

Evictions in Travis County and in the City of Austin

BASTA Austin, April 2024



BUSCANDO ACCIÓN Y SOLIDARIDAD QUE
TRANSFORME EL ARRENDAMIENTO
¡BASTA!
BUILDING AND STRENGTHENING
TENANT ACTION

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Executive summary

At Building and Strengthening Tenants Action or *Buscando Acción y Solidaridad que Transforme el Arrendamiento* (BASTA), we believe it is imperative to dismantle the systems that prevent Austin residents from living in dignified and healthy homes. A fundamental component of these systems is the imbalance of power in the landlord-tenant relationship, the root of which lies in the ability to evict. While many landlords may say that evictions are a tool of last resort, on the ground we routinely see managers and landlords wield the threat of an eviction as a weapon when tenants ask for repairs or speak up for their neighbors. Many Austin tenants are just one misfortune away from falling behind on rent, and a property manager has the power to decide whether to give the tenant more time to pay or whether to proceed with an eviction.

The first of its kind in Travis County, this report is based on the data and stories that BASTA has collected over the last two years. We begin by laying out the problem and discussing how evictions devastate the lives of Austinites, with stories that illuminate the issue. We break down the eviction process for tenants who live in the City of Austin and Travis County, from filing to writ of possession. Next, we share our methodology for collecting and analyzing eviction data from 2014 to present and lay out a number of different eviction prevention interventions that have been used locally and nationally. These include long-term rental assistance through vouchers, the right to counsel, rental registries, fines and fees regulation, as well as eviction prevention plans, which aim to change property management behavior to avoid an eviction filing in the first place. At the end of the report, we offer snapshots of evictions in each of the council districts and commissioner precincts to help better understand eviction filings by geography.

Along with the report, we have also launched a [dashboard](#) of eviction filings in Travis County where the public can explore real-time data. We describe this dashboard in detail in the report. It is important to note, though, that many evictions – informal evictions – are not captured in this data because there is no way to track when a tenant moves out before a formal eviction is filed. Up until now, there has not been a comprehensive dataset of eviction filings in Travis County with census tract level precision and breakdowns of case outcomes.

We hope this report and the accompanying dashboard start a dialogue in our community about how we can harness creative interventions to ensure that no Austinite or Travis County resident lives in fear of being unhoused.

Key Findings

1. Evictions are growing in Travis County.

Evictions skyrocketed in the pre-pandemic period in Travis County, with 7,966 evictions filed in 2014 and 11,896 evictions filed in 2019. With pandemic-era protections in place, they plummeted in 2020 and 2021 – 3,402 and 1,683 filings, respectively – but began to rebound in 2022. By 2023, Travis County saw 10,524 eviction filings. While 2023 filings did not surpass 2019 filings, in October 2023 we saw the most filings per month ever recorded: 1,178. If the trends of the end of

2023 continue, 2024 will likely have the highest number of evictions on record. From 2014-2023, Austin's renter population also increased, which accounts, in part, for the increase in eviction filings numbers. However, because the incomes of new Austin renters trended higher (12.5% of Austin renters earned over \$100K in 2014 compared to 31.2% in 2022), it is likely that lower-income renters are more at-risk of eviction than ever before.

2. Evictions are disproportionately filed where people of color live.

We were able to conduct property-level analysis of evictions in Travis County and, accordingly, were able to analyze the geographic breakdown of evictions. This allows us to show that evictions in Travis County, like in many other US locales, are filed disproportionately where people of color live. When one views the eviction filing rate map side by side with a map of census tracts with predominantly people of color (which corresponds to the Eastern Crescent), one can see the correlation.

3. The right-to-cure ordinance lowered eviction filing rates, especially in communities of color.

An important intervention that affected evictions in the City of Austin was the city's right-to-cure ordinance passed in late 2022, which gave tenants extra time to resolve or "cure" lease violations like non-payment of rent before landlords were able to file an eviction with the courts. Using our property-level eviction data, we were able to compare the prevalence of evictions in the City of Austin, where the ordinance was in effect, with evictions outside the city, where tenants did not have this right to cure. We found that the ordinance had a substantial effect in communities of color in particular, reducing the number of evictions filed per 100 renter households by 27% in communities of color in Austin.

4. Twenty large properties are responsible for a disproportionate number of evictions.

By analyzing evictions at the property level, we were able to determine which properties filed the most evictions in 2022 and 2023. In 2023, the top five evicting properties alone – Starburst Apartments, The Morgan, Falls on Bull Creek, Abelia Flats, and Orbit Apartments – accounted for 685 eviction filings. If each of the 685 filings corresponded to a unique household, this would represent filings at over a third of the units at these properties. The top 20 evicting properties of 2023 account for 16.9% of all filings in the year. These top 20 properties account for less than 1% of the properties that filed evictions in 2022 and 2023. The top 20 evictors, along with top evictors in each council district and commissioner precinct can also be viewed on [our dashboard](#).

5. The justice court a tenant is assigned influences the case outcome.

In reviewing case outcomes by JP precinct, it is clear that a tenant's fate at an eviction hearing may be most impacted by which court they are sent to. For example, in 2023, JP 5 ruled in favor of tenants 7.9% of the time whereas JP 1 only ruled for tenants 0.1% of the time. The percent of cases where tenants received rulings in their favor in other precincts: JP 2 with 0.8%, JP 3 with 6.0%, and JP 4 with 3.9%. Dismissal and default judgment rates also differ by precinct.

Introduction

Evictions are at the heart of the landlord-tenant relationship; they frame every aspect of it and the thought of an eviction causes panic in almost every tenant. The threat of eviction is enough for a tenant to decide against asking for a repair or exerting other rights. Fifty-five percent of Austinites are renters and, thus, at risk of an eviction. Yet, there is very limited concrete data and analysis of evictions in Austin and Travis County. This report seeks to begin the process of understanding the scope and impact of evictions in Austin and Travis County.

As our affordability crisis has deepened, evictions in our city and in Travis County have increased. From 2014-2019, evictions in Travis County increased by 49%. While the number of evictions plummeted during the pandemic, eviction filings have almost returned to pre-pandemic levels over the course of 2022 and 2023. Simultaneously, rents increased 53% in Travis County¹ from 2014 to 2022. Tenants have also increasingly had junk fees for decoupled services, like valet trash or pest control, tagged on to rent, which are often not reflected in data on rents. Of course, if the rent increases and a tenant's income does not, it is more likely that just one financial



hardship may cause them to fall behind on rent, putting them at risk of eviction. Unaffordability and eviction rates are linked, and we know that eviction is one of the mechanisms of displacement.

Nationally, there has been an increased interest in evictions and their effects, with many studies showing the casual devastation evictions bring to already vulnerable communities. In Travis County, a landlord only needs \$135 to file an eviction and state law dictates that there should only be 21 days between filing and a final eviction hearing. Studies find that evictions are disproportionately filed against people of color and [against women of color in particular](#), that [tenants with children are more likely to lose](#) eviction cases, and that evictions are a [direct cause of homelessness](#). Evictions also [dramatically undermine future housing stability](#), even for tenants who eventually have their case dismissed, since any existing record in eviction court gets tenants screened out of future housing.

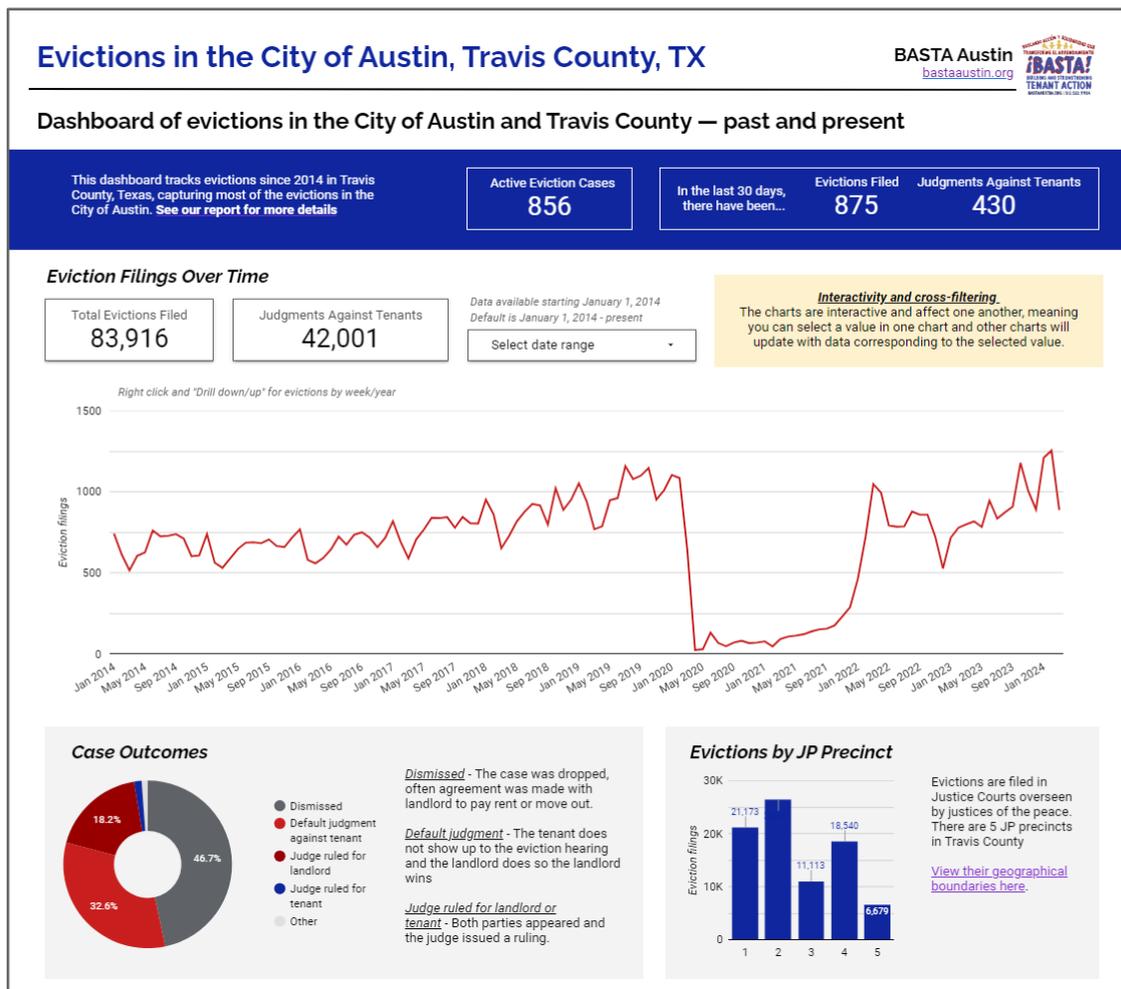
The data we rely on in this report is largely from the Travis County Justice of the Peace Courts, the courts hearing the vast majority of eviction cases. Notably, this data only captures formal evictions and not informal evictions, those where a tenant moves out after receiving a threat or warning from their landlord. [One study](#) found that for each formal eviction through the courts, there were

¹ U.S. Census Bureau *Selected Housing Characteristics* (Travis County, TX, 2022) distributed by the American Community Survey 5-year Estimates Data Profiles, DP04 <https://data.census.gov/table/ACSDP5Y2022.DP04?q=DP04&g=050XX00US48453>.

three informal evictions. This means that our data on evictions in Austin exposes only a part of the eviction story.

In this report, we start by sharing tenant stories. We then give an overview of the formal eviction process to establish the timeline for the legal proceedings and explain the geographical and property-specific factors that affect this process. Next, we discuss how BASTA began our work supporting tenants facing eviction and our ongoing activities. We then describe our methodology for obtaining and analyzing eviction data. Finally, we provide a brief overview of various programs that have been explored in Texas and other states aimed at preventing evictions.

Alongside this report, [we present our data in a dashboard available for all to view](#) and highlight some initial findings. You can see a preview of the dashboard below.



We hope that this report and the dashboard deepen the understanding of where evictions are happening and which properties are evicting the most people, while also providing insight into the existing work being done on the ground to support tenants going through evictions. We invite the larger Austin community and its leaders to engage in discussions around mitigating the unnecessary harms of evictions.

Evictions are More Than Just a Data Point

Statistics alone cannot tell the stories of how evictions deeply alter the trajectory of an individual or family. Advocates have known for years that people living in poverty are one accident or misfortune away from coming up short on rent and receiving an eviction notice. The pandemic only revealed how many people were in this precarious position. Over the past two years, BASTA has been calling tenants facing eviction. The following are some of the stories of how the unexpected hardships of life caused them to suddenly fall behind on rent and subsequently into the cycle of eviction and housing instability.²

Shantelle - Shantelle enjoyed a successful career in the legal field and, though employed and able to pay rent in full, ran into trouble when the online portal her management company required residents to use to pay rent randomly shut down. She contacted her landlord about the issue, just to be told that her only alternative was to pay by money order. Shantelle's shifts at the law office were twelve hours long, so there was no way to get a money order in time. She had no choice but to pay rent late. Immediately, she was fined \$400 in late fees. The next month, she once again had her rent payment ready in full but wasn't able to scrounge up the money to cover that unfair late fee. Without the late fee, her landlord wouldn't accept any of her rent payment and turned her away. Once again, she was forced to pay rent late and received another \$400 late fee.

Then, unexpectedly, she both tested positive for COVID and was let go from her job on the very same day. Her previous employer refused to pay the severance she had been expecting and, needing to make ends meet, Shantelle struggled through residual side effects of her infection to start driving for Favor. Despite continuing to work through her illness, she wasn't able to catch up with her mounting late fees. Her landlord filed for eviction.

Jamie - Jamie is a single mother who has paid rent on time for six years. Her landlord filed an eviction claiming that Jamie had fired a gun from inside the unit, which was prohibited activity. A bullet had indeed hit her door, but, at the time, Jamie hadn't even been on property. Jamie tried to pay rent on the first of the month, but the landlord wouldn't accept it, saying that he would



Art by Kate Proietti

² Names and some details have been changed to protect the identities of tenants who have gone through eviction.

proceed with the eviction for “illegal activity.” Scared and desperate, Jamie tried looking for somewhere else to live but couldn’t find a place she could afford.

In the end, she went to court and showed documents proving she was not responsible for the alleged illegal activity, and her case was dismissed. Still, being subjected to the anxiety of wondering whether she’d have to move to a far less affordable place and the uncertainty of whether she’d be locked out took a toll. A tenant like Jamie, who has done nothing wrong, still confronts the stress and indignities of the eviction process, even if they ultimately win their case. The eviction filing, despite being dismissed, will remain on her record, potentially jeopardizing her ability to move to a different home in the future.



Eva - When Eva’s husband unexpectedly passed away, it became difficult to make ends meet. A newly single mother carrying the burden of providing for her family all by herself, she was terrified that not being able to pay her rent would lead to an eviction. She repeatedly tried to make partial rent payments despite her lack of employment and tried to work with her landlord to create a payment plan while she looked for a job. Her landlord refused, and instead allowed the rent charges to stack up and even accrue additional late fees. Desperate for a solution, Eva contacted Travis County and was able to successfully apply for and receive rental assistance. Her landlord, however, would not accept the rental assistance money from the County and proceeded to file an eviction against her.

When we spoke to Eva, a few days before her hearing, she told us that on top of everything else, she had also recently been hospitalized for complications due to the extreme stress of her situation, especially her worries about what eviction might mean for her young children. With nowhere else to go, her unexpected loss, and an eviction filing now on her record, she feared living on the street was the only option.

As you read this report, keep these stories, and the thousands of stories like them, in mind.

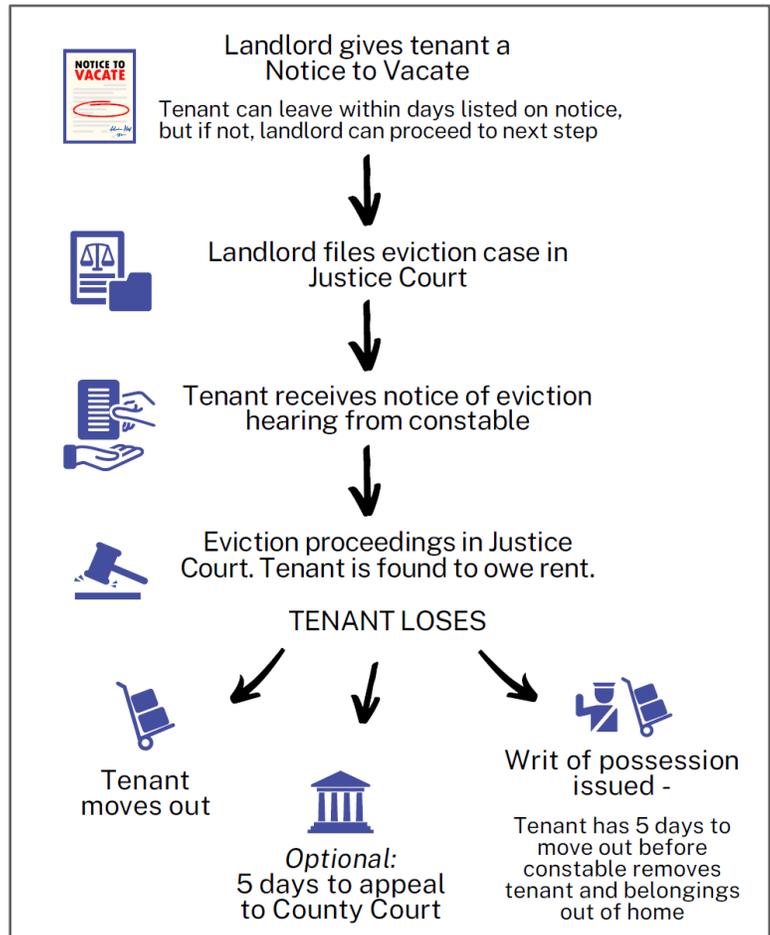
The Eviction Process

Evictions are civil court cases where the landlord brings suit against a tenant. To understand the data we are showing, it is helpful to get an overview of the eviction process.

Currently in Travis County, the process for an eviction will differ depending on whether a tenant lives in the City of Austin or not. The process may also be different if a tenant lives in subsidized housing, such as a Project-Based Section 8 development or public housing.

The general process is as follow:

1. The landlord must have a valid reason for the eviction, such as nonpayment of rent or a material breach of the lease agreement. Non-payment is the most common reason for eviction filings. Another reason an eviction might be filed is when a tenant is a “holdover,” meaning that the lease was not renewed and the tenant did not move out when they were supposed to. In some situations, a landlord may choose to not renew all leases at a property leading to the mass displacement of residents. Recently this has happened at properties such as Congress Mobile Home Park, Santa Fe and Clayton Lane Apartments, and GoGo Mobile Home Park. Often, where there is a non-renewal notice, tenants move out before the date on the notice and do not become “holdover” tenants.



2. Generally, a landlord starts the formal eviction process by giving a tenant a **notice to vacate** after the alleged breach. This notice must be delivered to a resident of the unit over the age of 16, posted on the inside of the tenant’s door, or sent by mail. It must state the date by which the tenant is required to vacate the property.

The Texas Apartment Association lease - the lease of the majority of Austin tenants - gives tenants only one day to vacate their unit. If no time period is stated in the lease, Chapter 24.005(a) of the Texas Property Code states that the notice to vacate period should be three days. The Federal CARES Act requires landlords at many properties to provide a 30-day notice, while subsidized housing programs also may provide additional notice

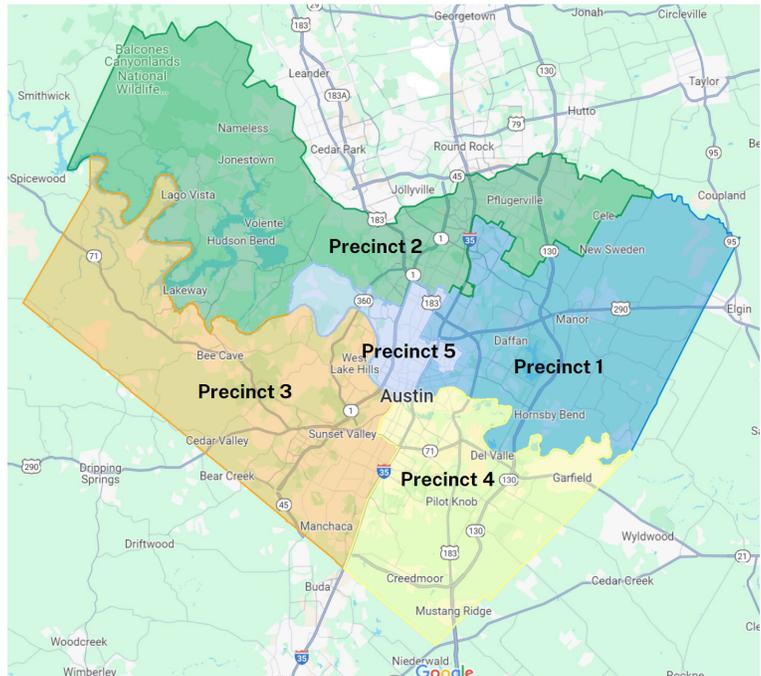
requirements. More information about additional eviction protections can be found in the next section.

The City of Austin enacted an [ordinance](#) in October 2022 requiring that a landlord provide a 7-day period to “cure” or fix most lease violations (there were some exceptions) before issuing a notice to vacate. However, the State Legislature’s passage of [HB 2127](#) puts that ordinance in jeopardy. There is currently litigation challenging HB 2127 and Travis County Justice Courts no longer appear to be enforcing the cure ordinance.

3. If the tenant does not vacate the property by the date specified in the notice to vacate, the landlord may **file an eviction case** in justice court to have the tenant removed from the property. It is at this point that the eviction becomes a formal eviction with a court record.

Eviction cases are almost always filed and heard in Justice of the Peace courts, also called justice courts. There are five Justice of the Peace precincts in Travis County. These precincts can be seen [here on the justice court website](#). The landlord must file the eviction case in the JP precinct corresponding to the location of the unit the tenant is living in.

Geographic boundaries of the justice courts do not naturally align with other governmental bodies in Travis County, like Commissioners Court or school district boundaries. In our jurisdiction snapshots later in this report, we include maps of how the justice court jurisdictions intersect with the Austin City Council districts and commissioner precincts.



4. After an eviction is filed, **a constable serves the tenant** (the defendant) with an eviction petition and a citation to appear in court. The citation contains the date and time of the eviction hearing, which is during regular working hours.
5. **The court then holds a hearing** to determine whether the eviction is legally permissible. Most hearings in Travis County are taking place in person but some justice courts are still conducting some hearings virtually. Texas Law states that the hearing must be held no earlier than 10 days and no later than 21 days after the filing.
6. On the date of the hearing, one of the following normally occurs:

- If the tenant does not show up to the hearing and the landlord does, the landlord can present evidence showing that the legal requirements for eviction have been met and win the case by default. This is called a *default judgment*.
 - If the landlord does not show up to the hearing, the case should be *dismissed for want of prosecution*.
 - If both the tenant and the landlord appear at the hearing, then the judge will make a ruling based on the evidence and testimony. The possible outcomes are that the *judge rules for the landlord, the judge rules for the tenant, or the judge dismisses the case*.
 - Parties can also ask for a continuance, which, if granted, will result in the case having a hearing set on another day.
 - A case might be *abated*, meaning that the case is paused while a procedural deficiency in the landlord's filing is corrected.
7. If the landlord wins the eviction case, either by default or by the judge's ruling, a tenant has 5 days to appeal the eviction judgment in County Court, which generally requires payment to the court in the form of an appeals bond or court registry payment. If the appeals period passes with no appeal, then the landlord can file for a **writ of possession**. Once the court issues the writ of possession, a constable posts a notice on the tenant's door stating that after 24 hours they will return to physically remove the tenant and the tenant's possessions from the property.



