



Center for Urban and Regional Affairs

## KRIS NELSON COMMUNITY-BASED RESEARCH PROGRAM

*... a program of the Center for Urban and Regional Affairs (CURA)*

# Evictions in Saint Paul

Prepared in partnership with  
HOME Line

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# EVICTIIONS IN SAINT PAUL

*HOME Line - September 2018*

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## Report Summary

### Context and Purpose

Matthew Desmond's book, *Evicted*, documented the impact of evictions on communities of color and female-headed households in Milwaukee while his study, *Evicting Children*, highlighted their effect on children. To demonstrate parallels from his work to Minnesota, the Minneapolis Innovation Team conducted a study with HOME Line that found up to 50% of tenants in two North Minneapolis ZIP codes were evicted in a two-year span. (<https://homelinemn.org/implsevicitions>) This is devastating for families, schools, and communities as a whole. In 2016-2017 HOME Line oversaw a University of Minnesota Humphrey Institute Policy Fellows team who observed that African-American females were both the largest demographic group in Minneapolis evictions and the least likely to be represented by an attorney.<sup>1</sup> According to the July 2018 recent Saint Paul Housing Market Profile, 50% of renter households are cost-burdened or severely cost-burdened and rental housing cost is disproportionately a challenge for people of color in Saint Paul.<sup>2</sup> A survey of 2017 Saint Paul residential tenant calls to HOME Line's free tenant hotline for eviction advice confirms similar demographic patterns in Saint Paul.<sup>3</sup> The disparity in the demographics of households impacted by evictions suggest evictions are a civil rights issue with important Fair Housing implications. As the recipient and beneficiary of federal funds, the City of Saint Paul has an obligation to affirmatively further Fair Housing by addressing barriers to housing access such as evictions.<sup>4</sup>

With the above in mind, HOME Line prepared this report at the request of the City of Saint Paul. The purpose of this report is to examine trends related to residential evictions in Saint Paul in order to better understand the eviction process and to identify strategies to minimize evictions and the harmful impacts of displacement on Saint Paul renter households.

There are three portions to this report:

- A mapped geographic distribution by both ZIP code and address of evictions in Saint Paul using a summary-level data extract from the state courts.
- Case file review consisting of individual analyses of a randomly selected set of eviction cases filed in 2015, 2016, and 2017.
- Detailed state data extract analysis of all evictions filed in Saint Paul.

### Overview and Key Findings

In 2017, there were an estimated 1,710 residential evictions filed against tenants in the City of Saint Paul. This number represents 3% of residential rental units within the city, which has 56,826 total renter-occupied units. However, this number underrepresents the Saint Paul residents affected by eviction because it does not reflect multiple family members involved in a single eviction, nor does the data capture informal evictions outside of the court process.

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<sup>1</sup> "Evictions in Hennepin County: Observations of Race & Gender" by Amy Cohn, Alice Hill, Sara Lopez, Jim Nikolai, and Jennifer Tong

<sup>2</sup> Saint Paul Housing Market Profile, July 2018

<sup>3</sup>In 2017, 69% of tenants calling with questions about evictions identified as people of color, while 50% of tenants calling with other concerns were people of color. The trend was also present for families (63% to 56%).

<sup>4</sup> 24 CFR 91.225

Approximately 16,000 evictions were filed in Minnesota in 2017, and while the number of evictions has decreased over the last few years, they remain a problem for thousands of Saint Paul residents. Evictions, regardless of outcome, may limit a renter's available options to lower-quality or otherwise less-desirable housing and create housing instability within a community. An eviction action resulting in a judgment against the tenant leads to the short-term disruption of a household, forcing an immediate and unplanned move. It can also lead to long-term instability and barriers to housing access. Even an eviction filing may limit future access to housing, as the filing itself is part of a standard rental report and is frequently used by landlords to deny housing. An eviction filing effectively remains on a tenant's rental record for 7 years and can be found in court records indefinitely.

Understanding the contributing factors behind both filings and judgments is essential in developing ways to increase housing access, stability, and quality.

This study found the following:

- **Most evictions are filed in ZIP 55106**, which totaled 24% of all evictions filed for 2015-2017. Following 55106, evictions in ZIPs 55104, 55117, and 55119 combined totaled 35% of all evictions during the same period.
- **2.25 months' rent** or approximately **\$2,000** stand between tenants and eviction in Saint Paul. (This figure is higher than the actual amount of rent owed, as court fees of approximately \$300 are typically included in the total amount owed.)
- In nonpayment cases, **evictions were filed 59 days after rent was due**, assuming rent was due on the first of the month where nonpayment occurred.
- **Nonpayment cases account for 94% of eviction filings in Saint Paul**, and 75% of eviction cases identified no reasons beyond non-payment.
- Of all filings, if we remove the unknown outcomes, **62% ultimately resulted in a tenant displacement**.
- **Showing up matters**. Tenants showed up in 67% of cases. **79% of cases where the tenant did not show up but the landlord did, the tenant was displaced**. When both parties showed up to the hearing, **89% of cases resulted in a settlement**. When the tenant showed up, they had a 40% chance of avoiding displacement.
- **66% of cases settled**. The most common type of settlement was some form of payment plan. Most payment plans appeared to be successful as writs (the clearest sign of a failed settlement) were only issued later in 27% of cases. However, 41% of settlements were agreements by the tenant to move.
- Landlords were represented by either an attorney or someone with power of authority **in 75% of cases**. Conversely, tenants were represented in just 5% of cases.
- Of the eviction cases filed in 2017 in Saint Paul, nearly 28% of eviction cases were filed by 19 owner groups. These same owner groups account for 7.3% of rental units in Saint Paul.
- The number of evictions have significantly decreased in Saint Paul as well as Ramsey County as a whole since 2009.

## Conclusions and a Call to Action

Preventing and addressing the damaging consequences of evictions must be part of a comprehensive approach to increasing housing stability, access, and quality. Evictions stem from a variety of reasons—a response to housing disrepair, lack of affordable housing, short- and long-term financial difficulties—and the manner in which the formal eviction process plays out throughout the state makes a significant difference for the housing outcomes of Minnesota families. It is important to remember that an eviction is more than a data point in a report. They involve real people, adults and children, in crisis. Of similarly critical importance is that while an eviction may resolve one issue for a landlord, it creates additional issues and hardships for Saint Paul residents. These residents must find somewhere else to live, likely still in Saint Paul, but with additional housing burdens. Therefore, while evictions may be necessary in some instances, seeking to reduce eviction filings and ensure safe and stable housing is both a short- and long-term benefit to the city. This report provides both general and specific solutions, and aims to raise targeted questions to facilitate productive discussions among key Saint Paul stakeholders and influencers.

### How might we...

- *Connect tenants experiencing housing emergencies to legal supports, rental subsidies, or emergency assistance more easily and quickly?*
- *Increase the number of renters who show up to housing court for their hearing?*
- *Increase the likelihood and quality of settlements?*
- *Reduce the number of evictions filed?*
- *Increase the use of expungements?*
- *Reduce the harmful impact evictions have on the future housing choices of a household?*
- *Address disparities in the demographics of households affected by eviction?*

Because of the issues raised, we offer the series of below recommendations that more broadly aim to address the harmful consequences of evictions for the community, as well as targeted proposals aimed at issues that we identified as unique to Saint Paul.

### Recommendations:

- Enact a city ordinance mandating reporting of both informal and formal evictions to the city. Consider additional research, particularly around informal eviction notices, qualitative interviews with affected tenants and landlords, and/or a landlord cost/benefit analysis of filing evictions.
- Implement a rental licensing program that couples eviction data with ongoing city engagement with both tenants and landlords, including landlord legal providers and Power of Authorities. Rental licensing provisions could require engagement with frequent eviction filers about management processes and strategies, as well as mediation options.
- Use existing rental licensing program and landlord trainings to promote and incentivize alternatives to formal eviction actions such as cash for keys, pre-filing mediation, “confession of writ” form of settlement and others.
- Identify opportunities for more direct local connections to sources of emergency assistance and other social service providers.
- Survey tenants affected by evictions to determine their use of social services before and after the eviction process and determine what cost each eviction has on the City of Saint Paul.



- Contribute additional city resources to service providers and organizations that work directly with renters to avoid eviction and displacement.
- Encourage more rental subsidy programs, the preservation of affordable housing, and production of new affordable units. Consider a city rental subsidy program and/or financial aid program (in advance of falling behind on rent).
- Enact a rental licensing ordinance requirement providing “pay or quit/vacate” notice requirements prior to eviction for nonpayment of rent. As demonstrated in this report, most evictions occur very quickly and the vast majority (more than 80%) of cases were for nonpayment of rent for between 1 and 2 months. This legal requirement would offer tenants more time and options prior to formal eviction, as well as a formal notice that could be used to access financial resources. Minnesota is behind most other states as it relates to this basic protection prior to eviction, and most federally-subsidized affordable housing programs, including some operating in Saint Paul, require such notices.
- Enact a rental licensing ordinance requirement that extends “Just” or “Good” cause protections in lease termination and non-renewal to address what has become a commonplace occurrence in private landlord/tenant relationships – “informal evictions” that include a failure to renew a lease for no stated reason, or no reason whatsoever. Such non-renewals are sometimes used for retaliatory purposes, as well as in order to “rescreen” tenants when ownership or management changes hands, resulting in the loss of housing for historically lease-compliant tenants.
- Enact a rental licensing ordinance that regulates rental screening criteria requirements such as “Ban the Box,” narrowing the scope of questions about rental history and/or criminal background on an application, or a “Limited Lookback” approach that restricts how many years back such history can influence an application. Such policies offer tenants with imperfect records better access to locating and maintaining future housing options.
- Review other city rental licensing and inspection processes, particularly in relation to any influence they may have on retaliatory notices to vacate or formal eviction filings.
- Improve Saint Paul’s understanding and tracking of owner and management groups in order to better understand connections between properties and better identify problems.

