DENVER HOUSING STABILITY

2024 Serial Evictions Report

Executive Summary:

In February 2024 the Denver County eviction court judges reached out to HOST staff to share concerning data on residents chronically facing eviction. "While some landlords do file intending to remove tenants, others use eviction filings as a way to collect rent and additional fees. That results in the phenomenon of *serial eviction filings*.[1]" The purpose of this document is to outline the results of that serial evictions[2] data and to summarize the conclusions and recommendations.

Between January 2022 and January 2024 there were approximately 22,338 total eviction filings. 5299 of the total eviction filings were from households facing eviction three or more times. Those 5299 eviction filings belonged to 1497 households; **about 7% of people facing eviction from January 2022 to January 2024, representing 23% of total eviction filings within that same timeframe**. In addition to the overwhelming representation of chronically unstable households in eviction data, another concern is the conversion of those cases to writs[3] being issued. **Of households facing serial evictions in 2022, 2023, and January 2024, 77% of them ultimately resulted in a writ being issued.** The total percentage of writs issued in 2023 was around 47% of total eviction filings and 51% in 2022. HOST's investments in both rental assistance and eviction legal defense contracts have undoubtedly contributed to the decrease in writs issued. However, since writs were issued for more than ¾ of households facing chronic eviction, an adjustment to existing city investments is needed to mitigate displacement into homelessness. National data cites, "**eviction filings increased the probability of using an emergency shelter by 3.4 percentage points… those 3.4 percentage points leads to a 300% increase relative to those not evicted"**[i]. Locally, about 32% of Denver County shelter stayers cited eviction as their reason for homelessness, which is presumed to be an undercount since data is only available for about 25% of all shelter stayers.[ii]

Mayor Mike Johnston has shown unwavering attention to resolving homelessness in Denver County. Most of his current initiatives intervene at a point after the crisis of becoming unhoused has already occurred. While eviction filings are not the sole contributing circumstance to experiences of homelessness, the prevalence of writs among households chronically facing eviction suggests **the City's greatest opportunity to disrupt inflow into homelessness is to target the 1497 households habitually fighting evictions**. These households are at high risk of homelessness because having a writ issued means the Sheriff is scheduled to physically remove them and their belongings from the home. Healthcare, criminal justice, and foster care systems also bear responsibility for inflow into homelessness. Though, if chronic housing instability is a symptom of other life circumstances, each of these systems' clients may engage with eviction court before experiencing homelessness. HOST can disrupt trajectories into homelessness by learning where housing instability intersects with other systemic contributors to homelessness.

The HOST Stability Team is developing a handful of pilot programs that seek to resolve housing instability upstream. These program proposals have been developed with the serial evictions data in mind and include the following:

- **HOST Shallow Rental Subsidy (SRS) Program Proposal.pdf (Kayla's Proposal)**
  The program seeks to support Denver's lowest income residents by providing a shallow subsidy over a predetermined timeframe to relieve their housing cost burdens so they may stabilize and stay in their homes.

In addition to the current pilot programs already drafted, there are additional program ideas that aim to intervene at the intersection with other systems whose clientele may engage with homeless services.

- **Medical Legal Partnership Pilot**
  This pilot program does not yet have a drafted scope of work as it is in the earliest stages of development. The objective is to fund a legal assistance partnership between a HOST eviction legal defense contractor and Denver Health. This program meets people at the intersection of health crisis and need for legal assistance. Below is an

[1] https://evictionlab.org/serial-eviction-filings/

[2] **Serial evictions**- for the purposes of this project, "serial evictions" is meant to include any household facing eviction three or more times within a two-year time frame.

[3] **Writ**- a writ of restitution is a court order requiring the county Sheriff to remove a tenant from a rental unit and restore possession to the landlord.

executive summary of a similar pilot recently done through Kaiser Permanente's national Office of Community Health. HOST is hoping to fund a similar initiative in 2026.

