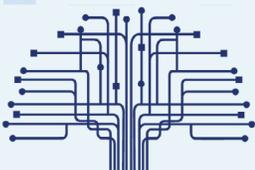


Rental Data Landscape

APRIL 2024



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Introduction

California is in the midst of a historic housing crisis. [One-third of renter households in the state are rent-burdened](#), spending more than 30% of their income on housing.¹ For the lowest-income households, [that figure is a staggering 89%](#).² Despite significant progress in creating new policy to allocate resources to prevent homelessness, increase the pace of construction, and provide stronger protections for renters to prevent displacement and homelessness, the problem continues to worsen. In the past year alone, the population of Californians experiencing homelessness [increased as much as 7.5%](#).³

In this context, local government officials and frontline community advocates tasked with delivering solutions often operate without the data they need to shape their efforts effectively. They currently rely either on incomplete proprietary data from private companies or data from the American Community Survey that lacks timeliness. There is no publicly available statewide dataset that provides both timely and comprehensive information about the rental housing market. But, if it existed, it would give us a clearer picture of the state of the market. Without that clarity, we are hamstringing efforts to end the housing crisis, placing a disproportionate impact on Black, Latinx, and other people of color, who are more likely to spend [30% or more of their income on housing](#).⁴ Resources cannot be allocated most efficiently and effectively, local governments can't fully understand where and how to plan for new housing development, and residents have a much harder time advocating for their rights. In the meantime, this obscurity allows bad actors to operate without accountability.

The lack of data in the rental system stands in stark contrast to the state of homeownership data, where data about ownership, cost, financing, demographics, and more has made it possible for advocates and regulators to track discrimination and enforce fair housing laws. While some data about rental units does exist, it is almost exclusively held by private companies, like Zillow and Apartment List. This data is also expensive to access, does not cover the entirety of the rental market, or does not provide the granularity necessary to inform policymaking and empower residents.

Recently, however, several municipalities in California have begun collecting comprehensive data via local rental housing registries. This promising development opens up the possibility of using rental data that will, for the first time, allow:

- Regulators to understand statewide trends in the rental housing system that require new or updated regulations
- Public attorney offices to enforce existing tenant protections, including the state-wide Tenant Protection Act.
- Tenants to better advocate for and enforce their rights by reducing information asymmetries between them and their landlords.
- Local planners to use granular data to inform housing needs assessments.
- Policymakers to target rental assistance and homelessness prevention resources in more effective ways.

We have conducted a scan of these programs, initiated public records requests to access their data, and performed initial analyses on these datasets to understand how they can help advance solutions to the housing crisis.

The purpose of this memo is to:

- Provide an overview of the existing rental data landscape in California.
- Articulate an ideal data standard and set of data collection best practices for local governments who are operating or plan to operate rental housing registries.
- Demonstrate some examples of what is possible when comprehensive data about the rental housing market is collected.
- Provide a brief roadmap for how to achieve a comprehensive rental housing dataset in California.

Our goal is to make California a model for the country in bringing transparency to the rental market, in the same way there is transparency about homeownership, and to equip those responsible for solving the housing crisis with the tools they need in that effort. The information asymmetries in the rental housing system make it easier to exploit vulnerable tenants. While it isn't perfect, the data that does exist about the homeownership and mortgage markets makes it possible to identify some forms of discrimination and to dissuade bad actors from egregious violations of fair housing laws. Addressing this asymmetry is a critical element of any strategy that aims to end the housing crisis and enable the financial security that will help our communities thrive.

Data Landscape: Assessing the Current State of Rental Housing Data in California

Existing local rental databases are a good first step in providing comprehensive data to inform housing policy and enforce existing laws—but more work is needed for them to reach their full potential.

Various types of local rental data reporting programs exist throughout California, some of which have been in effect for decades.

