Domestic Violence Survivor Housing Discrimination in Cuyahoga County

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About Fair Housing Center for Rights & Research

Fair Housing Center for Rights & Research (The Fair Housing Center as of 2018, formerly Housing Research & Advocacy Center) is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization whose mission is to protect fair housing rights, eliminate housing discrimination, and promote integrated communities. The Fair Housing Center works to achieve its mission through work in three primary areas: research and mapping; education and outreach; and enforcement of fair housing laws through advocacy, testing, complaint investigation and resolution, and litigation.

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I. Executive Summary

Domestic violence disproportionately impacts women with **one in four women experiencing domestic violence in their lifetime**. Women are five times more likely to be survivors of domestic violence (hereafter, “survivors”) than men. Survivors often face housing insecurity as a result of domestic violence including housing discrimination due to their status as survivors of domestic violence and possible loss of current housing due to Criminal Activity Nuisance Ordinance (CANO) citations resulting from domestic violence. **CANOs adversely affect survivors of domestic violence, penalizing survivors for calls to emergency services.** A nuisance citation often results in the eviction of the survivor, which can lead to homelessness and difficulty finding new housing.

Twenty percent of survivors surveyed for this report responded that they struggled to find new housing following an act of domestic violence; 16.7% responded that they faced homelessness. Thirteen percent responded that they were evicted because of domestic violence.

Multiple systems work to discourage survivors of domestic violence from contacting emergency services, including criminal activity nuisance ordinances, law enforcement, and child services. Twenty percent of surveyed survivors reported they had refrained from calling 911 concerning domestic violence for fear of eviction or that child services would remove their children from the home. Survivors of domestic violence face housing discrimination because of their history of domestic violence through unfavorable treatment from landlords, denial of access to housing, and eviction in both the private and subsidized housing markets. Thirty percent of surveyed survivors reported experiencing housing discrimination.

“I was in a nursing home a few months. It caused me to lose everything. Now, I’m trying to start over from scratch on my own with two kids.”
This report assesses the incidence of housing discrimination against survivors of domestic violence in the Cuyahoga County rental market. Survivors of domestic violence are protected in housing transactions under the Fair Housing Act on the basis of sex; however, there is no explicit fair housing protection for survivors of domestic violence in Ohio local, state, or federal fair housing laws. Survivors in subsidized housing are afforded certain protections under the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA).

The Fair Housing Center used matched-pair phone and email testing to measure the incidence of discrimination occurring towards survivors of domestic violence in their search for housing. Testing pairs included: A) an African American survivor or advocate for survivors (the protected tester) and an African American tester not associated with domestic violence (control tester); and B) a white survivor or advocate and a white control tester.

In 92 conclusive tests, 35.9% revealed unfavorable treatment of the protected tester. Testers posing as a survivor of domestic violence experienced unfavorable treatment 34.0% of the time (17 of 50 total tests). Testers posing as advocates contacting housing providers on behalf of survivor of domestic violence experienced unfavorable treatment 38.1% of the time (16 of 42 total tests).

“The survivor is often the one that has to move, to find new housing, move the kids, get a job, etc.-it’s further victimization. It can be a fresh start, but it’s very challenging. They didn’t commit the crime yet they have to uproot their life.”

The Fair Housing Center recommends:

- Repeal all CANOs in Cuyahoga County
- Educate landlords and survivors on their fair housing rights and responsibilities
- Support statewide legislation to protect survivors of domestic violence, stalking, and sexual assault from housing discrimination
- Correct designation of domestic violence as a crime in police reports and enact proper procedure for gathering evidence and pressing charges to better protect survivors
- Educate landlords regarding adverse rental factors for survivors of domestic violence that may be the direct result of domestic violence, such as poor credit history, poor rental history, criminal record, or failure to pay rent
- Educate HUD-assisted, LIHTC, and HCVP housing staff on VAWA protections for survivors of domestic violence
II. REVIEW OF PREVIOUS LITERATURE

Domestic violence is a pattern of behaviors used by one partner to maintain power and control over another partner in an intimate relationship. Domestic violence can include behaviors that physically harm, arouse fear, prevent a partner from doing what they choose or force them to behave in ways they do not want, the use of physical and sexual violence, threats and intimidation, emotional abuse, and economic deprivation.¹

Domestic violence is a pervasive problem affecting both men and women throughout the United States; however, domestic violence disproportionately affects women. Eighty percent of survivors of domestic violence are women.² One in four women will experience intimate partner violence in her lifetime; one in nine men will experience intimate partner violence in his lifetime.³ Women are five times more likely than men to experience domestic violence. Women, ages 16 to 34, generally experience the highest rates of domestic violence. African American women experience the highest rates of domestic violence at a rate that is 35% higher than white women and 2.5 times the rate of women of other races. Women, particularly women of color, are disparately impacted by housing discrimination due to domestic violence.⁴

Courts have interpreted that survivors of domestic violence are protected by the Fair Housing Act; survivors are protected in housing transactions under the Fair Housing Act on the basis of sex.⁵ Survivors experience housing discrimination as a result of their history of domestic violence through outright discrimination, denial of access to housing, and eviction in both the private and subsidized housing markets (Subsidized housing includes public housing, Housing Choice Voucher Program, and other government-assisted housing programs).⁶ Survivors may be subject to increased discrimination and housing insecurity in areas where housing providers have zero-tolerance crime policies (which can adversely affect the victim of the crime) or where local criminal nuisance activity ordinances exist.⁷

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Survivors can also face eviction due to property damage caused by the abuser after an incident of domestic violence.8

Domestic violence is an under-reported crime as just over 50% of intimate partner physical violence is reported to law enforcement9 and only 36% of all rape victims report the crime.10 Fifty-four percent of domestic violence incidents involving serious injury against women is reported to law enforcement. Female victims were four times less likely than male victims to report violence due to fear of reprisal from the abuser.11 Domestic violence negatively impacts survivors’ housing stability and access to future housing. Survivors of domestic violence can face homelessness due to eviction and an inability to obtain new housing due to the perception that the abuser will follow the survivor to new housing.12

Across the United States, states have enacted minimal protections for survivors of domestic violence in private rental housing. Twenty four states and localities have eviction defense laws for survivors and 27 states have early lease termination laws for survivors; however, no state law includes domestic violence as a fair housing protected class.13 The state of Ohio provides address confidentiality, a petitioner’s right to obtain a protection order, orders to exclude the restrained party from the petitioner’s residence, and orders allowing the restrained party to provide suitable alternate housing in the case of a consent agreement.14 Women in rental housing are found to be victims of intimate partner violence at rates 3 times that of women living in owner-occupied housing.15

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In a Washington, D.C.-based study, the Equal Rights Center found that 65% of applicants seeking housing on behalf of a domestic violence survivor were denied housing or offered less advantageous terms than an applicant not associated with domestic violence. Applicants seeking housing on behalf of domestic violence survivors were subjected to discriminatory treatment, such as: extra steps in the application process, stating the survivor would not be “approved” in time for the moving date, promised a call back and the survivor received no call back. The applicant not associated with domestic violence was offered better rental properties, rent, pricing, appointments, and return calls.\(^\text{16}\)

A. Violence Against Women Act: Subsidized Housing

The Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) was established in 1994 as part of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act and was re-authorized in 2000, 2005, and 2013. VAWA protects survivors of domestic violence, sexual assault, and stalking.\(^\text{17}\) It addresses issues specifically pertaining to survivors of domestic violence who live in federally-subsidized programs.\(^\text{18}\) VAWA provides special protections, such as an exemption to the one-strike rule for survivors of domestic violence. The one-strike rule was commonly used to justify the automatic termination of tenancy or participation in HCVP for any alleged criminal activity. VAWA protections include the following:

- Prohibits public housing authorities from denying admission to survivors of domestic violence
- Prohibits evictions in subsidized housing programs based on being a survivor of domestic violence
- Prohibits termination of assistance, tenancy, or occupancy rights for survivors of domestic violence
- Allows for emergency housing transfer options for survivors of domestic violence
- Offers tribal courts recourse against non-Native American offenders
- Protects LGBTQ survivors of domestic violence
- Guarantees survivors the right to self-certify
- Offers additional protections for immigrant survivors of domestic violence