- Health-Housing-and-Justice-evaluation-executive-summary-6.6.24.pdf

More pilot program ideation focused on the intersections of housing instability and foster care and criminal justice systems, respectively, is forthcoming in 2025. These future focused pilot programs are designed to provide comprehensive wraparound supports to households at risk of displacement and homelessness. Existing HOST programming has proven to be valuable and effective, but there are still gaps as evidenced by the fact that 7% of households facing eviction are responsible for 23% of eviction filings. More can be done, and improvements can be made to current programming to better serve Denver residents. By targeting households habitually facing eviction, a reduction in the number of households at risk of homelessness resulting from an eviction is expected. By focusing on these households in particular, HOST may be able to disseminate rental assistance funds more efficiently to households at the highest risk of experiencing homelessness. This analysis of serial eviction data also provides insight into the apartment complexes which house residents habitually facing eviction. Many of these apartment complexes are in Denver neighborhoods with higher-than-average eviction rates and thus have residents at greater risk of involuntary displacement and homelessness. Despite the data limitations of this project, further explored in the 2024 Serial EVICTIONS APPENDIX.pdf, HOST was able to complete the project with enough information for future ideation to decrease eviction filings and reduce inflow to homelessness.

Eviction Legal Defense Project Findings:

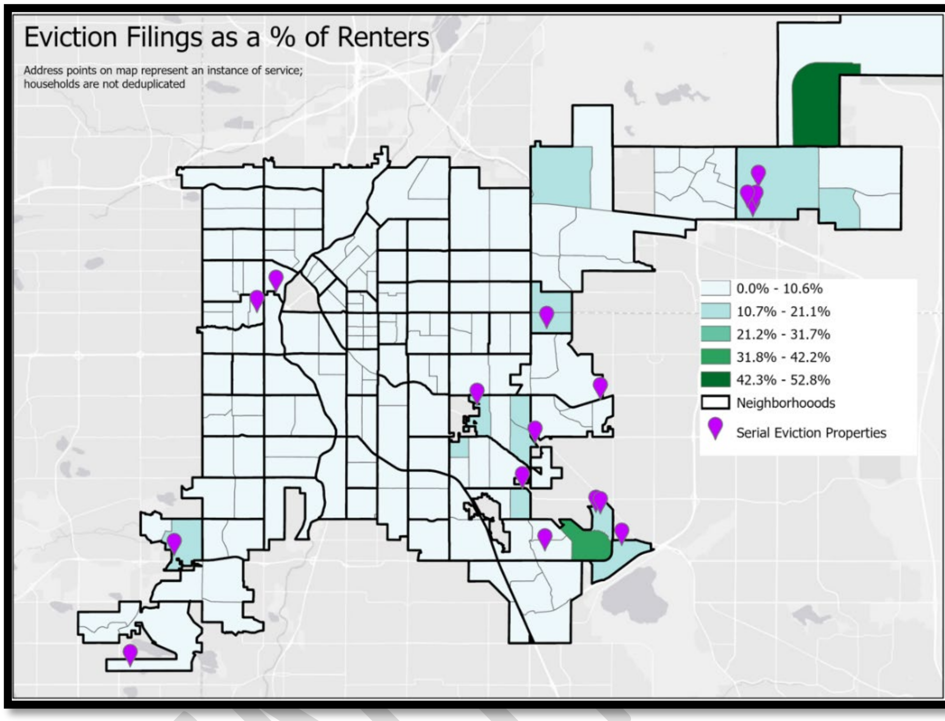
In addition to analyzing the conversion rate of eviction filings to writs issued among chronically evicted households, this document reviews the approximate cost to the City to provide eviction legal defense and rental assistance to these households. HOST staff were able to estimate the approximate amount of City funds spent by eviction legal defense contracts to represent households chronically facing eviction, with some caveats. To get to this amount, data submitted by HOST eviction legal defense contractors from 2022-2023 was combined and compared to the list of serial evictions data by address. **Less than 10% of eviction legal defense funding ($268,615.89) has been spent to serve households facing chronic eviction.** The presumed $268,615.89 spent on households facing chronic eviction from 2022-2023 is likely an undercount as explained in the appendix. But even if that number was doubled and $268,615.89 was the amount spent in 2023 alone, only 17% of eviction legal defense funds were spent to serve this population. This can mean a couple different things:

Eviction Defense Contracts Amount Spent		
YEAR	Households Served	Amount of Funds Spent
2022	1544	$1,355,652.82
2023	2835	$ 1,728,250.40
Jan 2024	238	$145,125.10
TOTAL	4379	$ 3,229,028.32

1. Households facing chronic eviction do not access existing available legal services;
2. Households facing chronic eviction are more likely to self-evict before seeking legal assistance;
3. Households facing chronic eviction engage legal services so late in the process that only limited legal assistance can be provided (which typically costs less than full legal representation)