However, the comprehensiveness of these data collection programs varies significantly. Most cities with local rent stabilization or just-cause eviction ordinances collect some amount of data on protected units. In many cases, this data is fairly comprehensive for protected units and may include rent charged per unit, tenancy dates and reasons for changes, affordability status, and basic unit details. However, in most cases, these programs do not collect data on units not covered by rent control or eviction protection policies. In California, since local governments are prohibited from adopting rent stabilization policies that apply to units built after 1995, this limits the ability of this data to provide insight into the rental market. Furthermore, since by definition the prices of these units are controlled until there is a change in tenancy, there are limits on the efficacy of this data to tell a real-time story about the state of the rental housing market.

A few jurisdictions in California have recently required landlords to report unit-level rent and tenancy start/end data across all rented units. These include Concord, Culver City, El Cerrito, Oakland (with a rolling exemption for units constructed in the past 10 years), San Francisco, and Marin County. East Palo Alto is exploring enactment of a similar measure in the near future. Mountain View collects this data for all multi-family properties, but [compliance is extremely low](#).⁵ Other cities, including Fresno and Sacramento, collect data on all rental units to ensure compliance with building code inspections, but do not collect rent amounts or tenancy information.

For a complete inventory of rental data collected by California cities, [see here](#).⁶ We have also summarized unit coverage and data collected for the subset of cities that collect information on all or most rental units (rather than only units covered by rent stabilization ordinances) in the following table.

Table 1: California jurisdictions collecting data on all rental units

City/ County	Year Enacted	Coverage	Unit Level Rent	Tenancy Info	Notes
Alameda	2020	All rental units	Some	Some	All units are included, but rent and tenancy start/end dates are collected only for rent stabilized units
Concord	2021	Buildings with 4+ units	Yes	Yes	Exemptions for affordable housing
Culver City	2020	All rental units	Yes	Yes	
El Cerrito	2019	All rental units	Yes	Yes	Exemptions for affordable housing and buildings with an on-site manager
Fresno	2017	All rental units	No	No	For inspection compliance only; no rent/tenancy data collected
Marin County	2019	Buildings with 3+ units	Yes	Yes	
Oakland	2022	All rental units (w/ 10-year rolling exemption)	Yes	Yes	Data collection began in 2023 and the city is working on increasing compliance
Sacramento	2013	All rental units (w/ 5-year rolling exemption)	No	No	For inspection compliance only; no rent/tenancy data collected
San Francisco	2021	All rental units	Yes	Yes	Rent amounts are recorded in \$250 increments

Creating a standard for the publication of rental data enables powerful use cases for government, renters, and tenant advocates

While the existence of these registries is promising, and the cities that collect data about the broad rental housing market should be commended, there are some key ways the data collection process can be strengthened to ensure the data is useful and the rental registry programs are fulfilling their intended purpose. Here we recommend best practices for the type of data to collect and the process for collecting and publishing it.

Collect unit-level data that will create an understanding of how the market is changing over time

In order for it to be useful, rental data must include some key pieces of information:

- Clear ownership data including the natural persons who own, directly or indirectly, 25% or more of each building
- Building location address
- Size of building (# of units)
- Unit size details such as square footage and number of bedrooms/bathrooms
- Rent charged per month during the rental period
- Fees charged in addition to rent
- Any amenities included in the cost of rent (including any utilities covered by the owner)
- Tenancy start and end dates for each occupied unit
- Reason for tenancy terminations (voluntary move-out, lease violation, owner move-in, etc)*
- Amount of time a unit has been vacant during the reporting period
- Code violations and their remedies

**Note that this data should be collected at the unit level, but information identifying specific units or buildings need not be public. Redaction of unit numbers and providing generalized dates of tenancies or eviction information is a reasonable compromise to protect individual privacy.*

A statewide dataset that makes this information available would be helpful in a variety of ways. Policymakers, government officials, and regulators will be able to:

- Develop and implement tenant protections, rent caps, and eviction protections with a better understanding of how they will affect all renters, and ensure they are targeted to the most vulnerable. In particular, this data will make it possible to understand how effective the statewide rent cap is and help determine how to direct resources to enforce it.
- Target emergency assistance to those who need it most. This would vastly improve the efficiency and effectiveness of programs such as the Emergency Rental Assistance Program (ERAP).
- Better understand the full rental market, and how construction at various affordability levels affects it. Policymakers will be able to use this information to determine which development-focused policies to prioritize.
- Understand the factors that influence tenancy duration, turnover, and rent increases between tenancies, and use those to inform adjustments of rent caps, construction policies, and eviction protections.