Recent HUD guidelines outline adverse rental factors that may be the direct result of domestic violence, such as poor credit history, poor rental history, criminal record, or failure to pay rent. The 2017 guidelines offer methods to determine when these rental factors are the direct result of domestic violence, allowing for a nuanced evaluation of a domestic violence survivor’s rental history (e.g. landlords would hold an eviction against a survivor because of the domestic violence perpetrated upon the applicant). The guidance reaffirms that all fair housing and civil rights laws apply to survivors of domestic violence on the basis of any protected characteristic.\(^\text{19}\)


\(^{18}\) Federally-Subsidized Programs Covered by VAWA: Public Housing; Project-Based Subsidized Housing; Housing Choice Voucher Program; HOME Investment Partnerships Program, Section 202 Supportive Housing for the Elderly, Section 236 Rental Program, Section 811 Supportive Housing for People with Disabilities, Section 221 (d)(3) Below Market Interest Rate (BMIR) Program, HOPWA Housing Program, HUD’s McKinney-Vento Homeless Programs, Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) properties (Department of Treasury), and USDA Rural Housing Properties (Department of Agriculture).

\(^{19}\) “Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) Reauthorization Act of 2013—Additional Guidance for Multifamily Owners and
VAWA was up for reauthorization in 2018 and was introduced into the House of Representatives in July 2018. Funding for the program was extended first to December 7th and then to December 21st. Due to the December 21, 2018 government shutdown that extended until January 25, 2019, VAWA was not reauthorized and expired on December 21st. Grants that had already been awarded under VAWA were not affected, but all future payment requests from programs that receive VAWA funding will be delayed until the law is re-authorized. VAWA 2018 policies would include prohibiting the sale of firearms to people subject to protection orders and to persons convicted of stalking. VAWA protections were extended until February 15, 2019, following the re-opening of the government.

B. Criminal Activity Nuisance Ordinances

Criminal activity nuisance ordinances (CANOs) are municipal laws that penalize property owners for occurrences of crime and other “nuisance behaviors” on or near their property. Such laws list specific behaviors that are classified as a nuisance. Often, CANOs define a timeline wherein if a specified number of “nuisance” activities occur, the jurisdiction will require the property owner to “abate” the nuisance or face a penalty.

Eviction is the most common landlord response to a nuisance notification. This increases housing instability and can exacerbate behavior that triggered the nuisance citation, such as domestic violence. Once a person has an eviction record, it is much more difficult to obtain housing. Survivors of domestic violence may not have the immediate financial means available to secure alternate housing, and therefore, many survivors of domestic violence face homelessness upon eviction. Threats of eviction or a nuisance citation may also cause a survivor to avoid calling the police for assistance, fearing a phone call for help could jeopardize their current and future housing options. Nuisance ordinances that include domestic violence have a disproportionate impact on women.

A Milwaukee-based study showed that residents in African American neighborhoods disproportionately received nuisance property citations and a third of all citations were generated by incidents of domestic violence.


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Domestic violence. In 78% of cases where landlords received a citation, landlords abated nuisance citations by discouraging tenants from calling 911, threatening to evict, or actually evicting the tenants. Women in high-poverty African American neighborhoods disproportionately received nuisance citations and evictions.  

There have been several landmark fair housing cases concerning CANOs and their impact on survivors of domestic violence. The *Lakisha Briggs v. Borough of Norristown* case highlights the racial and gendered impact of CANO enforcement on survivors of domestic violence. Ms. Briggs, an African American single mother, endured repeated acts of domestic violence. However, her calls to police for protection from the abuser led to the police department discouraging her from calling 911 and threatening to enforce the CANO. The response by Norristown law enforcement exacerbated Ms. Briggs’ vulnerability to violence from her perpetrator, as the police warned her that she would face eviction if another incident occurred. Ms. Briggs therefore refrained from calling law enforcement for assistance for fear of eviction. On June 23, 2012, Ms. Briggs suffered a severe attack from the perpetrator and was hospitalized. Three days later, the Norristown police forced the landlord to begin eviction proceedings against her. The City of Norristown then verbally agreed to cease enforcement activities against Ms. Briggs and her landlord, to suspend enforcement of the CANO against any individuals, and to take steps to repeal the CANO. A fair housing complaint was filed in April of 2013 by Ms. Briggs.  

In the case *Nancy Markham v. Surprise, AZ*, Ms. Markham, a single mother of two, suffered repeated domestic violence in her home, and sought assistance from Surprise law enforcement. Over the course of the summer in which domestic violence incidences occurred at Ms. Markham’s home, neighbors sent a letter to law enforcement, requesting Ms. Markham’s eviction and blaming Ms. Markham for the violence she experienced. The Surprise police pressured the landlord to evict Ms. Markham in October 2014, refusing to allow any alternatives to eviction that Ms. Markham and the property manager had proposed following the perpetrator’s incarceration and Ms. Markham’s protection order against him. Both the behavior of her neighbors and the pursuit of eviction by law enforcement demonstrate a pervasive stereotyping and blaming of survivors of domestic violence as responsible for the crime committed against them. Ms. Markham filed a fair housing complaint, which was settled in April 2016. The settlement resulted in the City of Surprise repealing their CANO, agreeing not to adopt such an ordinance, and provided compensation.

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In 2017, the City of Peoria, IL was sued by the HOPE Fair Housing Center on the bases of race and sex discrimination. The HOPE Fair Housing Center asserts that the City’s enforcement of its CANO unlawfully targets African Americans and survivors of domestic violence, often leading to unwarranted evictions. HOPE Fair Housing Center’s investigation indicated that the CANO is enforced selectively on a small fraction of buildings that either have primarily African American tenants or are located in predominantly African American communities. It was also shown that tenants affected by the ordinance were given no opportunity to challenge the nuisance allegation against them and that the City of Peoria would pressure housing providers to force tenants out without going through the normal eviction process. Victims of crime, particularly survivors of domestic violence, were targeted for eviction under the nuisance ordinance. This punishes the victim of a crime for seeking help from the police and thereby discourages them from calling law enforcement. This fair housing complaint is ongoing in 2018.

In 2017, the American Civil Liberties Union filed a federal lawsuit against the City of Maplewood, Missouri on behalf of a domestic violence survivor, challenging the municipality’s nuisance law and revoking of the resident’s occupancy permit. The city’s nuisance ordinance not only allows the city to revoke a resident’s occupancy permit (which is required by law to reside in the city), but bars the resident from obtaining a new permit for six months if the nuisance law is violated. This effectively banishes a resident from the city for half a year. This case was settled in September 2018. The City of Maplewood will amend its CANO to include protections for victims of crime or those seeking emergency assistance and provided compensation to Ms. Watson. These cases highlight the ways in which CANOs violate domestic violence survivors’ equal protection rights, right to petition, and protections under fair housing law. They also raise concerns regarding procedural due process.