A writ of possession notice posted on a tenant's door by the constables.

Note that at any point in this process, the landlord can choose to *dismiss* (or “nonsuit”) the case. This can happen when the landlord and the tenant work out an agreement about the grounds for eviction or because the tenant has already moved out.

Additional Eviction Protections for Austin and Travis County Tenants

Federal CARES Act

The CARES Act, which had a myriad of eviction protections at the height of the pandemic, still protects many tenants in Austin and Travis County. The CARES Act requires a 30-day notice to

vacate at properties that receive federal subsidies or have federally-backed mortgages (e.g., Fannie Mae, Freddie Mac, FHA). There is no comprehensive list of all of these properties but more information on whether a property is covered under the CARES Act can be found on [our website](#).

Subsidized Housing

Various subsidized housing programs have additional eviction protections. These include:

- **Public Housing and Project-Based Section 8** - These federally-subsidized housing programs require landlords to have good cause to not renew a lease or evict and also give tenants an opportunity to fix problems and request meetings with their landlords before an eviction can proceed.
- **City of Austin Supported Properties**- Landlords that receive assistance through the Rental Housing Development Assistance program or have city-sponsored private activity bonds must give tenants a lease addendum that requires a good reason to evict or not renew a lease. The lease addendum also requires that the landlord give tenants 10 days to cure lease violations, including nonpayment of rent, and 30 days to move out.
- **Low-Income Housing Tax Credits (LIHTC)** - The vast majority of “affordable” subsidized housing in Austin is supported with federal tax credits. These properties do not require landlords to allow tenants to cure defaults in rent or other lease violations. They do require landlords to have good cause to not renew leases.

City of Austin’s Right-to-Cure Ordinance

The City of Austin passed an ordinance on October 27, 2022 that provided tenants in Austin with a right to fix problems before a landlord files a formal eviction. Under [this ordinance](#), a landlord was required to give tenants a notice of proposed eviction before they could proceed with a notice to vacate. In addition to the notice of proposed eviction, the landlord was supposed to provide a “notice of tenants’ rights with information and resources. This notice of proposed eviction had to give tenants at least 7 days to fix the lease violation, such as paying back rent, before a landlord could proceed with an eviction. Certain lease violations were excepted from the notice requirement, such situations where there was an imminent threat of physical harm, criminal activity or intentional damage to a property. However, the State Legislature’s passage of [HB 2127](#) puts that ordinance in jeopardy. There is currently litigation challenging HB 2127, and Travis County Justice Courts no longer appear to be enforcing the cure ordinance.

Our Work Supporting Tenants Being Evicted



[BASTA](#) - (Building and Strengthening Tenant Action or Buscando Acción y Solidaridad que Transforme el Arrendamiento) - is a special project of [Texas RioGrande Legal Aid](#) (TRLA) dedicated to building tenant power by bringing underrepresented Austin renters into a housing justice movement fueled by tenant-led organizing, community education, and outreach. Our work is centered on dismantling the systems that prevent tenants from living in dignified and healthy homes.

Born in 2016 after long-standing community frustrations over substandard housing and corresponding landlord impunity, BASTA believes that the power imbalance between landlords and tenants must be corrected to secure housing justice for communities of color and low-income, marginalized communities. We believe that building tenant power is the only way to make this change happen and that tenant power is only built by bringing more renters into a housing justice movement that is led by those most impacted.

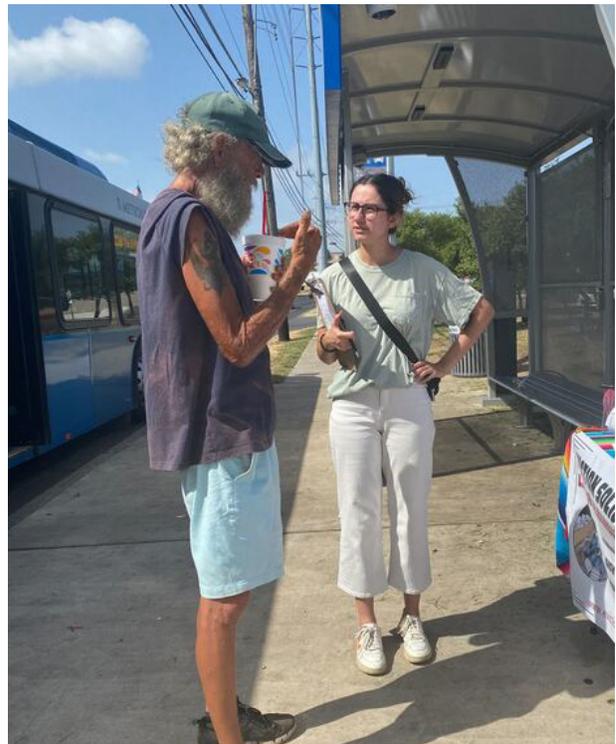


BASTA uses a two-pronged approach to building tenant power in Austin:

BASTA’s Organizing Team (BOT): Since 2016, we have worked alongside renters to organize over 30 tenants associations at multifamily properties, supporting those associations in identifying the most pressing issues they want to work on, and then collectively strategizing on the best ways to achieve their desired solutions. Over the past seven years, BASTA’s organizing support has reached over 5,000 households, securing hundreds of repairs, the resident purchase of a mobile home park community, the replacement of bullying managers, the revision of unfair community and towing rules, and the provision of relocation benefits, among other victories.

BASTA’s Eviction Mitigation Team (BEMT):

BASTA’s Eviction Mitigation Team (BEMT), which began during the pandemic, anchors and resources the [Eviction Solidarity Network \(ESN\)](#), a coalition of local organizations committed to providing support to tenants facing eviction in Austin. BEMT works to erode the power imbalance between landlords and tenants through tenant outreach activities, monitoring & tracking eviction activity, and community education materials development. Using these tactics, BEMT locates the individual experience of eviction within the context of larger systemic and structural problems in order to address renters’ immediate needs, increase knowledge of the problem of eviction in Travis County, and test creative solutions.



BEMT works to address the immediate needs of renters through conducting outreach to tenants facing eviction or at risk of eviction. We flier and table at eviction hotspots, text and email tenants who have eviction filings, host volunteer call clinics, conduct tenants rights workshops and presentations, develop and distribute print and digital educational materials, and maintain a [resource guide](#) to provide to tenants facing eviction. To date, we have conducted outreach to more than 30,000 households.



BEMT also works to build community understanding of the eviction problem. This is done through the aggregation and distribution of data and reports, such as this report and the accompanying dashboard.

Finally, BEMT implements and tests solutions to lower Austin’s eviction rate and keep Austinites housed by experimenting with creative interventions. BEMT conducts a court tracking program to observe court proceedings and provide input to the courts on its findings, such as language access barriers, notice inquiry deficiencies, enforcement of tenant protections, and digital divide barriers. Additionally, BEMT recently launched a 30-Day Notice CARES Act Campaign, to ensure that every CARES Act property is giving a proper 30-day notice.

Our Eviction Data – Methodology

Our work to support tenants is facilitated by our systems for collecting and integrating eviction data. First, we scrape the Travis County Justice of the Peace court records to obtain case details like defendant (tenant) and plaintiff (landlord) names, case statuses, hearing dates and times, and hearing outcomes. We do this daily to provide up-to-date data for our outreach activities. We augment this with additional data from the courts on defendant addresses. We make the assumption that the defendant's address is where the tenant lives. From this, we are able to determine – for each eviction case – which property the eviction is occurring at.

We then link the defendant's address with the associated [Travis Central Appraisal District](#) (TCAD) land parcel. This allows us to combine the eviction data with subsidized housing and other datasets that allow us to assess: whether a property might have federal support that necessitates a 30-day notice to vacate per the CARES Act, whether the property is within the City of Austin full purpose jurisdiction and was subject to a right to cure period while the ordinance was in effect, as well as additional information that supports our advocacy efforts.

These systems for obtaining regularly updated court records and integrating those records with external data sources, like housing subsidy databases, are the product of years of development and refinement; we hope they can be used more widely in support of Austin renters. We have built a [dashboard](#) to show our eviction data and make formal evictions in Austin and Travis County more visible. The functionality of the dashboard and some initial insights are described in [a later section](#).

Property-Level Data and Geographic Breakdown of Evictions

We have been able to compile a list of properties with the most evictions in 2022 and 2023, which we show in a [later section](#). However, it is important to note that while this allows us to see which properties are filing the most evictions, it does not allow us to see which landlords are filing the most evictions, since one landlord can own multiple properties. We are in the process of developing tools to give us better insight into the top landlord evictors.

The address-level data also allows us to map out the spatial distribution – the geography – of evictions. We have aggregated evictions to the level of U.S. census tracts. This geographic analysis helps us understand in which communities evictions are being disproportionately filed.

Evictions by Local Government Jurisdiction

Using the geographic data we have for evictions in Travis County, we can also break down eviction filings by city council districts and commissioner precincts to help elected officials get a more precise picture of the evictions being filed against their particular constituents. We also show the properties with the most evictions within each of these jurisdictions.

Our data spans all of Travis County, so we are able to give a breakdown of each of the [four commissioner precincts](#).

While the City of Austin lies almost entirely within Travis County, parts of the city lie in Williamson and Hays Counties. All but two of the city's ten council districts contain multiple JP precincts. We

currently do not have data on the areas of Austin in Williamson and Hays Counties. This is especially relevant for District 6 which lies mostly in Williamson County and thus is underrepresented in our count of evictions.

Additionally, for purposes of counting the number of evictions within the City of Austin, we count evictions in the full purpose and limited purpose jurisdictions.

Missing Data and Sources of Potential Error

Our data captures only evictions filed in Travis County Justice Courts, but there are extremely rare circumstances where landlords may file in a higher court, like the County Court; we do not capture these evictions.

Also, as stated above, we do not have eviction data for Williamson and Hays Counties where some City of Austin Council Districts have jurisdiction.

Additionally, the process of connecting a tenant's address to the property where the eviction is filed requires the geocoding of defendant addresses which may result in errors. Over 90% of the defendant addresses in our data were successfully geocoded. The remaining ~10% of the addresses were manually inspected and cleaned, but some addresses were not able to be located. This could be because the landlord entered the wrong defendant's address on the petition (the original source of the address) or because a court clerk made a data entry error.

Finally, as noted above, there is no data on informal evictions, when tenants move out under threat of eviction but no formal eviction is filed with the courts.

Data Availability

We are making our data available for interested parties to conduct their own analysis to further shed light on the trends in formal evictions. Available data includes:

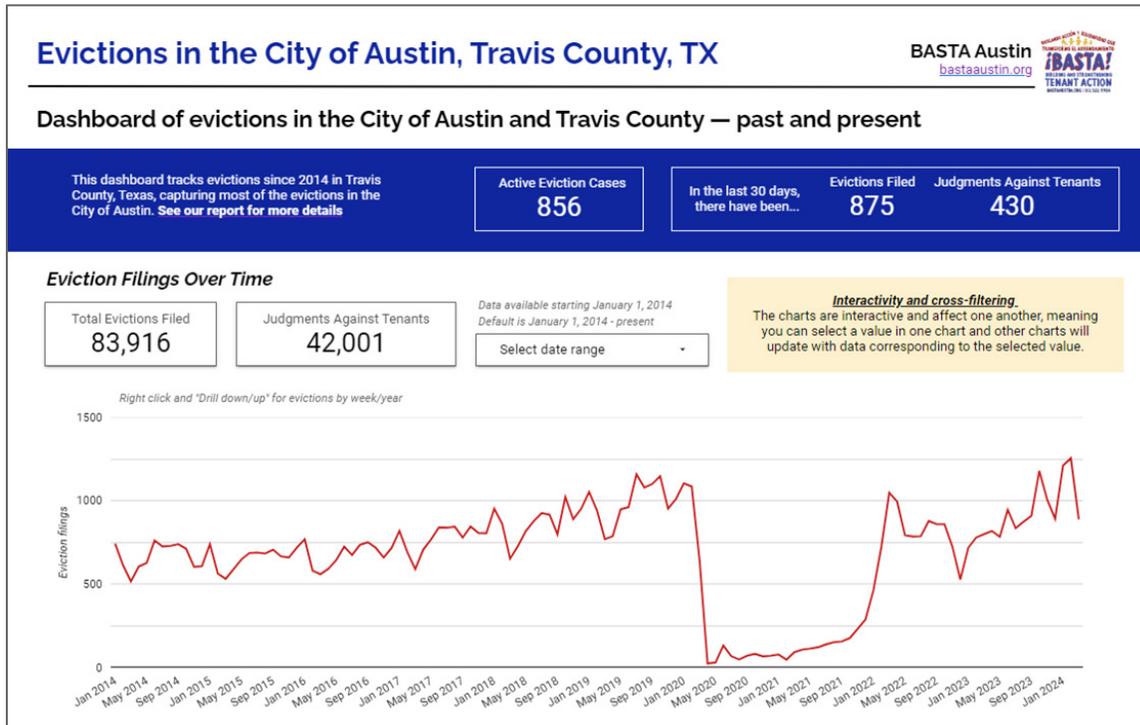
1. Filings over time from 2014-2023: the cases are aggregated by week and include the number of eviction filings, case outcomes, and JP precinct. For each week, we also include the number of evictions by census tract, City Council District, and Travis County Commissioner Precinct.
2. Geographic breakdown of case outcomes for 2022 and 2023: the cases are aggregated by census tract and show case outcomes (e.g. dismissal, default judgment) aggregated over the entire year in each tract.

Currently, we do not have complete, accurate geographic data for 2014-present because it requires manual cleaning of defendant addresses. As we complete the cleaning, we plan to make more geographically specific historical data available.

[Please fill out this form to request the data](#)

The Dashboard – Evictions in Travis County

The dashboard showing our eviction data is [available for the public to view here](#). In this section, we highlight some of the most salient findings and describe some features of the dashboard. There are four pages to the dashboard, but we describe only the Overview page in detail. The remaining pages have all of the same features and are more self-explanatory.



The landing page that the user first sees when accessing the dashboard. We describe the various charts and various capabilities of the dashboard in this section.

Case-Level Data – 2014 to Present

Snapshot of Evictions in the Last 30 Days

At the top of the dashboard, we show some top-line statistics for the last 30 days.



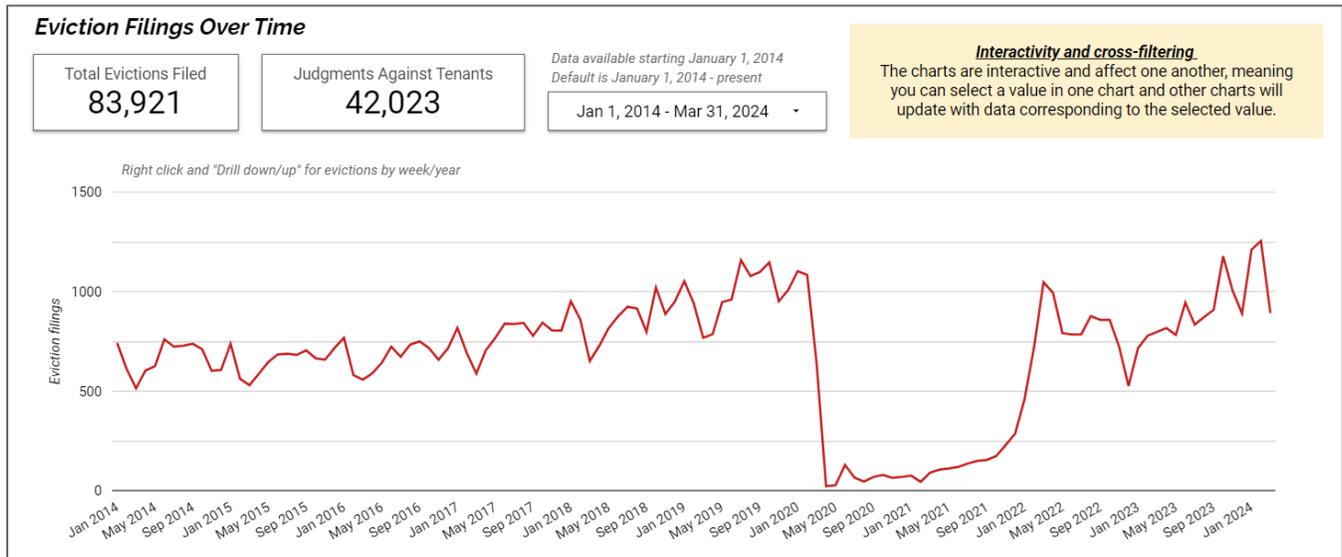
Dashboard banner showing active eviction cases, and a summary of the past 30 days of filings and judgments against tenants

- Active eviction cases refers to cases that have been filed but have not yet reached a case outcome, like dismissal or judgment.
- Evictions filed refers to the number of new filings in the last 30 days.

- *Judgments against tenants* refers to the number of eviction cases that tenants lost in the last 30 days.

Eviction Filings Over Time – 2014 to Present

The next part of the dashboard shows eviction filings over time for all of our available data, which spans 2014 to the present. There have been over 80,000 eviction cases, of which around half have resulted in judgments against tenants.

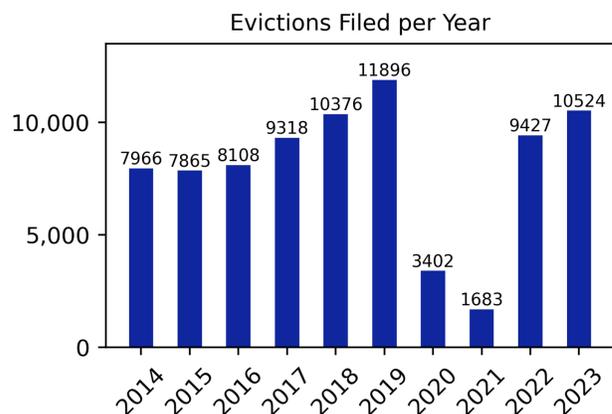


Charts showing evictions over time in Travis County since 2014 along with total evictions and judgments in this period. The date range can be customized.

If you are interested in doing your own analysis of specific time periods, the date range dropdown is customizable.

In looking at the trends in eviction filings from 2014 to present, we can see that evictions have been steadily increasing each year since 2014 but dropped rapidly in March 2020 due to Austin's emergency pandemic protections. As 2022 began, cases surged again, almost reaching pre-pandemic levels. In October 2023, the number of monthly eviction filings surpassed the previous record (July 2019).

A clearer trend of filings by year can be seen in the bar chart presented at right. **In 2022, there were 9,427 filings and in 2023 there were 10,524.** This is greater than 2018 levels (10,376 filings) but not as high as 2019 levels (11,896 filings).



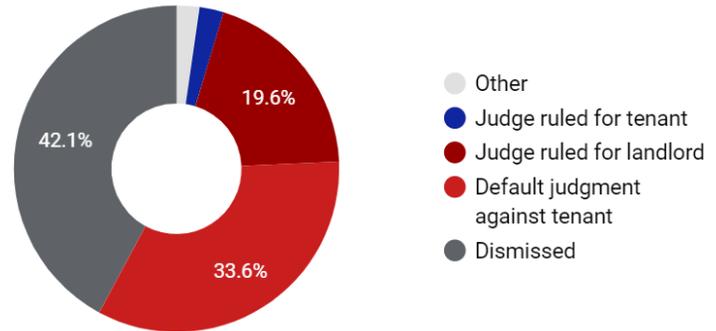
Evictions filed per year showing the steady increase leading up to 2020.

From 2014-2023, Travis County's renter population also increased, which accounts, in part, for the increase in eviction filings numbers. However, because the incomes of new Travis County renters

trended higher (12.5% of renters earned over \$100K in 2014 compared to 31.2% in 2022)³, it is likely that lower-income renters are more at-risk of eviction than ever before. We will see whether 2024 brings a return to pre-pandemic trends, or whether we will find alternatives to this devastating process.

Case Outcomes

Next, we show the outcome of eviction cases, excluding ongoing cases. The donut chart shows which outcomes are most common. In an [earlier section](#), we described the legal process for eviction and the possible outcomes of that process.

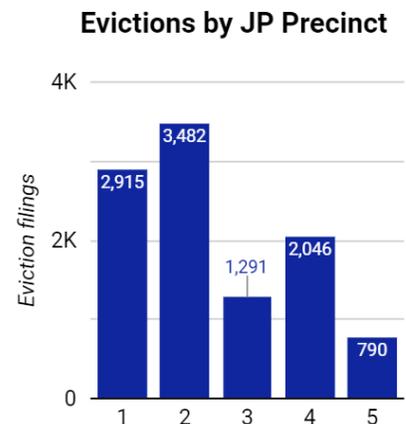


Outcomes of eviction cases in 2023. Tenants receive a ruling in their favor 2.4% of the time.

We can see from the chart that the most common case outcome is dismissal. We do not know what happens to tenants in dismissed cases – whether they have moved out, or paid and been allowed to stay. The next most common outcomes after dismissals are default judgments and then rulings in favor of the landlord. In 2023, tenants received a ruling in their favor only 2.4% of the time. The 2.3% of cases that we categorize as “Other” contains cases where we cannot easily classify the outcome based on the data available to us. Examples include cases that were appealed or cases where the court records do not indicate the outcome.

Eviction Filings by Justice of the Peace (JP) Precinct

The last chart of our case-level data shows the breakdown of eviction cases by JP precinct. The chart on the right shows the breakdown for evictions in 2023, with the most evictions filed in JP 2 and the least evictions filed in JP 5.



Bar chart of evictions in each JP precinct in 2023.

This information can be useful because the justices of the peace can have very different tendencies when it comes to proceedings in their courts. This can be seen when we look at case outcomes broken down by precinct.

³ U.S. Census Bureau *Tenure by Household Income in the Past 12 Months* (Travis County, TX, 2014 and 2022) distributed by the American Community Survey 1-year Estimates, B25118 <https://data.census.gov/table/ACS1Y2022.B25118?g=050XX00US48453>.

Cross-filtering and Interacting with the Dashboard

All of the charts on the dashboard are interactive, allowing the user to see more details about any given data point. For example, hovering over the chart for *Eviction filings over time* allows users to see the exact number of eviction filings in any given month. Similarly, hovering over the chart for *Evictions by JP precinct* shows users the number of filings for that JP.

Beyond just hovering to see the data value, users can also select a given data point and all other charts with the same underlying data set will update to correspond to the selected data point – this is called **cross-filtering**. Let us use the chart of the number of evictions by JP precinct from the preceding section to illustrate cross-filtering. The figure below shows that if you select the bar corresponding to JP 5, the case outcomes chart will also update to contain only case data for JP 5, which differs substantially from case outcomes across all of Travis County, which can be seen above, in the *Case outcomes* section.



Demonstration of cross-filtering: Selecting the bar corresponding to JP 5 (right) updates the case outcomes chart (left) showing how case outcomes differ in JP 5 compared to the county as a whole.

