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# Understanding Evictions: A Guide to Using Local Court Data

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**Future of Land and Housing**

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## **About New America**

We are dedicated to renewing the promise of America by continuing the quest to realize our nation's highest ideals, honestly confronting the challenges caused by rapid technological and social change, and seizing the opportunities those changes create.

## **About Future of Land and Housing**

The Future of Land and Housing Program aims to help solve today's land and housing rights challenges, both in the U.S. and internationally. Through our research and writing, convening, and collaboration with civic innovators, we strive to connect new constituencies, shed light on underreported issues, and implement creative approaches in the property rights space.

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## Introduction

Evictions have become one of the most visible manifestations of the housing affordability crisis in the United States. Each year, nearly four million eviction lawsuits are filed against renter households, most of which are for non-payment of rent. As rent prices reach record highs, understanding the scale and impact of eviction is more critical than ever.<sup>1</sup>

Most instances of eviction in the United States occur informally, outside the legal system.<sup>2</sup> Formal evictions that run through the legal system when a landlord files an eviction lawsuit in court, however, have been shown to have lasting negative impacts on physical and mental health and create barriers to securing future housing, notably for Black women and children who face disproportionate risk of eviction.<sup>3</sup>

What we know about formal eviction in the United States is from eviction court records—or the information amassed as an eviction lawsuit makes its way through the court system.<sup>4</sup> But access to eviction court records varies widely across the U.S. These records are not commonly standardized across (and often even within) court systems, meaning this data is often incomplete, inaccurate, or inconsistent.<sup>5</sup> As a result, collecting and analyzing this data can be extremely resource-intensive and difficult to replicate. But just as high-quality court eviction data is critical to understanding evictions, so too is high-quality eviction analysis.

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Digging into court eviction records can help reveal the story behind an individual eviction court case that, when aggregated, provides a powerful account of how forced displacement impacts communities across the United States. For eviction data analysis to be impactful, it must address questions that are meaningful for understanding and preventing eviction in a local context. Due to the wide disparities in data quality and accessibility across the U.S., however, determining which eviction-related questions can reasonably be answered with available court data can be challenging.

To address this challenge, *Understanding Evictions: A Guide to Using Local Court Data* offers 14 common questions that can be explored through court eviction data. By offering a road map and key considerations, the guide seeks to support those looking to use court data to better understand and prevent evictions in their communities.

This guide is organized into three sections. The first section describes the guide's purpose and how it can be used. The second section covers the elements of good stewardship of court eviction data. The third section presents five areas of inquiry to gather insights on key aspects of eviction lawsuits, with 14 common questions that can be addressed using court eviction data. Throughout the guide, case studies highlight local initiatives that seek to improve eviction data and analysis in jurisdictions across the United States.

#### → TERMINOLOGY

- **Court eviction data**<sup>6</sup>: Refers to any information related to the forced removal of a tenant from a home that is collected by a court system.
- **Eviction lawsuit**: A type of civil court case that allows a property owner to regain possession of a property or lay claim to unpaid rent and other monetary damages. **Unlawful detainer** is another term commonly used for eviction lawsuits.
- **Formal eviction**: The legal process pursuing the forced removal of a tenant from a home through the court system. This is in contrast to an **informal eviction**, or the process by which landlords use intimidation, force, or neglect to either force a tenant to move or enforce rent collection outside the court system.
- **Eviction filing**: When a landlord or property manager officially opens an eviction lawsuit with the court system, asking the court to formally order the tenant to move.