Publicly-accessible data can also aid renters, tenant advocates, and legal aid organizations in enforcing existing laws. There are several considerations around the public use of rental data, including tenant privacy concerns (which we address later in this memo) and the resources required to translate the data into publicly consumable formats. But, ultimately, we believe the value of publicly-accessible data is worthy of public investment.

Demonstrating Possibilities: Data from Concord, Culver City, and San Francisco Facilitates Deeper Analysis

As outlined above, some cities have recently begun compiling local databases that include rent and tenancy data for all or most rental properties. We executed public records requests and received comprehensive data from Concord, Culver City, and San Francisco. This data creates the potential for in-depth analysis of the rental landscape that is not possible with existing public data sources.

The Census Bureau publishes the American Community Survey (ACS), which includes yearly estimates of median monthly housing costs in [Table S2503](#).⁷ Listing sites like [Zillow](#) and [Apartment List](#) also publish monthly rent estimates, using adjusted listing data to estimate the cost of finding new housing within different markets.^{8 9} These sources attempt to measure different things, but all reduce rental costs to a single number. The following table compares these sources with the data received from the three cities that responded to our request.

Table 2: Comparison of Monthly Rent Estimates

Year/City		Estimated Monthly Rent				
		Public sources			City Databases	
		Census (ACS) ¹⁰	Zillow (ZORI) ¹¹	Apartment List ¹²	Existing Tenancies	New Leases
2021	Concord	\$1,992	\$2,462	\$2,239	\$1,780	\$1,875
	Culver City	\$2,256	\$2,988	n/a	n/a	n/a
	San Francisco	\$2,167	\$3,101	\$2,571	n/a	n/a
2022	Concord	\$2,042	\$2,616	\$2,357	\$1,875	\$2,060
	Culver City	\$2,475	\$3,324	n/a	\$2,247	\$2,500
	San Francisco	\$2,308	\$3,341	\$2,804	\$2,001-\$2,250	\$2,501-\$2,750
2023	Concord	n/a	\$2,676	\$2,333	n/a	n/a
	Culver City	n/a	\$3,381	n/a	\$2,356	\$2,845
	San Francisco	n/a	\$3,346	\$2,716	\$2,251-\$2,500	\$2,501-\$2,750

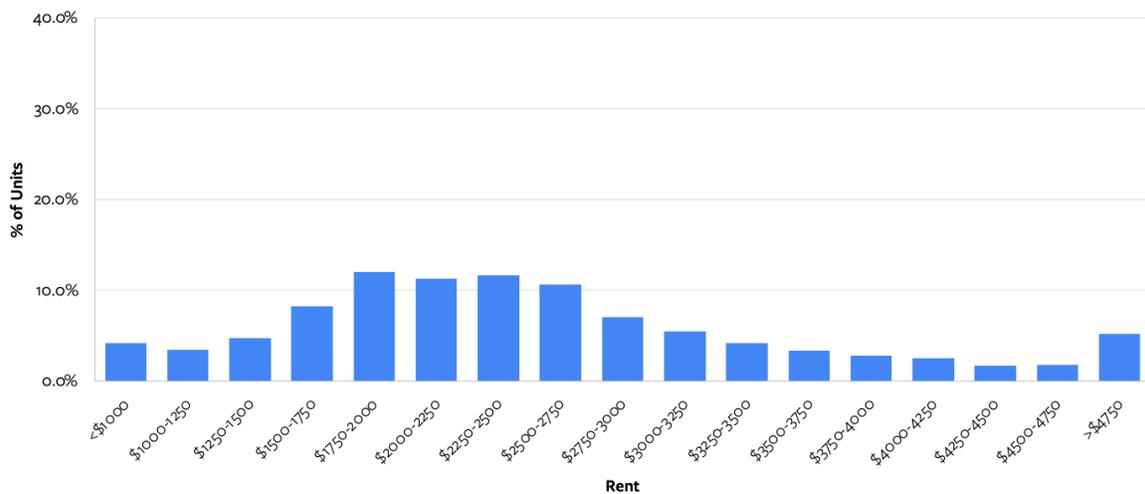
It's worth noting that the Census has not yet published ACS data for 2023. Also, both Zillow and Apartment List provide monthly estimates; we averaged all 12 months for each year. Apartment List data does not include Culver City, but we can see from Concord and San Francisco that even two measures purportedly estimating the same thing—the median cost of finding new housing—differ wildly depending on methodology.

