

118TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 5827

To promote the establishment of resident organizations and provide additional amounts for tenant organizations, and for other purposes.

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 29, 2023

Mrs. RAMIREZ (for herself, Ms. TLAIB, Ms. PRESSLEY, Mr. GOMEZ, Mr. CASAR, Mr. BOWMAN, Ms. CROCKETT, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Ms. LEE of California, Ms. NORTON, and Ms. OCASIO-CORTEZ) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Financial Services, and in addition to the Committee on Ways and Means, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

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## A BILL

To promote the establishment of resident organizations and provide additional amounts for tenant organizations, and for other purposes.

1       *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2       *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3       **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4       This Act may be cited as the “Tenants’ Right to Organize Act”.

1   **SEC. 2. SENSE OF THE CONGRESS.**

2       It is the sense of the Congress that all members of  
3   a household receiving tenant-based rental assistance have  
4   the right to “decent, safe, stable and sanitary housing”.

5   **SEC. 3. HOUSING CHOICE VOUCHER TENANT ORGANIZA-**

6                   **TIONS.**

7       Section 8(o) of the United States Housing Act of  
8   1937 (42 U.S.C. 1437f(o)) is amended by adding at the  
9   end the following:

10                 “(23) RIGHT TO ORGANIZE.—

11                 “(A) IN GENERAL.—Tenants receiving ten-  
12   ant-based rental assistance have the right to es-  
13   tablish, operate, and participate in a resident  
14   organization for the purpose of addressing  
15   issues related to their living environment, which  
16   includes the terms and conditions of their ten-  
17   ancy as well as activities related to housing and  
18   community development and may not be retali-  
19   ated against for asserting these rights.

20                 “(B) REQUIRED ENGAGEMENT.—

21                 “(i) PUBLIC HOUSING AGENCIES.—

22                 Each public housing agency shall—

23                 “(I) recognize legitimate tenant  
24                   organizations;

1                         “(II) solicit comments from all  
2                         legitimate tenant organizations not  
3                         less than once each year; and

4                         “(III) not later than 60 days  
5                         after receiving a comment from a le-  
6                         gitimate tenant organization, mean-  
7                         ingfully respond in writing to such  
8                         comment.

9                         “(ii) OWNERS OF UNITS.—Each  
10                         owner—

11                         “(I) shall recognize legitimate  
12                         resident organizations; and

13                         “(II) may not retaliate with re-  
14                         spect to any tenant because of their  
15                         association with a legitimate resident  
16                         organization.

17                         “(C) PROTECTIONS.—

18                         “(i) IN GENERAL.—Each public hous-  
19                         ing agency and each owner may not inter-  
20                         fere with the right of tenants to establish  
21                         and operate a legitimate tenant organiza-  
22                         tion.

23                         “(ii) PROTECTED ACTIVITIES.—Each  
24                         public housing agency and each owner  
25                         shall allow tenants and tenant organizers

1           to conduct the following activities related  
2           to the establishment or operation of a ten-  
3           tant organization:

4                 “(I) Distributing leaflets in lobby  
5                 areas.

6                 “(II) Placing leaflets at or under  
7                 tenants’ doors.

8                 “(III) Distributing leaflets in  
9                 common areas.

10                 “(IV) Initiating contact with ten-  
11                 ants.

12                 “(V) Conducting door-to-door  
13                 surveys of tenants to ascertain inter-  
14                 est in establishing a legitimate tenant  
15                 organization and to offer information  
16                 about tenant organizations.

17                 “(VI) Posting information on  
18                 bulletin boards.

19                 “(VII) Assisting tenants to par-  
20                 ticipate in tenant organization activi-  
21                 ties.

22                 “(VIII) Convening regularly  
23                 scheduled tenant organization meet-  
24                 ings in a space on site and accessible  
25                 to tenants, in a manner that is fully

1                   independent of management rep-  
2                   resentatives. In order to preserve the  
3                   independence of tenant organizations,  
4                   management representatives may not  
5                   attend such meetings unless invited by  
6                   the tenant organization to specific  
7                   meetings to discuss a specific issue or  
8                   issues.

9                   “(IX) Other reasonable activities  
10                  related to the establishment or oper-  
11                  ation of a tenant organization.

12                  “(iii) PERMISSION.—A public housing  
13                  agency or owner may not require tenants  
14                  or tenant organizers to obtain prior per-  
15                  mission before engaging in the activities  
16                  permitted under this paragraph.

