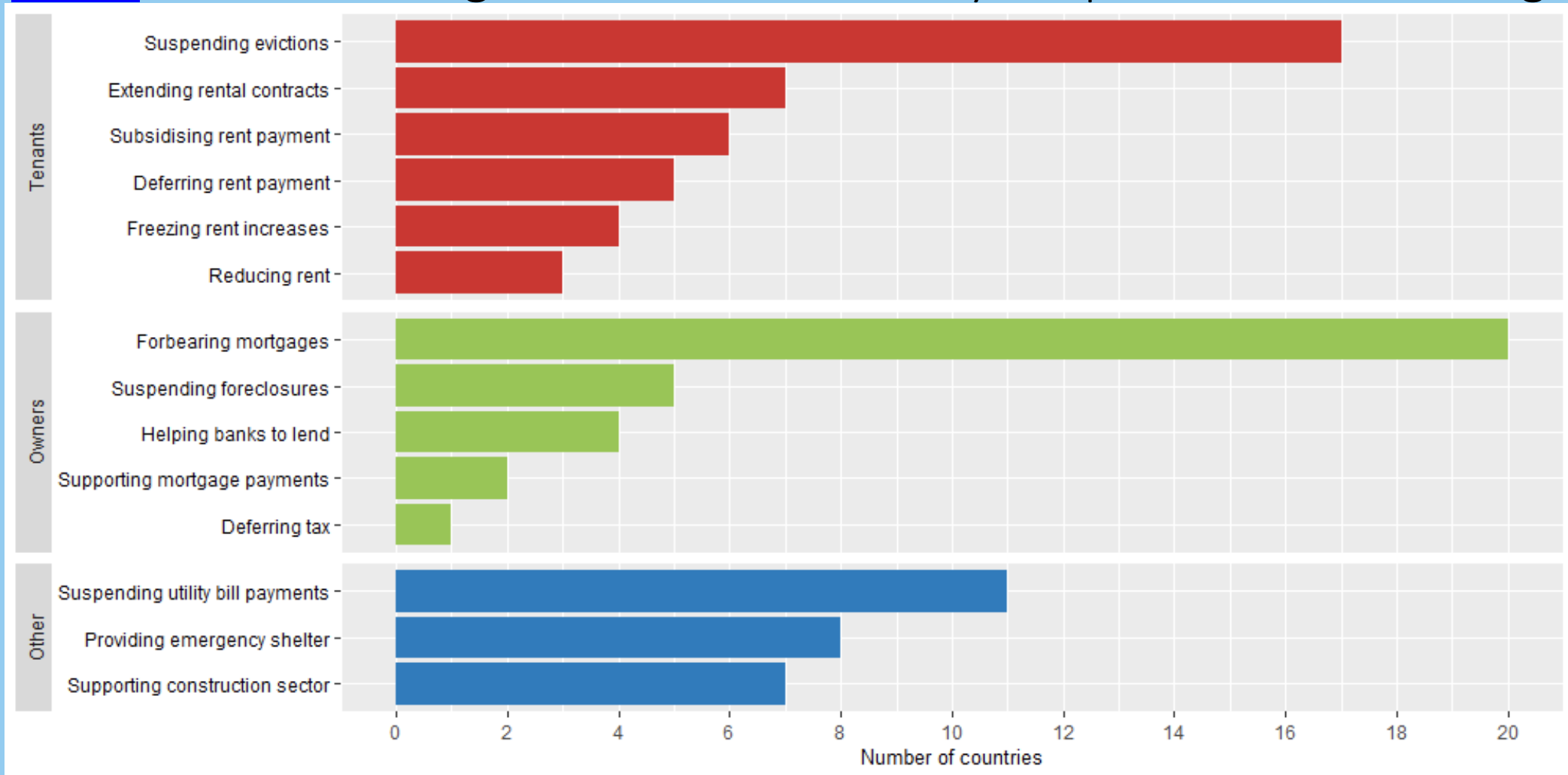
Immediate

- Greatest variation at local level; first response to pandemic was lockdown/quarantine:
 - reduce moves or transactions;
 - Shelter policies vary: New emergency shelters opened for the homeless, often by local governments; but some shelters closed or de-densified for distancing, and ill relocated to vacant units/hotels
- People experiencing homelessness immediately considered at higher risk of Covid due to chronic health conditions, age, racial identity, congregate living, and lack of hygiene, and severe illness common among hospitalized (Cha et al. 2021)