## Notes about the Data

- There are two primary data sources for this report. First, a data extract from the State of Minnesota which contains high level data on evictions filed in Minnesota. Second, direct review of physical case files. Each section will note which data set it is using.
- Race, ethnicity, and other demographic data are not collected in civil court processes. This is unfortunate as it is clear from other studies, and from the general demographic data available through such sources as the American Community Survey, that evictions disproportionately impact communities of color. While the lack of this data makes it difficult to quantify the effect in Saint Paul, Census Bureau and Department of Housing and Development data as well as anecdotal evidence implies that the trend is present in Saint Paul as well. This brings up important Fair Housing implications and should be kept in mind throughout the report.
- Eviction cases are largely standard residential rental cases, but also include some commercial evictions, bank foreclosures, and contract-for-deed cases. There is no official coding in the court data to indicate which cases are of which type. The researchers for this report attempted to remove those non-standard case types by filtering for cases where the plaintiff appeared to be a bank or mortgage company or where the defendant name indicated that the



entity facing eviction is a business. Portions using the state data extract will include some non-residential evictions. However, direct case file review was able to identify non-residential evictions with a high level of certainty. Portions using the case file review data contain only residential eviction cases.

- There are a significant number of renters who are displaced through informal evictions. Informal evictions include situations outside of court where renters receive notices to vacate, lease non-renewals, or are simply being asked to leave. Many tenants comply with these notices regardless of their validity and enforceability. HOME Line, through its statewide tenant hotline, advises renters facing such situations nearly as regularly as we advise renters facing formal eviction filings. These types of situations are not reflected in the data provided, but could be a rich area for future research. Unfortunately, no formal data sources for these types of evictions exists.
- A writ of recovery is a legal document issued by the court that grants the county sheriff the authority to physically remove someone from the property. While many tenants leave voluntarily before the writ is issued, making the issuance of the writ unnecessary, it is, generally speaking, the only legal method of forcibly removing a tenant and the ultimate goal of the eviction court process itself. Our analysis assumes that if a writ of recovery was issued, the tenant was forced to move. While extremely unlikely, it is possible that in some cases, a writ could be “resolved” through a payment from emergency assistance, for example. There is no way to distinguish those cases with official records. However, observation by professionals and experts in this field support the assumption that writs nearly always result in displacement.
- In some cases, it is possible that the address provided for the defendant is not the address from which they were evicted, but a later, more current address provided to the court for purposes of ongoing communications with the court and other parties. This may have caused minor distortions in the data.
- Settlements are often considered to be positive outcomes. A settled case means both the landlord and tenant reached a mutually agreed upon resolution. However, settlements also mean that a great deal of information is lost. Generally, a settlement means that the actual merits of the case are never determined. Tenants may or may not have owed rent. Tenants may or may not have wanted or needed to move. Due to the nature of the court process and the tenant-landlord relationship, it is possible that tenants agree to deals that are simply not achievable and/or are largely against their interests. Settlements, and the data as a whole, must be viewed in this light.
- If the tenant entered into a payment plan with their landlord, and no writ was issued, we assumed the payment plan was successful. This seems to be a likely assumption, but it is an assumption. It is also possible that tenants voluntarily left after failing to complete a payment plan. If a significant amount of tenants voluntarily left after failing to complete a payment plan, the displacement rate would be much higher.
- Finally, throughout the analysis, expunged cases are necessarily not reflected in the data because expunged cases are removed from public records (which is the data used in this report). Evictions are more likely to be expunged when the case is resolved in favor of the tenant or when the case is many years old and different counties use different standards for expungements. Data suggests the expungement rate is low to very low depending upon the county, but it has not been specifically studied. Nevertheless, this element distorts the representativeness of the data to an unknown degree.

## Researchers

### *Contributing Researchers*

- *Eric Hauge, HOME Line, Executive Director*
- *Rebecca Hare, CURA, Graduate Research Assistant*
- *Samuel Spaid, HOME Line, Staff Attorney and Research Director*

### *Maps prepared by*

- *Jeff Matson, CURA, CGIS Program Director*

### *Report prepared by*

- *Rebecca Hare, CURA, Graduate Research Assistant*
- *Samuel Spaid, HOME Line, Staff Attorney and Research Director*

### *2016 Evictions in Minneapolis Report prepared by*

- *Zoe Thiel, City of Minneapolis Innovation Team*

We want to thank Zoe Thiel and the rest of the Minneapolis Innovation Team for directing the research and publication of the Minneapolis report. This report relies on the framing and analysis in that report.

# Eviction Distributions in Saint Paul

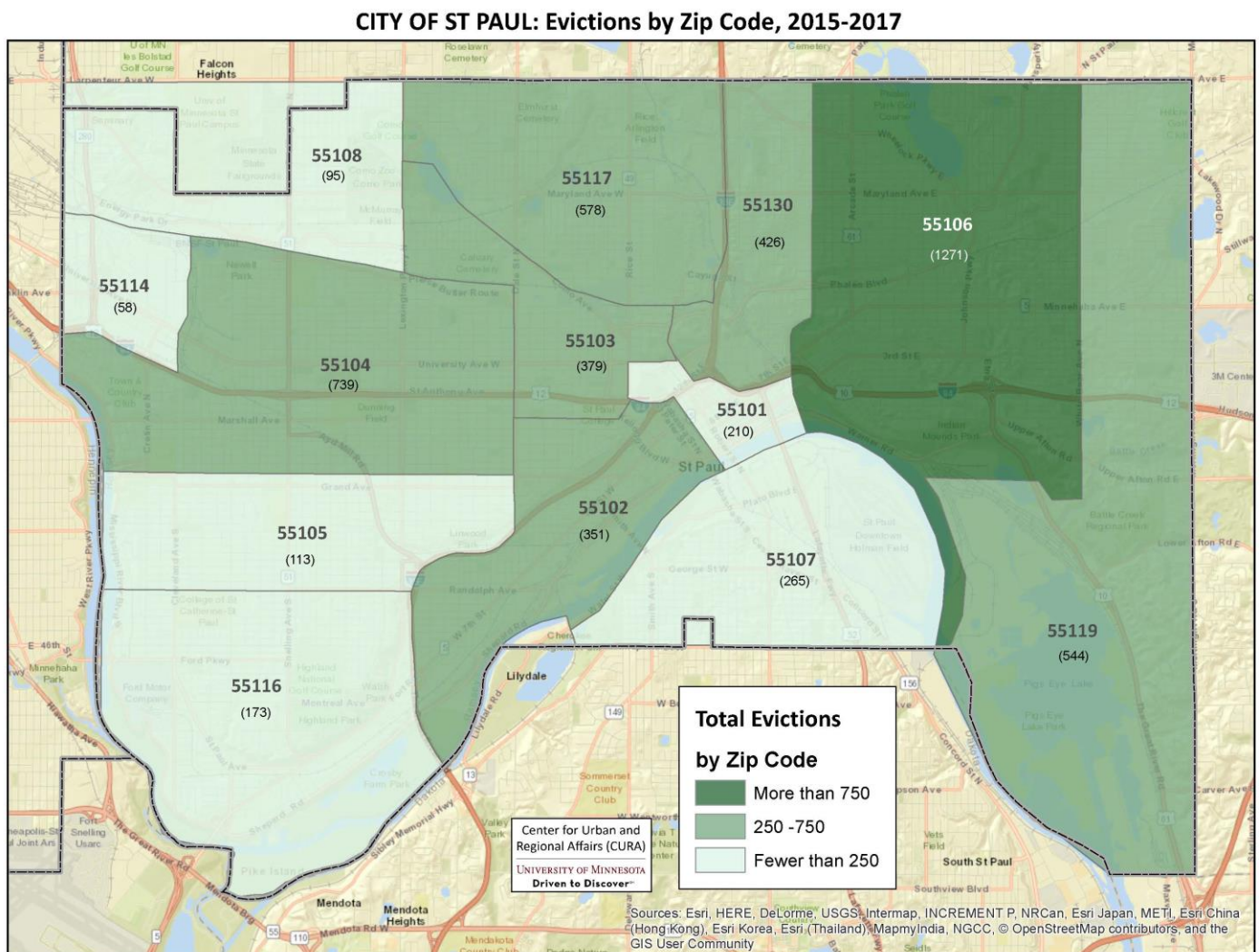
## Methodology

The data for this analysis comes from the state data extract. Analysts filtered the data extract from the state court to include only evictions filed in 2015, 2016, and 2017 with a defendant address in Saint Paul. This analysis attempted to exclude cases with commercial evictions, bank foreclosures, and addresses that were unverifiable and/or seemed outside of city limits. Addresses were cleaned manually using city information and Google Maps.