- **Plaintiff:** The party that initiated the lawsuit by filing for eviction. This is generally a landlord, property owner, or property manager.
- **Defendant:** The party who is being filed against for eviction. This is generally the tenant(s) of the property the plaintiff is laying claim to.
- **Eviction judgment:** The decision made by the judge at the end of the eviction court case, either in favor of the defendant (tenant) or in favor of the plaintiff (landlord).
- **Eviction order:** A legal notice from a judge for law enforcement to remove a tenant from a home. In some court systems, this may be called a “writ of eviction.”
- **Withdrawal:** A case outcome in which a plaintiff (landlord) withdraws an eviction filing.
- **Default judgment:** A case outcome in which the judge rules in favor of the plaintiff (landlord), often because the defendant (tenant) did not appear in court.
- **Dismissal:** Eviction lawsuits can be dismissed if neither a landlord nor a tenant appear for their scheduled hearing, a landlord fails to properly notify a tenant of the lawsuit or makes other procedural errors, or a tenant has already vacated the property and the landlord decides to no longer pursue the case.
- **Settlement agreement:** A case outcome resulting from the plaintiff (landlord) and defendant (tenant) entering into an agreement before a judgment is issued by the court. These settlements spell out actions that tenants and landlords agree to, such as repayment schedules, move out dates with certain stipulations, or repairs a landlord must make.

# How to Use This Guide

## Who Is This Guide For?

This guide is designed to support those seeking to use court eviction data (referred to throughout as “data users” or simply “users”) in leveraging court eviction data to better understand eviction trends and impacts in their area. This includes but is not limited to court staff, social service agencies, city or county housing or human service departments, elected officials and their staff, legal aid organizations, researchers, and journalists.

While court data can be accessed through various methods, this guide covers data typically accessed directly from courts through data-sharing agreements, docket review, or bulk extract from courts.

## What Is the Purpose of This Guide?

Court eviction data serves multiple purposes. Courts utilize this data to more effectively adjudicate cases. Civil legal aid providers and community-based organizations use it to directly intervene and provide legal aid and other resources. Policymakers and researchers use it to track and better understand evictions over time.

This guide offers a framework for understanding the kinds of questions that can be addressed using court eviction data. It outlines the types of data needed to address each question and identifies key challenges related to access and analysis that experts in the field commonly face. Given the variation in the data, and in eviction legal processes and terminology, the framework provided in this guide must be tailored to fit the specific data and eviction context and cannot be universally applied to all court eviction datasets.

## How Might I Use This Guide?

This guide seeks to:

- Demystify terminology and make court eviction data and analysis more accessible and transparent;
- Enable data users to make multi-state and multi-year comparisons to better assess the impact of eviction lawsuits on courts and communities;

- Further data-informed decision-making and understanding of eviction court processes;
- Mitigate misunderstandings of evictions and their impact; and
- Empower social services and other community-based service providers to better assist and distribute aid to communities impacted by evictions.

Learn more about improving **eviction data** with research and analysis from New America's Future of Land and Housing program.

## Good Stewardship of Eviction Data

Good stewardship of eviction data is critical for protecting the privacy of sensitive information, as well as ensuring that data collection and analysis is adequately addressing the potential for data misinterpretation and misuse. For eviction lawsuits in particular, protecting the privacy of an individual's data is critical as eviction court records contain sensitive personal information about tenants, including their names and addresses, and this information is commonly used by tenant screening companies and landlords to screen housing applications.

While some courts may have privacy protocols in place when sharing this data with users, it is also the responsibility of data users to implement the proper protections and protocols. Collection and analysis are also critical steps because the complexity and variation in eviction legal processes across court systems, in combination with often poor-quality data, presents an opportunity for misinterpretation.

To help users promote good stewardship, this section offers a high-level checklist to ensure all efforts to collect, store, analyze, and disseminate eviction data are conducted ethically, transparently, and with privacy protection as a top priority.

### → CHECKLIST FOR GOOD STEWARDSHIP OF EVICTION DATA

#### **Data Collection: Addressing Data Limitations and Gaps**

I understand where the data comes from and who owns the data that I am accessing (e.g., the court or a case management system).

I understand the scope of the court eviction data that I was able to source.