Short-term

Most support measures targeted tenants and homeowners

[OECD](#). 2020. Housing Amid Covid-19: Policy Responses and Challenges



US responses at different scales

- **Federal:**

- **HUD:** CARES Act -> ERA1
- **Treasury** (Trump, CARES Act): direct stimulus checks, but hard to get to unsheltered: Coronavirus State and Local Fiscal Recovery Fund provides \$350 billion through December 31, 2024 that can be used for direct assistance to households and to build and preserve affordable housing for the lowest-income renters;
- **FEMA:** funds for rehousing homeless in h/motels
 - Since March 2020, FEMA has recognized that providing non-congregate shelter including hotels for people experiencing homelessness is a powerful public health response to combat the spread of COVID-19. In February 2021, FEMA expanded the available reimbursement for communities providing non-congregate housing [offering 100% reimbursement](#) to transition people experiencing homelessness into non-congregate shelter instead of congregate shelter facilities rather than requiring a 25% match. FEMA will reimburse eligible activities [until September 2021 and retroactively fund](#) the cost of eligible activities from January 2020
- **U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention:** The CDC eviction moratorium covered nearly all renters with annual incomes of less than \$99,000 a year (or \$198,000 jointly) and who experienced a substantial income loss.
- In March 2020, CDC [guidelines](#) instructing cities that, unless housing units are available, “do not clear encampments during community spread of COVID-19. Clearing encampments can cause people to disperse throughout the community,” which “increases the potential for disease spread.”

- **State**

- **43 states enact eviction moratoria:** with varying lengths income eligibility requirements (e.g., others protect only those in the process of applying for rental assistance (ERA), those experiencing a significant COVID-19 hardship, or whose unpaid rent was accrued only during specific time periods.) By Aug 2021, [the COVID-19 US State Policy team estimate](#) 13 states and Washington, DC have eviction moratoria that protect some renters facing eviction. Four other states have some alternative protections that fall short of an eviction moratorium but are still substantial, such as requiring landlords to provide information to renters about rental assistance programs before eviction, requiring mediation processes, or providing extended eviction notices to give renters more time to pay rent or find other housing.
- **Rent and mortgage forbearance**
- **New affordable housing construction:** California Operation Homekey and \$12b for housing the homeless

- **Local**

- A few eviction moratoria: Eight local jurisdictions in states without eviction moratoria offer protections to renters, and three local jurisdictions in states with eviction moratoria offer even greater protections for renters
- Shelters opened or closed or de-densified with vulnerable and ill relocated to h/motels
- Street outreach; Encampments serviced, relocated, or swept; public spaces cleared (e.g., New York City and Metropolitan Transportation Authority Covid-19 rules that prohibit people from staying in a subway station for more than an hour or after a train is taken out of service, and ban carts more than 30 inches long or wide, enacted on an emergency basis in April 2020 and made permanent in September. A [suit](#) says the rules unfairly target people who shelter in the city's subways.)

EU responses at different scales

unevenness on design and implementation across within countries at different scales

MAIN MEASURES APPLIED IN THE FIRST STAGES OF THE PANDEMIC	Austria	Belgium	Czechia	France	Hungary	Germany	Greece	Ireland	Italy	Luxembourg	Netherlands	Portugal	Spain
Eviction ban													
Rent payments' postponement													
Rent payments' temporary reduction/suspension													
Rent freeze													
Reforms to financial support schemes													
Mortgage forbearance													
Foreclosure ban													
Deferment of utility payments/continuity of services													
Reforms to housing subsidies schemes													
Emergency support for homeless people													

	Home Renters						Home Owners						Other	
	Suspending evictions	Extending rental contracts	Freezing rent increases	Subsidising rent payment	Reducing rent	Subsidising rent payment	Forbearing mortgages	Suspending foreclosures	Supporting mortgage payments	Deferring tax	Helping banks to lend	Support to cover utility bills	Supporting construction sector	Providing emergency shelter
Australia	✓						✓							
Austria	✓	✓		✓			✓					✓	☑	☑
Belgium	☑	☑					✓					☑		
Canada	☑										✓			✓
Chile														
Colombia							✓					✓		
Czech Republic							✓							
Denmark														
Estonia														
Finland														
France	✓			✓			✓					✓		✓
Germany	✓	✓		✓			✓							
Greece	✓				✓		✓							
Hungary	✓													
Iceland														
Ireland	✓		✓			✓	✓						✓	☑
Israel	☑						✓				✓		✓	
Italy							✓	✓						
Japan						✓						✓		
Korea												✓		
Latvia										✓				
Lithuania							✓							
Luxembourg	✓					✓			✓					
Mexico				✓			☑							
Netherlands	✓	✓						✓					✓	
New Zealand	✓		✓											✓
Norway											✓			
Poland														
Portugal	✓	✓		☑	☑	☑	✓							
Slovak Republic							✓							
Slovenia														
Spain	✓	✓	☑	✓	✓	✓	✓					✓		✓
Sweden														
Switzerland														
Turkey											✓			
United Kingdom	✓						✓	✓						✓
United States	☑						☑	☑				☑	✓	☑
Argentina	✓	✓	✓				✓	✓				✓	✓	
Brazil														
China														
Costa Rica														
India												✓	✓	
Indonesia												✓		
Russian						✓	✓		✓			✓	✓	
Saudi Arabia														
South Africa														✓

Note: ✓: Measure applied at national level or to all or most cases; ☑: Measure applicable only in some sub-national jurisdictions or cases. *: to be updated.