## Key Findings

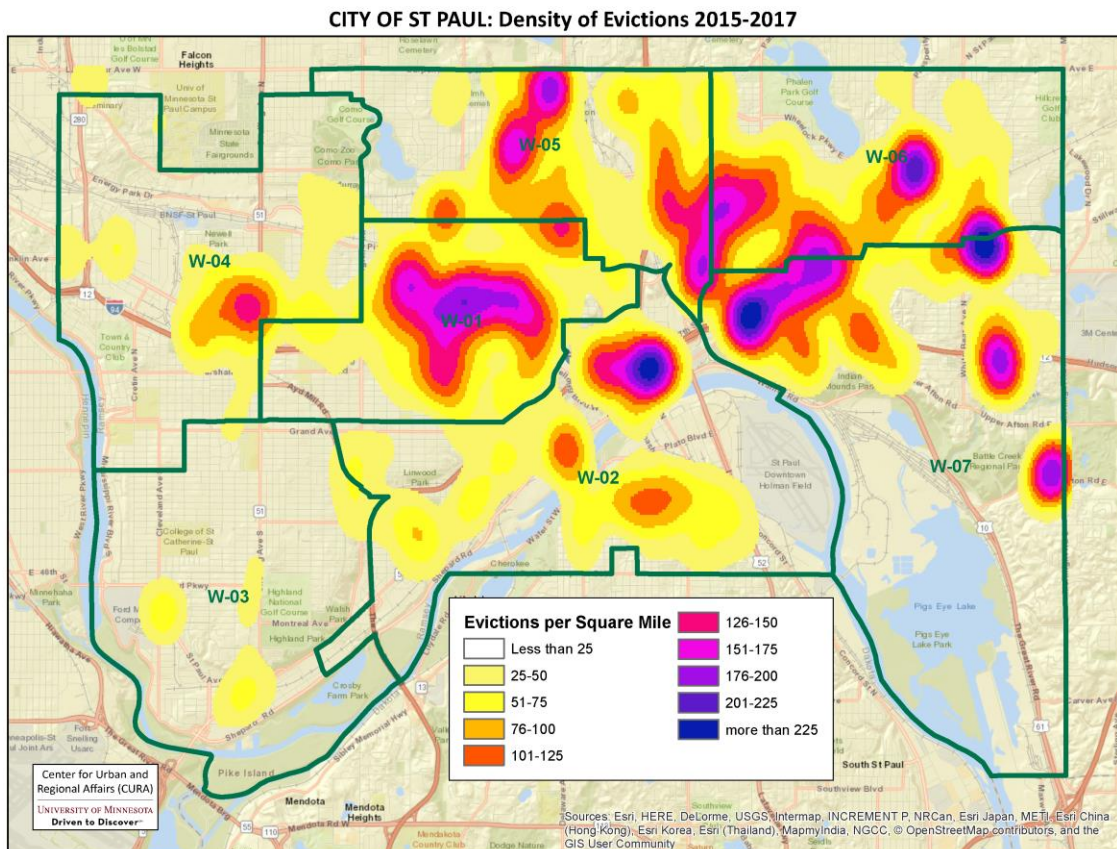
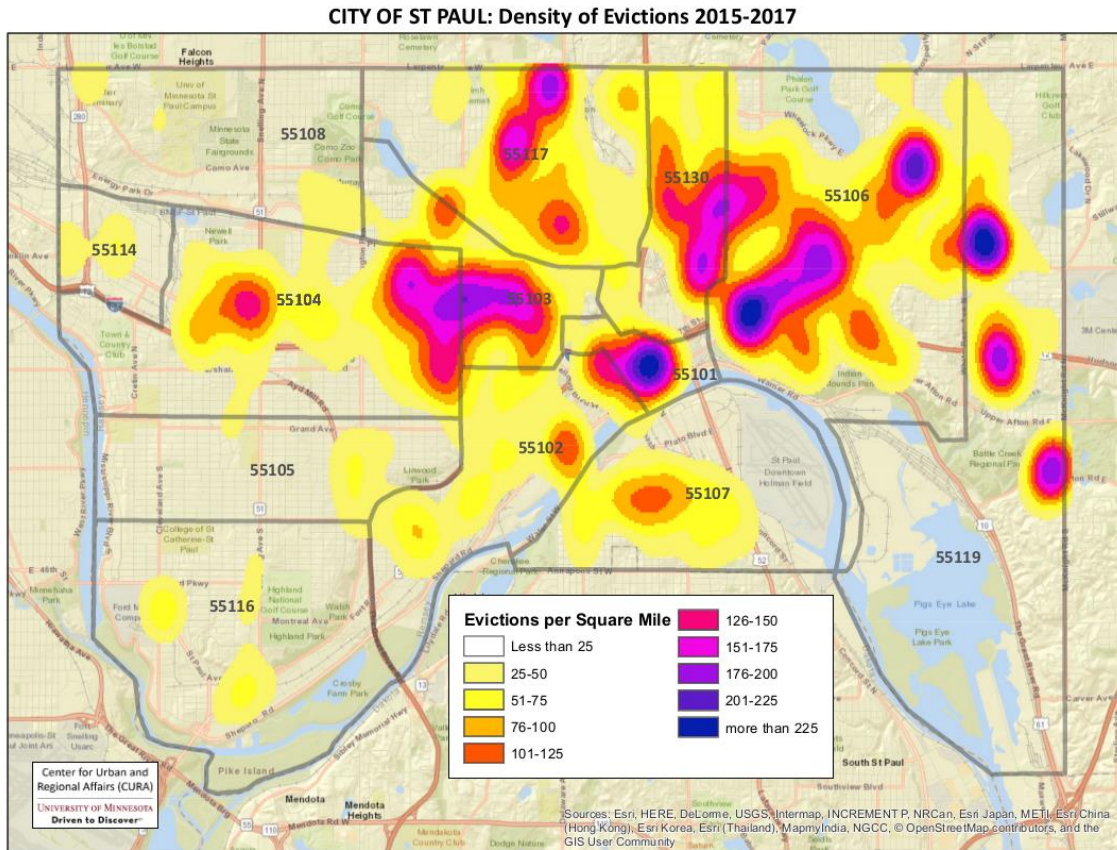
- While evictions are a city wide issue, **most evictions are filed in ZIP 55106**, which totaled 24% of all evictions filed for 2015-2017. Evictions in ZIPs 55104, 55117, and 55119 combined totaled another 35% of all evictions during the same period.

**Fig 1. Total Evictions in Saint Paul by ZIP (2015-2017)**





**Fig 2-3. Density of Evictions in Saint Paul by ZIP and Ward (2015-2017)**



## Case file review

### Methodology

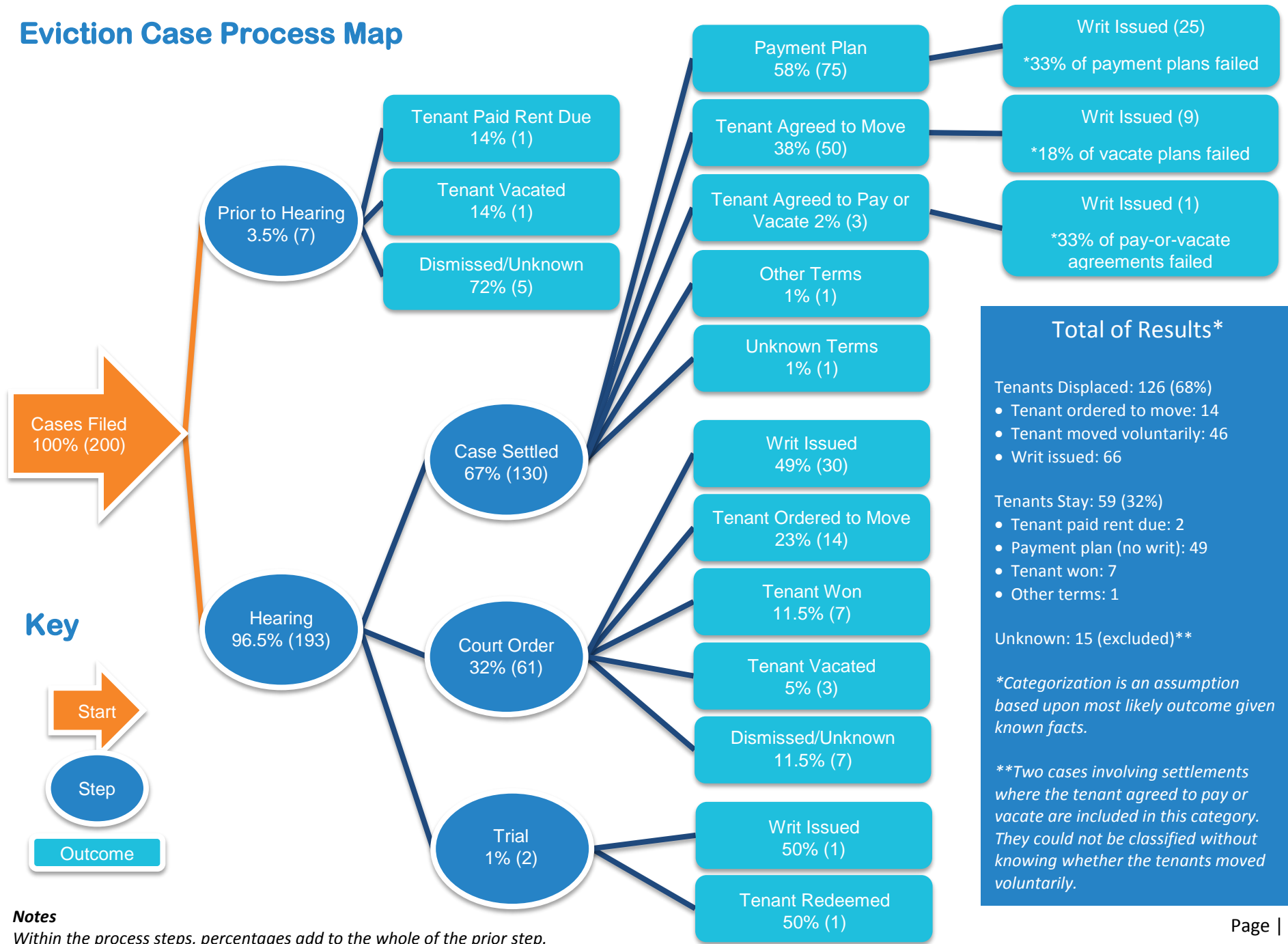
The court data extract provides important summary-level data; however, much of the detail behind each of those cases is captured in hand-written and scanned case files, accessible only by public access court terminals which required in-person access.