While Census data relies on representative surveys and measures, like ZORI, attempt to extrapolate and adjust new listing data, city rental databases include detailed information about individual units. This is a level of granularity that enables us to examine actual rent distributions and increases, and slice the data in interesting ways. Most notably, the city data allows us to compare rents for new listings to units with existing leases.

The figures we compiled from city databases may be skewed by factors such as varying levels of compliance or city-specific exemptions (Concord's rental database statute, for example, does not include buildings with fewer than 4 units). However, this disaggregated, unit-level data also allows us to examine detailed distributions that do not reduce full cities of renters to a single, median value.

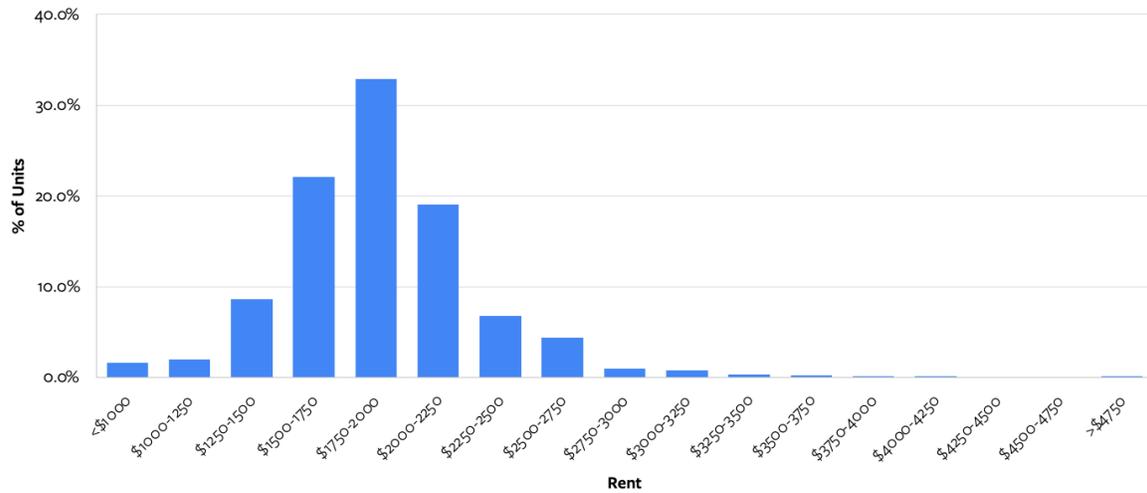
Culver City Rent Distribution

2023, most recent year of data



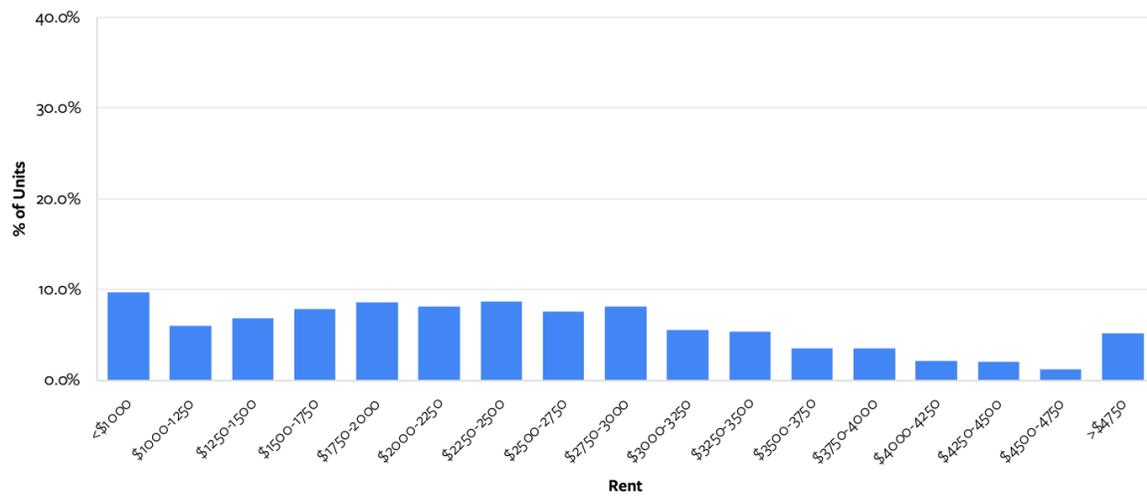
Concord Rent Distribution

2022, most recent year of data



San Francisco Rent Distribution

2023, most recent year of data



As shown in the above graphs, the distribution of monthly rent costs varies drastically for different cities, and points to different implications for local policy.

The granularity of local databases also gives us the flexibility to segment data on other available measures. For example, the following table shows the breakdown of rent increases in Concord by building size and tenancy status.

Table 3: Concord Median Rise in Unit Rents by Building Size and Tenancy Status

Median Rise in Unit Rents, by Building Size and Tenancy Status							
Building Size	2021 Median Rent	2022 Median Rent, Existing Tenancies	Increase % on Existing Tenancies	2022 Median Rent, New Move-Ins	Increase % on New Move-Ins	2022 Median Rent, All Units	Increase % on All Units
4 Units	\$1,650	\$1,733	5.0%	\$1,775	7.6%	\$1,750	6.1%
5-12 Units	\$1,650	\$1,680	1.8%	\$1,800	9.1%	\$1,695	2.7%
13-24 Units	\$1,780	\$1,850	3.9%	\$2,038	14.5%	\$1,855	4.2%
25-60 Units	\$1,735	\$1,825	5.2%	\$1,990	14.7%	\$1,850	6.6%
More than 60	\$1,865	\$1,955	4.8%	\$2,250	20.6%	\$1,964	5.3%