Source: OECD (2020_[4]), DIW, Arena Housing Project.

Reference: https://read.oecd-ilibrary.org/view/?ref=135_135322-lju8yj5sib&title=Housing-Amid-Covid-19-Policy-Responses-and-Challenges&_ga=2.50520041.1313789431.1631206215-302526695.1631206215



Case study Italy: eviction moratoria, rental aid

- **NATIONAL (like US – moratorium tied to ERA)**
- Decrees established eviction moratoriums (but e. still heppened e.g. Roma Amnesty)- Reduction of eviction [estimate](#) of 80% over the previous year
- Decree: either paid tenants for rent or paid [rental bonus](#) to landlords who lower the rents during Covid
- **REGIONAL**
- Initial response to Covid with rental assistance varies from [region to region](#):
 - e.g; Toscana region uses FSE funds 2014-2020 [march 2020](#) with different interpretation in Siena and [Florence](#) for those who lost jobs under corona pandemic (the extraordinary measure will cover 50% of the rent and, in any case, will not exceed 300 euros per month)
 - Similar is the case of Lazio Region (the contribution is equal to 40% up to a maximum of three months' rent). Roma will receive more than half of the regional support April 2020. Region intervened with ESF before the national government to help with rent.
- Since August 2021 De:
 - provides for the allocation between **the Regions** of the National Fund for access to rental housing of 210 million for 2021: the Regions can assign the resources assigned by MIMS' decree 19.07.21 (Ministry of infrastructure) to the **Municipalities** with an **urgent and simplified** procedure. Beneficiaries to those with less than 35000 euro annum with loss to 25% of their income., duration of REM of 7 months until September 2021
 - divides the 50 million euro endowment for 2021 of the Fund for non-guilty defaulting tenants among the Regions. In this case, the aid is intended for people in poor economic conditions who live in a rental unit and who have an executive eviction for arrears.
 - additional income and family supports, suspension of tax and social security contributions, indemnities, extended social protection schemes



Case study Germany

source: FEANTSA 2021 “European Homelessness and COVID 19”

- **NATIONAL**

- **Suspension of evictions:** Germany initially ‘froze’ court cases for evictions for rent arrears if they were caused by a tenant’s income loss due to the pandemic. The freeze was only from April to June 2020 and gave the tenants a long period to repay rent arrears caused by the pandemic in that period, but the extent of rent arrears due to the pandemic was not reported as being very high. So German moratorium much shorter than in Italy or US

- **SUBNATIONAL**

- **diverse at city and regional level:** Some Länder (regional governments), such as Baden Wurttemberg and Schleswig-Holstein, provided additional funding for municipal governments to finance additional temporary accommodation, alongside other services such as food provision. In Hamburg, the private sector gave a large amount of money (almost €450000) to a voluntary organisation to rent hotel rooms for people experiencing street homelessness.
- **Temporary interventions in hotels e.g., Frankfurt and Düsseldorf.**
- Emergency shelter provision was extended in some cities, with Berlin renting additional hostel space containing 200 beds, with rooms containing no more than two people.



Case study State of California

- California has more than 150,000 unhoused residents - highest unsheltered homelessness in US
- Gov Newsom committed \$12 billion over 2 years of California's budget surplus into expanding Project Roomkey and Homekey that provided shelter from COVID-19 to 36,000 Californians and created 6,000 affordable housing units from repurposed vacant hotel rooms during the pandemic into housing for the homeless and will invest in permanent homeless housing, homelessness prevention and rental support programs.
- This includes \$5.8 billion to create more than 42,000 new homeless housing units through Homekey, including \$3 b. dedicated to housing options for people with severe behavioral and physical health challenges. \$1.75 billion to unlock up to 7,200 units of housing in the pipeline for extremely low-income families and people exiting homelessness
- State will demand greater accountability and more urgency from local governments, CoCs: 2021 bill includes \$2 billion in aid to counties, large cities and Continuums of Care through the Homeless Housing, Assistance and Prevention grant program (HHAP). To qualify, recipients must follow strict accountability measures and submit a local homelessness action plan that includes quantifiable, data-driven goals that jurisdictions must commit to meeting
- Another [\\$10.3 billion](#) will go into building affordable housing statewide.
 - \$850 million incentivizing infill development and smart growth
 - \$800 million to preserve the state's affordable housing stock
 - \$100 million promoting affordable homeownership
 - Additional funding to scale up the state's efforts to create more Accessory Dwelling Units, build more housing on state-owned excess land and invest in farmworker housing. Since 2016, eased restrictions on accessory dwelling units have [spurred a backyard building boom](#): The state saw a ten-fold increase in ADUs constructed from 2016 to 2019.
- \$1.1 billion to clean up the streets of California by partnering with local governments to pick up trash and beautify downtowns, freeways and neighborhoods across California. The program is expected to generate up to 11,000 jobs over three years.
- *Governor Newsom's California Comeback Plan will lead to over 84,000 new housing units and exits from homelessness, including today's announcement of \$1.75 billion in affordable housing funding for the new California Housing Accelerator*
- Call for upzoning for building at greater density (not necly more affordable)
 - SB9 allows homeowners to build duplexes and fourplexes on most residential lots that would have previously been zoned for just one home.
 - SB10 would make it much easier for cities to rezone land for small multi-family projects near public transit and jobs. More than two-thirds of CA land is [zoned for single-family homes](#)