- 220 Saint Paul eviction cases from 2015, 2016, and 2017 were selected at random from the state court data extract.
- Analysts from HOME Line reviewed each of the 220 case files individually and recorded the details about each case on a custom Google survey form.
- After completion of reviews, staff removed cases determined to the best of our ability to be bank foreclosures, commercial evictions, contract-for-deed cases, or where significant documents or information were missing or not captured, leaving 200 cases.

### Key findings

- **2.25 months' rent** or approximately **\$2,000** stand between tenants and eviction in Saint Paul. (This figure is higher than the actual amount of rent owed, as court fees of approximately \$300 are typically included in the total amount owed.)
- In nonpayment cases, **evictions were filed 59 days after rent was due**, assuming rent was due on the first of the month where nonpayment occurred.
- **Non-payment cases account for 94% of eviction filings in Saint Paul**, and 75% of eviction cases identified no reasons beyond non-payment.
- Of all filings, if we remove the unknown outcomes, **62% ultimately resulted in a tenant displacement**.
- **Showing up matters.** Tenants showed up in 67% of cases. **79% of cases where the tenant did not show up but the landlord did, the tenant was displaced.** When both parties showed up to the hearing, **89% of cases resulted in a settlement.** When the tenant showed up, they had a 40% chance of avoiding displacement.
- **66% of cases settled.** The most common type of settlement was some form of payment plan. Most payment plans appeared to be successful as writs (the clearest sign of a failed settlement) were only issued later in 27% of cases. However, 41% of settlements were agreements by the tenant to move.
- Landlords were represented by either an attorney or someone with power of authority **in 75% of cases.** Conversely, tenants were represented in just 5% of cases.

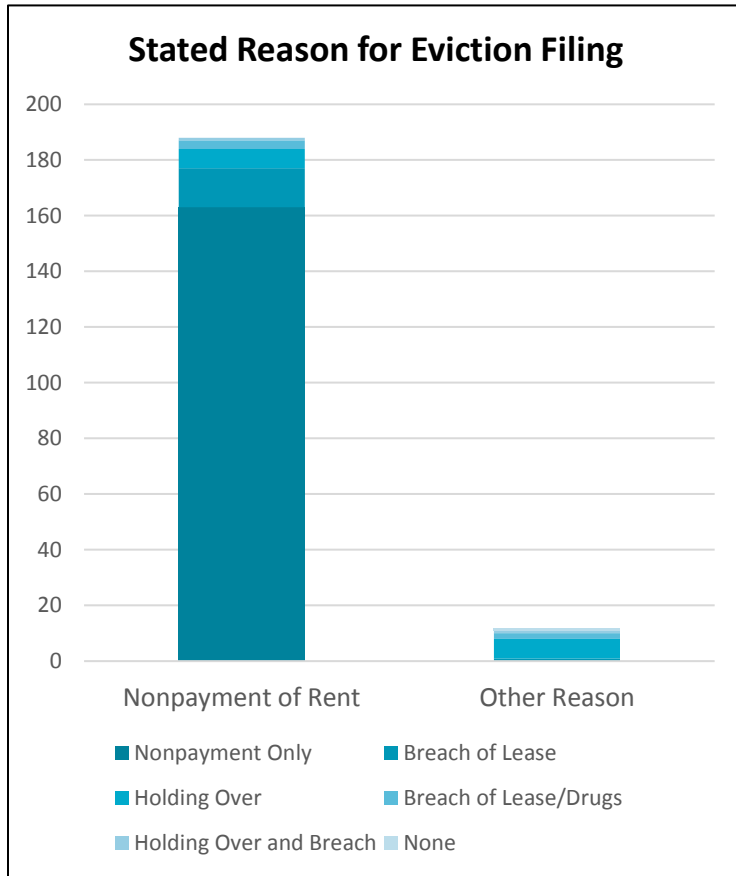
# Eviction Case Process Map



**Notes**  
Within the process steps, percentages add to the whole of the prior step.

## Tables and Figures

Fig 4. Reason for Filing



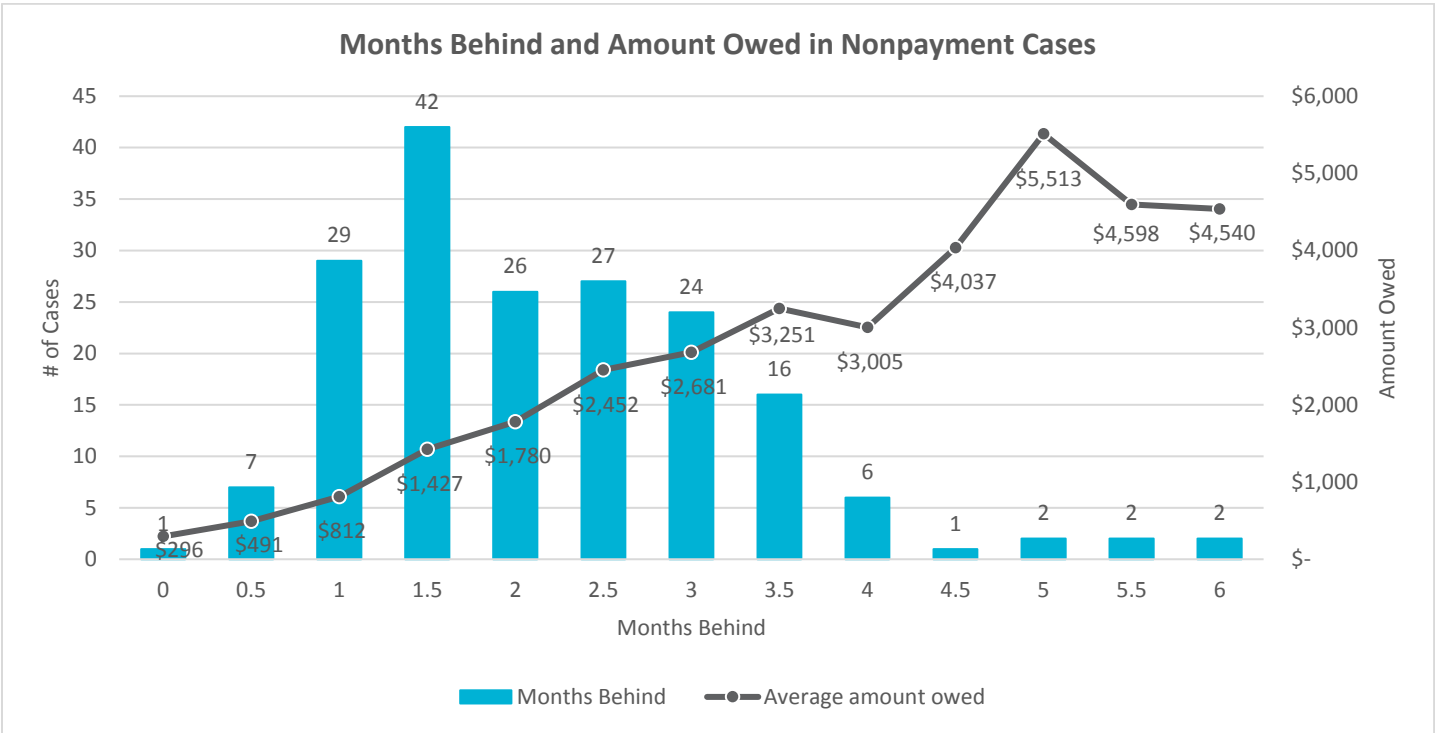
Nonpayment of rent only was the reason for 81.5% of eviction cases filed.

Complete Eviction Categories	#
Nonpayment of Rent Only	163
Nonpayment of Rent, Breach of Lease	14
Nonpayment of Rent, Holding Over/Failure to Vacate	7
Holding Over/Failure to Vacate	7
Nonpayment of Rent, Breach of Lease, Drugs/Crime/Etc. (504B.171)	3
Breach of Lease, Drugs/Crime/Etc. (504B.171)	2
Nonpayment of Rent, Holding Over/Failure to Vacate, Breach of Lease	1
Holding Over/Failure to Vacate, Breach of Lease	1
Breach of Lease	1
None	1
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>200</b>

Occurrence of Eviction Category	#
Non-payment of Rent	188
Breach of Lease	22
Holding Over/Failure to Vacate	15
Drugs/Crime/Etc. (504B.171)	5

Landlords may cite more than one reason for filing an eviction case. By far the most-often cited reason for filing was **nonpayment of rent**; it was cited in **94% of the cases**.





