

Tenant Legal Services Ordinance 2025 Annual Report

This report is required as outlined in Denver’s Revised Municipal Code, [Chapter 27, Article IX](#). The executive director of the Department of Housing Stability (HOST) shall submit an annual report to City Council fifteen (15) months following the execution of contracts funded under section 27-213 that will be used to assess the program and access to legal representation under this article. The annual report shall include information from the prior year regarding:

- (a) Number of covered individuals¹ served or denied services;
- (b) Description of legal representation performed and cost per case;
- (c) Income levels of covered individuals served and covered individuals who were denied service for income qualification;
- (d) Information that was voluntarily disclosed concerning demographics of individuals served; and,
- (e) Case disposition or outcome data.

The following data summary is inclusive of the four HOST contractors’ data collection for the Tenant Legal Services contracts for 2025 (Colorado Legal Services, Colorado Poverty Law Project, Colorado Affordable Legal Services, Community Economic Defense Project).

A: Number of Covered Individuals Served: **3,584**

B: Cost Per Case and Description of Legal Services:

i. Cost Per Case²: **\$681.87**

ii. Description of Legal Services

Full Representation:³

If it is determined that full representation is needed, the contractor is responsible for overseeing activities such as legal research, document filings, and court appearances. Full representation includes, but is not limited to:

- Performing relevant legal research and discovering facts of the opposing party
- Advising the client and drafting correspondence and documents
- Ensuring the correct forms, pleadings, and other documents are completed and filed on time
- Negotiating on client’s behalf with opposing counsel or landlord
- Navigating the court processes like entering evidence, questioning witnesses, and making objections

Limited Representation:⁴

Limited representation works best for cases that are not technical or complex or do not require a court appearance. Limited scope representation is when an attorney provides short-term limited legal services to a client without expectation by either the lawyer or the client that the lawyer will provide continuing representation in the matter, primarily provide assistance/recommendations with settlements or negotiations. Limited representation includes, but is not limited to, the following activities:

- All activities included in Colorado Rules of County Court Civil Procedure Rule 311 Signing of Pleadings
- Provide legal advice and guidance on eviction process
- Support with completion/correction of documents
- Advise on next steps during an eviction
- Review documents provided by the court or plaintiff to the defendant

Individuals Served or Denied		
Full Representation	604	17%
Limited Representation	2980	83%
Total Served	3584	100%
Denials (over income)	29	<1%

¹ **Covered Individuals:** an individual seeking access to legal services who occupies for remuneration a building, structure, or dwelling unit as set forth in the Denver Zoning Code, including those owned, operated, or managed by the Denver Housing Authority, and whose income is equal to or less than eighty (80) percent of the area median income as defined in [27-103](#), D.R.M.C.

² **Cost Per Case:** Cost per case is calculated by dividing the total amount spent by the total number of households served. The increase from 2024 (\$604) is likely the result of HOST transitioning to a fee for service model. All limited representation cases are paid a flat rate of \$600 and full representation cases are paid a flat rate of \$1300. The fee for service model results in less variance in average cost per case across all four contracts.

³ Summarized from [Chapter 25 - The Colorado Rules of County Court Civil Procedure](#)

⁴ Summarized from [Chapter 25 - The Colorado Rules of County Court Civil Procedure](#)

Tenant Legal Services Ordinance 2025 Annual Report

C: Income Levels of Covered Individuals:

Income Levels of Covered Individuals		
< 30% AMI	2819	78%
31% - 50% AMI	562	16%
51% - 80% AMI	203	6%
TOTAL	3584	100%
Income ineligible	29	<1%

D: Voluntarily Disclosed Demographics:

Race	#	%
American Indian / Alaska Native	76	2%
Asian	37	1%
Black or African American	1079	30%
Multi-Racial / Other ¹	940	26%
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	59	2%
White	1393	39%
TOTAL	3584	100%

Ethnicity	#	%
Hispanic/Latino	1332	36.6%
Non-Hispanic/ Non-Latino	2036	56.2%
Declined To Respond	216	7.2%
Additional Demographics	#	%
Female-Headed Household	1803	50%
Households with a Person with Disability	1242	35%
Households in Subsidized Housing	641	18%
Households with a Person over age 62	386	11%

E: Case Disposition/Outcome Data¹:

Case Disposition/Outcome	#	%
Case Dismissed	1192	33%
Client had to move with or without additional time provided	66	2%
Filing An Answer or other brief legal service	1257	35%
Stipulation Agreement Entered	463	13%
Judgement Vacated	361	10%
Judgement for Possession	238	7%

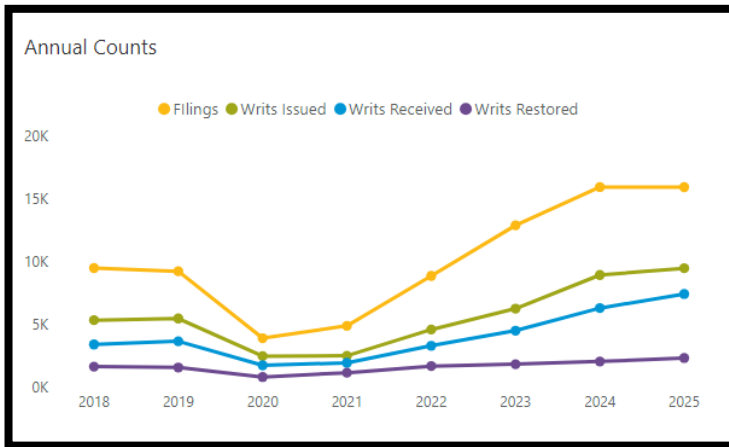
Most case outcomes continue to be a combination of *case dismissed* and *filing an answer*. Contractors continue to serve most households with limited legal assistance, which rarely lends itself to knowing an outcome beyond the final case disposition at time of service. Since improvement efforts around data collection for the program began in 2024, there have been several additional data points providers wanted to include in this annual report. One such data point collected this year found that over 90% (3263 cases) of the households served were facing eviction due to non-payment of rent. The information provided also showed that although warranty of habitability issues was the only documented reason for an eviction in a handful of cases this year, additional data collected by our providers cited a concern about warranty of habitability in 715 other cases where non-payment of rent was the primary reason for the eviction. Since legislation passed in 2024 [SB 24-094](#) allowing warranty of habitability as an affirmative defense to evictions, it is