- For example, If I accessed the data through a bulk extract for all civil cases, I would be able to separate out eviction cases from other kinds of civil cases.

- Does the data include residential and commercial evictions? If I'm only interested in residential eviction cases, is there a way to separate out commercial eviction cases?
- Does the data cover eviction cases in which a plaintiff (landlord) is filing a lawsuit only to regain possession of the property, or does it also include monetary damages?
- Does the data include sealed or expunged eviction cases?

#### **Data Storage and Privacy: Protecting the People in My Data**

- I understand the privacy-protecting protocols in place governing my use of this data, and I have a plan in place for ensuring compliance.
- I have access to the necessary data structures for secure warehousing of datasets or data with personal information.

#### **Data Analysis: Ensuring Accurate Conclusions**

- I understand what each data field in the court data means, and how it relates to the eviction legal process in my jurisdiction.
  - If there are gaps in my understanding, I have consulted with and integrated the knowledge of court clerks, civil legal aid providers, or others knowledgeable about the data and eviction legal processes.
- I have the necessary court data, in a comprehensive, granular, and high-quality format to undertake the analysis I am interested in.
- I am appropriately defining the universe of eviction cases for each analysis and adjusting each metric accordingly (i.e., the numerators and denominators).
- Any comparisons to other jurisdictions take into account the highly varied nature of laws and legal processes across jurisdictions.

### **Data Interpretation and Dissemination: Doing No Harm When Communicating Results**

The eviction data analysis that I will share includes a clear description of:

- How the data was obtained;
- The scope of the court data included in the analysis;
- Any limitations of the data and the analysis, including those inherent to all court data (e.g., court data will not include informal evictions, illegal evictions, and de facto evictions that occur outside the court process), and those specific to your dataset (e.g., the data does not include sealed eviction cases filed after a certain date); and
- Definitions of the methods and metrics used to analyze the data and any assumptions made in the process (e.g., eviction cases filed over \$10,000 are likely commercial evictions and thus excluded from analysis).

When sharing the results of the analysis, I provide the necessary context to understand why a specific eviction metric is important and advise how it should be interpreted and used.

The data analysis I share publicly is anonymized and summarized so it cannot be linked to any one defendant (tenant). I am communicating the minimum amount of personal information for the analysis to be meaningful but still privacy-protecting.

**Note:** While this checklist is not exhaustive, it reflects key considerations that users must grapple with and offers a starting place to build off of for good stewardship of eviction data.

## → CASE STUDY: PRIVACY AND TRANSPARENCY IN EVICTION DATA-SHARING IN ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA

**Type:** Data Management Practice

**Policy/Action:** Responsible Data Governance

Eager to better understand eviction trends impacting residents, local leadership in the City of Alexandria, Virginia, leveraged funding from the American Rescue Plan Act to hire a full-time data analyst to create an eviction database.<sup>7</sup> By automating data collection across several sources, including the General District Court's online case management system, the Alexandria Sheriff's Office, and local legal aid, the analyst built and maintained a publicly accessible eviction **dashboard** for the city.

Using an automated computer program, or custom scraper, the analyst collects data from each source weekly, analyzes it, and uploads it to the public dashboard. The dashboard shows trends in key eviction metrics, including eviction filings, writs of eviction (legal notices from a judge or law enforcement to carry out an eviction), percent of cases decided in favor of the landlord, and the average amount of unpaid rent owed by each tenant. The analyst also sends reports on that week's eviction case details to local legal aid, housing service providers, and other community-based organizations to identify eviction trends, target resources to tenants most at risk of eviction, and evaluate the effectiveness of current interventions.

How does the City of Alexandria ensure that this data—which contains personally identifiable information on a deeply traumatic experience—is being used responsibly and is understood by community partners?

Through a data-sharing agreement with the Sheriff's Office, the City of Alexandria developed a memorandum of understanding (MOU), reviewed by the City Attorney's office, that outlined terms and protocols for how the data could be used for each party. To adhere to the MOU, the public dashboard shows only city-wide metrics and no information about individual cases, while legal aid

partners govern access to private data that contains identifiable information.