All Units	\$1,795	\$1,875	4.5%	\$2,060	14.8%	\$1,885	5.0%

Here, we see a particularly high rise in the rent for new move-ins to larger buildings, compared to existing tenancies. A deeper dive into data on specific units, buildings, and owners might yield policy recommendations for vacancy control, affordable housing construction, or displacement protection.

Finally, we combed through the Culver City data and identified over 400 units (out of a citywide total of 6,800 rental units) where the existing tenant received an increase in rent from 2022 to 2023 over 10%, the statewide limit for rental price increases. For approximately 100 of these units, the increase was more than 30%. Further investigation is necessary to determine whether targeted enforcement of AB 1482 (The California Tenant Protection Act) is needed, and how expanded protections could help tenants facing enormous yearly increases.

These are just two examples of how we might segment data. By combining these rental databases with other datasets—such as parcel data, demographic maps, ownership data, zoning, and more—those working to address the housing affordability crisis would have much more information. They would be able to explore deeper questions about rent increases, turnover and displacement, and differential outcomes based on local economic conditions, demographics, or rental protection coverage.

It is important to note that data collection was not standard across cities, and each dataset included quirks that made comparing cities difficult. For example, Culver City includes unique unit identifiers which allow us to be sure we are tracking the same unit over time, while Concord does not. Meanwhile, Concord's database includes move-in dates for current tenants, while Culver City's shows only the start date of the current lease (which may or may not indicate a new tenant). Concord data includes only buildings of four or more units, leaving out duplexes, triplexes, condos, and single-family home rentals. San Francisco collected rent amounts and unit square footage in increments of 250, limiting the precision of any analysis. Cities also have varying levels of data coverage for different years.