C. Criminal Activity Nuisance Ordinances in Cuyahoga County

In Cuyahoga County, there are 26 CANOs, 8 of which (30.8%) specifically designate domestic violence as a nuisance activity. Some municipalities have adopted CANOs as a response to residents’ racial and economic bias against incoming renters, particularly renters of color and renters using housing subsidies such as the Housing Choice Voucher, and fear of changing neighborhood characteristics. Some cities have


34 The count of CANOs in Cuyahoga County included here are as of January 2019. The City of Lakewood did amend its CANO in July 2018 to exclude domestic violence.
used CANOs to evict HCVP participants by crosschecking alleged nuisance activity against lists of HCVP renters and requesting that the housing authority revoke the vouchers from these tenants. 35

In practice, CANO enforcement has been used in Cuyahoga County as a tool for control and exclusion of vulnerable renters by penalizing and removing renters experiencing mental health crises, drug addiction, and domestic violence when they called emergency services. Some city law directors in Cuyahoga County actively encourage property owners to use eviction as a remedy to avoid CANO penalties. CANOs have the effect of discouraging renters from calling emergency services, destabilizing their housing, and increasing homelessness. CANOs disproportionately affect people of color, renters (particularly participants of the housing choice voucher program), survivors of domestic violence, and people with disabilities, and may therefore violate the federal Fair Housing Act. 36

The Fair Housing Center reviewed ordinances for every city and village in Cuyahoga County for nuisance ordinances and identified the following (see Figure 1): 37

- Bedford
- Bedford Heights
- Berea
- Brooklyn
- Cleveland
- Cleveland Heights
- Cuyahoga Heights

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• East Cleveland
• Euclid
• Fairview Park
• Garfield Heights
• Independence
• Lakewood
• Lyndhurst
• Maple Heights
• Mayfield Heights
• Newburgh Heights
• North Olmsted
• Oakwood
• Parma
• Seven Hills
• Shaker Heights
• South Euclid
• University Heights
• Warrensville Heights
• Woodmere

The following CANOs in Cuyahoga County include domestic violence as a nuisance activity:38

• Bedford
• Cuyahoga Heights
• Fairview Park
• Independence
• Newburgh Heights
• Seven Hills
• Warrensville Heights
• Woodmere

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Throughout Cuyahoga County, enforcement of criminal activity nuisance ordinances varies. Researchers at Cleveland State University showed that in some cities, more than half of CANO letters are sent in response to domestic violence incidents. These letters often result in evictions of the survivor of domestic violence. A further issue is that in certain cities, CANOS are used to target minor, non-criminal behaviors. The mere record that a landlord or other residents believe that criminal activity has occurred on the premise counts against the resident. Notice of the nuisance only goes to the property owner in some cities, not the tenant, and allows only the property owner to challenge the nuisance designation. This raises concerns of due process for the resident in question who is not given the notice or opportunity to defend against the allegations or designation as a nuisance activity.  

In 2017, students of the Cleveland State University Levin College of Urban Affairs engaged in local advocacy efforts with various municipalities around nuisance laws’ effects on survivors of domestic violence. Their efforts resulted in the City of Euclid, Garfield Heights, Lakewood, Lyndhurst, Maple Heights, Mayfield Heights, North Olmsted, Parma, and South Euclid adopting amendments to remove domestic violence from their local definitions of criminal nuisance activity. Cleveland Heights previously amended its CANO to exclude domestic violence in 2015.

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III. DOMESTIC VIOLENCE SURVIVOR HOUSING DISCRIMINATION IN CUYAHOGA COUNTY

In 2016, there were 8,880 incidents of domestic violence reported in Cuyahoga County. Of these, the following police departments reported the highest incidence of domestic violence: City of Cleveland (5,195), Cuyahoga Metropolitan Housing Authority (CMHA) police (456), Euclid (426), East Cleveland (286), Garfield Heights (259), Maple Heights (246), Lakewood (158), North Royalton (141), Parma (120), Parma Heights (120), South Euclid (118), and Cleveland Heights (112).  

Survivors of domestic violence face housing discrimination due to their status as survivors of domestic violence and the potential loss of housing due to CANO citations resulting from domestic violence. Previous research studies reveal discrimination against survivors of domestic violence in their search for housing. Fair housing case law around CANOs and domestic violence highlight the pervasive stereotyping survivors face in their search for housing and the negative impact that CANOs can have on survivors’ housing. The Fair Housing Act protects survivors of domestic violence on the basis of sex in housing transactions.

This report assesses the incidence of housing discrimination against survivors of domestic violence in Cuyahoga County. The Fair Housing Center conducted surveys of survivors of domestic violence and advocates for survivors regarding housing-related challenges faced by survivors of domestic violence. A focus group of survivors and a focus group of advocates were interviewed to gain an in-depth understanding of housing challenges faced by survivors of domestic violence and develop the testing methodology to assess housing discrimination against survivors of domestic violence in Cuyahoga County.

To determine the incidence of housing discrimination against survivors of domestic violence, The Fair Housing Center trained and utilized testers to conduct 130 matched-pair phone and email tests. The Fair Housing Center provides policy recommendations addressing housing challenges faced by survivors of domestic violence as shown through surveys, focus groups, and testing.

A. Survey Findings

1. Survey Methodology

The Fair Housing Center conducted surveys of both survivors of domestic violence and advocates for survivors of domestic violence. The Fair Housing Center distributed surveys to survivors of domestic violence both in person and via local Domestic Violence and Child Abuse Center (DVCAC) staff at survivor educational meetings. The survivors surveyed are current participants in education programs at the local domestic violence center. Thirty survivor surveys were collected.

The Fair Housing Center distributed surveys to advocates for survivors of domestic violence both in person and via mail. Staff from the local domestic violence shelter were surveyed, including Justice Advocates,

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41 See Appendix for the Survivor of Domestic Violence Survey on page 36 and Social Service Provider Survey on page 38.
Shelter Advocates, and Educational Training Staff. Staff from The Legal Aid Society of Cleveland who have worked directly with survivors of domestic violence were also surveyed. Twenty-five advocate surveys were collected.

All data presented and analyzed in this section of the report through graphical representation is The Fair Housing Center survey data.

2. Survey Analysis: Survivors of Domestic Violence

All thirty survivors surveyed are female heads of household; nearly all (86.7%) of whom have children under 18 in the household. Fifty percent of all survivors surveyed are African American, 26.6% are white, and 3.3% are Arab American. Nearly all respondents are ages 25 to 34-years-old.

Sixty percent of respondents live in private rental housing or privately-owned housing that they own or rent; twenty-three percent live in federally-assisted housing or receive a housing subsidy (public housing, housing choice voucher program (HCVP), and project-based HCVP). Nearly 87% of respondents report that either they called police or police were called by others due to domestic violence. Almost 50% of respondents called police one to two times; however, several responded they had called police 10 times and two survivors surveyed stated 15 and 30 times.

The following statements are survivors’ experiences after police were called. Survivors surveyed indicated that they made police reports regarding the domestic violence and highlighted the common consequence of their children being removed from the home following the domestic violence incident.

- “The [police] report was made. It led to my kids being removed from the home.”
- “He did not let the police in so they left.”
- “The police came out and he [the abuser] was gone and nothing was done.”
- “They removed the person and locked him up.”
- “[The] offender was taken to jail twice. Third time, the offender took off before the police came.”
- “I was arrested for domestic violence, which was reduced to disorderly conduct in court.”
- “Police asked me what was happening—do I wanna fill out a police report, press charges, do I feel like I wanted the person in jail.”
- “My baby daddy went to jail and they tried to take my baby, but they gave me a chance to fight for her so that’s why I am taking classes.”
- “Taken to hospital, released, relationship counseling, and DV classes.”
- “They [the police] took his information down and took me and the kids to the hospital.”
- “I gave a statement and told them what happened.”

The remaining 20.1% of respondents did not provide race data.

The other 17% of respondents did not indicate their current housing situation.
Figure 2: Housing Challenges Reported by Surveyed Survivors Following Domestic Violence

Thirteen percent (13.3%) of respondents reported facing eviction following domestic violence (see Figure 2). Twenty percent were discouraged from calling 911 and 16.7% experienced homelessness. Twenty percent struggled to find new housing following domestic violence.

Thirteen percent (13.3%) of respondents struggled to find housing for one year. Almost seven percent (6.7%) struggled to find housing for six to nine months and three percent (3.3%) struggled to find housing for less than three months (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: Difficulty Finding Housing by Length of Search Reported by Surveyed Survivors Following Domestic Violence
Survivors discuss below the impact domestic violence had on their relationship with their landlord, several of whom were evicted from housing or threatened with eviction by their housing provider.