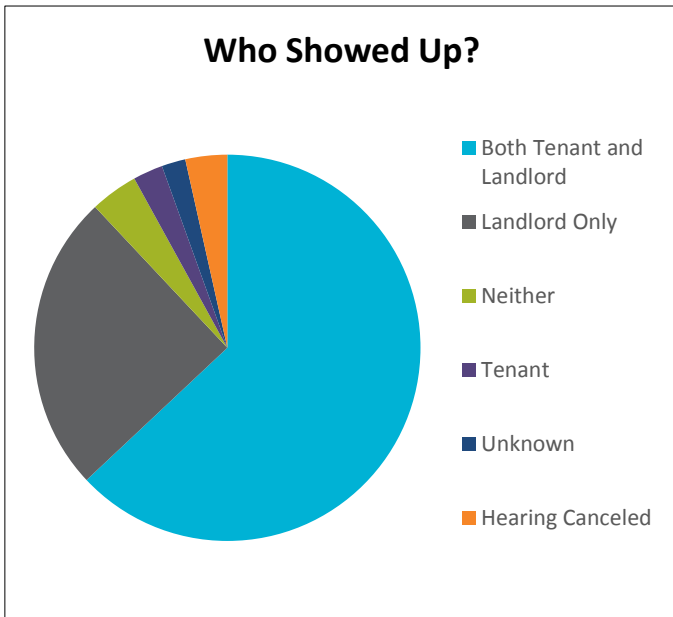
**Fig 5. Nonpayment**

For nonpayment of rent cases, the average number of months a tenant was behind on rent was 2.19, owing approximately \$1,986. The majority of cases in the study sample were for nonpayment of rent for between 1 to 3 months.

Two outliers were excluded from these charts. An eviction for \$7,700 (14 months of unpaid rent) and an eviction for \$11,017 (14.5 months of unpaid rent).

Months Behind on Rent	# of cases	Average Amount owed (\$)
0	1	\$296
0.5	7	\$491
1	29	\$812
1.5	42	\$1,427
2	26	\$1,780
2.5	27	\$2,452
3	24	\$2,681
3.5	16	\$3,251
4	6	\$3,005
4.5	1	\$4,037
5	2	\$5,513
5.5	2	\$4,598
6	2	\$4,540

Fig 6. Appearance at Hearing

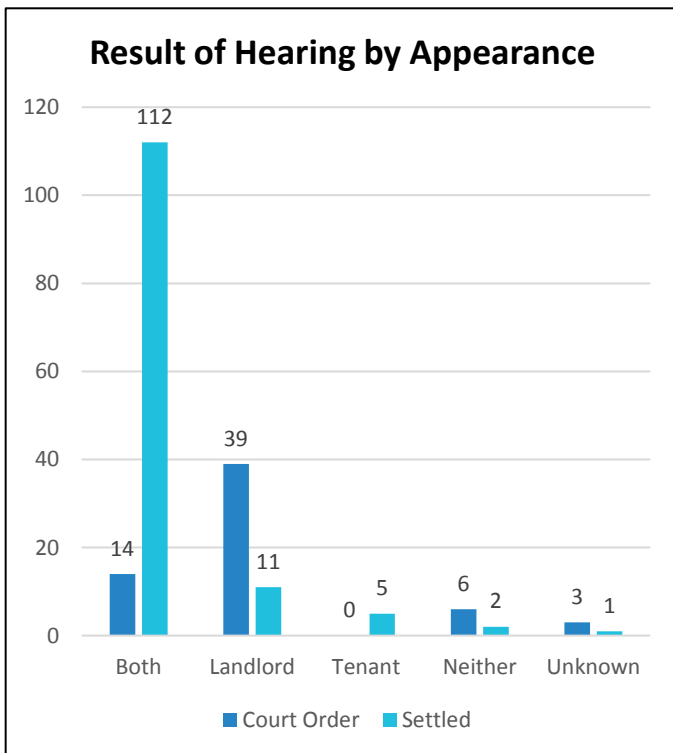


Who showed up?	#	%
Both Tenant and Landlord	126	63%
Landlord Only	50	25%
Neither	8	4%
Tenant	5	2.5%
Unknown	4	2%
Hearing Canceled	7	3.5%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>200</b>	

Both the tenant and the landlord were present at the hearing in 63% of cases. In 25% of cases, only the landlord was present. In a few cases, the matter was resolved prior to the hearing, or neither party was present.

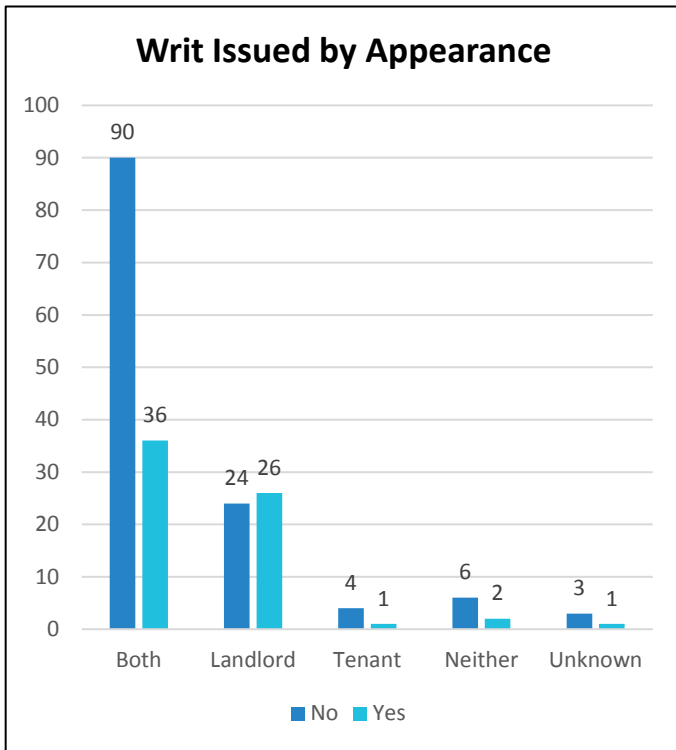
When both the landlord and tenant were present, **more than 88% of cases settled**. When only the landlord was present, more than 3 out of 4 resulted in a court order.

Fig 7. Result of the Hearing, by Appearance



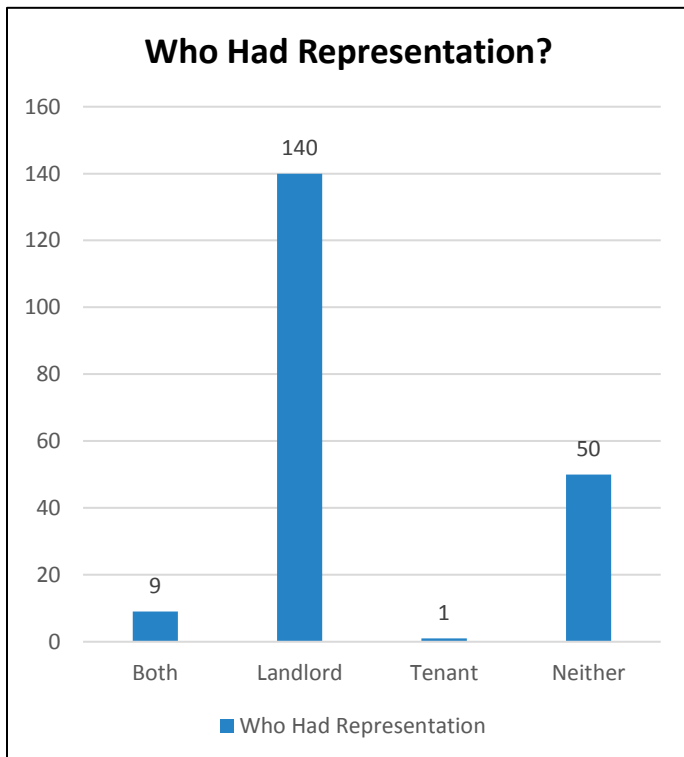
Result of the Hearing	#	%
<b>When both Tenant and Landlord were there</b>	126	
<i>Court Order</i>	14	11%
<i>Settled</i>	112	89%
<b>When only the Landlord was there</b>	50	
<i>Court Order</i>	39	78%
<i>Settled</i>	11	22%
<b>Tenant</b>	5	
<i>Court Order</i>	0	0%
<i>Settled</i>	5	100%
<b>When no one was there</b>	8	
<i>Court Order</i>	6	75%
<i>Settled</i>	2	25%
<b>Unknown</b>	4	
<i>Court Order</i>	3	75%
<i>Settled</i>	1	25%
<b>Hearing Canceled</b>	7	
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>200</b>	

Fig 8. Writ Issuance, by Appearance



Was a writ issued?	#	%
<b>When both Tenant and Landlord were there</b>	126	
No	90	71%
Yes	36	29%
<b>When only the Landlord was there</b>	50	
No	24	48%
Yes	26	52%
<b>Tenant</b>	5	
No	4	80%
Yes	1	20%
<b>When no one was there</b>	8	
No	6	75%
Yes	2	25%
<b>Unknown</b>	4	
No	3	75%
Yes	1	25%
<b>Hearing Canceled</b>	7	
<b>Grand Total</b>	200	

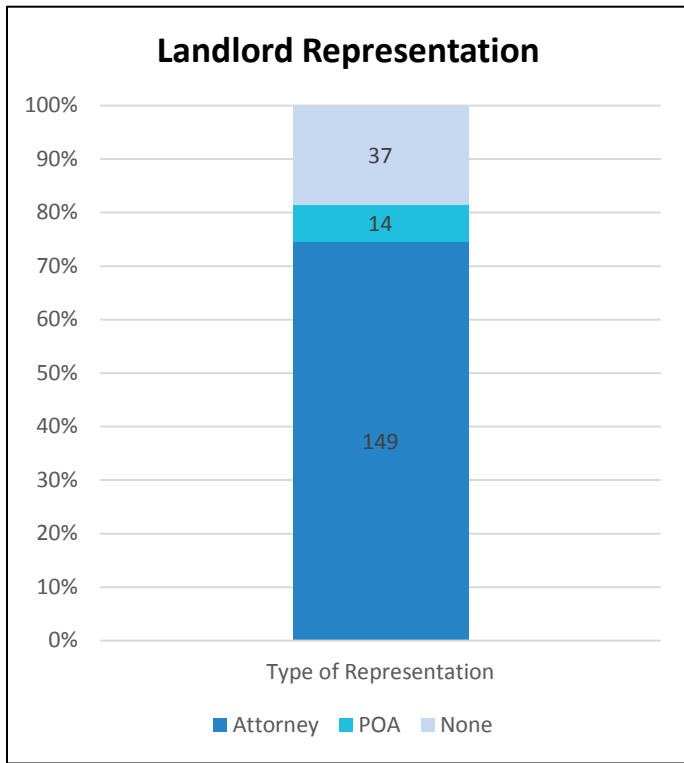
Fig 9. Representation Overall



Who had Representation?	#	%
Both	9	4.5%
Landlord	140	70%
Tenant	1	0.5%
Neither	50	25%
<b>Grand Total</b>	200	

In 70% of cases, the landlord had representation while the tenant did not. In 25% of cases, neither the landlord nor the tenant were represented by an attorney.