4. Emergency measures gradually phased out:
vaccination campaigns
eviction moratoriums expire
hotel rooms vacated
sweeps of camps resume



Vaccinations of homeless who are more at risk

- In the US, vaccinations are free and independent of health insurance
 - Challenges of vaccinating the homeless: often lack access to the technology and transportation people need to get a shot.
 - US: CDC issued [interim guidance](#) on Feb. 2 2021 on the logistics of vaccinating people experiencing homelessness, but did not recommend that states prioritize them.
 - [at least 20 states](#) don't include people living in homeless shelters in their [vaccine distribution plans](#). Few state plans even mention homeless people not in shelters, and some states that did prioritize shelter residents in early plans changed tack, moving them further down the list. Some (NC, CO) place shelter staff before shelter residents.
 - Efforts to bring vaccines directly to shelters where tested already: could inoculate more people, keep track of who has which shot and confront vaccine hesitancy.
 - Huge variation in mask and vaccine mandates to enter public transit and other spaces
- In the EU, vaccinations follow national protocols:
 - While the Italian government has said that people have a right to get vaccinated no matter their legal status, in practice, many undocumented migrants and homeless people have been overlooked — Most Italian regions require a social security number to book an appointment on their online platforms, but only three of 20 regions in the country accept the temporary numbers given to hundreds of thousands of migrants.
 - In Germany, by comparison, adult refugees of all ages living in group homes or refugee centers were considered high priority and got their shots around the same time as people aged 70 and older. In the United Kingdom, although the government said that people could get vaccinated regardless of their immigration status, some undocumented migrants [have said](#) they were denied registration at local doctors' offices. In France, where the government has said it would give undocumented migrants a temporary social security number for vaccination, advocates for migrants worry that little access to the internet and information about the process will hamper inoculations.



US Eviction moratorium unconstitutional

Supreme Court rules federal CDC eviction moratorium unconstitutional, ended in September 2021 ->

few State and Local Eviction Bans still in Force:

- State and local governments are indeed authorized to impose eviction moratoria and other measures to ensure public health. By May 2020, [43 states](#) had done so. However, as states have lifted quarantine, closures and other public health mandates, emergency measures began [expiring](#).
- When the federal CDC moratorium was lifted, 13 states and Washington, DC, had eviction moratoria that protect some renters facing eviction. Eight local jurisdictions in states without eviction moratoria offer protections to renters, and three local jurisdictions in states with eviction moratoria offer even greater protections for renters ([from the Urban Institute COVID-19 US State Policy team](#)). New York State's ban expired but extended quickly in early September through January 2022.
- Four other states have some alternative protections that fall short of an eviction moratorium but are still substantial, such as requiring landlords to provide information to renters about rental assistance programs before eviction, requiring mediation processes, or providing extended eviction notices to give renters more time to pay rent or find other housing.
- Without the federal moratorium, millions of renters must rely [on a patchwork of state and local protections](#) that vary widely in eligibility criteria and the degree of protection. Roughly 2.1 million adult renters of the 3.5 m who believe they will be evicted in the next two months live in states or jurisdictions that do not offer some form of eviction moratorium.
- Federal authorities left scrambling, urging states to intervene in evictions, asking courts to delay if tenant applied for ERA and supporting legal representation and application assistance



HOTELS: SHORT or LONG TERM?