- “The landlord no longer wanted to rent from the domestic violence in the home and I had to move [evicted].”
- “Landlord was upset because of the holes in the wall and because of the arguing and fighting—the neighbors complained.”
- “The abuser was banned from all of their properties and landlord said that me and my children would be kicked out if the abuser is caught on the property.”
- “I worked it out with the landlord.”
- “Landlord was supportive and understanding.”
- “I was in a nursing home a few months. It caused me to lose everything. Now, I’m trying to start over from scratch on my own with two kids.”

Thirty percent of respondents indicated that they had experienced some kind of housing discrimination (see Figure 4 for breakdown of the types of discrimination reported). Twenty percent of survivors surveyed report experiencing discrimination on the bases of race/color and family status. Ten percent report discrimination on the basis of sex/gender. One survivor surveyed shared that she was discriminated against on the basis of criminal background—the landlord said he could not rent to her because she did jail time and had a criminal history.

**Figure 4: Housing Discrimination Reported by Surveyed Survivors of Domestic Violence**

The following are excerpts from surveyed survivors, sharing their experience both of housing discrimination and as survivors of domestic violence. Survivors describe experiencing both family status and race-based housing discrimination from housing providers and share details concerning their experience of domestic violence.

- “I was looking for housing and they always ask how many kids you have and it’s a single-family home and it’s 6 people. They say the house isn’t big enough when it’s a large colonial
with 3BR, attic, and basement. Also, some don’t return your call from the way you sound or talk in a certain race.”

- “Landlord was up to renting to me till he saw that I was in an interracial relationship. Another time, a landlord would not rent to me because I had children and he said no kids.”
- “I was being abused, me and my children, and was being threatened that if I contacted my family, they would be hurt. I was scared so I stayed. I was (eventually) able to get away and am working to get my children back now.”
- "An argument ensued, I proceeded to reverse my car with my child, the child’s father decided to try to remove the child, but I proceeded to reverse and accidentally struck the father of my child with the car door...When I arrived back home approx. an hour later, I was asked to leave and refused, so approx. an hour later the father of my child called the police and I was arrested for domestic violence, which has now been reduced to disorderly conduct.”


The twenty-five advocates surveyed work with clients from a variety of backgrounds. The majority of advocates serve low-income individuals and families, adults and families experiencing homelessness people with physical and, or mental disabilities, and formerly incarcerated individuals. The majority of advocates serve clients who participate in subsidized housing programs, such as public housing, the Housing Choice Voucher Program, and Project-Based HCVP. All advocates work with survivors of domestic violence. Advocates surveyed include staff from the local domestic violence center and The Legal Aid Society of Cleveland.

Advocates report that survivors of domestic violence face numerous housing challenges following domestic violence. Nearly all advocates state that their clients who experienced domestic violence have difficulty finding housing following domestic violence. Most advocates report that clients who experienced domestic violence have faced homelessness, eviction, or have been threatened with eviction. Over half of advocates who work with clients that experienced domestic violence report that clients were able to transfer to another apartment and some advocates report their clients bifurcated their lease. Bifurcation of lease is an option afforded to those in housing covered by VAWA. Unfortunately, Ohio laws do not provide or guarantee this option in private rental housing transactions.

More than half of advocates report that their clients who experienced domestic violence struggled to find housing for three to six months and one-fourth of advocates report clients struggled to find housing for six to nine months. More than half of advocates report that those clients who experienced domestic violence and participate in a subsidized or assisted housing program lost their housing subsidy after an episode of domestic violence. Advocates report clients have had difficulty with local public housing authorities or a subsidized housing provider following a domestic violence incident.

Half of advocates surveyed report that clients who experienced domestic violence have had an encounter with law enforcement. Advocates report that clients have called but no arrest was made, police have refused to remove the batterer, and that some police have not always been receptive to calls from the survivor. Another advocate shared that a survivor received a nuisance complaint after the police visit and
another received not only nuisance and disorderly conduct complaints, but also an arrest for defending herself against the abuser.

Almost half of advocates report that clients who experienced domestic violence are discouraged from calling 911, some in response to the nuisance law of the municipality. Others have been threatened with arrest if police had to come out to the home once more. Multiple clients who experienced domestic violence have been threatened with eviction if involved with law enforcement; one client who experienced domestic violence did not want to call police due to fear of the criminal justice system and concern for how people of color fare in the system. Another client who experienced domestic violence shared that she was afraid to call because the abuser had been released from jail and she was not notified of his release by the police; she feared he would get lesser charges than domestic violence if she called and would not be taken to jail, leaving her at great risk.

Advocates also report that clients who experienced domestic violence face housing discrimination in their search for housing. Almost half of advocates report that clients who experienced domestic violence have faced discrimination on the bases of family status and status as a domestic violence survivor. Advocates indicated that clients who experienced domestic violence also experienced discrimination on the bases of race, age, and disability.

Advocates also note certain biases against or stereotypes of survivors of domestic violence. They share below their perspective on the types of housing discrimination survivors must contend with when searching for housing after domestic violence.

- “[Survivor] is stigmatized for having had an association with the abuser. There’s this unwarranted fear that survivor will attract or become involved with another abuser.”
- “Landlords don’t want to rent to the survivor because they are afraid the property will be damaged.”
- “It is really difficult for clients [survivors] to find housing in areas that they would prefer because of safety concerns. The houses they end up in are below the standards that they deserve.”
- “The units that survivors and their children go to are demoralizing…no glass in cabinet doors, dirty moldy bathrooms, and no lightbulbs are just a few examples I have seen. The survivors come from traumatic experiences and just because of their situation & socio-economic status does not mean they deserve slum lord housing.”

B. Focus Group Findings

The Fair Housing Center led two focus groups focused on housing challenges faced by survivors of domestic violence. The first focus group involved domestic violence survivors who are currently participating in the education training programs offered at the local domestic violence center, a diverse group of women that have experienced domestic violence in their lifetime. The second group involved advocates that work with survivors of domestic violence at the local domestic violence center, including staff that work at the local domestic violence shelter, justice system advocates, and educational training staff.
1. Findings of Survivor Focus Group

The survivor focus group consisted of women from across Cuyahoga County who have experienced domestic violence.

Several participants worked with relocation services following a domestic violence incident. However, due to the lack of safe and affordable housing in the county, many women reported that they were offered relocation to high-crime, high-poverty neighborhoods or to go to public housing. Survivors often chose to stay in place as long as the abuser was gone (meaning the abuser was either removed from the lease/evicted or taken to jail).

Survivors of domestic violence described re-victimization in the court system, in relocation attempts, in interactions with landlords, and through child services. Many times, survivors face the sudden and temporary loss of their children following a domestic violence incident, wherein the children are removed from the home and placed in foster care. Some survivors reported becoming homeless following a domestic violence incident and their children were removed from their custody. Other survivors received a designation of endangerment of children from child services due to the domestic violence incident and the children were then removed from the home. Survivors then must find suitable housing and attend educational classes before they can get their children back.

VAWA protections extend to survivors living in subsidized housing (see page four for housing protected under VAWA). However, participants cited numerous instances in which their request to move was ignored or delayed by subsidized housing staff; participants suggested staff may not be educated on VAWA sufficiently to best serve the needs of survivors. Below, a survivor shares her harrowing experience of domestic violence and issues with removing the abuser from her housing voucher:

*I couldn’t get the caseworker to remove him [the abuser] from the voucher. I was the one caring for the kids, working, going to school, paying rent and utilities, but the voucher was put in his name as head of household. When I would try to leave or go to shelter to get away from him, it would back fire because my name was on the voucher with him. My name was on the lease, but I couldn’t stay there due to the [abuser] being there. After a domestic violence event he went to jail and I stayed in the house for 6 months. When it was getting close to when he would be released, I tried to work with the caseworker to be made head of household [not the [abuser]] or give me my own voucher. They gave me the run around. He [the abuser] broke into the house [after he got out of jail] and attacked me. There are so many police cases on him, but child services took my kids and put them in foster care based off of me not pressing charges. I am still trapped in that lease because the [abuser] is the head of household and I can’t get off the lease or get my own voucher. Now I’m trying to get my kids back and I’m struggling to get housing. He [the abuser] claims the kids illegally so I won’t receive child support money. I can’t go to the house to get belongings as he is now staying there.