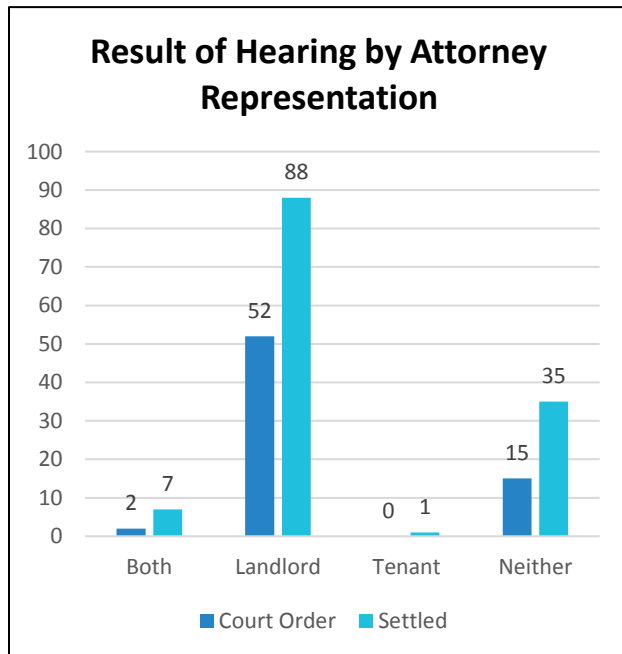
Fig 10. Landlord Representation



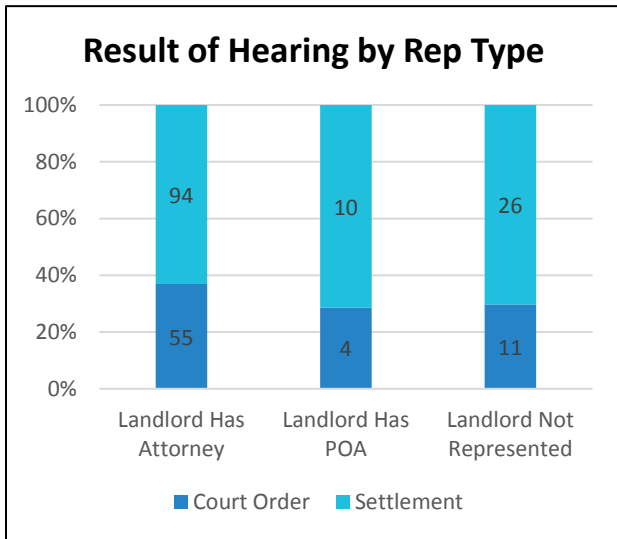
Landlord Representation	#	%
<b>Attorney or Power of Authority</b>	163	
<i>Attorney</i>	149	74.5%
<i>Power of Authority</i>	14	7%
<b>None</b>	37	
<b>Grand Total</b>	200	

Landlords were represented by either an attorney or someone with power of authority in over 81% of cases. Conversely, tenants were represented in just 5% of cases.

Figs 11-12. Results, by Representation Status

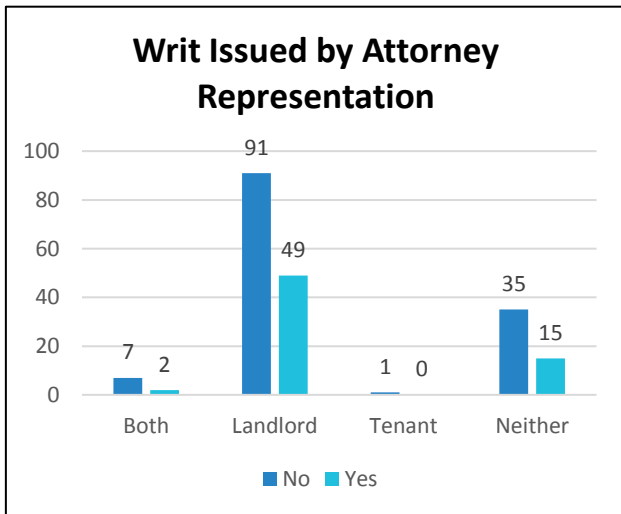


Result of Hearing by Attorney Representation	#	%
<b>Both Represented</b>	9	
<i>Court Order</i>	2	22%
<i>Settled</i>	7	78%
<b>Landlord Represented</b>	140	
<i>Court Order</i>	52	37%
<i>Settled</i>	88	63%
<b>Tenant Represented</b>	1	
<i>Court Order</i>	0	0%
<i>Settled</i>	1	100%
<b>No one Represented</b>	50	
<i>Court Order</i>	15	30%
<i>Settled</i>	35	70%
<b>Grand Total</b>	200	

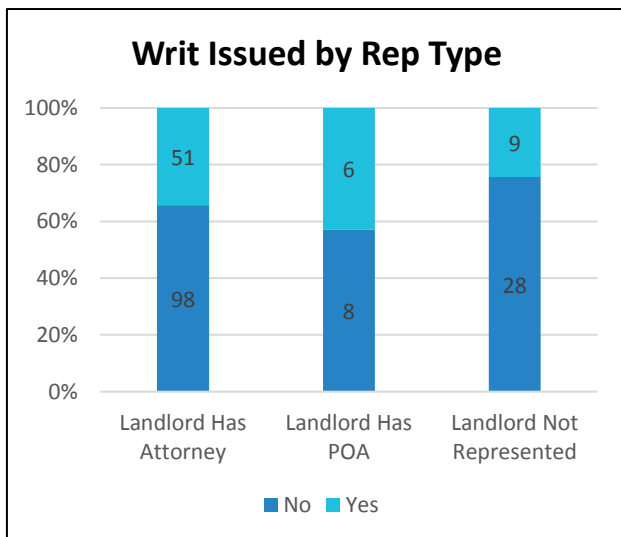


Settlement or Court Order by Representation Type	#	%
<b>Landlord has Attorney</b>	149	
<i>Court Order</i>	55	37%
<i>Settled</i>	94	63%
<b>Landlord has POA</b>	14	
<i>Court Order</i>	4	29%
<i>Settled</i>	10	71%
<b>Landlord has neither</b>	37	
<i>Court Order</i>	11	30%
<i>Settled</i>	26	70%
<b>Grand Total</b>	200	

Figs 13-14. Writs Issued, by Representation Status



Writ Issued by Attorney Representation	#	%
<b>Both Represented</b>	9	
<i>No</i>	7	78%
<i>Yes</i>	2	22%
<b>Landlord Represented</b>	140	
<i>No</i>	91	65%
<i>Yes</i>	49	35%
<b>Tenant Represented</b>	1	
<i>No</i>	1	100%
<i>Yes</i>	0	0%
<b>No one Represented</b>	50	
<i>No</i>	35	70%
<i>Yes</i>	15	30%
<b>Grand Total</b>	200	



Writ Issued by Representation Type	#	%
<b>Landlord has Attorney</b>	149	
<i>No</i>	98	66%
<i>Yes</i>	51	34%
<b>Landlord has POA</b>	14	
<i>No</i>	8	57%
<i>Yes</i>	6	43%
<b>Landlord has neither</b>	37	
<i>No</i>	28	76%
<i>Yes</i>	9	24%
<b>Grand Total</b>	200	

## State Data Extract Analysis: Saint Paul

### Methodology

Researchers filtered the data extract from the state court to include only evictions with a defendant address in Ramsey County to conduct additional analysis of Ramsey County and Saint Paul specific cases. Commercial evictions and bank foreclosures were removed to the best ability of the researchers from this data set. Additional data supplied by Saint Paul was used to determine the Frequent Filers as documented in the Methodological notes for the frequent filers.

### Key Findings

- For owners who filed at least thirteen eviction cases in 2017, the average rate, measured as the number of filings compared to the number of rental units owned, was 23.9% or about 24 eviction cases per 100 units. Owners with less than ten evictions were excluded from this calculation.
- Of the eviction cases filed in 2017 in Saint Paul, nearly 28.3% of eviction cases were filed by 19 owner groups. These same owner groups account for 7.7% of rental units in Saint Paul.
- Evictions are seasonal with filings at their highest in the summer months and January across all years. Saint Paul's eviction filings were similar to Ramsey County.
- Eviction cases are resolved quickly in both Saint Paul and Ramsey County, most within 14 days.
- The number of evictions have significantly decreased in Saint Paul as well as Ramsey County as a whole since 2009.