- Streets, like hotels, are returned to tourism and commerce
 - Efforts to move unsheltered to new places, shelters, or housing
 - Sweeps resume in DC, NY, LA
-
- **California, Seattle: try to purchase or keep people in hotels**
 - Treasury permits ERA rental assistance for temporarily displaced households living in hotels or motels
 - King County/Seattle WA hopes to buy the hotels used for temporary housing for permanent housing.
 - [UCLA report](#) called for using eminent domain to buy and convert hotel rooms to permanent supportive housing.
 - California instituted Project Roomkey, an initiative that aims to place people experiencing homelessness in 15,000 hotel and motel rooms. While California was the first state to implement a statewide plan for emergency, non-congregate sheltering, the initiative is not without its limitations. Since its launch in April, Project Roomkey has only been able to procure 3,601 rooms. Staffing limitations, NIMBY opposition, and lack of hotel participation have impeded progress.
 - **In July 2021, New York City ended homeless hotels and relocating 8000+ residents to shelters.**
 - Already in 2016, 12% of homeless in hotels. Very expensive.
 - The city developed pandemic protocols to determine which homeless people should be assigned to large shelters, single hotel rooms or double-occupancy rooms. Lawsuit upheld – no right to hotel room
 - Repeated complaints from [neighborhood residents](#) and business owners about harassment, theft and drug use
 - FEMA had reimbursed the city for the emergency hotel rooms since April 2020 but decided to stop [reimbursing New York City for hotel rooms](#) after Gov. Andrew Cuomo lifted a statewide emergency order on June 24 and Mayor Bill de Blasio said New York City would “fully reopen” July 1. Hotels are for tourists. “As the public health threat from COVID-19 declines, FEMA routinely evaluates the demonstrated need for non-congregate sheltering in NYC, which does account in part on local and state public health actions and activities.”
 - Lawsuits to prevent moves: health problems and disabilities should exempt some people from being relocated to congregate facilities, especially with Delta surge
 - Several people staying in hotels during the pandemic said the city’s plan to send them back to group shelters motivated them to [get vaccinated](#)
 - **Italy: Exceptional shelter scattered responses at city level, but none of them turned into permanent accommodation:**
 - fundamental role of local NGOs: e.g; Yellowsquare hostel in Rome (comunita`Sant`Egidio-fio.PSD for HF); [Palazzo Migliori](#) (Pope initiative); hotel COVID Milano Via Testi (EMERGENCY ngo)
 - **Germany: On June 30, the city of Berlin's Corona cold aid will end.**
 - Around 500 homeless people who were housed in hostels and hotels have to go out and sleep on the street again, unless they could be included in other aid programs. E.g., Homeless evacuated from the camp on Rummelsburger Bucht on February 5th came to the A&O Hostel where stay extended to June 30th because of the vaccination campaign for homeless people. “it was always clear that it was only a temporary accommodation and a time-limited offer.” All received offers for social counseling in the districts (social housing assistance). The districts are legally obliged to accommodate homeless people.
 - **The state of Berlin is receiving additional ESF funds of 36.8 million euros from “REACT-EU” - 11 million euros will flow into Corona homeless assistance 2021-22.**
 - The Senate Social Administration will offer homeless people 24/7 accommodation with care and advice, given that these accommodations in the corona pandemic have shown many homeless people’s lives improve if they live in safe accommodation, are fed and advised there and can come to rest. These will continue.

US Encampments: Shelter in place or moved?

- Some places provided encampments with portable toilets and hand-washing station, but not enough or replenished to meet the need.
- Some encampments relocated to sites where hygiene and distancing possible. L.A. (Alexandria, Echo Park Lake) built a [Tiny-House Village](#) for Homeless Residents
- From California to Washington to Texas, Minnesota to New York, cities still conducted sweeps, ironically justified with public health and safety concerns (e.g., human waste, discarded needles and garbage; [hot spots for outbreaks](#) of hepatitis A, typhus and tuberculosis).
- Some places move those particularly vulnerable to the coronavirus to hotels (e.g., [Austin](#)).



EU Encampments: Shelter in place or moved?

- [Berlin Safe Place](#): The districts make the proposals, the Senate Administration provides the funds. The Senate had already budgeted money, then the **district voted against the Karuna pilot for tiny houses** on meadow with a repair café and community garden - designed **to avoid the "wild" settlement of homeless camps and prevent drug consumption and show homeless people should be able to live independently**, with supervision of social workers. But district council voted against it: "Settlement of homeless camps should be avoided." In Friedrichshain 20 homeless people living on the site for more than a year built huts and the railway announced several evictions, but so far had not actually carried them out.
- In Italy, **despite some legal and policy changes that instructed the suspension of evictions through the pandemic** and most recently until 31 December 2020, **forced evictions of Roma were carried out by local authorities**. On 11 August, residents were forcibly evicted from the Roma informal settlement of via del Foro Italiaco 531 in Rome. In Turin, Roma families were forcibly evicted from their homes in segregated camps on three instances between August and September 2020. These latest forced evictions add to a long-standing pattern of housing rights violations Roma have suffered at the hands of Italian authorities. According to media reports, several other evictions of camps or informal settlements have been announced by local authorities in recent weeks, raising concerns about the future housing situation of Roma hundreds of children and adults.
- <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2020/10/affordable-housing-key-to-resilience-post-covid/>