Survivors shared that the outcomes in court vary depending on the judge. In one instance, a survivor was required to pay $1,000 in property damage due to the domestic violence, even though she was the victim and the abuser inflicted the damage. The HUD memo on discrimination against survivors of domestic violence states that charging survivors for domestic violence damage to the home that was caused by the
Domestic Violence Survivor Housing Discrimination in Cuyahoga County

perpetrator may constitute unlawful discrimination under the Fair Housing Act. Others have fled their homes in search of safety, only to be taken to court by the landlord demanding payment of rent and eviction.

Survivors cited numerous issues with police response time, arrests of the aggressor, and consequences for the survivor. Survivors stated that effective police response is again dependent on the municipality. Garfield Heights was cited as effective in providing a positive response to calls for domestic violence and offering needed services to survivors. However, many survivors shared feeling criminalized by police even though they were the victim, being judged for not having the courage to press charges in the past, and facing charges of child endangerment due to the domestic violence or a charge felonious assault for defending themselves against the abuser.

- “I felt criminalized by police even though I was the victim. I dropped off the kids at the his [abuser] house as it was his weekend for the kids, while I was in the midst of pressing charges against him. I got a wellness visit and was charged with endangering the kids by the police. It’s on my record for 7 years. He did a year in prison, but I suffer too in the long run.”
- “I feel like even when I call the police he [the abuser] doesn’t go to jail and I have to deal with all the consequences of moving and everything to get away.”
- “Child services blames us, the victims, with endangering of children and charges us with child endangerment. If domestic violence happens again, it makes me scared to say something because of child services taking my kids away.”
- “I made multiple calls to police about domestic violence, police would come, and he [the abuser] would go to jail. I got a protection order and refinanced the house to get his name off it, but he still came back to the property despite the protection order. Now I have a charge of felonious assault because I was protecting and defending myself against him.”

If the survivor and abuser are married, survivors shared that this often biases the police in the abuser’s favor. Survivors reported calling the police and either the police never coming to help or the slow response time allowed the abuser to leave or hide. Additionally, survivors shared that police ask the survivor about the situation in front of the abuser. This is not protocol for law enforcement in this situation, and it disadvantages the survivor who fears repercussions from the abuser if the survivor presses charges.

- “Police say he [the abuser] has to stay at the house because he gets mail at the house; they can’t remove him from the house. When I called again, they threatened me with jail for calling again.”
- “He [the abuser] hides before police come and then comes back when they leave and you get hurt worse by him for calling the police.”
- “The police ask about the situation to us in front of him [the abuser].”

Survivors have had issues with dispatch when calling in an incident of domestic violence, sharing experiences of delayed response time to survivors’ emergency call. A survivor shared the police had been to the house before and assumed she would not press charges and therefore did not take her call seriously. Another survivor called about a domestic violence incident and police threatened her with jail for calling

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again. Survivors explained trying to leave with the police for safety reasons if the abuser was gone when police arrived; they feared worse violence if they were there when the abuser came back.

- “Cops treat domestic violence as if it’s a joke. I talked with dispatch for 20 minutes while he was running around with a knife---I hid in another room. Eventually they sent a car out, but by the time police arrived, he left and was hiding. Cops said they had been at this house before and didn’t think I would press charges and so they were not taking my call seriously.”
- “You make calls about domestic violence, and police don’t show up or it takes so long, he’s already left. Why does the dispatcher ask all these questions and doesn’t send someone to help us?”
- “Sometimes you are judged off of not having courage to press charges in past.”
- “The courts don’t do anything to help us or keep him [the abuser] in jail, and yet when we defend ourselves and fight back against him, we get put in jail. Where’s the justice in that?”

2. Findings of Advocate Focus Group

The advocate focus group consisted of DVCAC staff that work throughout Cuyahoga County as well as staff working at the domestic violence shelter. Advocates cited fear of eviction due to domestic violence as a significant challenge for survivors of domestic violence in keeping housing and later obtaining new housing. Often a survivor will not want to reach out to neighbors for help for fear of being reported to the landlord, or a survivor will not request a change of locks for fear of eviction by the landlord. Survivors struggle to find affordable and safe rental housing, particularly when seeking to separate from the abuser. Without an affordable alternative housing option, a survivor faces homelessness, substandard and unsafe housing, or returning to the abuser. Advocates describe the experience of survivors in their search for housing, including survivors who have faced sexual harassment:

- “The survivor is often the one that has to move, to find new housing, move the kids, get a job, etc.-it’s further victimization. It can be a fresh start, but it’s very challenging. They didn’t commit the crime yet they have to uproot their life.”
- “Survivors tell us [staff] of quid pro quo sexual harassment. If the survivor engages in quid pro quo, they get reduced rent. If the survivor says no, they get a three-day eviction notice. Even after quid pro quo, some survivors still got evicted.”
- “If the survivor’s name is not on the lease, the survivor may engage in sexual behavior with the perpetrator in order to stay in housing to save up resources to get out.”

Cohabitation of the abuser and the survivor can negatively impact a survivor’s housing security following a domestic violence incident. It is a significant challenge to have the landlord terminate the lease with the abuser and allow the survivor to stay in the home in private rental housing, particularly if the abuser is the individual listed on the lease. When a lease is in the survivor’s name, advocates reported instances where a landlord stated that the survivor broke the lease by “allowing” the abuser to come to the property; if destruction of property ensued, the landlord would evict the survivor. Eviction proceedings are highly dependent on the judge and the landlord in how justice is administered to the survivor. Advocates describe evictions of several of their clients who experienced domestic violence:
• “The survivor got a TPO [temporary protection order]—the husband is on the lease and he had to leave due to the TPO. The survivor went to the landlord because she can’t make the rent alone so they proceeded to evict her. TPO says the landlord can’t do that, but she became homeless.”
• “The husband only was on the lease. The judge gave the survivor two weeks to leave and she ended up in the domestic violence shelter.”
• “She [the survivor] was not on the lease. She had five kids and she asked for two weeks to move. The judge gave her two days to move.”

Some survivors are participants in subsidized housing programs, such as the Housing Choice Voucher Program, public housing, and other government-assisted housing programs. Advocates reported that survivors have had negative experiences working with subsidized housing staff after a domestic violence incident occurred at a subsidized housing location. Advocates reported that survivors have been told that they violated their lease in public housing following a domestic violence incident. A public housing authority could potentially violate not only VAWA, but also the Fair Housing Act through such treatment of survivors of domestic violence. Additionally, advocates reported that when a family has been issued a voucher, often it is in the name of the abuser or both the abuser and the survivor. Removing the abuser from the voucher and leaving it in the survivor’s name has proven an accessible option to survivors. Advocates share the experience of several survivors living in subsidized housing following a domestic violence incident.

• “Public housing is the worst problem for domestic violence and VAWA protection of survivors. As advocates, we don’t feel like the survivor has any rights in public housing even though VAWA exists.”
• “[The housing authority] is relatively slow and doesn’t respond to requests to move. Even after police documentation, they stonewall the move.”

Advocates discussed the issue of police response to incidents of domestic violence and the interaction of law enforcement and landlords with nuisance laws. Positive or negative interactions with law enforcement are highly dependent on where the survivor lives as municipalities have varied laws governing domestic violence and training of officers in their response to a domestic violence incident. Advocates share their perspective on nuisance laws and police response to domestic violence below:

• “The Police Chief thought that the nuisance law was a good thing that would somehow protect victims. He was not aware of the impact of nuisance laws on survivors. The community no longer had a nuisance law as of 2017---they had the law due to a real misunderstanding of the effects of the nuisance law.”
• “Police response [to domestic violence] depends on the district and the officer you get. Older officers seem to respond less well than young officers. It’s very hot and cold in terms of domestic violence response. Sometimes they don’t even take a police report in Cleveland and sometimes they do it all correctly.”