Cross-filtering can be done across multiple charts. For example, in addition to selecting JP 5, you could also select the *Dismissed* slice of the *Case Outcomes* chart, and the *Evictions Filings over Time* chart will show only dismissed cases filed in JP 5. To remove cross-filters, you can deselect the data points you are using to cross-filter. To remove all filters, click the *Reset* button at the top.

While interactivity is available on all of the charts on the dashboard, we emphasize that the cross-filtering functionality is only available for charts based on the same underlying data set. This means that all charts in the preceding section (*Eviction Filings Over Time*, *Case Outcomes*, *Eviction Filings by JP Precinct*) can be cross-filtered. However, the section below, on the geography of evictions, has charts that are not built using the same underlying data set, so the maps cannot be cross-filtered with the case-level data.

Example of Cross Filtering: Differences in Case Outcomes by JP Precinct

The dashboard allows users to answer a question like: “How do the percentages of cases where judges ruled for tenants differ by JP precinct in 2023?” We demonstrate how to answer this question using the dashboard.

First, we use the date range filter above the *Eviction Filings Over Time* chart and select “Last year” to narrow down our focus to filings in 2023. Next, we can click on each of the bars of the *Evictions by JP Precinct* chart in turn to cross-filter the *Case Outcomes* chart for that precinct.

We construct the table below from the *Case Outcomes* chart for each JP precinct. It shows both

JP Precinct	Percent of cases in 2023 where judges ruled for tenants	Number of cases in 2023 where judges ruled for tenants
Precinct 1	0.1%	3
Precinct 2	0.8%	29
Precinct 3	6.0%	77
Precinct 4	3.9%	78
Precinct 5	7.9%	62
Travis County Overall	2.4%	249

the percentage and number of cases where judges ruled for tenants in each precinct.

We can see that there is a dramatic difference in the percentage of cases ruled for tenants, depending on the JP precinct. About 1 in 13 tenants in Precinct 5 had rulings in their favor in 2023, which is the highest fraction of the 5 precincts. Precinct 1 sits at the opposite end of the spectrum with only 1 in every 1000 tenants receiving a ruling in their favor in 2023. This shows that the precinct where a tenant’s case is heard can strongly influence the outcome of the case. Dismissal and default judgment rates also differ among precincts.

The Geography of Evictions: Filings are more common in communities of color.

Using our precise, address-level data on evictions, we are able to map out the spatial distribution of evictions; the geography of evictions. In this section, we show evictions by census tract. Unlike the previous section where we have all case-level data since 2014, the census tract maps only show data from 2023. In the following section, we list the properties with the highest number of eviction filings in 2022 and 2023.

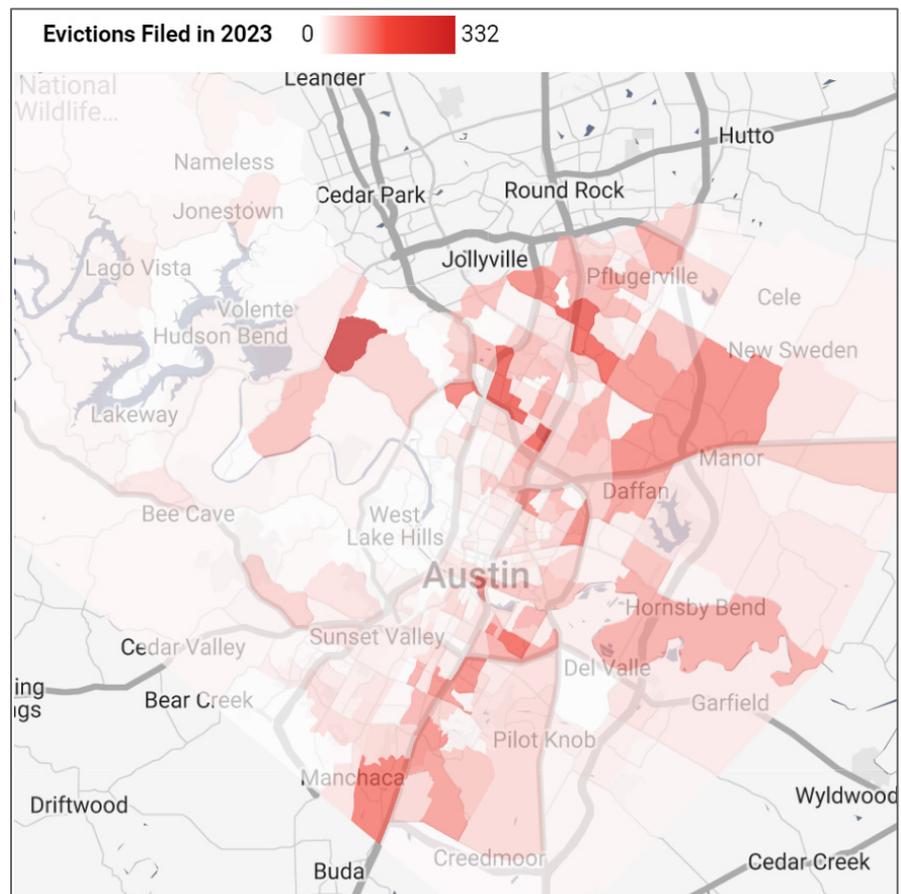
Absolute Number of Eviction Filings

First, we show a heat map of the number of eviction filings in Travis County by census tract (map on the right). On the dashboard, the map is interactive, allowing users to zoom and pan. You can also hover to see the number of filings in each census tract.

What we notice is that the number of filings is highest in Northwest Austin and near major highways. We expect census tracts with a higher number of renter households to have a higher number of filings, since there are more households against which evictions can be filed.

To see that there are more evictions filed in neighborhoods where there are more renter households, we can look at the number of renter households in each

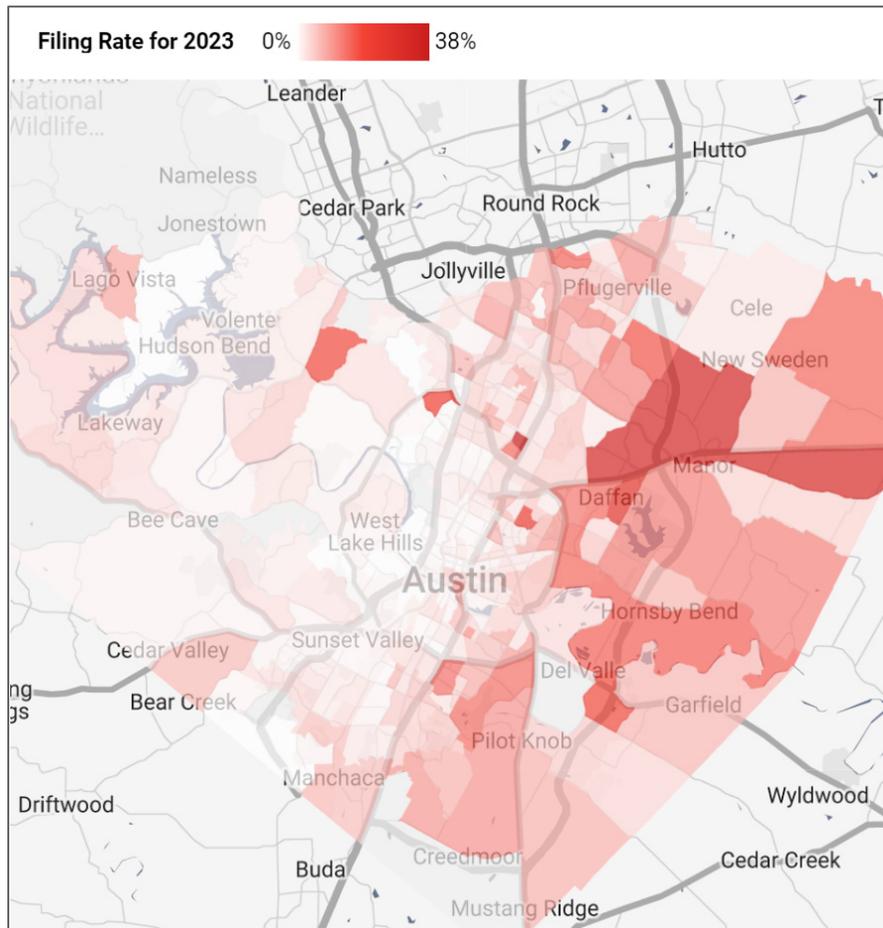
census tract using the 2022 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates (Table DP04). We show this map on the dashboard. By comparing this map of where renters live to where evictions are filed, we see that the census tracts with a high number of renter households are in Northwest Austin and near major highways, coinciding overall with the tracts with a large number of filings.



Map of absolute number of evictions. The number of evictions is highest in Northwest Austin and near Interstate 35.

Eviction Filing Rate (# of filings / # of renters)

To account for the number of renter households in a given geography, and to highlight which census tracts receive a disproportionately high number of eviction filings, we use a [common metric](#) called the *eviction filing rate* which is simply the ratio of the number of eviction filings to the number of renter households in a given geography. We show the eviction filing rate on a heatmap on the dashboard and in the figure below.



Map of eviction filing rate showing disproportionate eviction filings in the Eastern Crescent where people of color live.

In some tracts where there are very few renter households (less than 80 households), we do not show the filing rate to avoid skewing the data with outliers. As Austin is growing rapidly, the ACS 5-year estimates may not be reflecting the new renter households that arise in census tracts with new developments. These tracts where we do not show the filing rate are colored gray on the heatmap.

We see that many of the tracts around I-35 which had a large *number* of filings have a lower *filing rate*, which is consistent with our expectation that tracts that have a higher number of renter households will have a higher number of eviction filings due to the larger availability of households against which to file.

However, we also see that while the Eastern Crescent did not have the greatest *number* of filings, when accounting for the number of renter households, this region of the city has the highest *eviction filing rates*. This is consistent with the [sociological research](#) on evictions and with geographic [studies in other major cities like Boston](#) showing that evictions disproportionately affect communities of color.

To help visualize this trend, we show (on the dashboard, but not here in the report) maps of the Black and Latinx population percentage by census tract, again using the 2021 ACS 5-year estimates (Table DP04). The maps are intended to help users explore the geography of Austin's demographics and compare it to the geography of evictions.

Top Evictors of 2022 and 2023

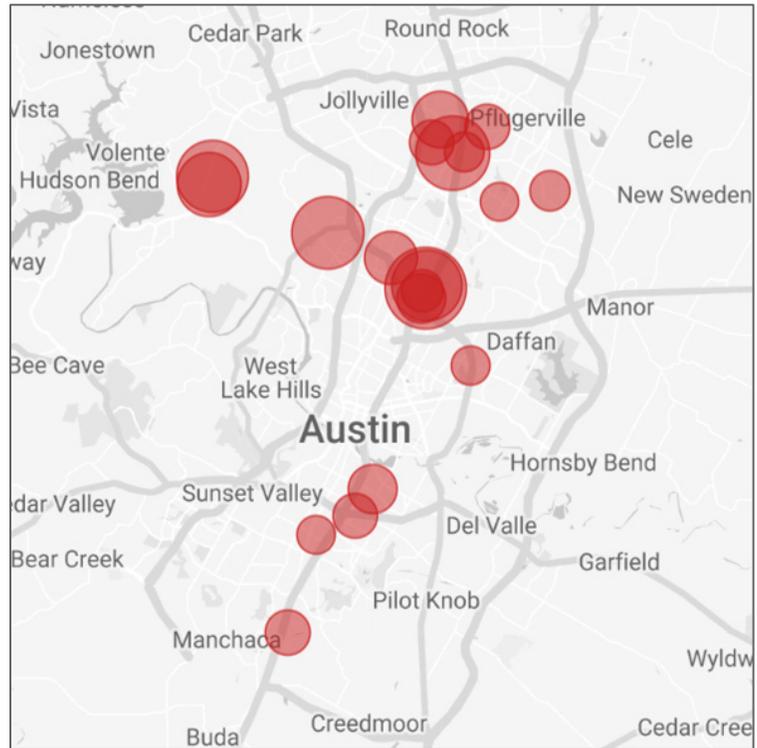
Our address-level eviction data also allows us to determine which properties filed the most evictions in Travis County in 2022 and 2023. We count evictions as filed at the same property when the address of the defendant is associated with the same tax assessor – Travis Central Appraisal District (TCAD) – land parcel.

On the dashboard and on the following page, we show the top 20 properties with the most evictions in 2022 and 2023. Unsurprisingly, almost all top evictors are large apartment complexes with corporate owners. However, the top evictors of 2022 and 2023 are notably different, indicating that the top evicting properties may not remain consistent year to year.

To the right, we show the locations of the top evicting properties of 2023. All of these properties lie within the census tracts that have a high *number* of eviction filings, but not all are within tracts that have a high *filing rate*, showing that areas where there are disproportionately higher eviction filings may not just be due to a few properties with a particularly high number of eviction filings.

The evictions filed by the top 20 properties account for a substantial fraction of the total evictions filed by all properties. In both 2022 and 2023, just over 2100 properties filed evictions, not necessarily the same properties between years. This means the top 20 properties each year represented just 1% of the properties that filed evictions. Yet the top 20 evicting properties of 2023 account for 16.9% of all filings in the year, even greater than in 2022 where the top 20 evicting properties accounted for 13.9% of all filings.

These properties with the highest number of evictions are from all of Travis County, but we also want to highlight evictions in the specific jurisdictions of elected officials, so the dashboard also allows us to analyze the data by City of Austin council districts and Travis County Commissioner Precincts. A snapshot of each jurisdiction can be found in the last section of this report.



Locations of properties with most evictions in 2023. The size of the bubbles corresponds to the number of evictions.

Top 20 properties with most evictions in 2023

Property name	Unit count	Filing rate	Evictions filed
Starburst Apartments 8800 N IH-35, TX 78753	504	28%	143
The Morgan 1801 Wells Branch Pkwy, Austin, TX 78728	504	27%	137
Falls on Bull Creek 8527 N Capital of Texas Hwy, Austin, TX 78759	206	65%	133
Abelia Flats 8225 N FM 620, Austin, TX 78726	444	30%	132
Nolina Flats 8021 N FM 620, Austin, TX 78726	288	40%	114
Orbit Apartments 8900 N IH-35, TX	336	33%	112
The Orion 3101 Shoreline Dr, TX 78728	384	25%	97
Northgate Hills 9024 Northgate Blvd, Austin, TX 78758	416	21%	89
The Hedge Apartment Homes 8300 N IH-35, TX 78753	383	21%	80
Point South 1910 Willow Creek Dr, Austin, TX 78741	336	24%	80
The Place at 1825 15835 Foothills Farm Loop, TX 78660	350	20%	71
Onion Creek Luxury Apartments 10701 S I-35 Frontage Rd, Austin, TX 78747	386	18%	71
Beck at Wells Branch 2801 Wells Branch Pkwy, Austin, TX 78728	576	12%	70
South Austin Market Place 2101 E Ben White Blvd, TX 78741	170	41%	70
Remington House Apartments 600 Barwood Park, Austin, TX 78753	378	17%	64
Boulder Ridge 3300 Golden Aspen Lp, Pflugerville, TX 78660	1221	5%	60
Lantower Ambrosio Apartments 14301 N Interstate Hwy 35, Pflugerville, TX 78660	370	16%	58
Griffis SoCo Austin 500 E Stassney Ln, Austin, TX 78745	296	19%	56
Bridge at Harris Ridge 1501 E Howard Ln, Austin, TX 78753	324	17%	56
Residences at Decker 9000 Decker Ln, Austin, TX 78724	262	21%	55

Top 20 properties with most evictions in 2022

Property name	Unit count	Filing rate	Evictions filed
Beck at Wells Branch 2801 Wells Branch Pkwy, Austin, TX 78728	576	20%	113
Northgate Hills Apartments 9024 Northgate Blvd, Austin, TX 78758	416	25%	106
The Place at 1825 15835 Foothill Farms Loop, Pflugerville, TX 78660	350	30%	106
Colonial Grand at Wells Branch 1630 Wells Branch Pkwy, Austin, TX 7872	336	24%	82
SeventyTwo 27 7227 E Hwy 290, Austin, TX 78723	160	49%	79
Hunt Club Apartments 3101 Shoreline Dr, Austin, TX 78728	384	20%	76
Onion Creek Luxury Apartments 10701 S I-35 Frontage Rd, Austin, TX 78747	386	19%	75
Remington House 600 Barwood Park, Austin, TX 78753	378	17%	64
Abelia Flats 8225 N FM 620, Austin, TX 78726	444	14%	62
South Austin Marketplace 2101 E Ben White Blvd, TX 78741	170	36%	61
MAA Balcones Woods 11215 Research Blvd, Austin, TX 78759	384	14%	54
MAA Sixty600 Apartments 6600 Ed Bluestein Blvd, Austin, TX 78723	304	17%	53
Creekview Apartments 5001 Crainway Dr, Austin, TX 78724	264	20%	53
Reveal at Onion Creek 12000 S I-35, Austin, TX 78747	434	12%	50
Mueller Flats 1071 Clayton Ln, Austin, TX 78723	396	12%	48
Milan Apartments 1720 Wells Branch Pkwy, Austin, TX 78728	276	17%	48
Fort Branch at Truman's Landing 5800 Techni Center Dr, Austin, TX 78721	250	19%	48
Trio Apartments 2503 E Oltorf St, Austin, TX 78741	344	14%	47
Sullivan Apartments 2601 Scofield Ridge Pkwy, Austin, TX 78727	488	10%	47
The Bridge at Harris Ridge 1501 E Howard Ln, Austin, TX 78753	324	15%	47

Eviction Prevention Interventions

Over the past decade, and especially since the pandemic, governments and nonprofits have been experimenting with interventions to prevent and mitigate evictions. We briefly discuss a few of these interventions.

Investment in Emergency Rental Assistance

Since nonpayment of rent is the most common reason for eviction, investment in rental assistance is an often-used policy solution for the immediate prevention of evictions. Such investments can prevent immediate homelessness and have been leveraged to maximize the impact of other eviction interventions. Rental assistance has been found to not only address housing instability but also to provide other positive benefits, such as improved financial well-being and mental health.⁴ Both the City of Austin and Travis County increased the scale of their rental assistance programs significantly during the pandemic. As COVID funding dries up, though, it is unclear the long-term future of the programs. The scale of the need is also immense in comparison to the dollars allocated. For example, between October of 2023 when El Buen Samaritano opened its public portal, to April 2024 when the portal was closed, it received more than 7,850 applications. Within that time period it had already allocated \$2,623,584 from the city.

In addition to public portals and lotteries for rental assistance, emergency rental assistance programs can be designed to be used in conjunction with other interventions, such as legal service assistance. Advantages of such approaches include the ability to screen for legal defenses, ensure the accuracy of ledgers, negotiate terms favorable to tenants, and ensure that landlords are following the law. The City of Austin and Travis County have invested rental assistance dollars into such a program that can be tapped into by Texas RioGrande Legal Aid and Volunteer Legal Services to maximize the efficacy of legal representation.

Rent-burdened, low-income households abound, and despite the benefits they do provide, short-term solutions like rental assistance cannot, by their nature, address the root of many Austinites' housing instability: the combination of poverty and ever-increasing rents. As Austin's pilot Guaranteed Income Program demonstrated in a recent [report](#), increasing people's income alone resulted in greater housing stability, with participants using most of their increased income for housing costs.

Investment in Legal Services & Right to Counsel

Access to legal representation has been found to dramatically increase the likelihood of a tenant facing eviction being able to stay in their home or being able to negotiate a timeline to move,

⁴ Whitney Airgood-Obrycki, *The Short-Term Benefits of Emergency Rental Assistance* (Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University, June 2022) https://www.jchs.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/research/files/harvard_jchs_short_term_era_benefits_airgood-obrycki_2022.pdf.

thereby avoiding an eviction judgment.⁵ Additionally, these programs have been found to provide overall cost savings, since the societal costs that result from homelessness are so high.⁶ In addition to preventing or mitigating the effects of an eviction in an individual case, a lawyer might also be able to identify landlords who are routinely not following the law and then develop strategies to ensure the landlords change their practices across the board. As mentioned above, the infusion of legal services into emergency rental assistance programs can also optimize the use of those scarce funds since lawyers can negotiate rent balances down if defenses do exist and can assess whether the landlord is indeed entitled to the amount they are claiming. While Austin and Travis County are currently investing in nonprofits that provide legal representation to tenants at risk of eviction, the need for legal representation still outpaces what local agencies can provide.

Investment in Vouchers and Longer-Term Rental Assistance

Voucher programs can provide longer-term relief for tenants struggling to pay rent. As Austin becomes more unaffordable, its Area Median Income is also increasing, which results in rents going up in even “affordable” units.⁷ Many tenants’ incomes, especially those on fixed incomes, like seniors, are not rising nearly as quickly as the overall AMI. For example, in 2023 the AMI rose by 9.8% and represented a 27.5% increase from 2019. Meanwhile, the Social Security Cost of Living Adjustment was 3.2% in 2023 and increased by just 20% from 2019 to 2023. Vouchers can be used to fill the gap between what should be affordable to a household (spending 30% of their income towards rent) at so-called “affordable” Low Income Housing Tax Credit properties. Such long-term rental assistance has been found to be more effective than shorter-term solutions in promoting housing stability.⁸

Currently, most vouchers are through the federal Section 8 voucher program, administered locally through the Housing Authority of the City of Austin and the Housing Authority of Travis County. In addition to administering federal programs, local governments and states nationwide have experimented with funding their own long-term rental assistance programs. The National Low Income Housing Coalition maintains [a database](#) of many of these programs.

⁵ “Tenant Right to Counsel.” National Coalition for a Civil Right to Counsel, accessed March 24, 2024 http://civilrighttocounsel.org/highlighted_work/organizing_around_right_to_counsel; “Right to Counsel for Tenants,” Policylink, accessed March 24, 2024 <https://www.policylink.org/resources-tools/tools/all-in-cities/housing-anti-displacement/right-to-counsel-for-tenants>.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Older subsidized housing programs like Public Housing and Project-Based Section 8 calculated rents based on tenants’ income. Generally, 30% of a household’s income going to housing costs is considered affordable. However, more recent programs such as Low Income Housing Tax Credits and City- and County-financed projects tie maximum rent levels to what would be affordable to a household who is making a certain percentage of the area median income (AMI). To qualify to live in a property, the tenant must make below that income level, resulting in many tenants who live in affordable housing paying more than 30% of their incomes to housing.

⁸ “The Family Options Study.” HUD Office of Policy Development and Research (PD&R), accessed March 24, 2024, https://www.huduser.gov/portal/family_options_study.html.

Eviction Diversion Programs

Eviction diversion programs are programs based in courts or adjacent to courts that target services to tenants who have eviction filings against them.⁹ Nationwide, jurisdictions have been experimenting with such programs, which use a multi-sectoral approach, often combining mediation, tenants rights education, legal services, social services, sealing of eviction records, and/or rental assistance with the goal of avoiding an eviction judgment. In addition to benefiting tenants, such programs can have financial benefits to courts - saving the time of judges and administrators - and to landlords - saving court costs, attorneys fees, unit-turnover fees and, if there is rental assistance, unpaid rent.