17                  “(iv) PRESUMPTION.—If a public  
18                  housing agency or owner takes an adverse  
19                  action against a tenant that is a member  
20                  of a tenant organization there shall be a  
21                  rebuttable presumption that such adverse  
22                  action is an act of retaliation relating to  
23                  the participation of the tenant in the ten-  
24                  ant organization.

25                  “(D) ENFORCEMENT PROTOCOL.—

1                         “(i) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary  
2 shall, not later than 1 year after the date  
3 of the enactment of this paragraph, estab-  
4 lish a protocol for the enforcement of this  
5 paragraph and such protocol shall—

6                         “(I) include an independent in-  
7 vestigation of tenant and advocate al-  
8 legations of abuse and retaliation;

9                         “(II) provide a mechanism for  
10 administrative complaints to be made  
11 and cataloged;

12                         “(III) keep tenants regularly in-  
13 formed about the progression of any  
14 complaint;

15                         “(IV) prohibit the withholding of  
16 tenant-based rental assistance from  
17 any tenant that makes a complaint,  
18 until such complaint is closed; and

19                         “(V) provide confidentiality  
20 where necessary, including in cases  
21 where alleged abuse is extreme and  
22 targeted.

23                         “(ii) DELEGATION.—In developing the  
24 enforcement protocol under clause (i), the

1                   Secretary may use subcontractors to  
2 preform enforcement activities.

3                   “(iii) REPORT.—The Secretary shall  
4 each quarter submit to the Committee on  
5 Financial Services of the House of Rep-  
6 resentatives and the Committee on Bank-  
7 ing, Housing, and Urban Affairs, a report  
8 with respect to the enforcement of this  
9 paragraph that—

10                  “(I) provides all data at both the  
11 property-level and jurisdiction-level;  
12 and

13                  “(II) includes information with  
14 respect to—

15                  “(aa) the volume of out-  
16 standing complaints;

17                  “(bb) the average response  
18 time for initial complaint; and

19                  “(cc) the average time it  
20 takes to close a complaint.

21                  “(iv) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIA-  
22 TIONS.—There are authorized to be appro-  
23 priated, to the Secretary, such sums as are  
24 necessary to carry out this paragraph.

25                  “(E) NOTICE OF RIGHT TO ORGANIZE.—

1                     “(i) IN GENERAL.—Each public hous-  
2                     ing agency shall notify each tenant receiv-  
3                     ing tenant-based rental assistance of the  
4                     right to organize described in subpara-  
5                     graph (A) annually during the recertifi-  
6                     cation process.

7                     “(ii) TENANCY ADDENDUM.—The  
8                     Secretary shall update the most recent  
9                     Tenancy Addendum for the Section 8 Ten-  
10                    ant-Based Assistance Housing Choice  
11                    Voucher Program to describe the right to  
12                    organize provided for in this subsection.

13                    “(F) DEFINITIONS.—In this paragraph:

14                    “(i) TENANT ORGANIZER.—The term  
15                    ‘tenant organizer’ means a tenant or non-  
16                    tenant who assists tenants in establishing  
17                    and operating a tenant organization, and  
18                    who is not an employee or representative of  
19                    current or prospective owners, managers,  
20                    or their agents.

21                    “(ii) LEGITIMATE TENANT ORGANIZA-  
22                    TION.—The term ‘legitimate tenant organi-  
23                    zation’ means an organization of 3 more  
24                    tenants receiving tenant-based rental as-

1 sistance that has been established for the  
2 purpose described in subparagraph (A).

3 “(iii) OWNER.—The term owner  
4 means a person who owns a dwelling unit  
5 occupied by a tenant that receives rental  
6 assistance.”.

7 **SEC. 4. LIHTC TENANT ORGANIZATIONS.**

8 (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 42(g) of the Internal Rev-  
9 enue Code of 1986 is amended by adding at the end the  
10 following new paragraph:

11 “(10) LIHTC TENANT ORGANIZATIONS.—

12 “(A) RIGHTS OF TENANTS.—Tenants of  
13 rent-restricted units in any qualified low-income  
14 housing project shall have the same right as  
15 tenants described in section 8(o)(23)(A) of the  
16 United States Housing Act of 1937.