In many ways, when an official eviction has been filed, advocates shared that police can do little to prevent this as eviction is a civil process. Police cannot order the abuser or victim to leave unless there is an arrest made for domestic violence. Advocates across the various municipalities stated that more arrests are needed in domestic violence incidents. Often survivors have a fear of pressing charges to arrest the abuser;
advocates commented that this may be related to the fact that police often ask survivors whether they want to press charges against the abuser in front of the abuser. The common procedure is to separate the parties to gather evidence of the incident; however, advocates shared this is often neglected to the detriment of the survivor. If a primary aggressor is determined by law enforcement, an arrest must be initiated. If an arrest is not made in a domestic violence incident, a report must be written as to why an arrest was not made. Advocates surmise that many times domestic violence incidents are not designated as a true domestic violence incident, but rather a service call for a verbal dispute or family trouble so that the non-arrest report is avoided; this greatly disadvantages the survivor of the domestic violence and places the survivor in an increasingly vulnerable position. Below, advocates share survivors’ experiences regarding police arrests and procedure during a domestic violence incident:

- “Euclid is pretty good at responding to domestic violence incidents, but more arrests are needed. It’s pretty clear there was a primary aggressor in the police narrative reports and it’s the responsibility of police to determine and make the arrest.”
- “Now, the law states police must separate the parties if they determine a primary aggressor, there should be an arrest. Previously, the police would tell the aggressor and victim to separate and stay with family members, and not get back together, but then police would go back and find dead victims.”
- “Police officers are asking survivors whether they want to press charges. Yet they ask this of the survivor in front of the perpetrator. The survivor doesn’t press charges for fear of the perpetrator standing right there.”
- “Police are unsure where to transport a survivor if the perpetrator is gone on arrival of police and not arrested. The survivor doesn’t feel safe. Officers try to get survivors into the shelter and don’t have anywhere else to take the survivor outside of family members if the shelter is full. A survivor has nowhere to go.”

C. Testing: Domestic Violence Survivor Housing Discrimination

One-fifth of survivors of domestic violence surveyed reported experiencing housing discrimination following an incident of domestic violence and the majority of advocates report that clients who experienced domestic violence face difficulties in finding housing. The Fair Housing Center used testing to assess the prevalence of housing discrimination against survivors of domestic violence in the Cuyahoga County rental market.

1. Testing Methodology

Testing is an investigative technique used to directly observe and examine the policies and practices of housing providers to detect and uncover housing discrimination. Testing can estimate the rate of discrimination that is occurring in a particular housing market. Testers act as individuals seeking housing and engage with housing providers in the process of acquiring housing or services related to the acquisition of housing. A test coordinator selects sites to test and provides testers with a specific profile that defines their household, income, and other characteristics as needed for the test. For this study, the Cuyahoga County rental market was evaluated through testing to determine the incidence of discrimination occurring towards survivors of domestic violence in their search for housing.
Test coordinators utilized the Craigslist RSS (Rich Site Summary) feed with the internet-based task automator IFTTT (If This Then That) to collect the date an ad is posted, the hyperlink, and a sample of text from all Craigslist rental ads posted in the Cleveland-area market. Test coordinators collected data for a given seven-day period in a Google Docs spreadsheet. During the testing process for this study, the IFTTT automator became inactive. The test coordinators utilized a Google RSS feed as an alternative method due to the IFTTT automator becoming inactive; the Google RSS feed collected 250 Craigslist ads over a 24-hour period, gathering the hyperlink for all ads.

Each ad was then assigned a random number using Microsoft Excel’s RAND() function. Test coordinators gathered location data from the Craigslist mapping feature. Test coordinators then sorted the list from smallest to largest using the randomly assigned number and selected ads for testing, in order by assigned number, that met the following criteria:

- One or two-bedroom units are advertised as available
- Phone number and/or email is listed
- Unit rent is $742 (average rent in Cuyahoga County in 2016) +/- $200

Test coordinators controlled for race using geography to reduce the effect of racial discrimination on the detection of discrimination against survivors of domestic violence. White testers conducted a test when the randomized ad selected was located in a community whose population is predominantly white. African American testers conducted a test when the randomized ad selected was located in a community whose population is predominantly African American. The Fair Housing Center determined the percentage of the population that was white or African American in that municipality by census tract, using the exact address of the apartment, or if not given, the latitude and longitude provided on the Craigslist site, to determine the location of the apartment advertised using Census data.

Fifty phone and 80 email tests were conducted to measure housing discrimination against survivors of domestic violence. For email tests, test coordinators set up free email accounts using unambiguously-gendered, racially-identifiable names.

A tester’s status as a survivor of domestic violence was disclosed in two ways. In 78 tests, the tester identified herself to the housing provider as currently residing in a local domestic violence shelter (survivor). In 52 tests, the tester identified herself to be an advocate seeking housing on behalf of a survivor of domestic violence (advocate).

Survivors were paired in two ways: 1) single white female survivor (protected tester) with single white female tester not associated with domestic violence (the control tester); or 2) single African American female survivor with single African American female control tester.

Advocates were paired in two ways 1) white female advocate for survivors (protected tester) with single white female control tester; and 2) African American female advocate for survivors with single African American female control tester.
For each test, the survivor or advocate tester (the protected tester) contacts the agent first in the afternoon, inquiring about the availability of the unit. The tester attempts to set up an appointment to view the home and gather information regarding eligibility and other requirements for renting. The control tester not associated with domestic violence then contacts the agent in the evening, inquiring about the availability of the unit, eligibility requirements, and setting up an appointment to view the apartment. Following completion of the test, both testers write up a complete test report for evaluation by the test coordinator.

2. Analysis of Phone Tests

Fifty phone tests were completed for this study, forty-two of which provided conclusive results. An inconclusive test is a testing outcome in which both testers did not receive a response from the housing provider. In four of forty-two conclusive tests, the protected tester received favorable treatment. Of the forty-two conclusive tests, 40.5% of phone tests showed unfavorable treatment of the protected tester (17 of 42 tests). Unfavorable treatment of the protected tester included:

- The protected tester was told she must pay all utilities, whereas the control tester was told certain utilities are included in rent.
- The control tester received follow up calls, whereas the protected tester did not receive a follow up call.
- The landlord required that the protected tester provide more information than the control tester or required additional screening of the protected tester than the control tester, such as landlord references, proof of employment, credit and background check, and eviction history.
- Protected tester calls were ignored after disclosing her status as a survivor or advocate and the tester could not set up appointment to view, whereas the control tester spoke with the agent and set up an appointment to view the apartment.
- Protected tester was quoted a higher security deposit than the control tester.
- The control tester was told of a special on rent, whereas the protected tester was not told of a special and was required to pay full rent.
- Protected tester was told she must provide age, date of birth, place of employment, and social security number in order to view home, whereas the control tester was offered other homes to view without any such requirements.

Testers posing as survivors of domestic violence over the phone experienced unfavorable treatment 40.9% of the time (9 of 22 tests); testers posing as advocates calling on behalf of survivors of domestic violence experienced unfavorable treatment 40.0% of the time (8 of 20 tests). Due to limited testing in non-CANO communities, we were not able to assess any impact of CANOs on landlords’ rates of unfavorable treatment, if any.  

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45 See Appendix, Table 2: Conclusive Phone Test Results on page 30.

46 The majority of testing was done in municipalities that have a criminal activity nuisance ordinance as those municipalities have the majority of available rentals.
Figure 5: Criminal Activity Nuisance Ordinances and Phone Tests in Cuyahoga County

Location of Phone Tests:
- Red dots: Tests Resulting in Unfavorable Treatment of DV Tester
- Green dots: All other Tests
- Dark blue: Has Criminal Nuisance Abatement Ordinance That Includes Domestic Violence
- Light blue: Has Criminal Nuisance Abatement Ordinance
3. Analysis of Email Tests

Eighty email tests were completed for this study, fifty of which provided conclusive results. An inconclusive test is a testing outcome in which both testers did not receive a response from the housing provider. In one of fifty tests, the protected tester received favorable treatment.