Received Eviction Legal Assistance		
Was assistance received?	**# of HHs**	**%**
maybe	672	**45%**
no	592	**40%**
yes	233	**15%**
Grand Total	**1497**	**100%**

Ultimately, the reason 40% of households facing serial eviction having limited access to available legal assistance can never be known. Though HOST's recent pilot to place legal services on site at the City and County Building has seen an 81% increase in households served from 2022 to 2023. However, the disparity in caseloads throughout the week at the on-site eviction clinic suggests there may be opportunities to increase access to legal assistance. Just one plaintiff controls the docket on Wednesdays and Fridays, the busiest days at the clinic. These days are so busy that the fully staffed eviction clinic must sometimes turn people away due to high volume. Perhaps if there were a more even distribution of cases throughout the week, it would increase access to legal assistance for the most vulnerable residents facing eviction and possible housing displacement or homelessness. Of households facing chronic eviction, between 15% and 60% had legal representation in an eviction. The reason for the large range in percentage is due to data limitations. Specifically, sometimes unit numbers are not available in the data provided by eviction legal defense contractors. To track this, households whose address appeared in the eviction legal defense contractor data without a unit number, were listed as maybe in the Received Eviction Legal Assistance table above. As in, "*maybe* the household had legal representation during their eviction". Even though less money is spent supporting households facing serial evictions, these households represent more than half of the total cases served across all four eviction legal defense contracts in 2022 and 2023.



Writ Data:

There are a total of 575 apartment complexes represented in the serial eviction data. That means 5299 evictions, affecting 1497 households, occurred at 575 different apartment complexes. The apartment complexes with residents with the highest recurrence of evictions have a 78% conversion rate from eviction filing to writ issuance. That's a rate even higher than the 77% conversation eviction filing-to-writ ratio among all serial eviction households. The chart to the left offers exact conversion percentages for each of the top apartment complexes with the most residents facing serial evictions. These are the top 18 apartment complexes with the highest recurrence of eviction filings at the same address, presumably for the same households. The column titled 'Grand Total' represents the number of times the address appears in the chronic data sheet. However, each time the address appears, it can be attached to more than one eviction filing. Three apartment complexes have a 100% conversion rate from eviction filing to writ issuance. Those are highlighted in green. The orange highlights those with a conversion percentage above 78%, which is the average conversion rate for the apartment complexes with the most residents facing eviction.

Top Evicting Apartment Complexes & Writ Data				
Count of Individual UCI				**Conversion**
Row Labels	**no**	**yes**	**Grand Total**	**% for writs**
10000 E Alameda	5	9	14	64.3
10700 E Dartmou		15	15	100.0
1211 S Quebec W	6	9	15	60.0
16199 Green Val	6	9	15	60.0
1975 Mile High	7	11	18	61.1
2570 S Dayton W	3	11	14	78.6
3200 W Colfax A	5	10	15	66.7
3300 S Tamarac	5	10	15	66.7
4255 N Kittredg		14	14	100.0
4550 N Kittredg	8	20	28	71.4
4699 N Kittredg	6	30	36	83.3
5100 Leetsdale		13	13	100.0
6300 E Hampden	2	10	12	83.3
6301 W Hampden	4	11	15	73.3
6900 E Evans Av	1	15	16	93.8
8000 E 12th Ave	2	23	25	92.0
8000 W Crestlin	7	17	24	70.8
9888 E Vassar D	2	10	12	83.3
Grand Total	**69**	**247**	**316**	78.164557

Note: There is a difference between the *highest evicting* apartment complexes and the apartment complexes with *residents habitually facing eviction*. They're not the same. The highest evictor in Denver County is Denver Housing Authority. Their residents, however, do not face serial eviction filings, as none of their properties appear on the serial evictions list.