17 “(B) RESPONSIBILITIES OF OWNERS.—

18 “(i) Each owner of qualified low-in-  
19 come housing project must meet the re-  
20 quirements in subparagraphs (B)(ii) and  
21 (C) of section 8(o)(23) of the United  
22 States Housing Act of 1937.

23 “(ii) If an owner fails to meet the re-  
24 quirements referred to in clause (i) with  
25 respect to any qualified low-income housing

1           project, the credits allowed under this sec-  
2           tion with respect to such project shall be  
3           disallowed or recaptured in an amount that  
4           is proportionate to the violation, as deter-  
5           mined by the Secretary, but in no case less  
6           than 5 percent of the credits claimed dur-  
7           ing the taxable year during which the vio-  
8           lation occurred.

9           “(iii) In the case of any failure re-  
10          ferred to in clause (ii) that occurs after the  
11          expiration of the project’s compliance pe-  
12          riod (as determined under subsection  
13          (i)(1)), the Secretary shall levy fines in ac-  
14          cordance with a schedule determined by  
15          the Secretary that shall establish fines of  
16          not less than \$500 per day for each day  
17          after the end of the correction period es-  
18          tablished by the Secretary. The Secretary  
19          shall establish such schedule not later than  
20          120 days after the date of the enactment  
21          of this Act. The Secretary may delegate its  
22          duty to levy fines to the State housing  
23          credit agencies.

24           “(C) RESPONSIBILITIES OF STATE HOUS-  
25          ING AGENCIES.—

1                     “(i) Each State housing credit agency  
2                     must meet the requirements which are the  
3                     same as the requirements of subparagraphs  
4                     (B)(i) and (C) of section 8(o)(23)  
5                     of the United States Housing Act of 1937.

6                     “(ii) If a State housing credit agency  
7                     fails to meet the requirements referred to  
8                     in clause (i), there shall be a reduction in  
9                     the State housing credit agency’s State  
10                    housing credit ceiling (as calculated under  
11                    subsection (h)(3)(C)) during the calendar  
12                    year following a violation in an amount de-  
13                    termined by the Secretary.

14                    “(D) ESTABLISHMENT OF PRIVATE RIGHT  
15                    TO ACTION.—Individuals who meet the income  
16                    limitation applicable to the building under this  
17                    subsection (whether prospective, present, or  
18                    former occupants of the building) may file an  
19                    action at law or in equity, in Federal or State  
20                    court, including for injunctive relief, to enforce  
21                    the various provisions of this section.

22                    “(E) ENFORCEMENT PROTOCOL.—The  
23                    Secretary, after consultation with the Secretary  
24                    of Housing and Urban Development, shall—

1                     “(i) establish a protocol for the en-  
2                     forcement of this paragraph which is the  
3                     same as the protocol established under sec-  
4                     tion 8(o)(23)(D)(i) of the United States  
5                     Housing Act of 1937, except that, for pur-  
6                     poses of this subparagraph, the reference  
7                     in such section to ‘tenant-based rental as-  
8                     sistance’ shall be treated as a reference to  
9                     the right of the tenant to occupy a rent-re-  
10                    stricted unit and to any other right or  
11                    privilege required to be provided to such  
12                    tenant as a condition of the project being  
13                    treated as a qualified low-income housing  
14                    project, and

15                    “(ii) submit each quarter to the Com-  
16                    mittee on Ways and Means of the House  
17                    of Representatives and the Committee on  
18                    Finance of the Senate a report containing  
19                    the information described in section  
20                    8(o)(23)(D)(ii) of the United States Hous-  
21                    ing Act of 1937 with respect to the en-  
22                    forcement of this paragraph with respect  
23                    to qualified low-income housing projects.

24                    “(F) NOTICE OF RIGHT TO ORGANIZE.—  
25                    Each State housing credit agency shall annually

1           notify each owner and tenant of a rent-re-  
2           stricted unit of a qualified low-income housing  
3           project of the right to organize referred to in  
4           subparagraph (A).”.

5       (b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by  
6 this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after  
7 the date of the enactment of this Act.