5. Longer term interventions

EU funds from 2021: long and short term COVID responses

- The 27 march 2020 reprogramming was allowed under [Coronavirus Response Investment Initiative \(CRII\)](#) and the [Coronavirus Response Investment Initiative Plus \(CRII+\)](#)
- **Multi Financial Framework (MFF) 2021-2027- Cohesion Policy** (Spain, Italy, Poland among the most supported)
- *European Social Fund (ESF+)* merges ([European Social Fund](#) (ESF) and the [Youth Employment Initiative](#) (YEI), the [Fund for European Aid to the Most Deprived](#) (FEAD) and the [EU Programme for Employment and Social Innovation](#) (EaSI))
- Provides .€99.3 billion to achieve the target of European Pillar of social rights, MS must invest:
 - at least 25% in social inclusion
 - at least 3% to address material deprivation
 - If above EU average (2017-2019) young people unemployment 12,5% to support youth employment
 - If above EU average (2017-2019) children at risk of poverty, 5% ESF+
- **NEXT GENERATION EU** €800 billion temporary recovery instrument, includes:
 - [Recovery and Resilience Facility \(RRF\)](#) €723.8 billion in loans and grants available to support reforms and investments
 - *Recovery Assistance for Cohesion and the Territories of Europe (REACT EU)*, for 50.6 bill (Under REACT EU the ESF will receive additional support around €17.5 billion): No co-financing required, pre-financing allowed, transfer between ERDF and ESF, no thematic concentration

RFF housing investments

- RFF unevenly distributed
- great variation in RFF housing the most vulnerable people (IUT).
- **IT** Italy: National Plan of Intervention and Social Services 2021-2023 quotes the PNRR (National recovery plan) for an investment of 450 mill. Destined to **finance 250 interventions with Housing First**. Italy proposed €9.02 b for **Urban regeneration and social housing** aimed at reducing marginalization and social degradation (€3.30 bl); Integrated Urban Plans (€2.92 bl); Innovative program of quality of living (€2.80 bl) and also **redevelopment and increase of social housing, restructuring and regeneration of urban quality and safety, mitigation of housing shortages and increase in environmental quality, use of innovative models and tools for management, inclusion and urban well-being; (ii) interventions on public housing with a high strategic impact on the national territory.**
- **IE** Ireland: The *Affordable Housing Act* is expected to launch three different schemes, covering both rental and purchase, which can be expected to **increase housing affordability** to low and medium income households. The proposed reforms are in line with the **European Pillar of Social Rights** relating to housing and assistance for the homeless, as they can be expected to increase access to social housing or housing assistance of good quality to those in need, although expected future needs for social housing in Ireland are likely to be higher than the number of units currently planned to be created. The plan is expected to reduce vulnerabilities and increase economic resilience.
- **DE** Germany: **Housing** in large German cities has become **less affordable**. The plan provides an adequate response to this challenge with investment in energy-efficient renovation (CSR 2 in 2020 and CSR 1 in 2019). This development reflects a **shortage of housing supply** relative to demand, as the completion of new dwellings remains considerably below demand and well below the government target of 375 000 per year. The **renovation of existing housing stock** by adhering to environmental considerations could reduce energy consumption, make the cost of housing more affordable, in particular for disadvantaged households, and promote the green transition. This is addressed by the **energy efficient building renovation measure** (1.3.3), which budgets EUR 2.5 billion for investment in the energy-efficient renovation of buildings.
- Courts ruled Berlin 5-year rent freeze is unconstitutional. Berlin referendum vs DW limit on concentrated ownership – Land Berlin appropriate property of 3000+ units.



US STIMULUS:

CARES Act > ARP Act > 2 Infrastructure Bills

- CARES Act: massive but short term
- The \$1,200 checks sent to most households are long gone, at least for those who needed them most, with little imminent prospect for a second round. PPP The lending program that helped millions of small businesses keep workers on the payroll will wind down if Congress does not extend it.
- And the [\\$600 per week in extra unemployment benefits](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/28/business/economy/coronavirus-stimulus-unemployment.html) that have allowed tens of millions of laid-off workers to pay rent and buy groceries expire at the end of July 2020
<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/28/business/economy/coronavirus-stimulus-unemployment.html>
- An estimated [7.5 million people lost state unemployment benefits](#) in September 2021
- The U.S. Census Bureau [reported](#) poverty fell to 9.1 percent in 2020 after accounting for all the government aid — the lowest rate on record and a significant decline from 11.8 percent in 2019. The official poverty measure, which leaves out much of the federal stimulus payments, rose slightly to 11.4 percent. Nearly 8.5 million people were lifted out of poverty last year, an unprecedented change in a single year that was largely attributed to the stimulus payments. The stimulus payments, which provided \$1,200 cash payments to most low-income and middle-class Americans, lifted 11.7 million out of poverty. And they said enhanced unemployed aid prevented 5.5 million people from falling into poverty. A separate report last week showed that, because of the aid, [hunger did not rise in 2020](#).
- Poverty in the United States is defined as a family of four living on less than about \$26,250 a year.