Of the fifty conclusive results, 32% of email tests revealed unfavorable treatment of the protected tester (16 of 50 tests). Testers posing as survivors of domestic violence via email experienced unfavorable treatment 28.6% of the time (8 of 28 tests) and testers posing as advocates emailing on behalf of survivors of domestic violence experienced unfavorable treatment 36.4% of the time (8 of 22 tests). The majority of email tests that exposed unfavorable treatment of the protected tester involved the landlord ignoring the protected tester (whose status was disclosed in the initial email), while engaging with the control tester.

Figure 6: Criminal Activity Nuisance Ordinances and Email Tests in Cuyahoga County

See Appendix, Table 2: Conclusive Email Test Results on page 33.
4. Analysis of Testing Outcomes: Phone & Email Tests

One hundred thirty tests were completed for this study, ninety-two of which were conclusive. An inconclusive test is a testing outcome in which both testers did not receive a response from the housing provider. In five of 92 conclusive tests, the protected tester received favorable treatment. Of the 92 conclusive phone and email tests, 35.9% revealed unfavorable treatment of the domestic violence tester (33 of 92 tests).

In phone and email tests combined, the testers posing as a survivor of domestic violence experienced unfavorable treatment 34.0% of the time (17 of 50 total tests). In phone and email tests combined, the testers posing as advocates contacting housing providers on behalf of a survivor of domestic violence experienced unfavorable treatment 38.1% of the time (16 of 42 total tests). Tests conducted via phone showed a higher rate of unfavorable treatment (40.5%) than tests conducted via email (32.0%).

Figure 7: Criminal Activity Nuisance Ordinances and All Tests in Cuyahoga County
Figure 8: Criminal Activity Nuisance Ordinances and Rentals in Cuyahoga County

(Source: 2016 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates)
IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings of this report indicate that survivors of domestic violence experience housing discrimination in Cuyahoga County. Testing revealed that 35.9% of tests involved unfavorable treatment of the domestic violence tester. Of the total conclusive tests that showed unfavorable treatment of the domestic violence tester, 34.0% of tests involved survivors of domestic violence and 38.1% involved advocates for survivors.

Multiple systems work to discourage survivors of domestic violence from contacting emergency services, including criminal activity nuisance ordinances, law enforcement, and child services. Twenty percent of survivors reported being discouraged from calling 911. Survivors refrain from calling police concerning domestic violence for fear of eviction or child services removing their children from the home. Survey respondents cited issues with police designation of the incident as other than domestic violence, arrest of the perpetrator, and consequences for the survivor. CANOs are disproportionately enforced against growing rental populations, particularly against renters of color, domestic violence survivors, and people with disabilities. Nuisance citations adversely affect survivors of domestic violence, often leading to eviction, homelessness, and difficulty finding housing. When surveyed, 20% of survivors of domestic violence reported that they struggled to find new housing following domestic violence and 16.7% faced homelessness. Thirteen percent experienced eviction due to domestic violence and 30% of survivors experienced housing discrimination. Survivors also indicated lack of education of federally-assisted housing staff regarding VAWA protections for domestic violence survivors.

Based on the findings of this project, The Fair Housing Center recommends:

- Repealing all CANOS in Cuyahoga County
- Educating landlords and survivors on their fair housing rights and responsibilities
- Supporting statewide legislation to protect survivors of domestic violence, stalking, and sexual assault from housing discrimination
- Correct designation of domestic violence as a crime in police reports and proper procedure for pressing charges should victim choose to do so to better protect survivors
- Educating landlords regarding adverse rental factors for victims of domestic violence that may be the direct result of domestic violence, such as poor credit history, poor rental history, criminal record, or failure to pay rent
- Educating public housing and subsidized housing staff on VAWA protections for victims of domestic violence
### Table 1: Conclusive Phone Test Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Test</th>
<th>Tester Type</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Nuisance Ordinance</th>
<th>Nuisance includes Domestic Violence</th>
<th>Testing Result</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Survivor</td>
<td>African American</td>
<td>Euclid</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No, Repealed 2016</td>
<td>Unfavorable Treatment of Domestic Violence Tester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Advocate</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Brooklyn</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Same Treatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Survivor</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Brecksville</td>
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<td>No</td>
<td>Unfavorable Treatment of Domestic Violence Tester</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Survivor</td>
<td>African American</td>
<td>Garfield Heights</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No, Repealed 2017</td>
<td>Unfavorable Treatment of Domestic Violence Tester</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Advocate</td>
<td>African American</td>
<td>East Cleveland</td>
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<td>Unfavorable Treatment of Domestic Violence Tester</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Survivor</td>
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<td>Bedford Heights</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Advocate</td>
<td>African American</td>
<td>Euclid</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No, Repealed 2016</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Survivor</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>North Olmsted</td>
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<td>No, Repealed 2018</td>
<td>Same Treatment</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Advocate</td>
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<td>Shaker Heights</td>
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<td>Lakewood</td>
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<td>Cleveland</td>
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<td>No</td>
<td>Same Treatment</td>
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</table>

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At the time of testing, the City of Lakewood listed domestic violence as a criminal nuisance activity. The Lakewood CANO has since been amended in July 2018, eliminating domestic violence as a criminal nuisance activity.
<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>Race</th>
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<th>Contact</th>
<th>Result</th>
<th>Reason</th>
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<td>Euclid</td>
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<td>No, Repealed 2016</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<td>Shaker Heights</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>Euclid</td>
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<td>Unfavorable Treatment of Domestic Violence Tester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Survivor</td>
<td>African American</td>
<td>Cleveland Heights</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Advocate</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Cleveland</td>
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<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
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<td>African American</td>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
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<td>White</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Advocate</td>
<td>African American</td>
<td>Garfield Heights</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No, Repealed 2017</td>
<td>Same Treatment</td>
</tr>
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<td>26</td>
<td>Advocate</td>
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<td>Cleveland</td>
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<td>27</td>
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<td>28</td>
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<td>White</td>
<td>Shaker Heights</td>
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<tr>
<td>29</td>
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<tr>
<td>30</td>
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<td>31</td>
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<td>No, Repealed 2016</td>
<td>Favorable</td>
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<td>32</td>
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<tr>
<td>34</td>
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</tr>
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<td>35</td>
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<td>No, Repealed 2018</td>
<td>Same</td>
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<td>36</td>
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<tr>
<td>37</td>
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</tr>
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<td>38</td>
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<td>Cleveland Heights</td>
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<td>No, Repealed 2015</td>
<td>Same</td>
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<td>39</td>
<td>Advocate</td>
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<td>40</td>
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<td>41</td>
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Table 2: Conclusive Email Test Results\textsuperscript{49}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Test</th>
<th>Tester Type</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Nuisance Ordinances</th>
<th>Nuisance includes Domestic Violence</th>
<th>Testing Result</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Advocate</td>
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<td>Cleveland</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>No</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Advocate</td>
<td>African American</td>
<td>Euclid</td>
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<td>No, Repealed 2016</td>
<td>Same Treatment</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
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<td>Cleveland Heights</td>
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<td>No, Repealed 2015</td>
<td>Same Treatment</td>
</tr>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Advocate</td>
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<td>Rocky River</td>
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<td>No</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Advocate</td>
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<td>Same Treatment</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>Cleveland</td>
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<td>Unfavorable Treatment of Domestic Violence Tester</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>Cleveland</td>
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<td>No</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>Lakewood</td>
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<td>Unfavorable Treatment of Domestic Violence Tester</td>
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<td>Cleveland</td>
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<td>No</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<td>Cleveland</td>
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<td>No</td>
<td>Same Treatment</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Euclid</td>
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<td>No, Repealed 2016</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
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<td>Cleveland</td>
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<td>No</td>
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</tr>
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</table>