8 **SEC. 5. FUNDING FOR TENANT AND OTHER PARTICIPATION  
9           AND CAPACITY BUILDING.**

10       Paragraph (3) of section 514(f) of the Multifamily  
11 Assisted Housing Reform and Affordability Act of 1997  
12 (42 U.S.C. 1437f note) is amended—

13           (1) in subparagraph (A)—

14              (A) in the first sentence—

15                  (i) by striking “not more than” and  
16                  inserting “not less than”;

17                  (ii) by striking “of low-income housing  
18                  for which project-based rental assistance is  
19                  provided at below market rent levels and  
20                  may not be renewed (including transfer of  
21                  developments to tenant groups, nonprofit  
22                  organizations, and public entities), for ten-  
23                  tant services” and inserting the following:  
24                  “and improvement of low-income housing  
25                  for which project-based rental assistance,

1                   public housing subsidies, low-income hous-  
2                   ing tax credits, Federal or State subsidized  
3                   loans, enhanced vouchers under section  
4                   8(t), or project-based vouchers under sec-  
5                   tion 8(o) are provided or proposed”; and

6                         (iii) in the second parenthetical  
7                   clause, by inserting before the closing pa-  
8                   renthesis the following: “, and  
9                   predevelopment assistance to enable such  
10                  transfers”; and

11                  (B) by inserting after the period at the end  
12                  the following: “For outreach and training of  
13                  tenants and technical assistance, the Secretary  
14                  shall implement a grant program utilizing per-  
15                  formance-based outcome measures for eligible  
16                  costs incurred. Recipients providing capacity  
17                  building or technical assistance services to ten-  
18                  ant groups shall be qualified nonprofit state-  
19                  wide, countywide, area-wide, or city-wide orga-  
20                  nizations with demonstrated experience includ-  
21                  ing at least a two-year recent track record of  
22                  organizing and providing assistance to tenants,  
23                  and independence from the owner, a prospective  
24                  purchaser, or their managing agents. The Sec-  
25                  retary may provide assistance and training to

1 grantees in administrative and fiscal manage-  
2 ment to ensure compliance with applicable Fed-  
3 eral requirements. The Secretary shall expedite  
4 the provision of funding for the fiscal year in  
5 which the date of the enactment of this Act oc-  
6 curs and by entering into an interagency agree-  
7 ment for not less than \$1,000,000 with the  
8 Corporation for National and Community Serv-  
9 ice to conduct a tenant outreach and training  
10 program to eligible housing under this sub-  
11 section. The Secretary shall also make available  
12 flexible grants to qualified nonprofit organiza-  
13 tions that do not own eligible multifamily prop-  
14 erties, for tenant outreach in underserved areas,  
15 and to experienced national or regional non-  
16 profit organizations to provide specialized train-  
17 ing or support to grantees assisted under this  
18 section. Notwithstanding any other provision of  
19 law, funds authorized under this paragraph for  
20 any fiscal year shall be available for obligation  
21 in subsequent fiscal years. The Secretary shall  
22 require each recipient of amounts made avail-  
23 able pursuant to this subparagraph to submit  
24 to the Secretary reports, on a quarterly basis,  
25 detailing the use of such funds and including

1           such information as the Secretary shall re-  
2           quire.”.

3 **SEC. 6. CLARIFICATION OF TENANT PARTICIPATION IN**  
4           **MULTI-FAMILY PROJECTS.**

5           Section 202(a) of the Housing and Community De-  
6 velopment Amendments of 1978 (12 U.S.C. 1715z–1b(a))  
7 is amended by striking “under section 1437f of title 42”  
8 and inserting “under section 1437f of title 42, including  
9 a project assisted under section 8(o)(13) of the Housing  
10 Act of 1937”.

11 **SEC. 7. RULEMAKING.**

12          The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development  
13 shall, not later than 1 year after the date of the enactment  
14 of this section, issue a rule revising section 964.150 of  
15 title 24, Code of Federal Regulations, to permit housing  
16 agencies to fund \$25 per unit per year for units rep-  
17 resented by duly elected resident councils for resident serv-  
18 ices.

19 **SEC. 8. SURVEY.**

20          (a) **IN GENERAL.**—The Secretary of Housing and  
21 Urban Development shall, not later than 1 year after the  
22 date of the enactment of this section, develop a resident  
23 survey protocol based on the National Standards for the  
24 Physical Inspection of Real Estate, that is designed to col-

1 lect insights on resident experiences with the inspection  
2 process.

3 (b) USE OF INFORMATION.—Information collected  
4 through the survey protocol developed pursuant to sub-  
5 section (a) shall be used to—

6 (1) identify inspection-related challenges for  
7 residents;

8 (2) improve the satisfaction of residents with  
9 respect to their housing conditions;

10 (3) ensure resident voices are heard; and  
11 (4) provide quality control.