Our initial exploration of this data has shown both its potential power and the challenges presented by fragmented reporting systems. Standardizing the collection and reporting of essential data points would greatly improve our ability to perform detailed analysis of renter outcomes.

Combining rental market data with other datasets unlocks a variety of use cases across homelessness prevention, tenant protection, and production

This initial analysis has only looked at the data contained within the rental data collection databases. Over time, and with more capacity and resources, it may be possible to combine these data with other datasets to add more richness. In addition to providing transparency that will allow for a better understanding of whether and where the statewide rent cap is being violated, these use cases could include:

- The use of geodata to identify displacement patterns, allowing more targeted deployment of rental assistance and homelessness protection programs.
- Combining rental market data with County Assessor records to determine ownership trends and identify landlords with a pattern of violating tenant protection laws.
- Overlaying price data with zoning maps and other parcel data to determine where best to locate new development projects to optimize for affordability.

Expanding the Availability of Rental Data in California

Only when we are measuring problems can we find solutions for them. As we seek to end California's housing affordability and homelessness emergencies, we cannot fully measure the problem without data. The commitments that the cities mentioned in this report have made to rental data collection are to be commended, but much work remains to ensure this data is comprehensive and usable. This section outlines a path forward.

Cities without registries should adopt ordinances to create them

The adoption of new rental registry programs is fairly straightforward. Cities can replicate those that have been implemented in other places with the support of outside organizations, like TechEquity.

Cities that currently have rental registries should implement best practices for data collection

In order to make sense of the rental market across the state, the data collected at the local level must adhere to a common standard. We outlined basic data types that should be included in all rental registries at the beginning of this report. In addition to implementing a common data standard, cities can improve the collection process by making it as easy as possible for landlords to comply. This means adopting systems that are simple and easy to use, applying best practices for interface design, investing in outreach campaigns so that landlords are aware of the need to register, and right-sizing registration fees with program costs. Cities may also consider implementing penalties for landlords who consistently fail to report.

Data should be made publicly available in machine-readable formats, in a way that protects personal privacy

While rental market data has powerful use cases within government departments, its ability to spur innovation advances exponentially when provided to outside analysts and developers. Furthermore, transparent data is itself a mechanism for enforcement as bad actors are less likely to violate tenant protection laws if they cannot operate in obscurity. The provision of such data, however, should be undertaken with strict care for the protection of tenant privacy. While the best practice of data collection does not include collecting data that can identify tenants, there still may be a concern that the granularity of the data presents an opportunity to re-identify individuals. To guard against this, we recommend redacting information such as unit numbers in public releases (though unique unit identifiers should be provided) and, in general, abiding by data minimization principles.

Some have argued that landlords also face privacy concerns through the collection of rental data. It is important to note that best practices around rental data collection programs do not require landlords to submit any data that is not already collected for other widely accepted databases, like property ownership records kept with the county assessors or beneficial ownership information collected by the U.S. Treasury Department.

Regional and state authorities should incentivize the collection of local rent data

Even when rental registry programs are well-designed to balance public benefits with city costs, they will still require localities to dedicate precious funding. To support local governments that pursue rental data collection programs, regional and state authorities should provide technical assistance and/or financial resources to encourage adoption at the local level. Absent financial contributions, state authorities could find other levers that make these programs easier for cities, like providing access to technology or universal registry frameworks, developing cooperative procurement agreements for cities to collectively purchase technology, providing guidance for best practices around privacy and data security, and promoting the program to increase compliance.

Considerations for Future Work on Rental Data

As we think about how to move this work forward, there are several limitations and areas of concern to consider.

Eviction data is a uniquely complex piece of the puzzle

Eviction data requires heightened privacy and security standards. California has a statewide masking law, which protects certain individual eviction information from release. Privacy concerns are especially pertinent here, as the expanding practice of data consolidation for tenant screening purposes means even an unsuccessful initiation of eviction proceedings could follow a tenant forever, despite the masking protections. This can lead to future failed screenings on tenant applications that can exacerbate the homelessness crisis and racial housing gaps.