Rental Assistance Programs Project Findings:

The rental assistance data portion of this project has been undoubtedly the most difficult to obtain. HOST staff have only been able to obtain rental assistance information on 23% of the households listed on the serial evictions list. This is in large part due to the data collection systems where rent assistance information is held. There is also a staunch difference in the data collection components between the Denver County Court and rental assistance systems. More information about why HOST could only obtain rent assistance information on 23% of serial evictions households can be found in the 2024 Serial EVICTIONS APPENDIX.pdf. That said, there is still great information available. HOST found rental assistance data on 351 of the 1497 (23%) households on the serial evictions list. Those 23% of households utilized approximately $4,564,523.22. There was roughly $46 million available in rental assistance funds for Denver County from January 2022-January 2024. This dollar amount is inclusive of both Temporary Rent and Utility Assistance (TRUA) and Emergency Rental Assistance Program (ERAP) dollars. About 10% of the available rental assistance funds went to households chronically facing eviction. This is almost identical to what occurred with the eviction legal defense funds, though that amount spent is a presumed undercount. Because there were so many challenges to getting accurate rental assistance information for each household on the serial evictions list, HOST staff researched approximate amounts paid to apartment complexes with residents chronically facing eviction. Across the apartment complexes with the greatest prevalence of serial evictions, there was $1.6 million in ERAP funds paid out for households facing eviction from 2022-2023.

2022-2023 Denver ERAP Payments

Property Address (UCI)	Property Address	Landlord Name	ERAP $ Disbursed	# Paid ERAP Cases	# Filings (incl. duplicate HHs)
10000 E Alam	10000 E Alameda	The Ridge at Lowry	$107,767.70	10	15
10700 E Dart	10700 E Dartmouth Ave	Revive At 9 Mile Station	$49,069.08	6	20
1211 S Quebe	1211 S Quebec Way	Advenir at Cherry Creek South	$60,064.04	6	16
16199 Green	16199 E Green Valley Blvd	Parkfield Apartments	$199,987.40	20	17
1975 Mile Hi	1975 Mile High Stadium Cir	Turntable Studios	$31,515.96	5	19
2570 S Dayto	2570 S Dayton Way	Sage at Panorama Apartments	$104,334.75	14	19
3200 W Colfa	3200 W Colfax Ave	Luxe at Mile High	$34,319.26	4	16
3300 S Tamar	3300 S Tamarac Dr	3300 Tamarac	$129,404.35	17	18
4255 N Kittr	4255 N Kittredge St	Gateway Park Apartments	$18,243.29	3	21
4550 N Kittr	4550 N Kittredge St	Station A Apartments at Gateway	$145,171.43	19	28
4699 N Kittr	4699 N Kittredge St	Cortland Gateway Park	$308,740.99	29	40
5100 Leetsda	5100 Leetsdale Dr	The Atrii Apartments	$24,355.11	4	17
6301 W Hampd	6301 W Hampden Ave	The Modern Apartments	$34,853.20	4	18
6900 E Evans	6900 E Evans Ave	Mosaic Apartments	$120,114.86	19	17
8000 E 12th	8000 E 12th Ave	Novi at Lowry	$245,952.03	29	29
8000 W Crest	8000 W Crestline Ave	Westlake Greens	$17,238.78	2	24
9888 E Vassa	9888 E Vassar Dr	Alta Springs Apartments	$55,088.32	10	16
			$1,686,220.55	**201**	**350**

When the top serial evictions apartment complexes are mapped out, there is visible alignment with neighborhoods with higher-than-average eviction filings. What is most evident is that households facing serial evictions utilized rental assistance, but it didn't resolve their housing instability, because they showed up on the serial evictions list.

The logical conclusion is that it's not enough to pay someone's rent and expect them to stabilize. The underlying reason for a household's housing instability can't be resolved with rental assistance alone. Rather, rent assistance delays the inevitable. Deploying wraparound supports beyond paying rent may allow these households to resolve their instability in a manner that does not see them return to utilize limited rental assistance dollars. This approach will be explored in 2025 through a partnership between TRUA and Denver Public Schools. Providing a shallow subsidy, as outlined in **HOST Shallow Rental Subsidy (SRS) Program Proposal.pdf**, guarantees a small amount of ongoing additional funding to ensure households never get to the point of not being able to pay rent. The overall objective of the housing stability pillar of HOST is to connect to households upstream from homelessness and provide stabilizing resources. While immediate direct financial assistance is attractive and helpful to unstable households, this report illustrates the need for supports further upstream from the eviction crisis. Investments in various pilot programs that intersect with other systems, like healthcare, criminal justice, and foster care, to capture unstable Denver residents before the need for rental assistance arises is necessary and worthwhile investment.

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[i] Eviction and Poverty in American Cities - 2024

[ii] Data on Evictions Leading to Homelessness