## Tables and Figures

### Methodological notes: Frequent Filers

One key item for analysis was a determination of who the plaintiffs in eviction cases are, attempting to understand if there is a disproportionate use of court processes by a few individuals or companies. Analysts used Minnesota Secretary of State business filings and a reference data set provided by the City of Saint Paul containing certificate of occupancy data for the city. These references represent the best-available data at a particular point in time, and should be considered an informed estimate. In order to calculate an eviction rate for each owner, the number of unique case ID #s for filings were compared to the number of rental units owned, using City certificate of occupancy data. This rate is not necessarily a one-to-one comparison to the number of cases with the number of units and/or tenants. For example, if multiple tenants were evicted from one unit (within the same case), this counts as one instance. If however, the same tenant was filed against for eviction in two separate cases over the course of the year, this would count as two instances.

**Fig 15. Owners or management groups with 10 or more eviction cases, and rate of eviction, 2017**

Owner or Management Group	# Eviction Cases Filed	Percent of Total Evictions Filed	Eviction Rate: Cases filed / # of rental units	# of Rental Units Owned	Percent of Rental Units Owned
Thomas P. Hurley / Preferred Management Services, Inc. / 806 Hazel Street LLC (Pine Tree Park Apartments) / 390 West Cottage LP (Lablanche Apartments) / 1334 Ames Avenue LLP (Johnson Parkway Apartments) / 1265 Hazelwood LP (Evergreen East Apartments) / 1244 Omega Hazelwood LLC (Omega Hazelwood Partnership, Parkview Apartments) / 387 East Arlington LLC (Park Vista Apartments) / Grand-Magnolia LLC (Grand Magnolia Apartments)	78	4.56%	7.72%	1011	1.78%
Public Housing Agency of the City of St Paul	64	3.74%	9.97%	642	1.13%
Daniel Gelb / Quality Residences, LLC / Danmark Properties LLC / Northern Holdings, LLC / Plaza I, Inc.	38	2.22%	18.81%	202	0.36%
Brad Nilles / Calabash Properties LLC	33	1.93%	42.86%	77	0.14%
Thomas Gallagher / Dadders Estates LLC / Housing Hub, LLC / Fair Housing, LLC / TR Group, LLC	33	1.93%	5.59%	590	1.04%
David R. Busch / DRB #24, LLC / DRB #1953 LLC	25	1.46%	64.10%	39	0.07%
Dominium Apartments / St. Paul Leased Housing V LP / St. Paul Leased Housing Associates I LP / St. Paul Leased Housing VI LLLP	22	1.29%	6.09%	361	0.64%
Ian Colville / CCF2, LLC / Carpathian Capital Fund 1 LLC / Carpathian Capital Fund, LLC / Elbrus Management LLC	21	1.23%	25.61%	82	0.14%
Foxcroft Apartments LLP (Terra Pointe Apartments) / Steven Scott Management	19	1.11%	8.12%	234	0.41%
Thomas Delisle / Jeffrey Delisle / DeL Co Limited Partnership / C&T Properties	18	1.05%	36.73%	49	0.09%
Buren, LLC / Global, LLC / Attila Gabrielli / Alex Buren	17	0.99%	11.97%	142	0.25%
Wilder Square Inc / Glenda Jett	17	0.99%	11.26%	151	0.27%



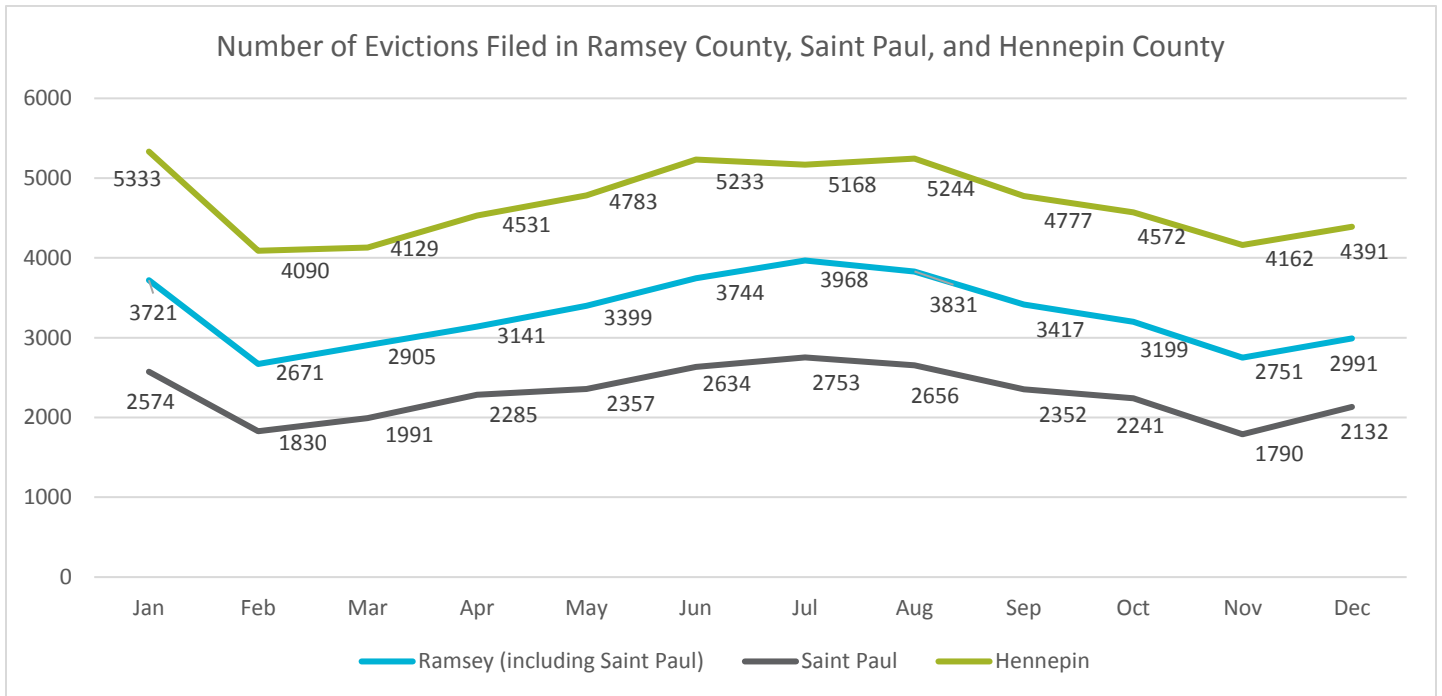
Robert Mast / John Mast / Joseph Mast / L & O Realty / Davern Park Realty Company (also owned by Wolkowicz) / Adeline Realty Company	16	0.94%	55.17%	29	0.05%
Kyle Colbert / Bevolati, LLC / Casa Colbert, LLC / Momo, LLC	15	0.88%	55.56%	27	0.05%
Mark Gasparre / Gasparre Lauderdale Hollows, LLC / Gasparre Westwood Park, LLC / Gasparre Wheelock Ridge Villas / Gasparre Otis LLC	14	0.82%	6.67%	210	0.37%
Park Manor Apartments / Wolkowicz Family LP / Wolkowicz, Joseph H	14	0.82%	4.95%	283	0.50%
RHA 3 LLC / Havenbrook Homes	14	0.82%	13.46%	104	0.18%
Andrew Hybben / 896 Marshall LLC / 894 Fuller Avenue LLC	13	0.76%	56.52%	23	0.04%
Invitation Homes / IH3 Property Minnesota LP / 2015-1 IH2 Borrower LP / 2015-2 IH2 Borrower LP / 2015-3 IH2 Borrower LP	13	0.76%	14.61%	89	0.16%