Eviction Prevention Plans

Eviction prevention plans are a recent development and differ from diversion plans in that they are generally implemented before an eviction filing is made and do not necessarily involve the participation of a court. Eviction prevention plans change how landlords manage their properties, with a goal of minimizing the likelihood that a rent delinquency will result in an eviction. One such program out of Boston has a 9-step process as part of a property management company's internal policy that involves the removal of threatening language from property management notices, the availability of housing stability coordinators, and the opportunity to obtain a realistic repayment plan, all before filing an eviction in court.¹⁰ The development of eviction prevention plans could be a requirement to receive local subsidies for development or rental assistance dollars.

Fees and Fines Regulation

Recently, housing advocates have seen a significant increase in landlords imposing fees on tenants for mandatory services separate from rent.¹¹ These include excessive late fees, payment method fees, administration fees, facilities fees, eviction prevention fees, pest control fees, fire hydrant fees, cable and internet fees, and valet trash fees. Oftentimes, tenants are not aware of the total cost of their housing until they receive the bill from their landlords, as the rent is advertised as significantly less than what they end up paying. These so-called "junk fees" can pile on and be the reason for a tenant falling behind on rent and confronting an eviction. When tenants face eviction, the fees can rear their heads again, in the form of an "eviction prevention fee" or an

⁹ Deanna Pantín Parrish, *Designing for Housing Stability: Best-Practice for Court-Based and Court-Adjacent Eviction Prevention and/or Diversion Programs* (American Bar Association & Harvard Law School, 2021), https://www.americanbar.org/content/dam/aba/administrative/legal_aid_indigent_defendants/ls-covid19-dpp-best-practices.pdf.

¹⁰ Shelby R. King, "How One of Boston's Top Evictors Changed Its Ways," *Shelterforce*, December 3, 2021 <https://shelterforce.org/2021/12/03/how-one-of-bostons-top-evictors-changed-its-ways/>.

¹¹ Ariel Nelson et. al, "Too Damn High: How Junk Fees Add to Skyrocketing Rents", National Consumer Law Center, March 13 2023, <https://www.nclc.org/resources/too-damn-high-how-junk-fees-add-to-skyrocketing-rents/>.

“eviction notice” fee. A recent report from the UT School of Law examines fines and fees in rental housing and approaches to regulating them.¹²

Rental Licensing

One of the challenges in confronting the eviction crisis is not having a comprehensive understanding of local rental markets, which includes knowledge of which properties are rental properties and the people and entities who own them.¹³ Currently in Austin, there is no rental registration or licensing system that allows the City – and public – to obtain such information. Analysis of evictions in Austin is limited by not having such a licensing program, as there is no singular dataset of unit counts, which would enable analysis of the rate of evictions at a given property. Additionally, not having basic information about the companies and people behind the entities that own the properties makes it difficult to assess eviction trends by landlord or management company, hampering the development of well-tailored solutions.

¹² Elizabeth Blackford, Madison DeLuca, Nicholas Heflin, Heather K. Way, *Combatting Junk Fees in Texas Rental Housing: A Pathway to Fairer and More Transparent Leasing Practices* (Austin: University of Texas at Austin School of Law Housing Policy Clinic, 2024)

<https://law.utexas.edu/clinics/2024/03/29/combating-junk-fees-in-texas-rental-housing-a-pathway-to-fairer-and-more-transparent-leasing-practices/> (last visited April 1, 2024).

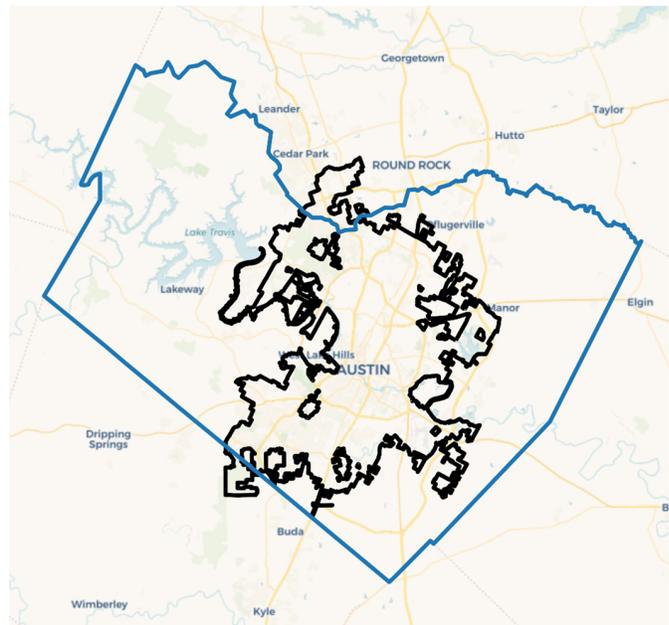
¹³ Fay Walker and Owen Noble, “Understanding Who Owns Rental Stock Can Ensure Tenants and Small Landlords Get the Support They Need” *Urban Wire*, March 23, 2022, <https://www.urban.org/urban-wire/understanding-who-owns-rental-stock-can-ensure-tenants-and-small-landlords-get-support>.

Analysis: The right-to-cure ordinance reduced eviction filing rates in communities of color.

Background: The Right-to-Cure Ordinance in the City of Austin

All but thirteen states in the U.S. give tenants the opportunity to repay rent before a formal eviction may be filed.¹⁴ For other lease violations aside from non-payment of rent, 33 states give tenants the opportunity to “cure” the violation before a formal eviction can be filed. Texas only provides an opportunity to cure late payment in rent in mobile home parks but does not provide such an opportunity in other types of housing, which comprise the majority of rental units. Having time to repay allows tenants to apply for rental assistance and reach out to family, friends, and community institutions for help. In the event that a household cannot come up with the back rent, having time allows them to plan their next steps, including where they will be staying and moving their belongings. The right to cure can also protect tenants from landlord retaliation, preventing landlords from using the excuse of a tenant being one day late on rent to evict a tenant who might have asserted a right, such as requesting a repair or organizing with their neighbors. As discussed earlier, Austin enacted a right-to-cure ordinance in October 2022 but that ordinance is not being enforced locally due to the [state’s passage of HB 2127](#). Right to cure, and other good cause requirements, may still apply if developers choose to participate in locally-supported housing development programs, such as the [City’s Rental Housing Development Assistance](#) program. In the section below, we provide a brief analysis of the effectiveness of Austin’s right-to-cure ordinance and show that it reduced the eviction filing rate in communities of color by 27%.

The right-to-cure ordinance applied only to tenants within the City of Austin’s full purpose jurisdiction. Because we have address-level eviction data, we can compare the number of evictions filed per 100 renter households at multifamily properties inside the full purpose jurisdiction with those outside the full purpose jurisdiction during the time period right to cure was in effect to



We use evictions filed in Travis County (blue border) but outside of Austin full purpose jurisdiction (black border) to estimate what the eviction filing rate would have been in Austin, if the right to cure had not existed.

¹⁴ FreddieMac MultiFamily, *A National Survey of Tenant Protections Under State Landlord Tenant Acts* (FreddieMac MultiFamily, January 2023), 9-11 https://mf.freddiemac.com/docs/tenant-protections-white-paper.pdf?_gl=1*jay4ud*_ga*MTM1NDIwOTQ5NC4xNjQyMDEyNTIw*_ga_B5N0FKC09S*MTY3NTk2OTAwMy4xLjAuMTY3NTk2OTAwNC4wLjAuMA..&_ga=2.72534611.1321766529.1675969004-1354209494.1642012520#:~:text=The%20amount%20of%20time%20to,requiring%20notice%20of%20said%20violations

see if the implementation of the right-to-cure ordinance reduced the prevalence of evictions. The map above shows the boundaries of the City of Austin’s full purpose jurisdiction (black border) and of Travis County (blue border).

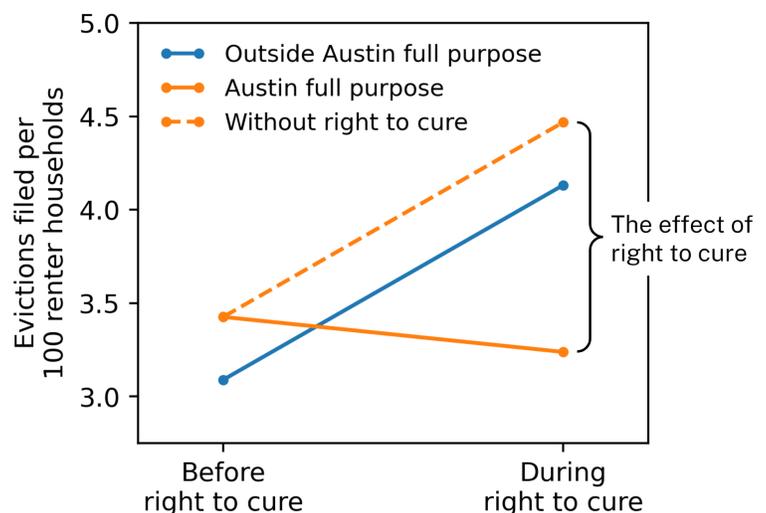
Finding: The right to cure reduced the number of evictions filed per 100 renter households in Austin's communities of color by 27%.

To determine the effect of the right to cure, we estimate how many evictions would have been filed in Austin if the right-to-cure ordinance did not exist, and then compare that number to the number of evictions that were actually filed. We also focus our analysis on multifamily properties in communities of color, since we know that is where evictions are disproportionately filed. See the methodology section below for our definition of communities of color.

To estimate the number of evictions that would have been filed without the right to cure, we look at the number of evictions that were filed *outside* of the City of Austin’s full purpose jurisdiction, where the right to cure did not apply. Specifically, we look at the number of evictions filed for every 100 renter households, or the *eviction filing rate*, which allows the comparison of evictions between areas with differing numbers of renter households. This filing rate is often expressed as a percent.

Using the change in the eviction filing rate outside of Austin, from before the passage of the right-to-cure ordinance to the time period during which the ordinance was in effect, we assume that the eviction filing rate within Austin would have undergone the same change if the ordinance did not exist.

Thus, we are able to determine the effect of the right-to-cure ordinance, shown in the figure on the right. The blue line shows that in communities of color outside of the Austin full purpose jurisdiction, the eviction filing rate increased from 3.1 to 4.1 filings per 100 renter households or from 3.1% to 4.1%, when comparing the time periods before and during the right to cure. The dotted orange line shows that in a hypothetical scenario without the right to cure, communities of color in Austin would have seen a rise of eviction filing rate from 3.4% to 4.4%, an equivalent rise to the eviction filing rate outside of Austin full purpose jurisdiction.



However, the eviction filing rate in communities of color in Austin actually decreased from 3.4% to 3.2% when comparing the time periods before and during the right to cure. The difference

between the hypothetical scenario and the actual scenario allows us to estimate that the effect of the right-to-cure ordinance was a reduction of the eviction filing rate by 1.2% in communities of color in the City of Austin. **A reduction from 4.4 to 3.2 filings per 100 renter households is a 27% reduction, indicating that the ordinance meaningfully reduced the number of evictions filed.**

The data from the analysis, also shown in the figure, are laid out in the table below.

	Eviction filing rate before the right to cure	Eviction filing rate during the right to cure
Outside Austin full purpose jurisdiction	3.1%	4.1% (increased 1%)
Austin full purpose jurisdiction	3.4%	3.2% (declined 0.2%)
Hypothetical Austin without the right to cure	3.4%	4.4% (equivalent increase to “Outside Austin...”)

Finding: For all of Austin, the right to cure led to a 12% reduction in the number of evictions filed per 100 renter households.

The same analysis when applied to all properties in Austin, not just those in communities of color, gives a 12% reduction in the eviction filing rate. The size of this reduction in the eviction filing rate is smaller than the reduction in communities of color (27%), which could be due to multiple reasons. We discuss this difference after presenting some details of the analysis.

The table below shows the data used to determine the effect of the right to cure for multifamily properties in the City of Austin’s full purpose jurisdiction.

	Eviction filing rate before the right to cure	Eviction filing rate during the right to cure
Outside Austin full purpose jurisdiction	3.0%	3.3% (increased 0.3%)
Austin full purpose jurisdiction	2.2%	2.2% (did not change)
Hypothetical Austin without the right to cure	2.2%	2.5% (equivalent increase to “Outside Austin...”)

By comparing the hypothetical eviction filing rate in Austin without the right to cure (2.5%) to the actual eviction filing rate in Austin during time period when the right to cure was in effect (2.2%) **we estimate that the right to cure led to an 12% reduction in eviction filing rate for tenants living at multifamily properties in Austin.**

The larger reduction in the filing rate for multifamily properties in communities of color in Austin (27%) versus the reduction for all multifamily properties (12%) could be explained in multiple different ways. First, we know that the eviction filing rate tends to be higher in communities of color, as shown earlier in the “Geography of evictions” section. This means that the eviction filing rate had more room to fall: the filing rate in communities of color in Austin before the right to cure was 3.4% versus 2.2% in the whole of Austin.

Another reason may be that there are more avoidable evictions filed in communities of color, where tenants may have the means to pay the rent owed if they had more time to apply for rental assistance and reach out to friends, family members, or community organizations for support. The right to cure gives tenants this valuable time. If property owners in communities of color are more likely to file evictions that are entirely avoidable with additional time to pay, this could explain why the effect of the right to cure was larger in communities of color.

Whatever the reason for this difference, it is clear that more investigation is needed to better understand the dynamics that affect eviction filings in Travis County.

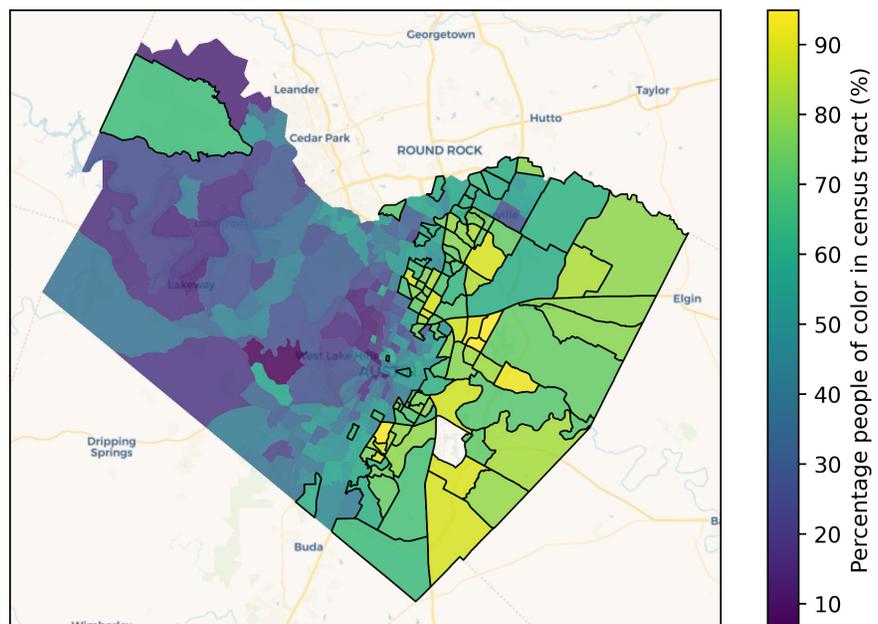
Methodology and Definitions

Definition of Communities of Color

We define communities of color as census tracts where the population is more than 60% people of color, where people of color refers to all census race groups other than the “Not Hispanic or Latino, White alone” category. We use the Census’s American Community Survey 5-year estimates from Table DP05.

The figure on the right is a choropleth map of all the census tracts in Travis County, with the color corresponding to the percentage of people of color in the tract. The tracts that we include in our analysis of communities of color have a black border.

There are tracts both inside and outside of Austin full purpose jurisdiction, allowing us to make a meaningful comparison of the eviction filing rates in these two geographical areas.



Details of Difference-in-Differences Technique

Our method of comparing outcomes between properties within Austin full purpose jurisdiction where the right to cure applied (treatment group) to properties outside of Austin full purpose jurisdiction in Travis County (control group) in two different time periods is an example of a [difference in differences technique](#).

The eviction filing rates at properties outside of Austin full purpose in the rest of Travis County allow us to estimate what the eviction filing rate might have been at properties inside Austin full purpose if the right-to-cure ordinance had not been in effect (counterfactual). Using the trend of the eviction filing rate where the right to cure did not apply to estimate what the hypothetical filing rate might have been where it did apply is also known as the “parallel trends” assumption.

The time periods we defined as “before the right to cure” and “during the right to cure” also required careful consideration. We were constrained by the time during which the right to cure was in effect. It went into effect on November 7, 2022, but has not been enforced since September 1, 2023, at which point the state legislature’s [HB 2127 preempted local legislation](#). Even though it did go into effect on November 7, 2022, for our analysis, we looked at eviction filings starting January 1, 2023 because new regulations often require a period of adjustment and some landlords may have been unaware of the ordinance until courts began to enforce it. Accordingly, we consider evictions filed between January 1, 2023 to September 1, 2023 for the time period during which the right to cure was in effect. For the time period before right to cure, we just take the same dates in the prior year: January 1, 2022 to September 1, 2022. By choosing the same time period of the year, we also avoid the effects of any seasonal eviction filing practices.

Since we are calculating eviction filing rates, we need to know the number of units or households. For our analyses, we consider only multifamily housing where we have reliable unit data. The set of properties with good unit data consists almost entirely of properties with 50 or more units. For the analysis of filing rates in communities of color, we considered 291 properties with 60,793 units inside Austin full purpose and 72 properties with 17,065 units outside Austin full purpose. For the analysis across all of Travis County, we considered 786 properties with 168,242 units inside Austin full purpose and 141 properties with 35,091 units outside Austin full purpose.

City of Austin Council Districts

In this section, we show a breakdown of evictions by the council district in which they were filed. For each council district, we have created a snapshot with eviction filing numbers since 2014 to show the trends over time, a breakdown of case outcomes for eviction cases in the district in 2023, and a list of the top five properties with the most evictions in 2023. As noted in the section on [the legal process for evictions](#), cases must be filed in the JP precinct corresponding to the location of the property. Since the JP precincts do not neatly share boundaries with city council districts, for each council district, we also show a map of the JP precincts within the district boundary.

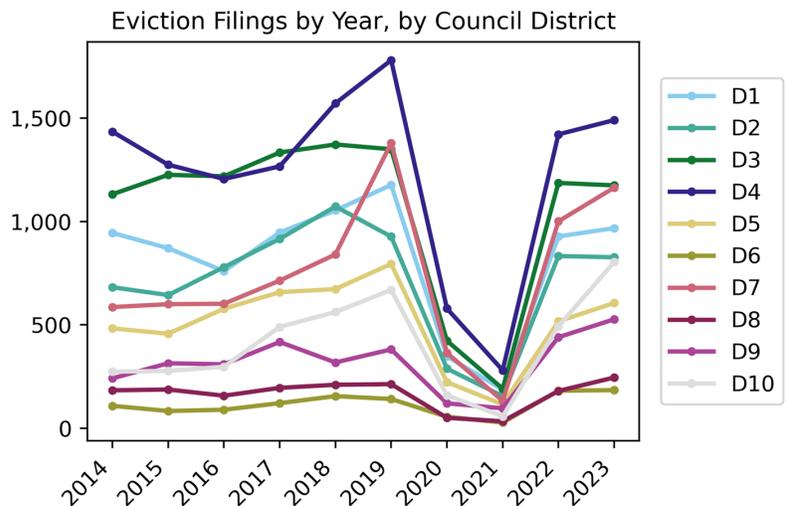
On the dashboard, we show, for each district, the number of evictions filed and the top five properties with the most evictions. District 4 has the most evictions of all the council districts, with Districts 3, 7, and 1 following up in that order. What we observe about the top evicting properties is that in some districts, like District 3, the top five properties do not account for a substantial fraction of the total in a district despite an overall high number of evictions, indicating that evictions are distributed across many properties in that district.

Comparing Yearly Eviction Filings Since 2014 Across all Districts

To the right we show the eviction filings by year in each council district to facilitate comparison between them.

We know that in general across Travis County, evictions have been increasing since 2014, but this chart shows which districts have had the largest increase.

We see that District 4 almost always has the highest number of evictions, but District 7 has had a substantial increase in the share of evictions in Austin since 2014, rising from fifth highest number of evictions in 2014 to third highest in 2022.



Trends of eviction filings per year since 2014. Note the substantial increase in D7.

Eviction Data Missing From Williamson and Hays Counties

While a vast majority of the City of Austin sits within Travis County, there are parts of the city in Williamson and Hays Counties where we do not have eviction data. This means we are undercounting evictions in the city as a whole, and in certain districts in particular. Specifically, a large portion of District 6 sits in Williamson County, and a small portion of District 8 sits in Hays County.

Definition of Evictions in the City of Austin

On the dashboard page displaying evictions in the City of Austin and in each council district, we count evictions as within the "City of Austin" only if it is within either the full or limited purpose jurisdictions. We do not count evictions in the extraterritorial jurisdiction.

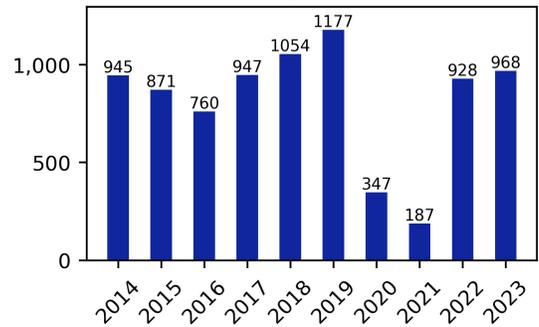
Council Redistricting in 2022 and how Evictions are Assigned

Redistricting changed the council districts in November 2022. This means that some properties changed which district they fell in. An example is SeventyTwo27 Apartments, which was in District 1 and is now in District 4. For this report, we have grouped *all evictions* using the new November 2022 council district boundaries, regardless of when they were filed, for consistency of geographic analysis. We hope for new council members to take responsibility for properties that are now under their jurisdiction.

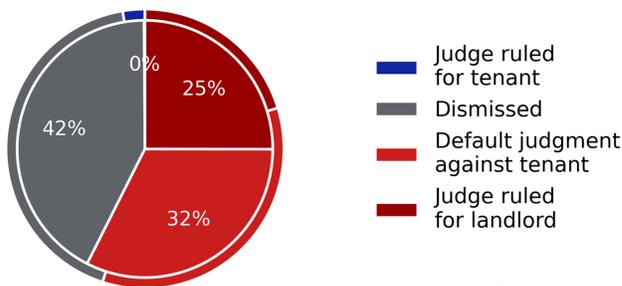
Council District 1

- Landlords filed **968 evictions** in 2023.
- Evictions were filed at **228 unique properties**.
- The top five evictors in the district account for 197 evictions.
- This means **20.4% of all filings in this district came from 2.2% of the properties** that filed evictions.

Evictions Filed per Year - District 1



Case Outcomes - District 1



Outcomes for all of Travis County are shown in the outer ring for comparison.

Default judgments occur when the tenant does not show up to the eviction hearing and the judge rules in favor of the landlord by default.