In addition to privacy concerns, eviction data suffers from similar fragmentation to other categories of housing data. The [HCD 10-Year Data Strategy](#) lists eviction lockout data under categories of data collected by local government agencies but not aggregated by the state; it also lists displacement and informal evictions, and eviction notices issued, under categories of data not currently collected by any government entity.¹³

In Los Angeles, data on Ellis Act evictions—where landlords evict tenants to change the use type of the building, e.g. converting apartments into condos for individual sale—are available to the public. However, as with eviction data as a whole, this slice of data provides a helpful but incomplete fragment of the picture.

Some local rent databases, such as the one in Concord, seek to capture eviction information (also referred to as “owner-initiated termination”). Reliance on landlord self-reporting makes it difficult to verify whether this data is accurate. Cities collecting this data should consider including mechanisms for tenant reporting and/or verification through other means, such as requiring submission of eviction notices or filing documents, or comparison with sheriff’s department data, to understand the reliability of self-reported data. Thirteen of 15 Bay Area cities with just cause protections already require landlords to submit eviction notices.¹⁴

The obscurity of ownership data impedes the creation of a comprehensive picture of the rental market

Ownership data has historically been public record by necessity, to ensure that claims to land and property have no ambiguity. More recently, owners have used corporate structures like LLCs—often varying from property to property for the same owner—to add a layer of obscurity to public records, upending the historical norm of transparency. This obscurity makes it extremely difficult to determine who owns what property, a necessity in order to improve enforcement of existing law and prevent widespread abuses.

A tool called [Evictorbook](#), which was built by volunteers at the Anti-Eviction Mapping Project, demonstrates the barriers this data obscurity creates.¹⁵ Compiling the data behind Evictorbook involved years of painstaking volunteer effort to match up obscured ownership records with official LLC and LP registration in San Francisco and Oakland. While Evictorbook provides one of the best publicly available pictures of ownership across rental markets, it is almost impossible to know for certain who owns what. And, of course, keeping a database like this up to date manually would be cost-prohibitive. If ownership data were clear and transparent, projects like Evictorbook would be vastly easier to build and maintain, freeing up time that would allow advocates and government officials to enforce laws and efficiently deploy resources.

In addition to ownership data, as noted in the state’s [10-Year Housing Data Strategy](#), building code violations, parcel/building information, and zoning maps also all continue to be fragmented, with city and county agencies (often the County Assessor) managing this data.¹⁶ These datasets require massive effort to aggregate to the state level, adding a daunting barrier to entry for anyone hoping to perform large-scale analysis or advocate for policies or protections that cut across multiple jurisdictions.

Conclusion & Next Steps

The power of comprehensive, accessible rental data is clear—as is the fact that currently available data about the rental market is insufficient to meet our housing policy needs. Better access to complete rental data will help us devise and implement housing policy that ensures all Californians have a safe, affordable place to live. This means that targeted emergency assistance, like through the ERAP program, will be delivered faster at a lower cost; that racial disparities and areas of rapidly increasing rents can be spotted sooner, enabling responsive interventions to stop deepening inequality; that laws like the Tenant Protection Act can be more widely enforced; and that plans for where and how to develop new housing are informed by a real-time understanding of the on-the-ground dynamics of the rental market. Truly granular and accessible data could save state and local governments money and, most importantly, keep California residents housed.

Over the next several months, we will:

- Release tools that build on this landscape, providing deeper analysis and demonstrating the types of positive policy recommendations we can make with complete data sets.
- Continue to collect data where it is currently available and work with cities to achieve an efficient, straightforward process for the release of data that balances transparency, public interest, privacy, and timeliness.
- Advise local governments who are interested in adopting or expanding rental data collection programs.
- Conduct user research with tenants, advocates and government officials to better inform our understanding of how this data can serve the purpose of providing affordable housing to all Californians.
- Create a set of privacy protocols and best practices for rental data, both for collection and publication.