Responsible data stewardship includes transparency about data sources, limitations, and clear definitions for legal processes and eviction terminology. The Alexandria dashboard defines the rates of eviction filings and eviction writs clearly and contextualizes these trends against a timeline of pandemic-related court changes in Virginia courts, including their closure at the start of the pandemic and their observance of eviction moratoria. At the height of the pandemic, the city analyst shared biweekly eviction trends with an eviction prevention task force, aligning data with qualitative information from firsthand accounts of court outreach staff.

Proper data stewardship is an ongoing and iterative process, as this case shows. To be sustainable, it requires maintaining privacy and contextualizing data, devoting human resources, and committing to be responsive to the changing data landscape and audience needs.

## Common Questions to Address Using Court Eviction Data

This section walks through common questions that can be explored using court eviction data. This section is organized into five main areas of inquiry:

- I. How many eviction lawsuits are taking place, and why?
- II. Who is filing eviction lawsuits?
- III. Who is facing eviction lawsuits?
- IV. How do tenants and landlords engage in eviction lawsuits?
- V. What are the outcomes of eviction lawsuits?

Within each area of inquiry is a set of more specific questions to help users dig deeper into these areas—a total of 14 questions. Each question includes the same set of information, including court data necessary to answer it; a metric to use, if applicable; common challenges related to the data, analysis, or interpretation; and examples of this analysis in action. The table below provides a detailed breakdown on what is included for each of the 14 questions.

## Information Provided for Each Question in This Guide

<b>Court Data Required</b> 	For each question, this guide lists the court data fields necessary to explore it. This information is from the court eviction data standards released by New America in 2023, though terms and processes vary across court systems.
<b>Metric</b> 	If a question can be converted into a useful metric, the guide provides a definition and a formula for calculating it, and sometimes a sample interpretation. For example, the answer to the question “How many evictions took place in my county last year?” can be converted into an <b>eviction filing rate</b> (see Question 1).
<b>Common Challenges</b> 	For each question, this guide elevates common challenges that users might encounter, including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <b>Data challenges</b> related to availability, format, and quality of court data;</li><li>• <b>Analysis challenges</b> related to data limitations and the alignment of metrics with local eviction processes and terminology; and</li><li>• <b>Context or interpretation challenges</b> related to key considerations for ensuring transparent and comprehensive analysis are adequately contextualized.</li></ul>
<b>Analysis in Action</b> 	Each question highlights local or national analyses that showcase the use of court data to explore the topic, focusing on how these analyses addressed common challenges to ensure clarity and relevance of findings.

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**Note to Users:** To apply any of these questions to eviction data, users must define the time period and geographic scope for analysis. That is, users should add “in [insert geographic location] over [insert time period of interest]” to each question. For example, for Question 1, “What is the eviction filing rate in **New Orleans, Louisiana, from January 1, 2023, to June 30, 2023?**” Because this is universal in exploring any of the 14 questions in this guide, we do not specify the need for date data, despite its necessity in conducting any analysis related to evictions.

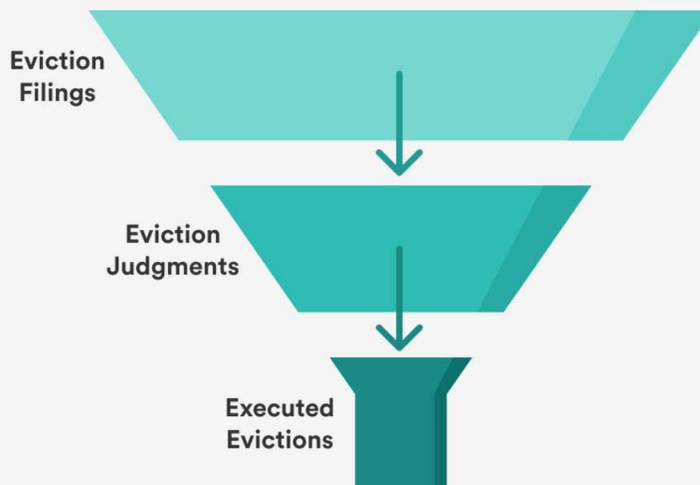
### I. How Many Eviction Lawsuits Are Taking Place, and Why?