ARPA Federal Housing Funding From the Department of Housing and Urban Development

- President Biden signed the **American Rescue Plan Act on March 11, 2021**, in response to the economic crisis catalyzed by the COVID-19 pandemic. The relief legislation offers more than \$1.9 trillion in help for individuals, families, and businesses. It includes \$21.6 billion in emergency rental assistance for households struggling to pay rent and utilities. Many of the law's provisions can be used to help people who are currently or at risk of experiencing homelessness.
- **HOME Investment Partnerships Program**
- HOME-ARP provides \$5 billion until 2030 to assist individuals or households who are homeless or at risk of homelessness through housing, rental assistance, supportive services, and non-congregate shelter (NCS). HOME-ARP funds can be used for tenant-based rental assistance (TBRA), production or preservation of affordable housing, supportive services, homeless prevention services, housing counseling, and the acquisition and development of NCS that can either remain as non-congregate emergency shelter or be converted to either permanent affordable housing under the HOME Program or permanent supportive housing under the Continuum of Care.
- **Emergency Housing Voucher (EHV) Program**
- Provides \$5 billion to fund approximately 70,000 emergency housing vouchers, and the provision of services, in 626 communities to assist individuals and families who are experiencing or at risk of homelessness, fleeing or attempting to flee domestic violence, dating violence, sexual assault, stalking, or human trafficking; or recently homeless and in need of rental assistance to prevent homelessness or housing instability. Public Housing Authorities (PHAs) are required to partner with the local Continuum of Care (CoC) or other homeless or victim services providers to assist qualifying families through a direct referral process.
- **Emergency Rental Assistance (ERA)**
- Provides \$21.6 billion, to be administered by the Treasury Department, to eligible households for up to 18 months. The ERA2 funding is available for future rent and rental arrears, future utilities and delinquent payments, or other expenses related to housing. Assistance is paid directly to the landlord or utility company unless the landlord refuses to accept the funds, in which case the assistance can be paid to the renter. Landlords and owners may apply on behalf of tenants as long as the tenant cosigns the application, the landlord provides documentation to the tenant, and the payments are used to satisfy the tenant's rental obligation to the owner.
- The Emergency Rental Assistance 1 (**ERA1**) provides up to \$25 billion under the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2021, which was enacted on December 27, 2020. For ERA1, 90% of the funds must be used for direct financial assistance. Remaining funds are available for housing stability services, including case management. ERA1 funds generally expire on September 30, 2022.
- Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation (NeighborWorks America)
- Provides \$100 million until February 28, 2023 for entities approved by HUD, **state housing finance agencies**, and NeighborWorks Organizations to deliver housing counseling services directly to households facing housing instability, such as eviction, default, foreclosure, or loss of income that caused or could cause eviction, default, foreclosure or homelessness.
- Funds for Fair Housing Activities
- Provides \$20 million for the Fair Housing Initiatives Program to investigate fair housing complaints, strengthen enforcement, and assist those who believe they have been victims of housing discrimination. Eligible entities include state and local governments, nonprofit organizations, and Fair Housing Assistance Program agencies.

Biden's USICH, "House America"

- USICH is the federal agency that coordinates the federal response to homelessness with the 19 agencies and help state and local governments and the private sector create partnerships; use resources in the most efficient and effective ways; and implement evidence-based best practices.
- Premise: rise in HL population since 2016 and unsheltered homelessness now exceeds sheltered, and more dangerous in [the pandemic](#):
- "The pandemic only made homelessness worse, and created additional urgency to address the crisis, given the heightened risks faced by people experiencing homelessness. At the same time, COVID-19 slowed re-housing activities due to capacity issues and impacts on rental market vacancies. *House America* recognizes that it will take government working at all levels and local collaboration to address this crisis."
- *House America: An All-Hands-on-Deck Effort to Address the Nation's Homelessness Crisis* is a federal initiative in which the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and the U.S. Interagency Council on Homelessness (USICH) to commit mayors, city and county leaders, tribal nation leaders, and governors to a national partnership. Goal: rehouse 100K households and add at least 20K new affordable housing units
- *House America* will utilize the historic investments provided through the American Rescue Plan to address the crisis of homelessness through a Housing First approach (considered faster and reduces new homelessness)
- Through the American Rescue Plan, communities now have historic resources—70,000 emergency housing vouchers and \$5 billion in HOME Investment Partnership grants—to help more Americans obtain the safety of a stable home. Communities also have resources through the CARES Act, the Consolidated Appropriations Act of 2021, and other state, tribal, and local resources to re-house people experiencing homelessness and create additional dedicated housing units to address homelessness.