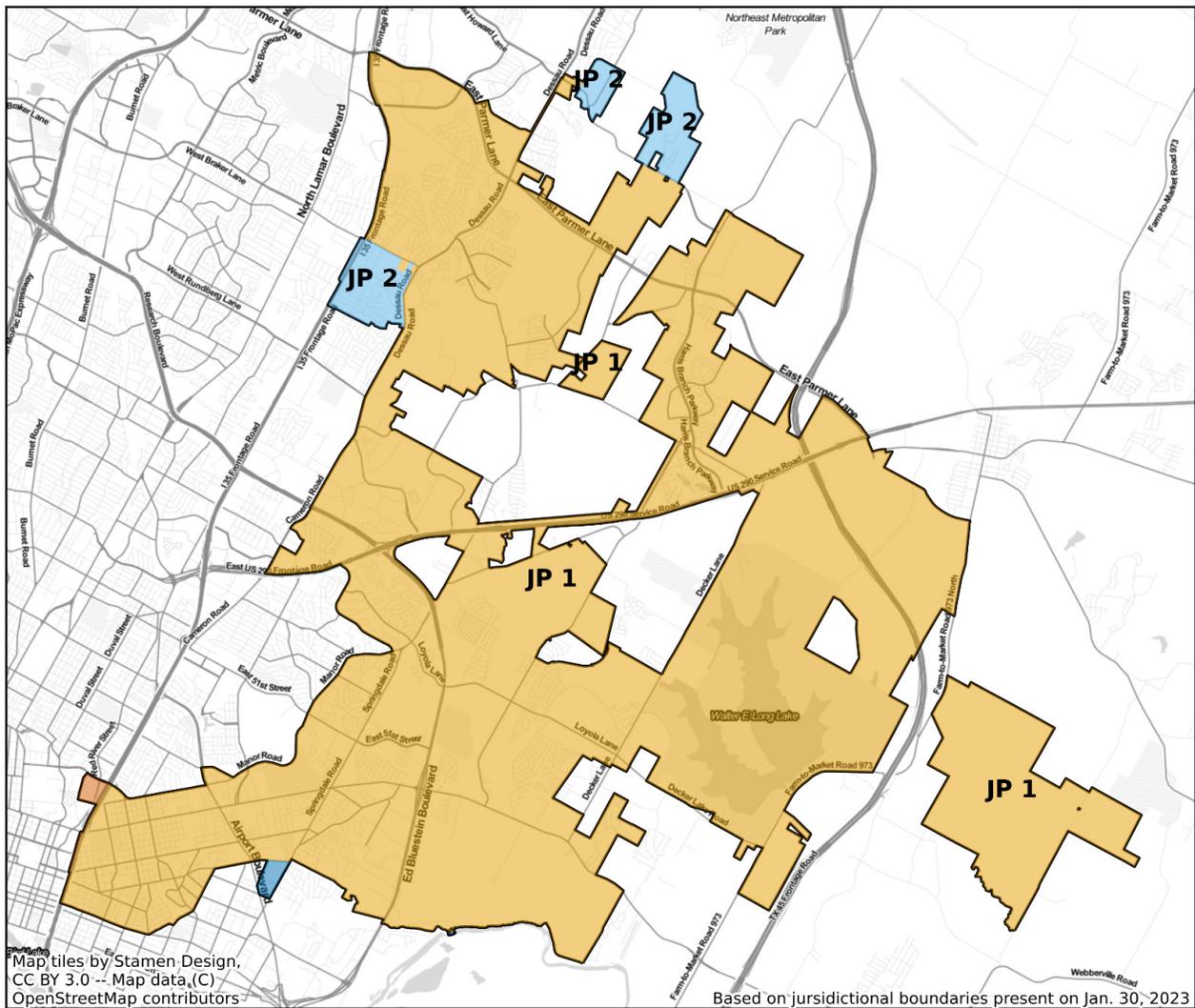
Judges differ in how they treat cases where the landlord does not have grounds to evict. Some judges dismiss the case whereas others rule in favor of the defendant.

In District 1, **only one tenant received a ruling in their favor at a hearing in 2023**. This is the second lowest compared to all other council districts, and is not explained by judges dismissing cases more often; judges in District 1 dismissed cases at the same rate as Travis County as a whole.

The Top Evictors of 2023

Property Name	Unit Count	Filing Rate	Eviction Filings in 2023
MAA Sixty600 Apartments 6600 Ed Bluestein Blvd, Austin, TX 78723	304	18%	57
Bridge at Loyola 6400 Loyola Ln, Austin, TX 78724	204	24%	48
Fort Branch at Truman's Landing 5800 Techni Center Dr, Austin, TX 78721	250	14%	35
Bexley at Tech Ridge Apartments 1200 E Parmer Ln, Austin, TX 78753	342	8%	29
Villas at Mueller 6103 Manor Rd, Austin, TX 78723	124	23%	28

JP Precincts Within the District

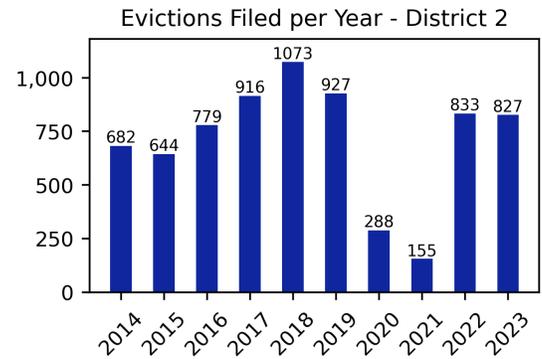


Justice of the Peace Precinct 1 (JP 1) is currently overseen by [Yvonne Williams](#).

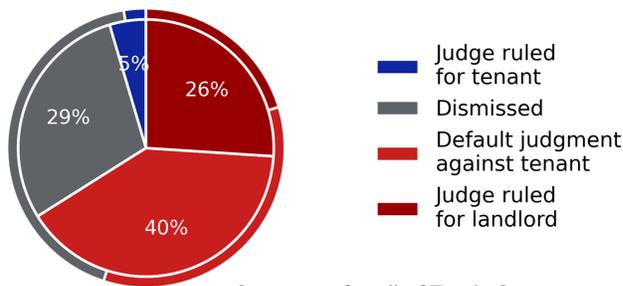
Justice of the Peace Precinct 2 (JP 2) is currently overseen by [Randall Slagle](#).

Council District 2

- Landlords filed **827 evictions** in 2023.
- Evictions were filed at **223 unique properties**.
- The top five evictors in the district account for 180 evictions.
- This means **21.8% of all filings in this district came from 2.2% of the properties** that filed evictions.



Case Outcomes - District 2



Outcomes for all of Travis County are shown in the outer ring for comparison.

Default judgments occur when the tenant does not show up to the eviction hearing and the judge rules in favor of the landlord by default.

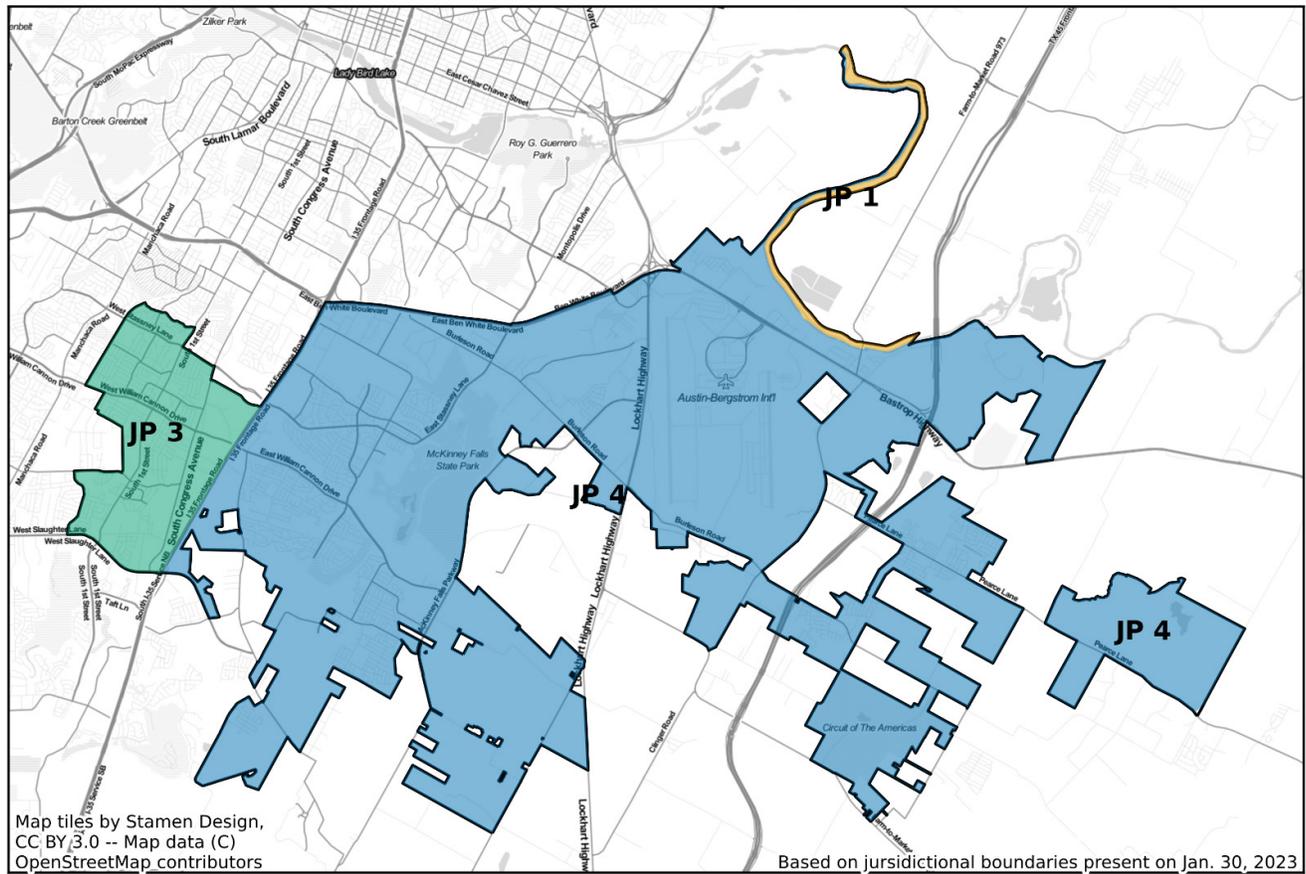
Judges differ in how they treat cases where the landlord does not have grounds to evict. Some judges dismiss the case whereas others rule in favor of the defendant.

District 2 had the **highest percentage of cases resulting in judgments against tenants** (66% in District 2 vs 55% in Travis County overall). Cases resulting in judgments against tenants come from both default judgments (lighter red) and judges ruling for landlords (darker red) after hearings.

The Top Evictors of 2023

Property Name	Unit Count	Filing Rate	Eviction Filings in 2023
South Austin Market Place 2101 E Ben White Blvd, TX 78741	170	41%	70
Hillside on Cannon 2302 E William Cannon Dr, Austin, TX 78744	230	13%	31
Sunrise Bluffs 1704 Nelms Dr, Austin, TX 78744	382	8%	29
Woodway Square 1700 Teri Rd, Austin, TX 78744	240	11%	26
Goodnight Commons Apartments 2022 E Slaughter Ln, Austin, TX 78747	304	8%	24

JP Precincts Within the District



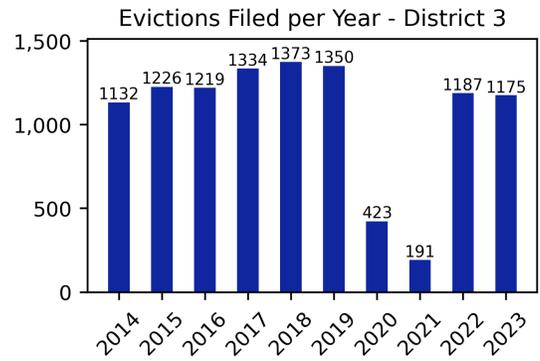
Justice of the Peace Precinct 1 (JP 1) is currently overseen by [Yvonne Williams](#).

Justice of the Peace Precinct 3 (JP 3) is currently overseen by [Sylvia Holmes](#).

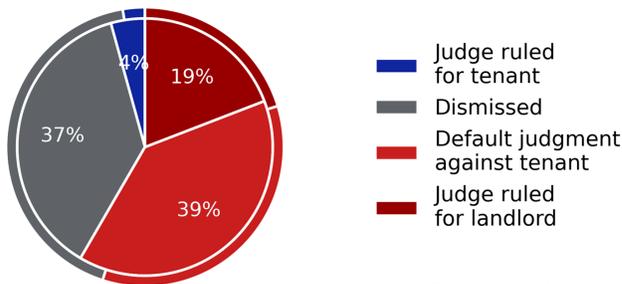
Justice of the Peace Precinct 4 (JP 4) is currently overseen by [Raúl González](#).

Council District 3

- Landlords filed **1,175 evictions** in 2023.
- Evictions were filed at **212 unique properties**.
- The top five evictors in the district account for 260 evictions.
- This means **22.1% of all filings in this district came from 2.4% of the properties** that filed evictions.



Case Outcomes - District 3



Outcomes for all of Travis County are shown in the outer ring for comparison.

Default judgments occur when the tenant does not show up to the eviction hearing and the judge rules in favor of the landlord by default.

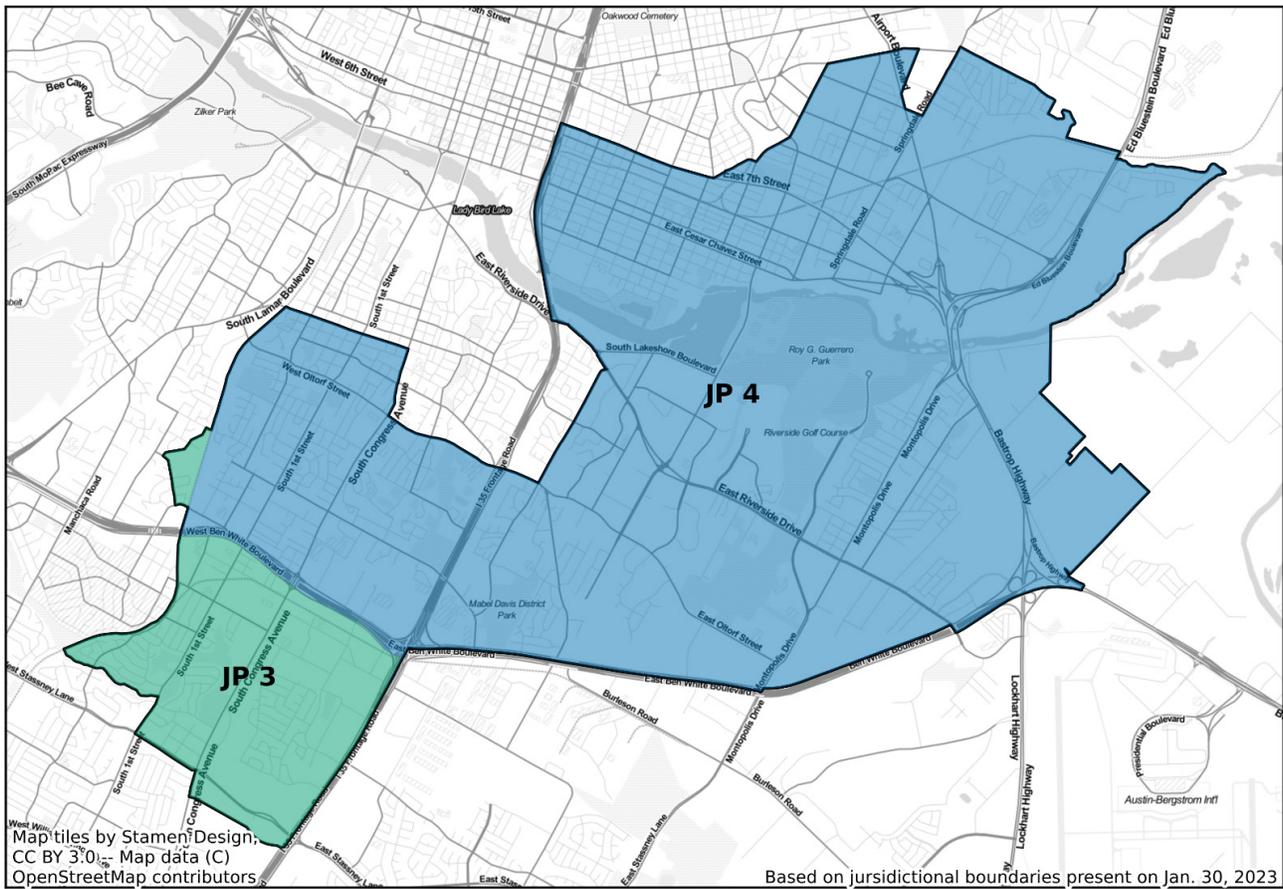
Judges differ in how they treat cases where the landlord does not have grounds to evict. Some judges dismiss the case whereas others rule in favor of the defendant.

District 3 had the **second highest number of evictions in 2022**, and the **second highest percentage of eviction cases resulting in judgments against tenants** (58% in District 3 vs 55% in Travis County overall). Cases resulting in judgments against tenants come from default judgments and from judges ruling for landlords after a hearing.

The Top Evictors of 2023

Property Name	Unit Count	Filing Rate	Eviction Filings in 2023
Point South 1910 Willow Creek Dr, Austin, TX 78741	336	24%	80
Griffis SoCo Austin 500 E Stassney Ln, Austin, TX 78745	296	19%	56
Chandelier Apartments 2336 Douglas St, Austin, TX 78741	336	15%	52
Villages at East Riverside 1301 Crossing Pl, Austin, TX 78741	348	11%	38
Trio Apartments 2317 S Pleasant Valley Rd, Austin, TX 78741	344	10%	34

JP Precincts Within the District



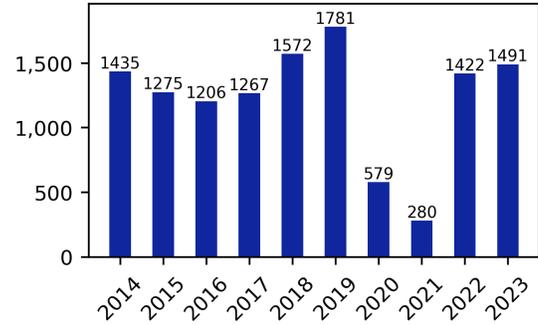
Justice of the Peace Precinct 3 (JP 3) is currently overseen by [Sylvia Holmes](#).

Justice of the Peace Precinct 4 (JP 4) is currently overseen by [Raúl González](#).

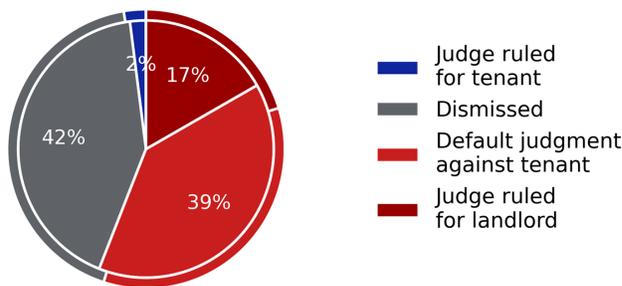
Council District 4

- Landlords filed **1,491 evictions** in 2023.
- Evictions were filed at **257 unique properties**.
- The top five evictors in the district account for 516 evictions.
- This means **34.6% of all filings in this district came from 1.9% of the properties** that filed evictions.

Evictions Filed per Year - District 4



Case Outcomes - District 4



Outcomes for all of Travis County are shown in the outer ring for comparison.

Default judgments occur when the tenant does not show up to the eviction hearing and the judge rules in favor of the landlord by default.

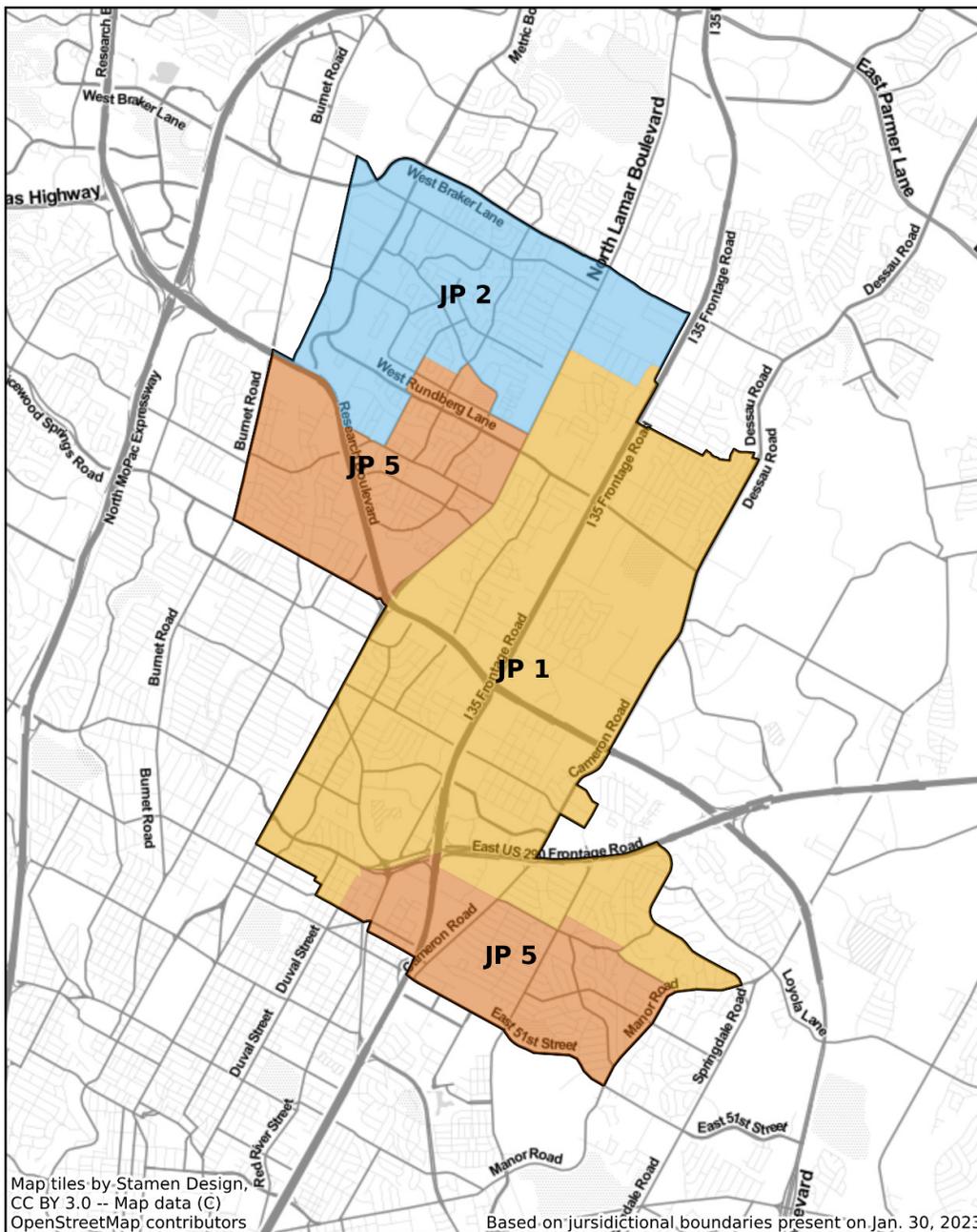
Judges differ in how they treat cases where the landlord does not have grounds to evict. Some judges dismiss the case whereas others rule in favor of the defendant.