Understanding the volume of eviction filings and judgments in a jurisdiction is critical for tracking housing instability over time. While eviction filings do not

necessarily result in court-ordered displacement, they represent a risk of future eviction and can create future barriers to housing stability as landlords consider filing information when screening tenants. Eviction filings also represent a critical moment when interventions—in the form of legal aid, financial assistance, and other services—can help tenants in understanding their rights and navigating the legal process. Eviction judgments shed light on the number of families who face court-ordered removal from their homes, offering a clear picture of forced displacement.

### A Subset of Eviction Filings Result in Executed Evictions

This graphic illustrates the relationship between three key stages in the eviction process: eviction filings, eviction judgments and executed evictions. Every eviction case must be filed in court (eviction filing); of those, a subset will result in a court-ordered eviction (eviction judgment); and of those, a subset will be carried out by law enforcement (executed evictions), resulting in tenant displacement.



Note: The degree to which the volume of eviction cases decreases at each stage varies widely across jurisdictions.

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Detailed insights on the number of eviction filings and judgments and where they occur can also support efforts to evaluate the impact of housing policies and programs on eviction prevention.

## Question 1: What Is the Eviction Filing Rate in My Geographic Area?

<b>Court Data Required</b> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Street address or a geographic identifier (census tract, zip code, city, or county) for the property where an eviction is filed</li><li>• Number of renter households (for example, from the U.S. Census Bureau’s American Community Survey)</li></ul>
<b>Metric</b> 	<p>An <b>eviction filing rate</b> measures the number of eviction filings relative to the number of renter-occupied households in an area. Below is a formula to calculate this rate.</p> $\frac{\text{\# of eviction filings}}{\text{number of renter-occupied households}} \times 100$ <p>A 6 percent eviction filing rate means that six eviction cases were filed for every 100 renter households within the geography specified in the analysis.</p>
<b>Common Challenges</b> 	<p><b>Data Challenges</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Accessing address data in court records can be challenging as it is often not digitized and may require manual extraction from physical files. Address data is also unlikely to be validated, which may result in inaccurate information, including address data that does not reflect the property where an eviction was actually filed.</li></ul> <p><b>Analysis Challenges</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Calculating the filing rate as shown above will include eviction cases filed repeatedly against the same household. (See Question 6 for measuring unique renter households receiving an eviction filing.)</li></ul>
<b>Analysis in Action</b> 	<p>Eviction filings are the most commonly tracked eviction metric in part because the data required to track filings is the most reliable: Every landlord pursuing a court-ordered eviction must file an eviction case in court. As a result, eviction filings are the metric that is most readily standardized and comparable across jurisdictions. Below are two national trackers of eviction filing data.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Eviction Lab’s Eviction Tracking System processes eviction filing data for 10 states and 33 cities in the U.S. and maps eviction filing rates for a geographic region as a whole, as well as at the census tract.</li><li>• The Legal Services Corporation’s Eviction Tracker provides multi-year trend data on eviction filings for 1,250 counties and municipalities in 30 states across the U.S., including the total number of filings and filing rates.</li></ul>

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## Question 2: What Is the Most Common Reason That Eviction Cases Are Filed in My Geographic Area?