2021 Infrastructure Bills – Build Back Better

- \$3.5 trillion over 10 years – human Infrastructure Bill currently includes:
 - 1. \$90 billion for **rental assistance** (inc. 48m for extremely low households; \$24b for those at risk of homelessness; \$750m for voucher mobility counselling; \$15 projectbased rental assistance in high-opportunity areas).
 - 2. \$80 billion for **Public Housing** – capital investment for areas where most needed
 - 3. \$37 billion for **Housing Trust Fund** to build/preserve affordable housing via HOME program but for very low income. \$35 b for older HOME.
- Plus other program support – e.g., \$10b for Healthy Housing.
- Biden’s “Build Back Better” proposal does not include stimulus checks. But it does include extensive financial support for lower-income Americans, including universal pre-K for 3- and 4-year-olds, enhanced child-care subsidies, more subsidies to help low-income Americans buy health insurance and more tax credits for the working poor. It would also continue the expanded child tax credit that is currently providing most American families \$300 a month per child under 6 and \$250 a month per child ages 6 to 17. The expanded credit has the potential to cut child poverty in half, experts say.
- Pending: Concern that Senate (Manchin) will cut this back



Multilevel governance problems:

- **stimulus checks hard to distribute** directly to homeless who don't pay taxes, lack bank accounts, internet access, and addresses for debit cards. Shelters and outreach enlisted to get cash to unsheltered
- **Hotels conversion into permanent housing is hard**
 - US: FEMA can fund hotel rooms only temporarily, so hard to convert to permanent units: need to use HOME funds in ARPA, BBB
 - Seattle, California: Repurposing Hotels Helped Contain COVID-19 Spread, [Study Shows](#)
 - Seattle/King County leased hotel rooms and small efficiency units through January of 2021, and is “evaluating how to continue and expand the program during and beyond the pandemic.”
 - The county is also considering a plan to purchase hotels and nursing homes to create permanent emergency-housing facilities, the report says — Like a [similar program](#) in California, Homekey.
- **Limits to federal power: Federal Eviction Moratoriums expire, and only 13 states and a few cities have their own -> homelessness:** Even with moratoriums in place, evictions were filed and even executed during the pandemic (mostly for non-Covid related reasons)
 - More than 62,000 eviction cases have been filed in New York City Housing Court since the start of the pandemic, according to the [Eviction Lab at Princeton University](#). The number of cases in New York City represent 20 percent of all eviction cases filed in the 29 cities tracked by the Eviction Lab, a group that includes other large cities like Austin, Houston and Phoenix.
- **Considerable local variation in treatment of encampments:**
 - CDC “Guidance” recommendations on encampments unenforceable:
 - Variation despite US CDC advice to keep in place:
- **Vaccine rollouts:** federal priorities for vulnerable, but homeless not necessarily priority in many states



- **Bottlenecks:**

- Lack of information
- No infrastructure or staff: states have to write applications, software, hire; much variation in required documentation, complexity
- Tenants don't have internet to access online applications or lack documents required (no leases or cash pay; lost job/employers go out of business; no Covid medical records) >e.g. US Treasury relaxes rules to allow self-attestation of Covid-related need
- Landlords refuse to cooperate: distrust of government; immediate need for cash for operating expenses (taxes, mortgage, maintenance); illegal tenants -> US Treasury lets ERA go directly to tenants in arrears to pay rent
- Distributing funds to people already evicted difficult; hard to clean credit records

CONCLUSIONS

Conclusions

- *The pandemic caused a shock to existing institutional arrangements for addressing homelessness, impelling governments at all levels to institute progressive innovations that raised the profile of the issue of homelessness*
- *The comparison across and within countries identifies factors at multiple levels that successfully transformed local arrangements in a progressive direction during the pandemic and may endure to reduce homelessness as the pandemic recedes in time.*
- *Different places are responding to vaccination and reopening in different ways*
- *As emergency measures ease and urgency subsides, progressive homelessness policies may persist into the long term, as funds for housing investment remain available.*
- *Different places are responding at the ending of the money in different ways, some punitively*
- *Multilevel governance analysis shows that not all places develop institutional capacity to execute new homelessness policies. not all cities may take advantage of the opportunities to end homelessness.*
- *More research is needed to identify variation in longer-term responses to the pandemic and the uses of funds invested in recovery efforts*