District 4 had the **highest number of evictions of all the council districts (1491)** and had the highest number of unique properties that filed evictions (257) of all the council districts in 2023.

The Top Evictors of 2023

Property Name	Unit Count	Filing Rate	Eviction Filings in 2023
Starburst Apartments 8800 N IH-35, Austin, TX 78753	504	28%	154
Orbit Apartments 8900 N IH-35, Austin, TX	336	33%	129
Northgate Hills 9024 Northgate Blvd, Austin, TX 78758	416	21%	89
The Hedge Apartment Homes 8300 N IH-35, Austin, TX 78753	383	21%	80
Remington House 600 Barwood Park, Austin, TX 78753	378	17%	64

JP Precincts Within the District



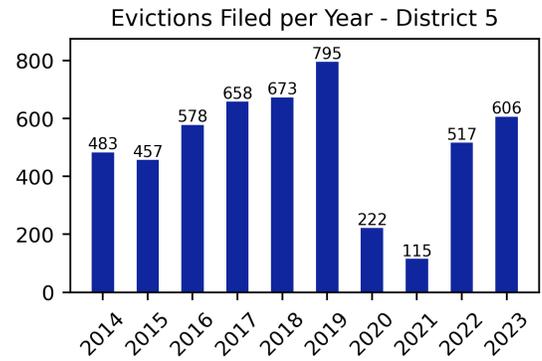
Justice of the Peace Precinct 1 (JP 1) is currently overseen by [Yvonne Williams](#).

Justice of the Peace Precinct 2 (JP 2) is currently overseen by [Randall Slagle](#).

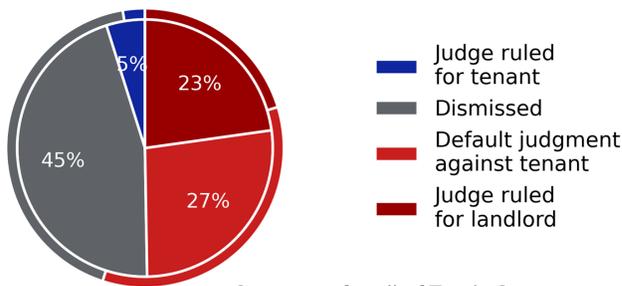
Justice of the Peace Precinct 5 (JP 5) is currently overseen by [Rick Olivo](#).

Council District 5

- Landlords filed **606 evictions** in 2023.
- Evictions were filed at **165 unique properties**.
- The top five evictors in the district account for 170 evictions.
- This means **28.1% of all filings in this district came from 3.0% of the properties** that filed evictions.



Case Outcomes - District 5



Outcomes for all of Travis County are shown in the outer ring for comparison.

Default judgments occur when the tenant does not show up to the eviction hearing and the judge rules in favor of the landlord by default.

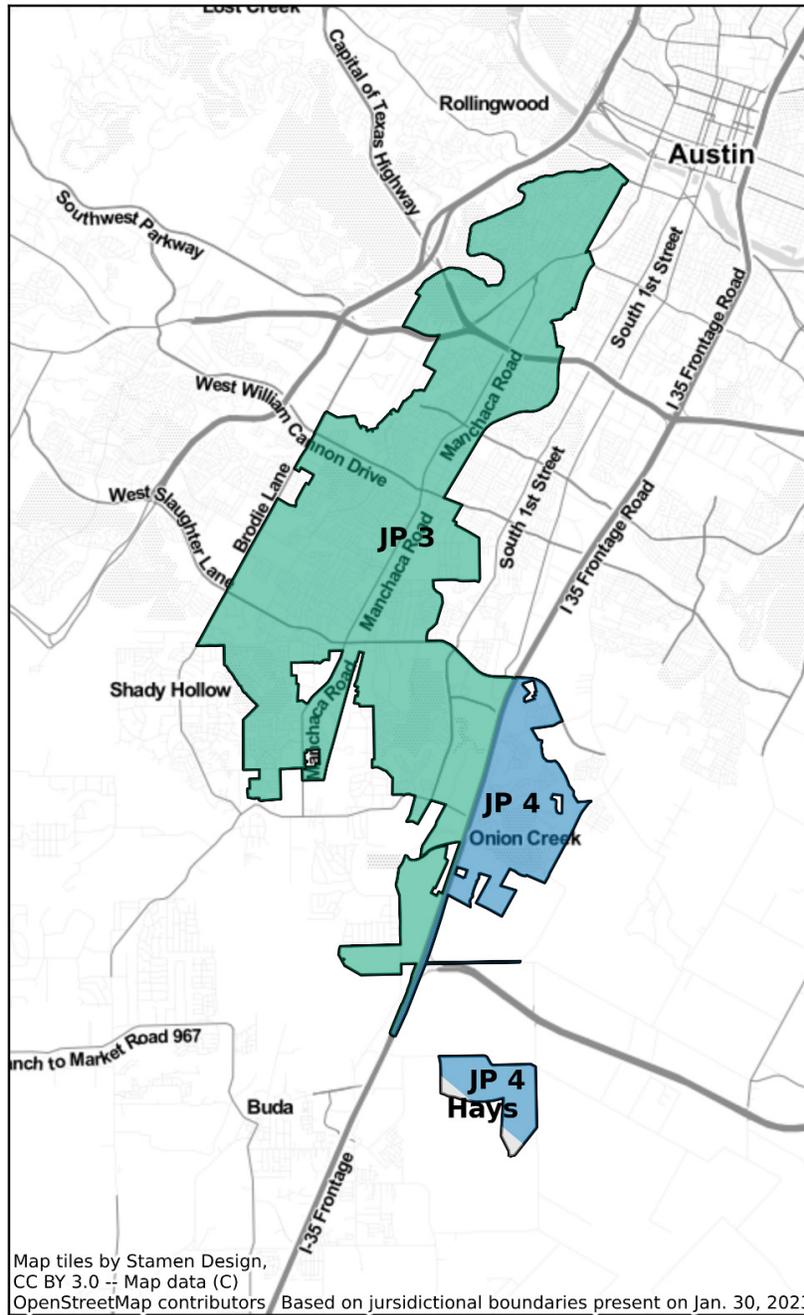
Judges differ in how they treat cases where the landlord does not have grounds to evict. Some judges dismiss the case whereas others rule in favor of the defendant.

In District 5, **the top evicting property in the district** (Onion Creek Luxury Apartments) by itself **accounted for nearly 12% of all evictions in the district**, and filed more than twice as many evictions as the next highest evicting property in the district.

The Top Evictors of 2023

Property Name	Unit Count	Filing Rate	Eviction Filings in 2023
Onion Creek Luxury Apartments 10701 S I-35 Frontage Rd, Austin, TX 78747	386	18%	71
Still Waters 515 E Slaughter Ln, Austin, TX 78744	256	13%	33
Aspire at Onion Creek 2333 Cascades Ave, Austin, TX 78747	264	12%	31
Bell Southpark 10500 S I-35 Frontage Rd, Austin, TX 78748	400	5%	19
Camden Shadow Brook 811 W Slaughter Ln, Austin, TX 78748	248	6%	16

JP Precincts Within the District



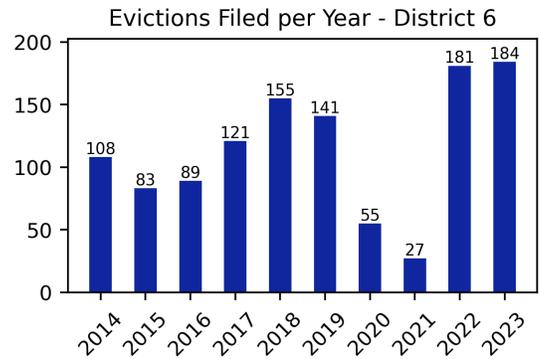
Justice of the Peace Precinct 3 (JP 3) is currently overseen by [Sylvia Holmes](#).

Justice of the Peace Precinct 4 (JP 4) is currently overseen by [Raúl González](#).

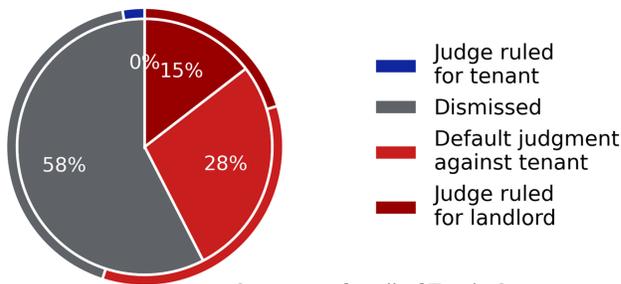
Council District 6

NOTE: A large fraction of District 6 lies in Williamson County where we have no eviction data.

- Landlords filed **184 evictions** in 2023.
- Evictions were filed at **30 unique properties**.
- The top five evictors in the district account for 100 evictions.
- This means **54.3% of all filings in this district came from 16.7% of the properties** that filed evictions.



Case Outcomes - District 6



Outcomes for all of Travis County are shown in the outer ring for comparison.

Default judgments occur when the tenant does not show up to the eviction hearing and the judge rules in favor of the landlord by default.

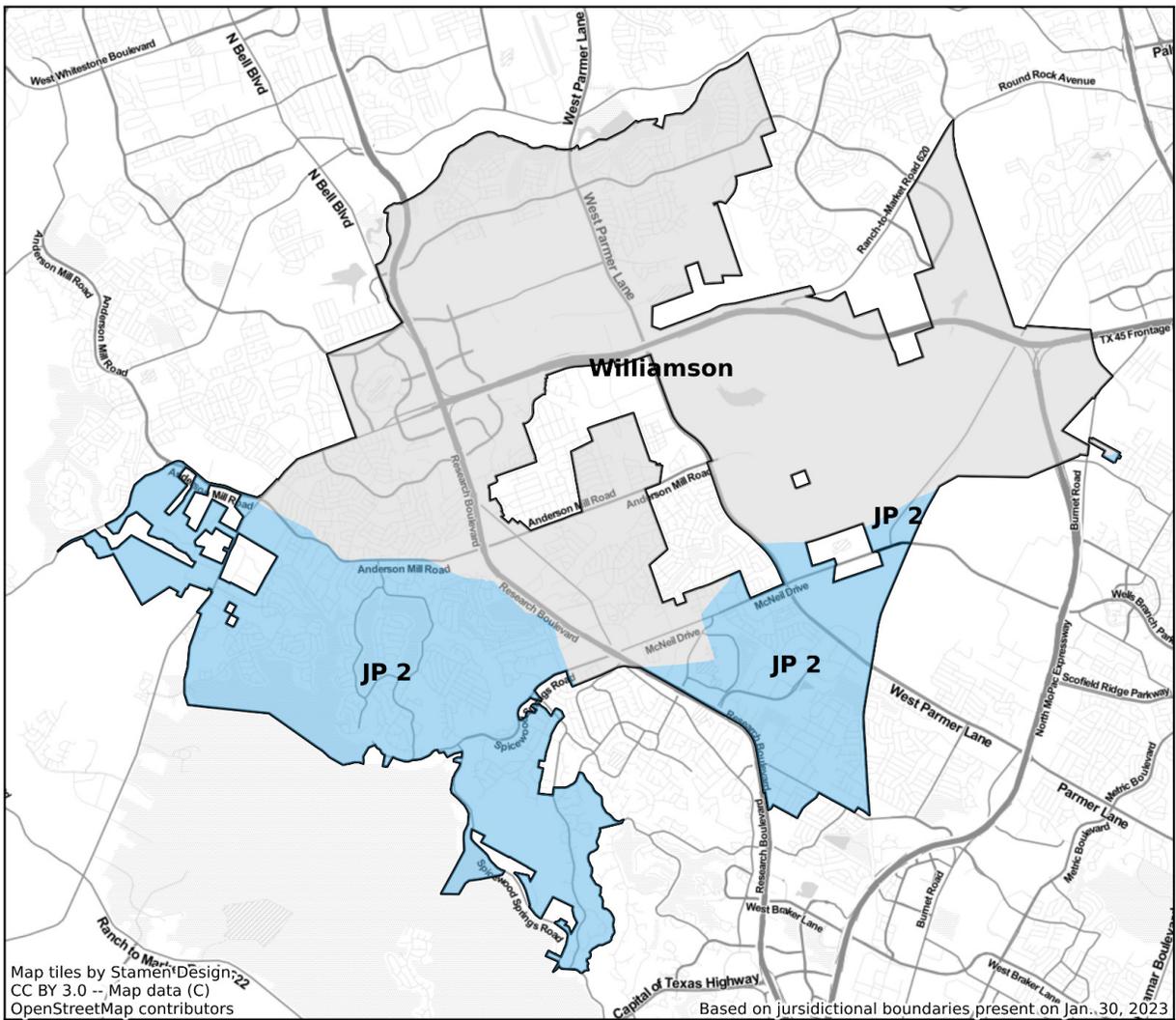
Judges differ in how they treat cases where the landlord does not have grounds to evict. Some judges dismiss the case whereas others rule in favor of the defendant.

In District 6, **no tenants received a ruling in their favor at a hearing in 2023**. However, judges tended to dismiss cases more often when compared to the county average.

The Top Evictors of 2023 (in Travis County part of District 6)

Property Name	Unit Count	Filing Rate	Eviction Filings in 2023
MAA Quarry Oaks 6263 McNeil Dr, Austin, TX 78729	533	7%	38
Balcones Club Apartments 9218 Balcones Club Dr, Austin, TX 78750	312	8%	26
Buena Vista at Riata 12440 Alameda Trace Cir, Austin, TX 78727	255	5%	13
Riata The Enclave 12320 Alameda Trace Cir, Austin, TX 78727	154	8%	12
Waters at Willow Run 15433 FM 1325, Austin, TX 78728	242	5%	11

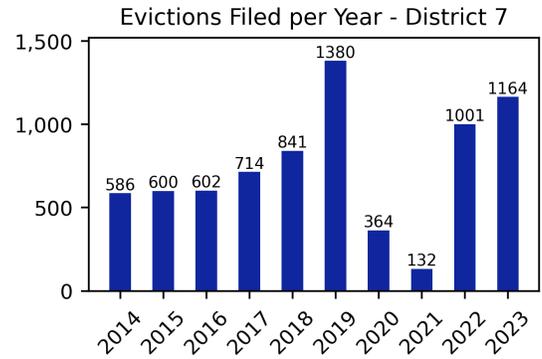
JP Precincts Within the District



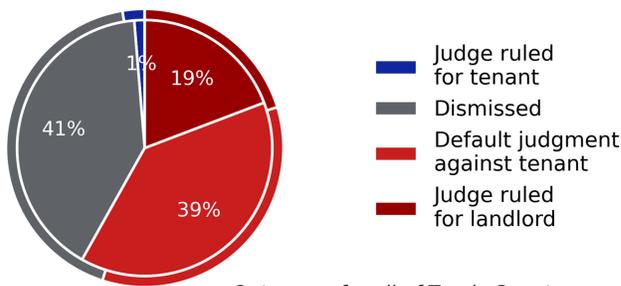
Justice of the Peace Precinct 2 (JP 2) is currently overseen by [Randall Slagle](#).

Council District 7

- Landlords filed **1,164 evictions** in 2023.
- Evictions were filed at **171 unique properties**.
- The top five evictors in the district account for 270 evictions.
- This means **23.2% of all filings in this district came from 2.9% of the properties** that filed evictions.



Case Outcomes - District 7



Outcomes for all of Travis County are shown in the outer ring for comparison.

Default judgments occur when the tenant does not show up to the eviction hearing and the judge rules in favor of the landlord by default.

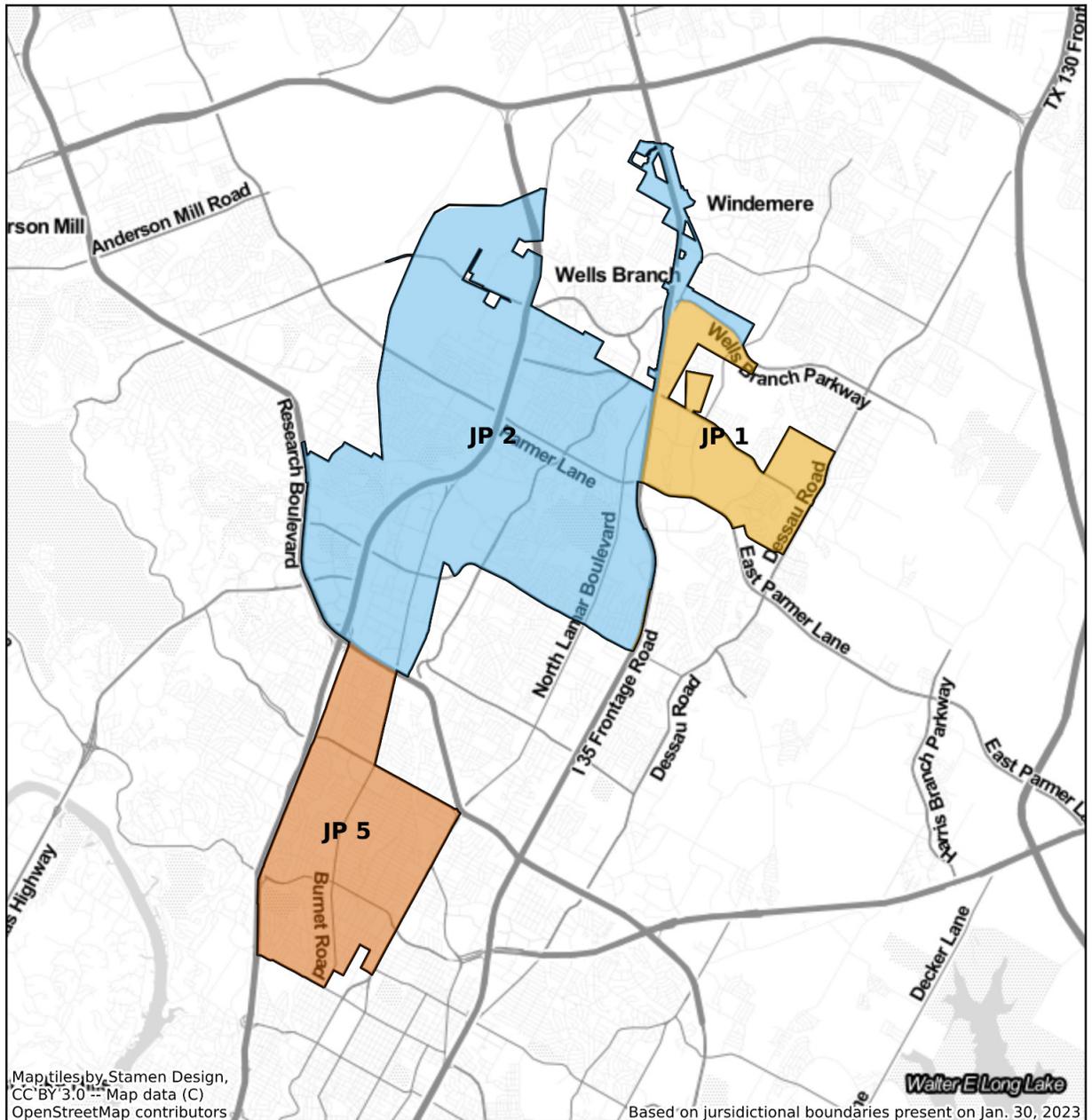
Judges differ in how they treat cases where the landlord does not have grounds to evict. Some judges dismiss the case whereas others rule in favor of the defendant.

District 7 had the **second most rapid increase in evictions from 2014 to 2019** of all the council districts, with an increase of 135%. Only District 10 had a more rapid increase in the same period. When comparing 2014 to 2023, District 7 had a 99% increase in evictions.

The Top Evictors of 2023

Property Name	Unit Count	Filing Rate	Eviction Filings in 2023
Lantower Ambrosio Apartments 14301 N IH-35, Pflugerville, TX 78660	370	16%	59
Bridge at Harris Ridge 1501 E Howard Ln, Austin, TX 78753	324	17%	56
The Park at Walnut Creek 12113 Metric Blvd, Austin, TX 78758	342	16%	55
The Vineyard 14199 N IH-35, Pflugerville, TX 78660	468	11%	51
MAA Balcones Woods 11215 Research Blvd, Austin, TX 78759	384	13%	49

JP Precincts Within the District



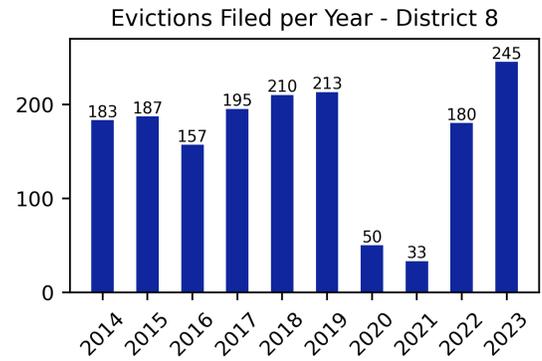
Justice of the Peace Precinct 1 (JP 1) is currently overseen by [Yvonne Williams](#).

Justice of the Peace Precinct 2 (JP 2) is currently overseen by [Randall Slagle](#).

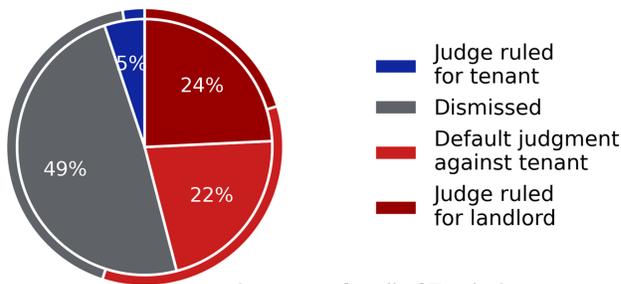
Justice of the Peace Precinct 5 (JP 5) is currently overseen by [Rick Olivo](#).

Council District 8

- Landlords filed **245 evictions** in 2023.
- Evictions were filed at **76 unique properties**.
- The top five evictors in the district account for 81 evictions.
- This means **33.1% of all filings in this district came from 6.6% of the properties** that filed evictions.



Case Outcomes - District 8



Outcomes for all of Travis County are shown in the outer ring for comparison.

Default judgments occur when the tenant does not show up to the eviction hearing and the judge rules in favor of the landlord by default.