If you have thoughts about how to make this data more meaningful or questions/feedback about the content of this report, please reach out to housing-data-initiative@techequitycollaborative.org.

Endnotes

- ¹ “California’s Renters.” (2024, February 27). Public Policy Institute of California, <https://www.ppic.org/blog/californias-renters/>
- ² California Housing Needs by State. (Accessed 2024, March 11). National Low Income Housing Coalition. <https://nlihc.org/housing-needs-by-state/california>
- ³ “An Update on Homelessness in California.” (2024, March 21). Public Policy Institute of California, <https://www.ppic.org/blog/an-update-on-homelessness-in-california/>
- ⁴ California’s Housing Divide.” (2022, May 13). Public Policy Institute of California, <https://www.ppic.org/blog/californias-housing-divide/>
- ⁵ “Mountain View landlords aren’t registering units with the city, prompting calls for more enforcement.” (2022, April 7). Mountain View Voice, <https://www.mv-voice.com/news/2022/04/07/mountain-view-landlords-arent-registering-units-with-the-city-prompting-calls-for-more-enforcement/>
- ⁶ California Local Rental Registry Inventory; Updated Feb. 2024. TechEquity Collaborative. https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1lEzZe7Uj9FYfvco62APzE-sB1EbeDxK_nrN6jn1Tqk/edit#gid=0
- ⁷ Table S2503: Financial Characteristics. (Accessed 2024, March 11) United States Census Bureau. <https://data.census.gov/table/ACSST5Y2021.S2503>
- ⁸ “Methodology: Zillow Observed Rent Index (ZORI).” (2022, September 19). Zillow. <https://www.zillow.com/research/methodology-zori-repeat-rent-27092/>
- ⁹ “Access the latest rental market data for your city, state, county, or metro.” (2024, March 27). Apartment List. <https://www.apartmentlist.com/research/category/data-rent-estimates>
- ¹⁰ For Concord and San Francisco, we display 1-year estimates. For Culver City, only 5-year estimates are available. The Census Bureau has not yet published estimates for 2023.
- ¹¹ [Zillow Observed Rent Index \(ZORI\)](#): “A smoothed measure of the typical observed market rate rent across a given region. ZORI is a repeat-rent index that is weighted to the rental housing stock to ensure representativeness across the entire market, not just those homes currently listed for-rent. The index is dollar-denominated by computing the mean of listed rents that fall into the 40th to 60th percentile range for all homes and apartments in a given region, which is weighted to reflect the rental housing stock.”

Endnotes (cont.)

- ¹² [Apartment List Blog](#): “The Apartment List Rent Estimates are tabulated using fully-representative median rent statistics for recent movers taken from the Census Bureau’s American Community Survey, extrapolated forward to the current month using a growth rate calculated from real-time lease transactions that take place on our platform. We use a same-unit, repeat-transaction analysis similar to Case-Shiller’s approach, comparing only units that are available across both time periods to provide an accurate picture of rent growth. Our approach also corrects for the sample bias inherent in private listing sources to produce results that are representative of the entire rental market. For a more thorough explanation, please see our complete Rent Estimate Methodology.”
- ¹³ “Data Strategy: An Appendix to the Statewide Housing Plan.” (2022). The California Department of Housing and Community Development. <https://www.hcd.ca.gov/docs/data-strategy.pdf>
- ¹⁴ Berkeley, East Palo Alto, Emeryville, Fairfax, Hayward, Larkspur, Mountain View, Oakland, Richmond, San Francisco, and San Jose collect fault and no-fault eviction notices from landlords, while Alameda and Petaluma collect no-fault notices. San Rafael and Union City are the only cities with just cause that do not require landlords to submit copies of eviction notices. (Source: Raise the Roof Coalition)
- ¹⁵ Evictorbook. (Accessed 2024, March 11) Anti-Eviction Mapping Project. <https://evictorbook.com/>
- ¹⁶ “Data Strategy: An Appendix to the Statewide Housing Plan.” (2022). The California Department of Housing and Community Development. <https://www.hcd.ca.gov/docs/data-strategy.pdf>