Tenant Legal Services Ordinance 2025 Annual Report

expected to be a more common occurrence. Lastly, the eviction clinic saw 13 households facing imminent homelessness with the loss of a Housing Choice Voucher or other type of affordable housing subsidy. Colorado Legal Services, our experts in subsidized housing cases, successfully prevented the loss of eight of those subsidies and reversed the other five, preserving the housing resource for those households.

F: Eviction Dashboard

[HOST Eviction Dashboard](#)



[Open in Power BI](#)

Denver Evictions Dashboard

Data as of 2/10/26, 11:21 AM

Filtered by Year (is greater than or equal to 2018 and is less than or equal to 2025)

This year the HOST data team launched an eviction dashboard to help measure and understand eviction metrics from Denver County Court and Sheriff Department. Despite the rising eviction filings, the number of writsⁱⁱ issued, received, and restored have not increased at the same rate. Most tenants are not forcibly removed from their homes. This type of removal after an eviction is a rare occurrence and has been since before the pandemic. Significantly reducing the number of eviction filings would require state legislative changes to allow or require an eviction diversion program. One recent example of this type of program has been implemented in [Philadelphia](#).

G: Eviction Clinic:

For the first time since the pandemic, eviction filings did not increase from 2024 (15,960) to 2025 (15,953). In 2025, the eviction clinic had 4,079 visitors, or 26% of the annual eviction filings. For several years, the total number of households served across eviction legal assistance contracts has been about 20% of the annual filings (22% in 2025). The eviction clinic does seem to be increasing access to residents who would otherwise not seek legal assistance in an eviction. However, data suggests there are many households who do not come to the eviction clinic or reach out to our providers for assistance directly. Unfortunately, due to the inequitable daily case distribution, some eviction clinic visitors are turned away before getting free legal assistance. Despite being able to serve approximately 300 households per month, legal providers face challenges in serving every tenant needing assistance at the eviction clinic, particularly on Wednesdays. This is because eviction court allows the plaintiff to select the date of the initial appearance. Tschetter Sulzer and Muccio, the leading eviction law firm, schedules Returnsⁱⁱⁱ primarily on Wednesdays. Tenants who are being evicted by a landlord represented by Tschetter Sulzer and Muccio are more likely to be turned away from the clinic because of the higher volume of cases scheduled on Wednesdays. This inequitable case distribution throughout the week is most felt by tenants who are eligible for free assistance but are unable to be seen. The eviction clinic cannot assist 200 people needing assistance with filing an answer, signing a stipulation or preparing to go to trial in a single morning. Caps on the number of FED cases that can be filed on a given day could solve this problem and could increase access to justice for tenants. [Boulder County](#), for example, has implemented a weekly cap on the number of cases that can be filed and a cap on the number of cases a single law firm can file each week.

H: Serial Evictions

Last year's annual report referenced an analysis of households facing serial eviction filings between 2022 and 2024. Though a new analysis was not completed in 2025, data from that initial report found 5,299 eviction filings came from 1,497 households between January 2022 and January 2024. 7% of households facing eviction represented 23% of total eviction filings. HOST continues to explore ways to reduce serial evictions and ensure households are stabilized long-term.

Tenant Legal Services Ordinance 2025 Annual Report

-
- ⁱ **Case Dismissed** – it is reasonable to assume that a ‘case dismissed’ outcome means the tenant remained in their home.
 - **Client had to move with or without additional time provided** – this outcome is self-explanatory though it is preferable to have additional time to move.
 - **Filing An Answer or other brief legal service** – this is a required step in the eviction process. Tenants are required to file an answer as an initial step to defending themselves against an eviction filing.
 - **Stipulation Agreement Entered** – this is a legally binding contract between a landlord’s attorney and tenant, whereby filing an answer and going to court is bypassed by a tenant signing an agreement. Usually these require the tenant to pay a rental arrears, and in exchange a landlord may agree to seal the eviction record upon compliance with the stipulation agreement and either remain in the home or vacate by a certain date.
 - **Referral to Rental Assistance** –Most eviction cases come to these contractors due to nonpayment of rent. Though only a small percentage of households have this category as their primary outcome, it is reasonable to assume that households are referred to rental assistance or vice versa, or that households had already applied to rental assistance when engaging with eviction legal assistance.
 - **Judgment for Possession**- this means the judge ruled in favor of the plaintiff and possession of the unit is to be returned to the landlord.
 - **Judgment Vacated**- To set aside or annul a previous judgment or order.
-
- ⁱⁱ **Writ Issued**: writ of restitution issued by Denver County Court. A Writ of Restitution is a court order issued after a landlord wins an eviction lawsuit. It authorizes law enforcement (Sheriff Department) to physically remove a tenant and their belongings from a property and restore possession to the landlord.
 - **Writ Received**: writ of restitution received by the Sheriff Department
 - **Writ Restored**: Documentation that a sheriff deputy has removed a tenant from a rental property, where the property was restored to the property owner. This is considered a completed eviction.
-
- ⁱⁱⁱ **Return**: the initial, mandatory deadline listed on a Summons by which a tenant must appear in court, file a written answer, or reach an agreement with their landlord.