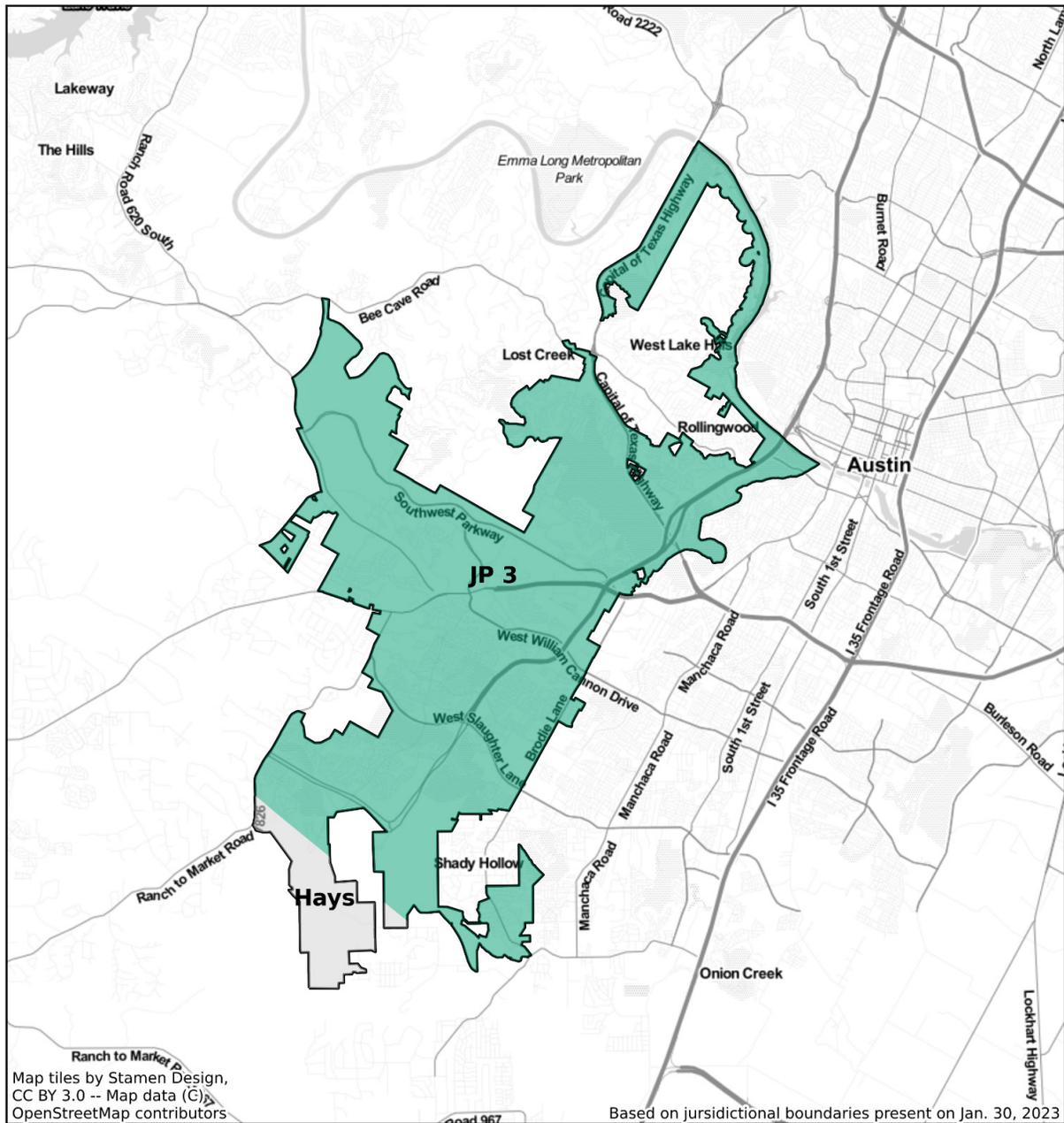
Judges differ in how they treat cases where the landlord does not have grounds to evict. Some judges dismiss the case whereas others rule in favor of the defendant.

Of all the council districts, **District 8 had the second lowest number of evictions in 2023**. The only district with fewer evictions was District 6, where we are missing a substantial number of evictions due to the lack of data from Williamson County. District 8 is also the district with the highest median household income and the lowest percentage of the population earning low- to moderate-income.

The Top Evictors of 2023

Property Name	Unit Count	Filing Rate	Eviction Filings in 2023
Camden Gaines Ranch Apartments 4424 Gaines Ranch Loop, Austin, TX 78735	390	5%	18
Camden Stoneleigh Apartments 4825 Davis Ln, Austin, TX 78749	390	5%	18
Monterey Ranch Apartments 4701 Staggerbrush Rd, Austin, TX 78749	624	3%	18
MAA Western Oaks 8801 La Cresada Dr, Austin, TX 78749	479	3%	15
Southwest Trails Apartments 8405 Old Bee Caves Rd, Austin, TX 78735	160	8%	12

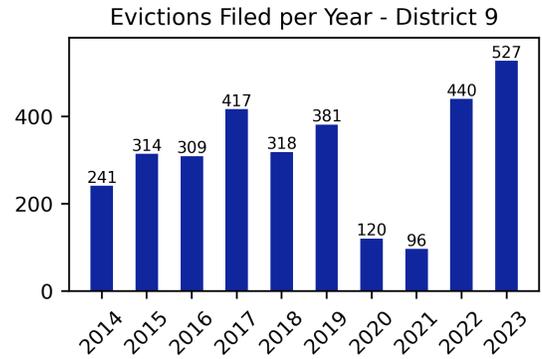
JP Precincts Within the District



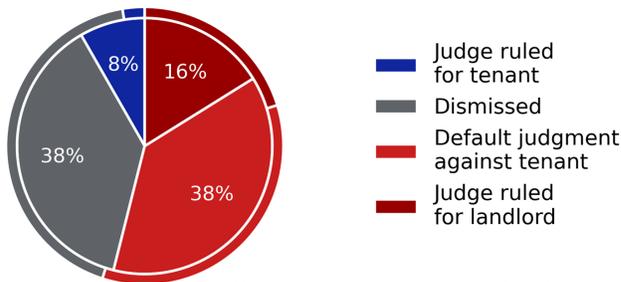
Justice of the Peace Precinct 3 (JP 3) is currently overseen by [Sylvia Holmes](#).

Council District 9

- Landlords filed **527 evictions** in 2023.
- Evictions were filed at **170 unique properties**.
- The top five evictors in the district account for 113 evictions.
- This means **21.4% of all filings in this district came from 2.9% of the properties** that filed evictions.



Case Outcomes - District 9



Outcomes for all of Travis County are shown in the outer ring for comparison.

Default judgments occur when the tenant does not show up to the eviction hearing and the judge rules in favor of the landlord by default.

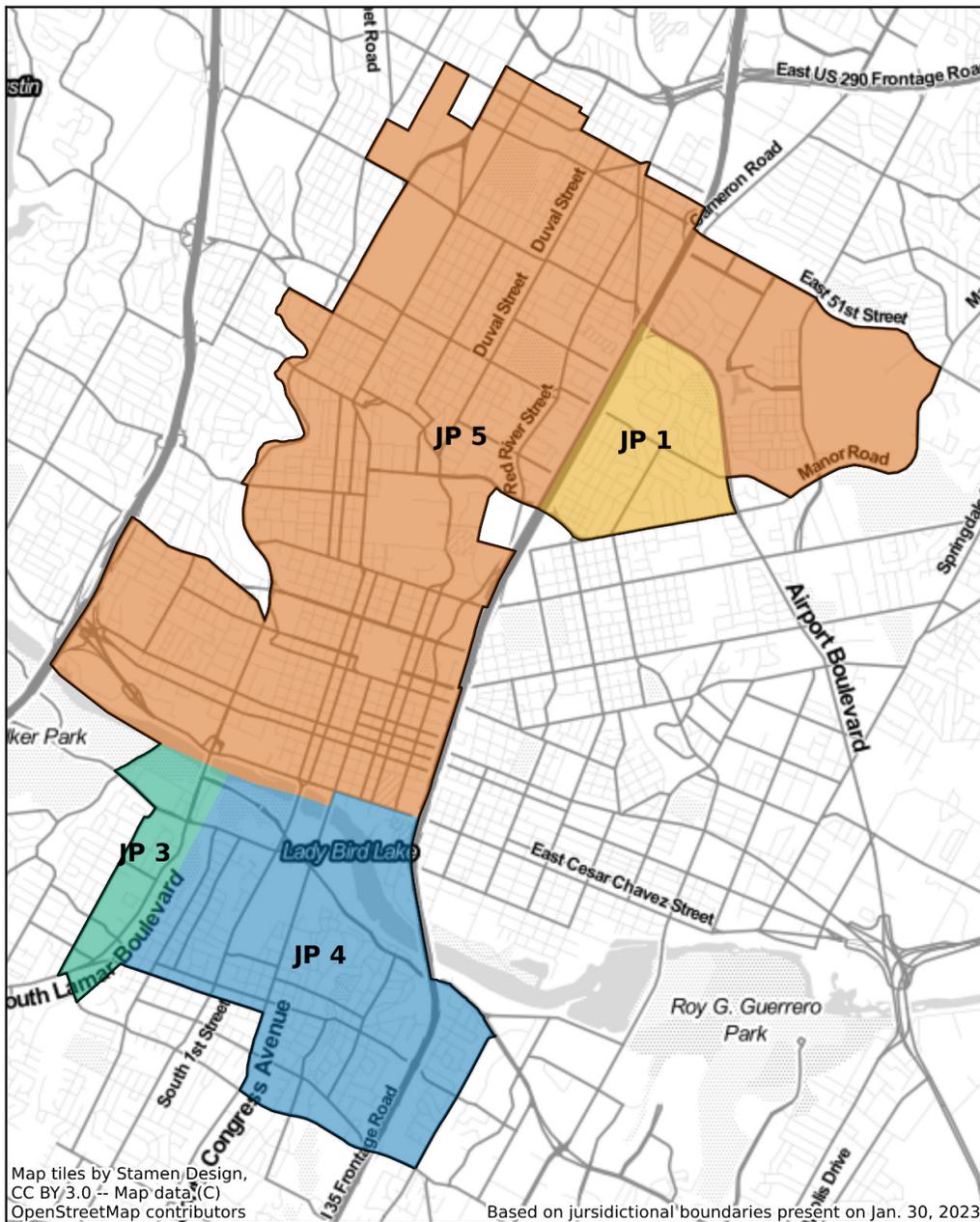
Judges differ in how they treat cases where the landlord does not have grounds to evict. Some judges dismiss the case whereas others rule in favor of the defendant.

District 9 had the **second most rapid increase in number of evictions from 2014 to 2023** (119% increase). Only District 10 had a more rapid increase (195%).

The Top Evictors of 2023

Property Name	Unit Count	Filing Rate	Eviction Filings in 2023
3Waller 710 E 3rd St, Austin, TX 78701	259	15%	40
Cascade Apartments 1221 Algarita Ave, Austin, TX 78704	198	12%	23
Camden Rainey Street Apartments 91 Rainey St, Austin, TX 78701	326	6%	18
Northshore Apartments 110 San Antonio St, Austin, TX 78701	439	4%	17
Alexan Waterloo 700 E 11th St, Austin, TX 78701	272	6%	15

JP Precincts Within the District



Justice of the Peace Precinct 1 (JP 1) is currently overseen by [Yvonne Williams](#).

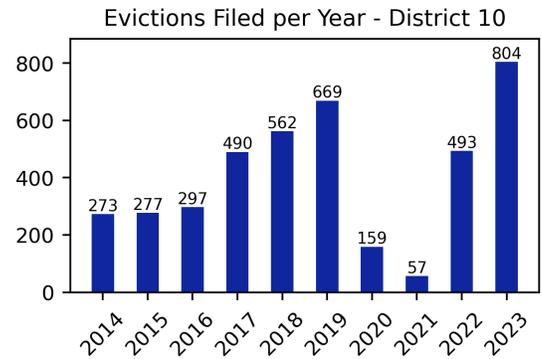
Justice of the Peace Precinct 3 (JP 3) is currently overseen by [Sylvia Holmes](#).

Justice of the Peace Precinct 4 (JP 4) is currently overseen by [Raúl González](#).

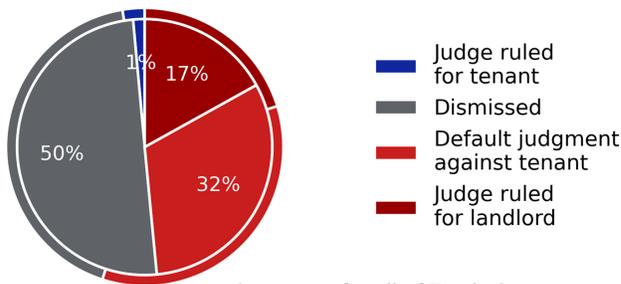
Justice of the Peace Precinct 5 (JP 5) is currently overseen by [Rick Olivo](#).

Council District 10

- Landlords filed **804 evictions** in 2023.
- Evictions were filed at **78 unique properties**.
- The top five evictors in the district account for 451 evictions.
- This means **56.1% of all filings in this district came from 6.4% of the properties** that filed evictions.



Case Outcomes - District 10



Outcomes for all of Travis County are shown in the outer ring for comparison.

Default judgments occur when the tenant does not show up to the eviction hearing and the judge rules in favor of the landlord by default.

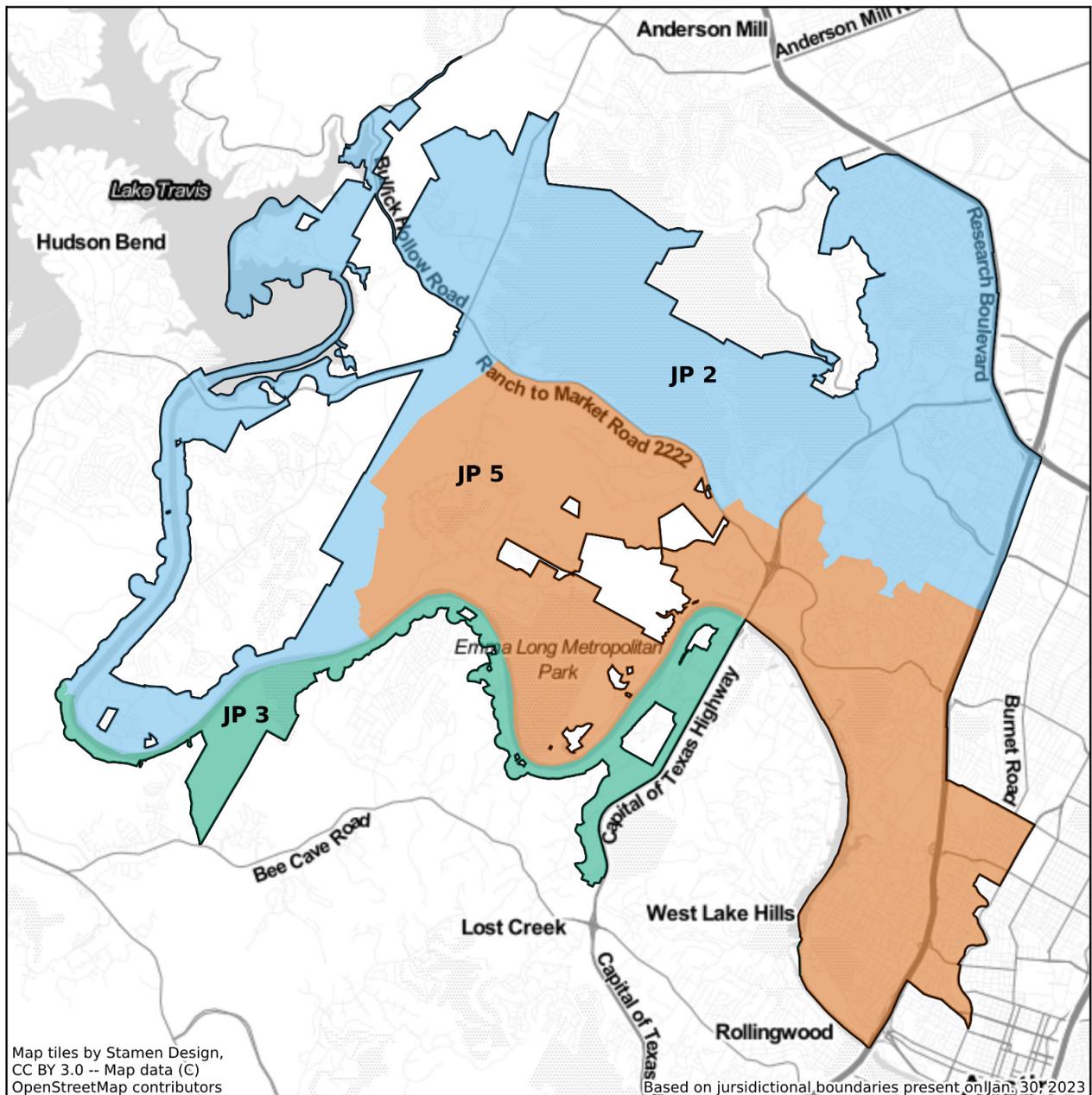
Judges differ in how they treat cases where the landlord does not have grounds to evict. Some judges dismiss the case whereas others rule in favor of the defendant.

District 10 had **the most rapid increase in evictions between 2014 and 2023 out of all the council districts**, with an increase of 195%. District 10 also had the most rapid increase in evictions between 2014 and 2019 out of all council districts (145%).

The Top Evictors of 2023

Property Name	Unit Count	Filing Rate	Eviction Filings in 2023
Falls on Bull Creek 8527 N Capital of Texas Hwy, Austin, TX 78759	206	65%	133
Abelia Flats 8225 N FM 620, Austin, TX 78726	444	30%	132
Nolina Flats 8021 N FM 620, Austin, TX 78726	288	40%	114
Ellwood at Lake Travis 7655 Ranch Rd 620 N, Austin, TX 78726	557	9%	48
MAA Canyon Creek 9501 Ranch Rd 620 N, Austin, TX 78726	336	7%	24

JP Precincts Within the District



Justice of the Peace Precinct 2 (JP 2) is currently overseen by [Randall Slagle](#).

Justice of the Peace Precinct 3 (JP 3) is currently overseen by [Sylvia Holmes](#).

Justice of the Peace Precinct 5 (JP 5) is currently overseen by [Rick Olivo](#).

Commissioner Precincts

In this section, we show a breakdown of evictions by the commissioner precinct in which they were filed. For each precinct, we have created a snapshot with eviction filing numbers since 2014 to show the trends over time, a breakdown of case outcomes for eviction cases in the district in 2023, and a list of the top five properties with the most evictions in 2023. Because justice court precincts do not correspond to commissioner precincts, we include a map of the justice court precincts that lie within each commissioner precinct.

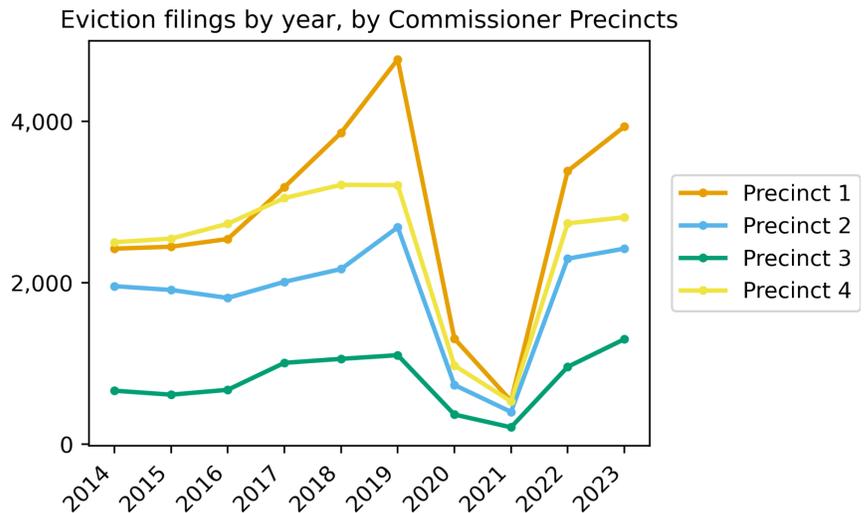
On the dashboard, we show, for each commissioner precinct, the number of evictions filed and the top five properties with the most evictions. Precinct 1 had the most evictions by far, with Precinct 3 having the lowest number. What we observe about the top evicting properties is similar to our discussion around top evictors by council district – there certainly are properties that file many more evictions than others, but some precincts have evictions across many different properties so that the top five properties do not account for a substantial fraction of the total in a precinct, indicating that evictions are distributed across many properties in that precinct.

Comparing yearly eviction filings since 2014 across all precincts

To the right, we show eviction filings each year starting from 2014 for all of the commissioner precincts together.

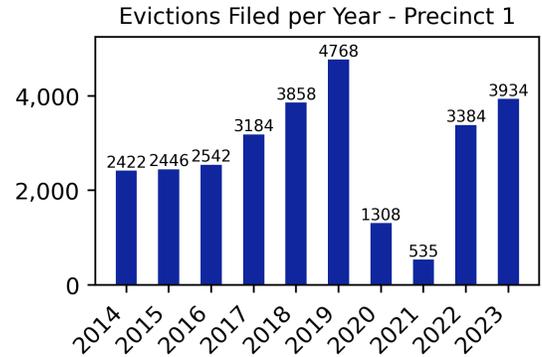
Across Travis County, evictions have been increasing since 2014 and this chart shows which precincts have contributed the most to this increase.

We see that the number of evictions in Precinct 1 has steadily increased at a rate beyond that of other precincts. In 2019, there were 4,768 evictions in Precinct 1, which was 49% greater than the precinct with the next highest number of evictions (3,210 evictions in Precinct 4).

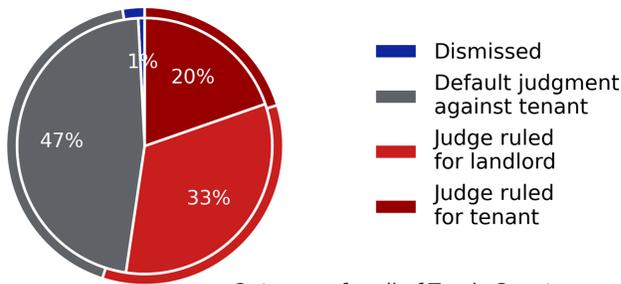


Precinct 1

- Landlords filed **3,934 evictions** in 2023.
- Evictions were filed at **691 unique properties**.
- The top five evictors in the district account for 597 evictions.
- This means **15.2% of all filings in this district came from 0.7% of the properties** that filed evictions.



Case Outcomes - Precinct 1



Outcomes for all of Travis County are shown in the outer ring for comparison.

Default judgments occur when the tenant does not show up to the eviction hearing and the judge rules in favor of the landlord by default.