**Fig 16. Eviction Filers with 10 or more eviction cases, and rate of eviction, 2017**

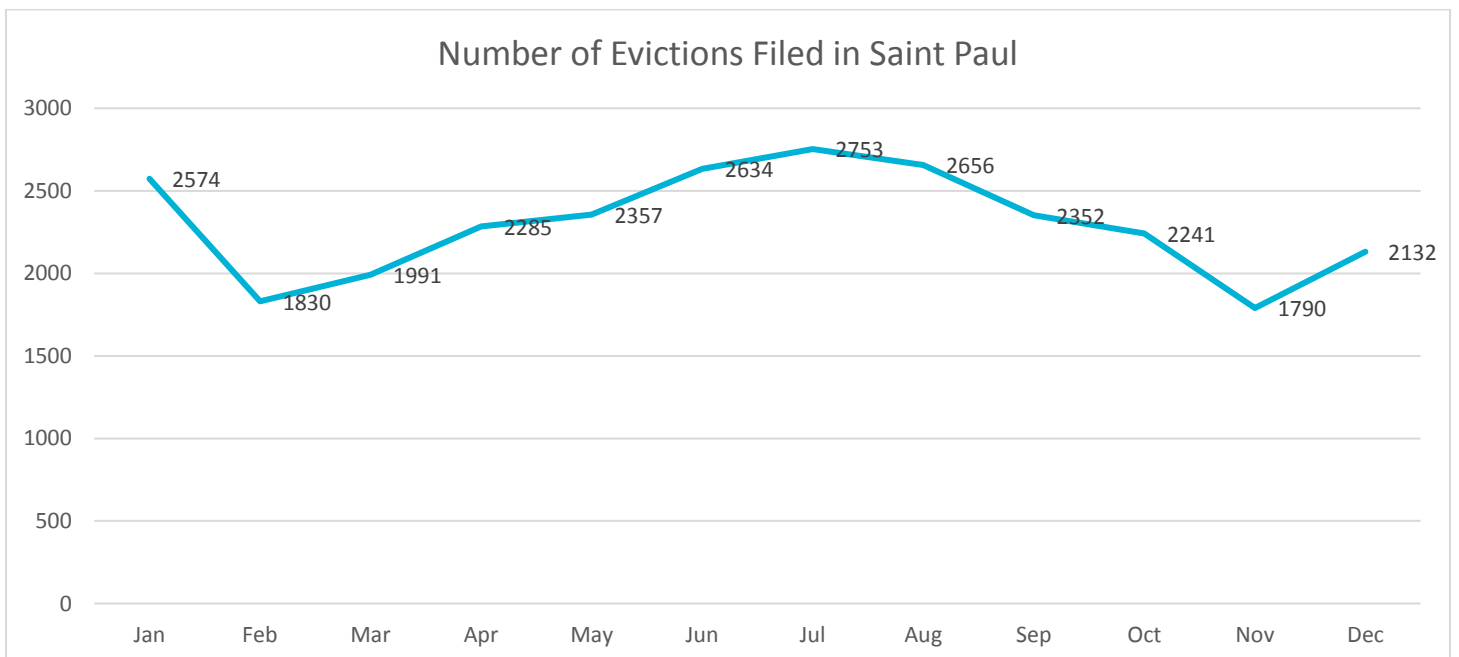
Eviction Filer	# Eviction Cases Filed	Percent of Total Evictions Filed	Eviction Rate: Cases filed / # of rental units	# of Rental Units Owned	Percent of Rental Units Owned
Public Housing Agency of the City of St Paul	64	3.74%	9.97%	642	1.13%
Calabash Properties LLC	33	1.93%	66.00%	50	0.09%
Dadders Estates LLC	29	1.70%	74.36%	39	0.07%
DRB #24, LLC	25	1.46%	71.43%	35	0.06%
390 West Cottage Limited Partnership	24	1.40%	8.89%	270	0.48%
Quality Residences, LLC	24	1.40%	12.90%	186	0.33%
806 Hazel Street LLC	21	1.23%	10.55%	199	0.35%
Foxcroft Apartments LLP	19	1.11%	8.12%	234	0.41%
CCF2, LLC	18	1.05%	600.00%	3	0.01%
DeL Co Limited Partnership	18	1.05%	300.00%	6	0.01%
Buren, LLC	17	0.99%	15.89%	107	0.19%
Wilder Square Inc	17	0.99%	11.26%	151	0.27%
Davern Park Realty Company	16	0.94%	133.33%	12	0.02%
Danmark Properties LLC	14	0.82%	233.33%	6	0.01%
RHA 3 LLC	14	0.82%	280.00%	5	0.01%
Hybben, Andrew	13	0.76%	68.42%	19	0.03%
1334 Ames Avenue Partnership	12	0.70%	28.57%	42	0.07%
Abumayyaleh, Samir	12	0.70%	9.76%	123	0.22%
St. Paul Leased Housing V LP	11	0.64%	6.40%	172	0.30%
Wolkowicz Family LP	11	0.64%	31.43%	35	0.06%
Osterbauer LLC	10	0.58%	100.00%	10	0.02%

**Timeline for Filing and Judgment**

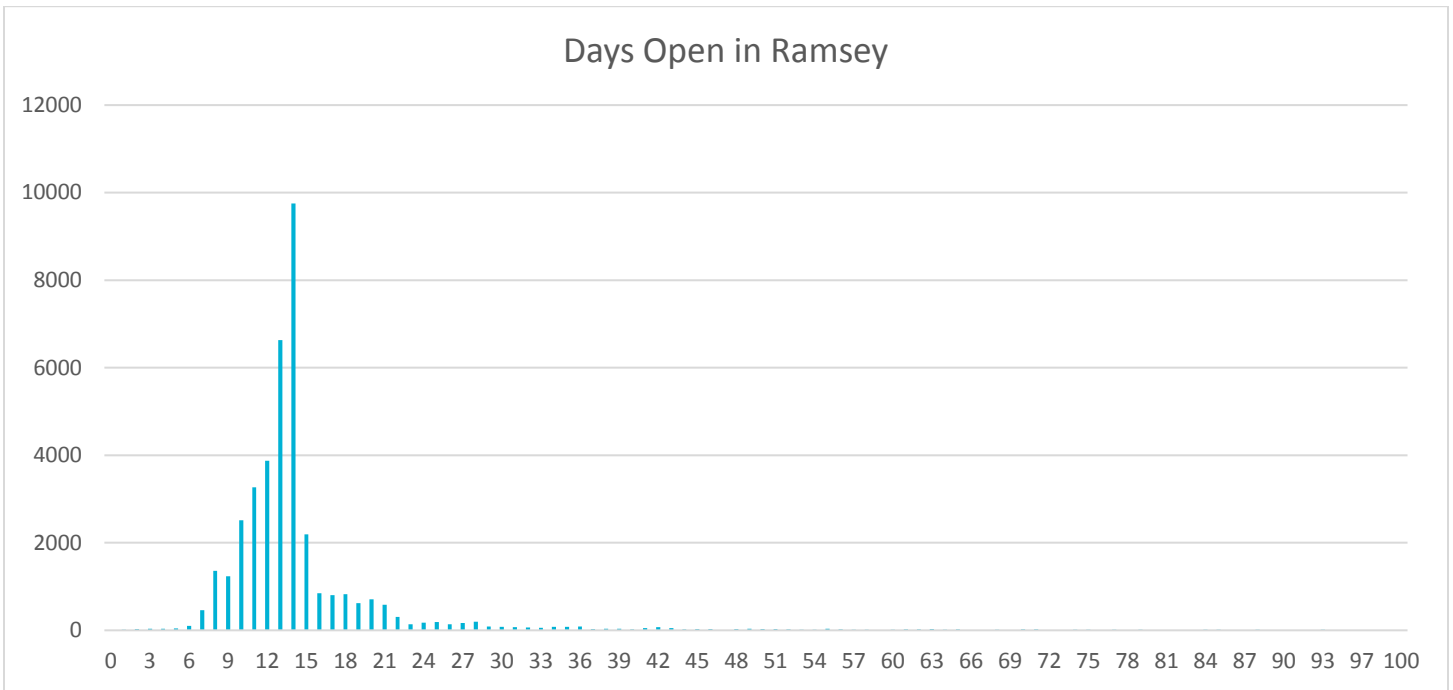
**Fig 17. Month of Case Filing in Ramsey County, Saint Paul, and Hennepin County Combined Cases, 2009-2017**



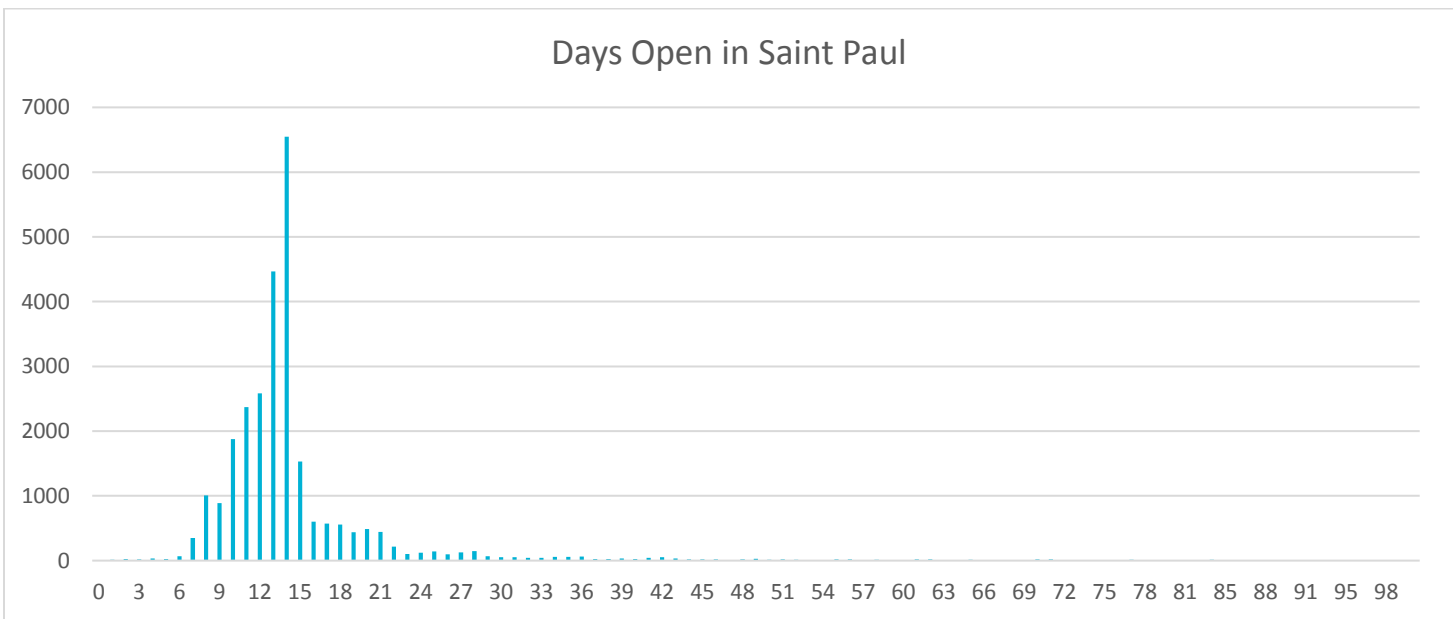
**Fig 18. Month of Case Filing in Saint Paul Combined Cases, 2009-2017**



**Fig 19. Days Open in Ramsey County, 2009-2017**



**Fig 20. Days Open in Saint Paul, 2009-2017**



**Fig 21. Eviction Cases Filed, Ramsey County and Saint Paul, 2009-2017**