\textsuperscript{49} At the time of testing, the City of Lakewood listed domestic violence as a criminal nuisance activity. The Lakewood CANO has since been amended in July 2018, eliminating domestic violence as a criminal nuisance activity.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Yes/No</th>
<th>Repealed Year</th>
<th>Outcome</th>
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<td>15</td>
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<td>Cleveland</td>
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<td>No</td>
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<td>Cleveland</td>
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<td>19</td>
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<td>Cleveland</td>
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<td>Same Treatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
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<td>Advocate</td>
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<td>Cleveland</td>
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<td>No</td>
<td>Same Treatment</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>Survivor</td>
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<td>Lakewood</td>
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<td>No, Repealed 2018</td>
<td>Same Treatment</td>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Advocate</td>
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<td>Cleveland</td>
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<td>Cleveland</td>
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<tr>
<td>25</td>
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<td>Unfavorable Treatment of Domestic Violence Tester</td>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Advocate</td>
<td>African American</td>
<td>Cleveland</td>
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<td>No</td>
<td>Same Treatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
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<td>Warrensville Heights</td>
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<tr>
<td>28</td>
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<td>African American</td>
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<td>Same Treatment</td>
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<td>City</td>
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<td>Repealed Date</td>
<td>Treatment</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>Survivor</td>
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<td>Cleveland</td>
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<td>No</td>
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<td>34</td>
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<td>35</td>
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<td>Cleveland Heights</td>
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<td>36</td>
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<td>Cleveland</td>
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<td>37</td>
<td>Survivor</td>
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<td>Euclid</td>
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<td>No, Repealed 2016</td>
<td>Same Treatment</td>
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<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Survivor</td>
<td>White</td>
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<td>Same Treatment</td>
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<td>Survivor</td>
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<tr>
<td>42</td>
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<td>43</td>
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<tr>
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<td>46</td>
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<td>No, Repealed 2017</td>
<td>Unfavorable Treatment of Domestic Violence Tester</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Housing Center is conducting a study in Cuyahoga County to better understand the fair housing challenges survivors of domestic violence experience. This survey is completely voluntary and anonymous. The information gathered will be compiled and included in a public report about housing challenges faced by survivors of domestic violence in the county. The report will also be provided to local municipalities, housing providers, and advocates as a resource for use in promoting just laws and strengthening their programs to address housing challenges faced by survivors of domestic violence.

Please check all that apply:

☐ I am the head of my household.

☐ I am a person with a disability. ☐ A person with a disability lives in my household.

☐ Children under 18 live in my household. If so, how many? _________

☐ Children 4 or younger live in my household.

☐ Children between the ages of 5 and 17 live in my household.

I am:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race:</th>
<th>☐ African American</th>
<th>☐ White</th>
<th>☐ Hispanic/Latino</th>
<th>☐ Asian American</th>
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<tr>
<td>☐ Native American</td>
<td>☐ Arab American</td>
<td>☐ Other__________</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

How many people live in your household? (Please give number) ____________

What is your current ZIP code? ______________________

Do you live in affordable housing or receive a housing subsidy? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If so, check the subsidy that applies:

☐ Public Housing ☐ HCVP (Section 8) ☐ Project-based HCVP
☐ Section 202 ☐ Section 236 ☐ HOME Investment Partnerships
☐ Section 811 ☐ Section 221 ☐ USDA Rural Housing Properties
☐ HOPWA ☐ LIHTC ☐ McKinney-Vento Homeless Program

Please Turn Page Over and Complete Page 2
Has anyone, including yourself, ever called the police about domestic violence in your home?
☐ Yes  ☐ No
If so, how many times? ________

What happened after the police were called?
______________________________________________________________________________________________

After experiencing of domestic violence, did any of the following occur?
☐ Eviction  ☐ Threatened with Eviction  ☐ Discouraged from calling 911
☐ Homelessness  ☐ Loss of housing subsidy  ☐ Transferred to another apartment
☐ Bifurcation of lease (If your abuser was taken off the lease and you were left on the lease)
☐ Difficulty finding new housing following domestic violence experience:
   If so, what was the timeframe to find housing:  ☐ Less than 3 months
   ☐ 3 to 6 months  ☐ 6-9 month  ☐ 9-12 months  ☐ 1+ year
☐ Other: (Specify) _____________________________________________________

If you rent your home, what impact, if any, has domestic violence had on your relationship with your landlord or property manager?
______________________________________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________________________

Have you ever experienced housing discrimination while looking for housing?
☐ Yes  ☐ No

If so, why do you think you were discriminated against? (Check all that apply)
☐ Race/Color  ☐ National Origin/Ancestry  ☐ Religion  ☐ Disability
☐ Familial Status (children under 18 in your household)  ☐ Sex  ☐ Age
☐ Past/Current Status as a Victim of Domestic Violence  ☐ Sexual Orientation
☐ Gender Identity  ☐ Military Status  ☐ Other________________________________________

Please briefly explain your experience:
______________________________________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________________________
The Housing Center is conducting a study in Cuyahoga County to better understand the fair housing challenges survivors of domestic violence experience. This survey is completely voluntary and anonymous. The information gathered will be compiled and included in a public report about housing challenges faced by survivors of domestic violence in the county. The report will also be provided to local municipalities, housing providers, and advocates as a resource for use in promoting just laws and strengthening their programs to address housing challenges faced by survivors of domestic violence.

Please complete the survey and return using the included envelope. Thank you!

In my work, I assist: (Check all that apply)

☐ Low-Income Individuals
☐ Low-Income Families
☐ Adults Experiencing Homelessness
☐ Youth Experiencing Homelessness
☐ Families Experiencing Homelessness
☐ People with Physical Disabilities
☐ People with Mental Health Disabilities
☐ Older adults
☐ Re-entry Clients (formerly incarcerated)
☐ Youth Aging-Out of Foster Care
☐ Veterans
☐ Other: _________________
☐ Domestic Violence Survivors

☐ Residents of federally-assisted or affordable housing: (Check all that apply)

☐ Public Housing
☐ HCVP (Section 8)
☐ Project-based HCVP
☐ Section 202
☐ Section 236
☐ HOME Investment Partnerships
☐ Section 811
☐ Section 221
☐ USDA Rural Housing Properties
☐ HOPWA
☐ LIHTC
☐ McKinney-Vento Homeless Program

Have any of your clients experienced domestic violence?

☐ Yes
☐ No

Please Turn Page Over and Complete Page 2
What issues have your clients who are survivors of domestic violence experienced? (Please check all that apply. Please explain when indicated.)

Housing Issues

☐ Difficulty finding new housing following domestic violence experience:
   If so, what was the timeframe to find housing:
   ☐ Less than 3 months  ☐ 3 to 6 months  ☐ 6-9 months
   ☐ 9-12 months  ☐ 1+ year

☐ Homelessness  ☐ Threatened with Eviction
☐ Eviction  ☐ Transferred to Another Apartment
☐ Bifurcation of lease (Perpetrator taken off lease; Survivor permitted to remain on the lease)

Any additional housing issues that you have faced:
______________________________________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________________________

Subsidized Housing Assistance Issues

☐ Loss of housing subsidy _______________________________________

☐ Difficulties with the Public Housing Authority/Subsidized Housing Provider

______________________________________________________________________________________________

Law Enforcement Issues

☐ Encounter with law enforcement _________________________________

☐ Discouraged from calling 911_____________________________________

Discrimination Issues

☐ Discrimination Based on (Please check all protected classes that apply):
   ☐ Race/Color  ☐ Sex
   ☐ National Origin/Ancestry  ☐ Religion
   ☐ Family Status (children under 18)  ☐ Disability
   ☐ Sexual Orientation  ☐ Gender Identity
   ☐ Past/Current Status as a Victim of Domestic Violence
   ☐ Military Status  ☐ Age

☐ Stigma against survivors of domestic violence

☐ Other: _______________________________________________________

Anything else you would like us to know?
______________________________________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________________________
Fair Housing Center for Rights & Research is a not-for-profit agency whose mission is to protect and expand fair housing rights, eliminate housing discrimination, and promote integrated communities.