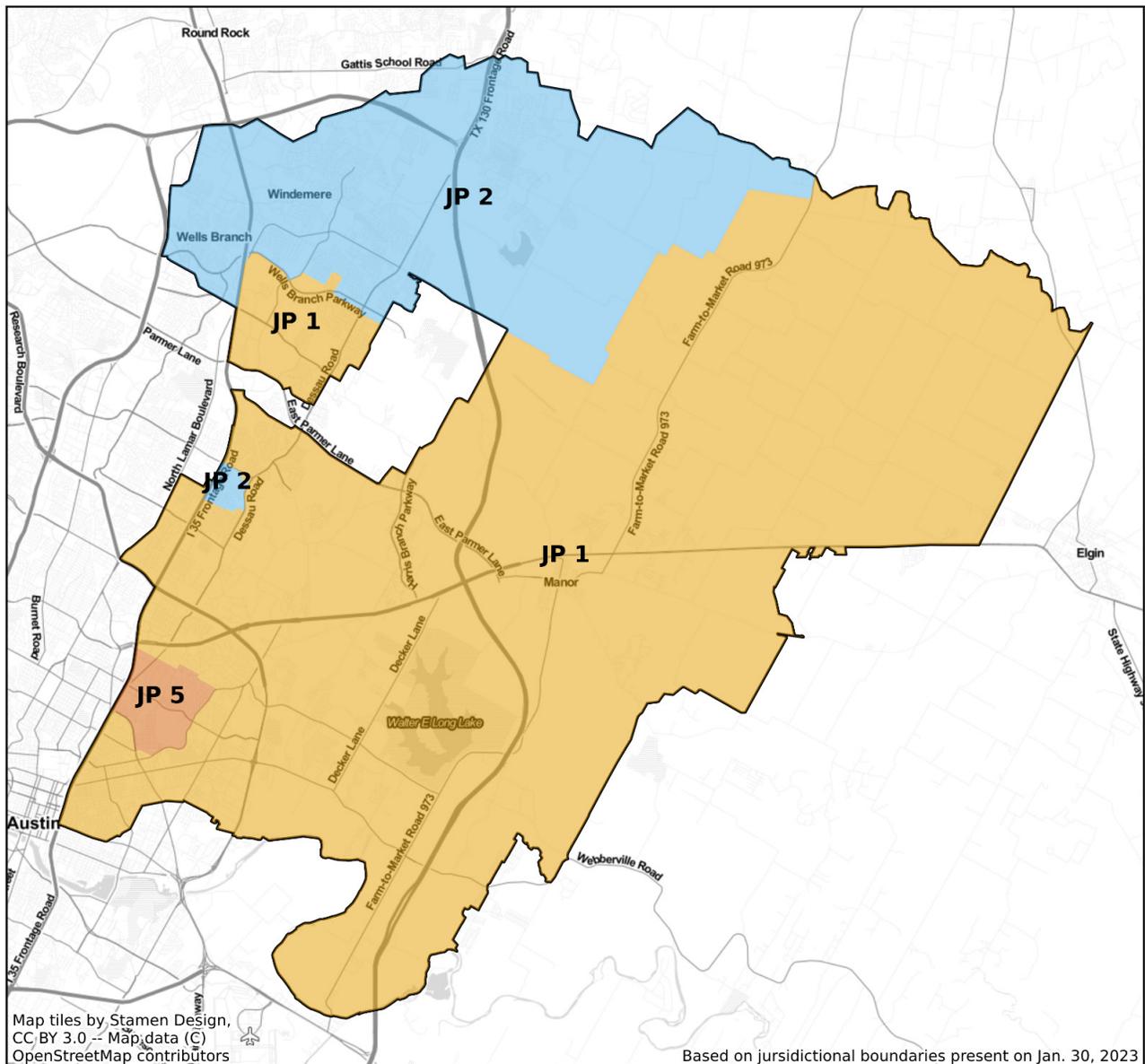
Judges differ in how they treat cases where the landlord does not have grounds to evict. Some judges dismiss the case whereas others rule in favor of the defendant.

Precinct 1 had the **most rapid increase in evictions from 2014 to 2019 of all the commissioner precincts**, with an increase of 97%. Precinct 1 also had the most evictions of all the precincts in 2023.

The Top Evictors of 2023

Property Name	Unit Count	Filing Rate	Eviction Filings in 2023
Starburst Apartments 8800 N IH-35, Austin, TX 78753	504	28%	154
The Morgan 1801 Wells Branch Pkwy, Austin, TX 78728	504	27%	137
Orbit Apartments 8900 N IH-35, Austin, TX, 78753	336	33%	129
The Orion 3101 Shoreline Dr, Austin, TX 78728	384	25%	97
The Hedge Apartment Homes 8300 N IH-35, Austin, TX 78753	383	21%	80

JP Precincts Within the District



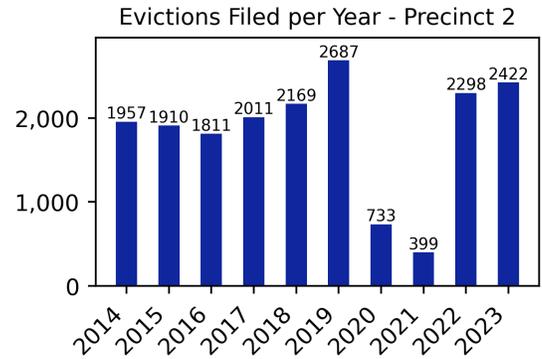
Justice of the Peace Precinct 1 (JP 1) is currently overseen by [Yvonne Williams](#).

Justice of the Peace Precinct 2 (JP 2) is currently overseen by [Randall Slagle](#).

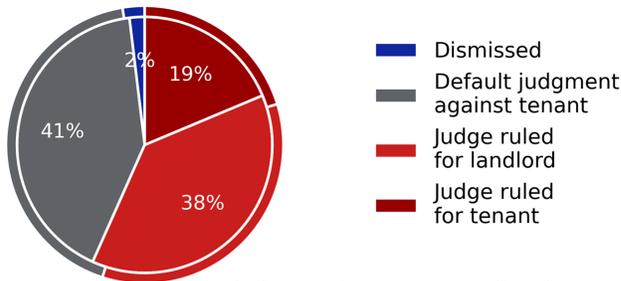
Justice of the Peace Precinct 5 (JP 5) is currently overseen by [Rick Olivo](#).

Precinct 2

- Landlords filed **2,422 evictions** in 2023.
- Evictions were filed at **491 unique properties**.
- The top five evictors in the district account for 392 evictions.
- This means **16.2% of all filings in this district came from 1.0% of the properties** that filed evictions.



Case Outcomes - Precinct 2



Outcomes for all of Travis County are shown in the outer ring for comparison.

Default judgments occur when the tenant does not show up to the eviction hearing and the judge rules in favor of the landlord by default.

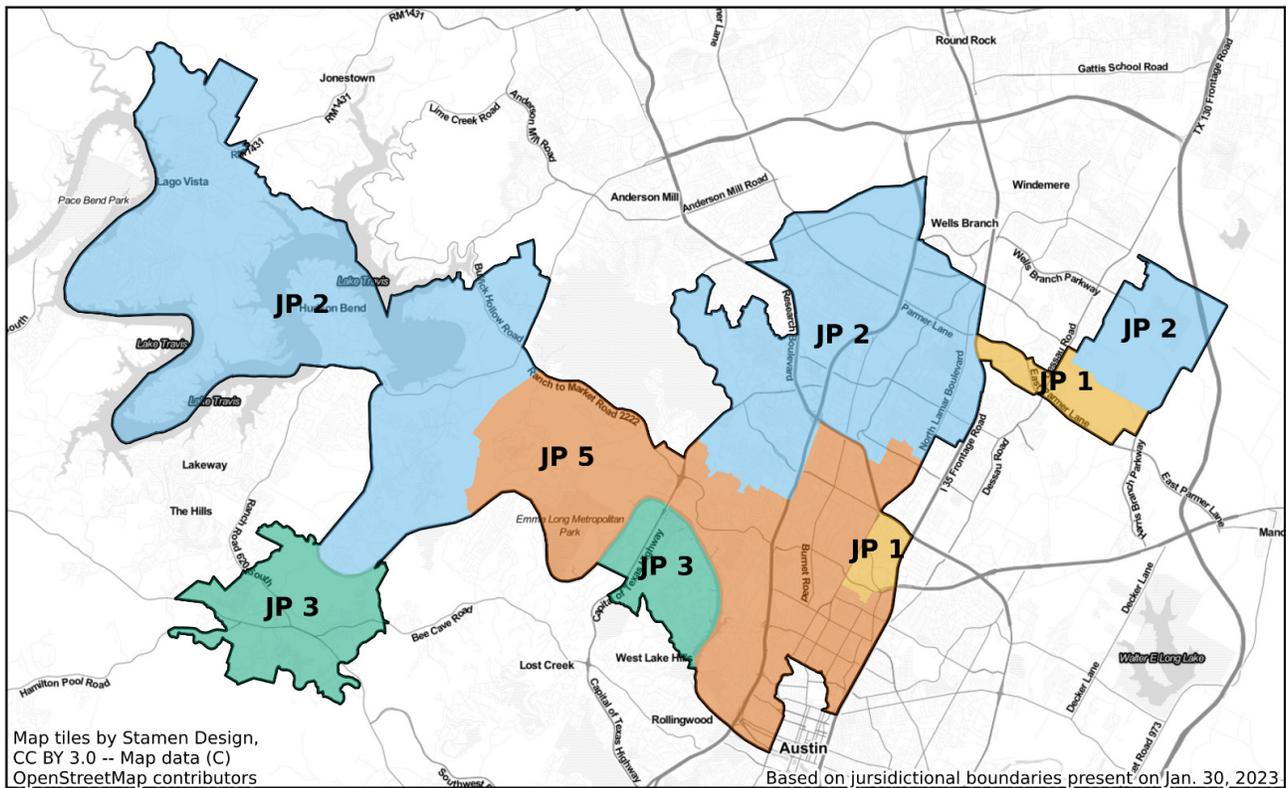
Judges differ in how they treat cases where the landlord does not have grounds to evict. Some judges dismiss the case whereas others rule in favor of the defendant.

Precinct 2 falls within the jurisdiction of four different JP precincts. Precinct 2 is also where Falls on Bull Creek is located. Falls on Bull Creek had the highest eviction filing rate of the top 20 filing properties, with the number of evictions filed equal to 65% of the number of units on the property.

The Top Evictors of 2023

Property Name	Unit Count	Filing Rate	Eviction Filings in 2023
Falls on Bull Creek 8527 N Capital of Texas Hwy, Austin, TX 78759	206	65%	133
Northgate Hills 9024 Northgate Blvd, Austin, TX 78758	416	21%	89
Boulder Ridge 3300 Golden Aspen Lp, Pflugerville, TX 78660	1221	5%	60
The Park at Walnut Creek 12113 Metric Blvd, Austin, TX 78758	342	16%	55
Meritage at Steiner Ranch 4500 Steiner Ranch Blvd, Austin, TX 78732	502	11%	55

JP Precincts Within the District



Justice of the Peace Precinct 1 (JP 1) is currently overseen by [Yvonne Williams](#).

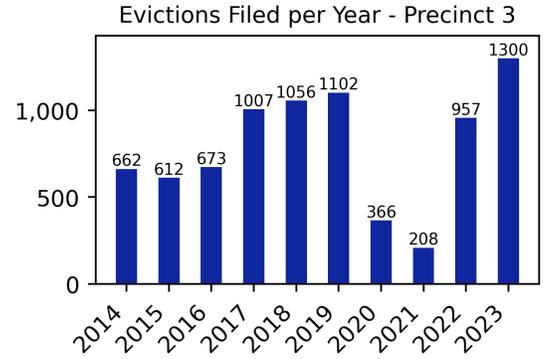
Justice of the Peace Precinct 2 (JP 2) is currently overseen by [Randall Slagle](#).

Justice of the Peace Precinct 3 (JP 3) is currently overseen by [Sylvia Holmes](#).

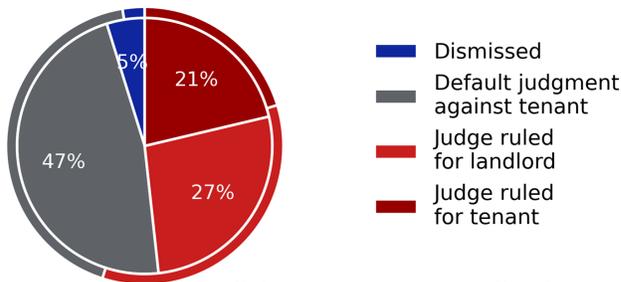
Justice of the Peace Precinct 5 (JP 5) is currently overseen by [Rick Olivo](#).

Precinct 3

- Landlords filed **1,300 evictions** in 2023.
- Evictions were filed at **309 unique properties**.
- The top five evictors in the district account for 372 evictions.
- This means **28.6% of all filings in this district came from 1.6% of the properties** that filed evictions.



Case Outcomes - Precinct 3



Outcomes for all of Travis County are shown in the outer ring for comparison.

Default judgments occur when the tenant does not show up to the eviction hearing and the judge rules in favor of the landlord by default.

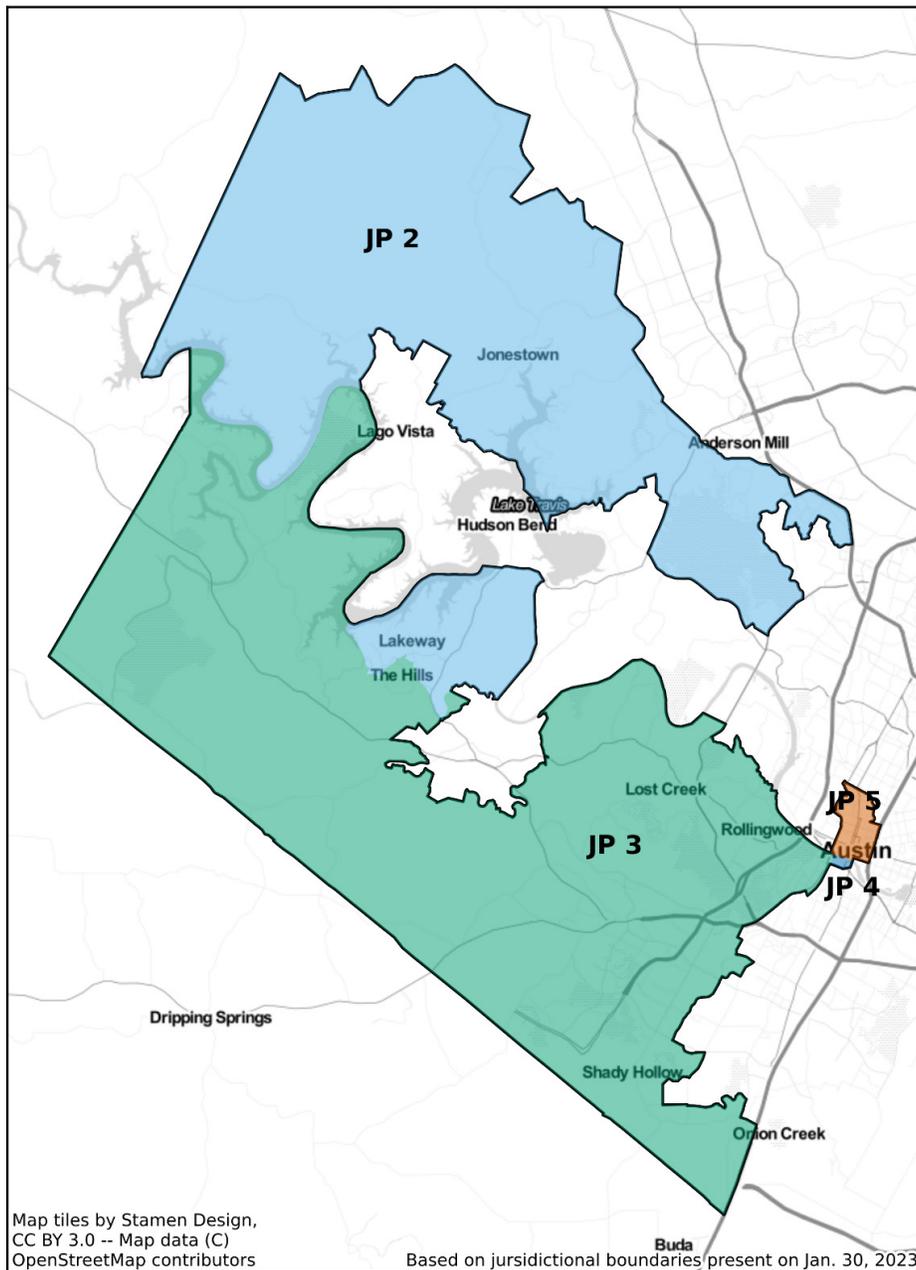
Judges differ in how they treat cases where the landlord does not have grounds to evict. Some judges dismiss the case whereas others rule in favor of the defendant.

Precinct 3 had the lowest number of evictions in 2023, but **had the largest increase in evictions from 2014 to 2023** with a 96% increase.

The Top Evictors of 2023

Property Name	Unit Count	Filing Rate	Eviction Filings in 2023
Abelia Flats 8225 N FM 620, Austin, TX 78726	444	30%	132
Nolina Flats 8021 N FM 620, Austin, TX 78726	288	40%	114
Ellwood at Lake Travis 7655 Ranch Rd 620 N, Austin, TX 78726	557	9%	48
3Waller 710 E 3rd St, Austin, TX 78701	259	15%	40
Reveal at Onion Creek Apartments 12000 S IH 35, TX 78652	434	9%	38

JP Precincts Within the District



Justice of the Peace Precinct 2 (JP 2) is currently overseen by [Randall Slagle](#).

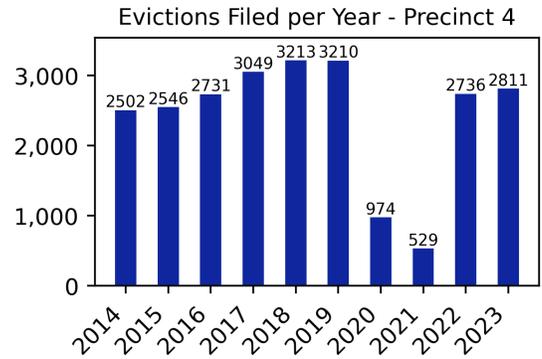
Justice of the Peace Precinct 3 (JP 3) is currently overseen by [Sylvia Holmes](#).

Justice of the Peace Precinct 4 (JP 4) is currently overseen by [Raúl González](#).

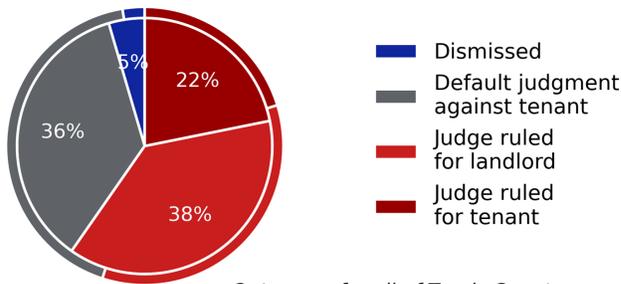
Justice of the Peace Precinct 5 (JP 5) is currently overseen by [Rick Olivo](#).

Precinct 4

- Landlords filed **2,811 evictions** in 2023.
- Evictions were filed at **676 unique properties**.
- The top five evictors in the district account for 329 evictions.
- This means **11.7% of all filings in this district came from 0.7% of the properties** that filed evictions.



Case Outcomes - Precinct 4



Outcomes for all of Travis County are shown in the outer ring for comparison.

Default judgments occur when the tenant does not show up to the eviction hearing and the judge rules in favor of the landlord by default.

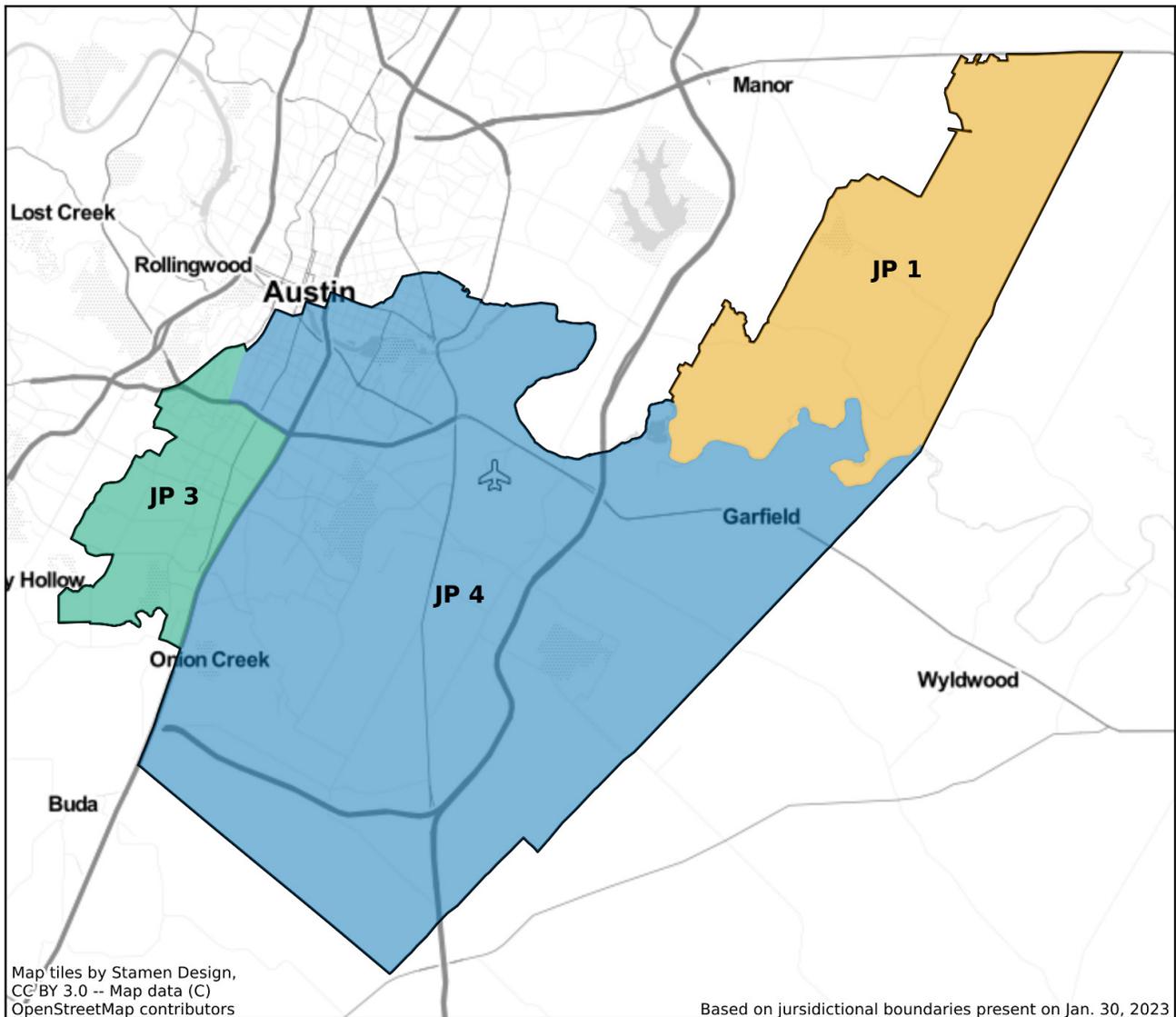
Judges differ in how they treat cases where the landlord does not have grounds to evict. Some judges dismiss the case whereas others rule in favor of the defendant.

Precinct 4 had the **highest percentage of eviction filings that resulted in a judgment against tenants (60%)** as compared to all other commissioner precincts. This percentage counts both default judgments and rulings for landlords.

The Top Evictors of 2023

Property Name	Unit Count	Filing Rate	Eviction Filings in 2023
Point South 1910 Willow Creek Dr, Austin, TX 78741	336	24%	80
Onion Creek Luxury Apartments 10701 S I-35 Frontage Rd, Austin, TX 78747	386	18%	71
South Austin Market Place 2101 E Ben White Blvd, Austin, TX 78741	170	41%	70
Griffis SoCo Austin 500 E Stassney Ln, Austin, TX 78745	296	19%	56
Chandelier Apartments 2336 Douglas St, Austin, TX 78741	336	15%	52

JP Precincts Within the District



Justice of the Peace Precinct 1 (JP 1) is currently overseen by [Yvonne Williams](#).

Justice of the Peace Precinct 3 (JP 3) is currently overseen by [Sylvia Holmes](#).

Justice of the Peace Precinct 4 (JP 4) is currently overseen by [Raúl González](#).