<p><b>Court Data Required</b></p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cause of action (or, a stated reason for the eviction filing)</li> </ul>
<p><b>Metric</b></p> 	<p>The <b>percent of eviction cases filed for a certain reason</b> (e.g., non-payment of rent) is one metric. Below is the formula to calculate this rate.</p> $\frac{\text{\# of cases filed for non-payment of rent}}{\text{\# of eviction cases}} \times 100$
<p><b>Common Challenges</b></p> 	<p><b>Data Challenges</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Court records do not always include a reason for the eviction filing, or may not standardize the reasons in the data.</li> <li>• Some courts have separate forms for non-payment of rent cases versus eviction cases filed for other kinds of lease violations. Ensuring a comprehensive data set that includes all eviction cases, regardless of reason for their filing, may require requesting or merging several datasets.</li> </ul> <p><b>Interpretation Challenges</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Plaintiffs (landlords) may have multiple reasons for filing an eviction, such as selling or renovating the property, responding to a breach in the lease, removing a squatter, or addressing non-payment of rent. If captured at all, court data is not likely to include more than one cause for a filing.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Analysis in Action</b></p> 	<p>The King County Bar Association's Eviction Tracker visualizes eviction filing data between April 2020 and March 2023 in King County, Washington, including reason for filing. The tracker shows that the 1,651 evictions filed (or 49 percent of all evictions) were for non-payment of rent. The second-most common cause of eviction filings during that time was for lease violation.</p>

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### Question 3: What Is the Eviction Judgment Rate in My Geographic Area?

#### Court Data Required



- Street address or a geographic identifier (census tract, zip code, city, or county) for the property where the eviction case was filed
- Judgment in favor of the plaintiff (landlord)
- Number of renter households (for example, from the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey)

#### Metric



The **eviction judgment rate** is the number of eviction judgments in favor of the plaintiff (landlord) relative to the number of renter-occupied households in an area. Below is the formula to calculate this rate.

$$\frac{\# \text{ of eviction judgments (in favor of plaintiff)}}{\text{number of renter-occupied households}} \times 100$$

A 5 percent eviction judgment rate, for example, means that five out of every 100 renter-occupied households in an area have a court-ordered judgment requiring them to leave the property.

#### Common Challenges



##### Data Challenges

- Accessing usable and reliable court data on the address where an eviction was filed may be difficult, due to format or quality issues. (See Question 1's common challenges for more detail.)

##### Context or Interpretation Challenges

- Eviction judgments are commonly used as a proxy to gauge the number of evictions that were carried out, in part because court data beyond this point (e.g., writ of eviction) often is inconsistent or inaccurate. However, it is important to distinguish an eviction judgment from a removal from a home, and be clear about the ways in which an eviction judgment may not result in an eviction carried out by law enforcement: In some jurisdictions, for example, tenants can avoid an eviction if they pay rent or enter into an agreement with their landlord.

#### Analysis in Action



Hennepin County's eviction dashboard shows that in 2023, the state of Minnesota had an eviction rate of 0.9 percent, defined as the number of eviction judgments divided by the renter units.

→ **CASE STUDY: PRIORITIZING COURT FORM STANDARDIZATION TO IMPROVE EVICTION DATA COLLECTION IN ILLINOIS**

**Type:** Court Policy (Supreme Court Rule 10-101 and M.R. 25401)

**Policy/Action:** Standardized Forms

In 2012, the Illinois Supreme Court created the Access to Justice (ATJ) Commission, composed of 11 appointed members (judges, attorneys, and other court stakeholders), to improve the legal system for self-represented litigants in civil courts across Illinois. That same year, the Commission developed the standardized court forms project. Initially an ambitious but small-scale effort led by one full-time employee at the Administrative Office of the Illinois Courts (AOIC), the project has since grown into a robust initiative. Since its inception, the project has overseen the development of 56 standardized court form sets and 350 individual documents.

Not only are standardized, easy-to-understand forms critical from an access-to-justice perspective, they also streamline data entry for court clerks. This is especially important for eviction cases, where accurate court data is essential to inform service delivery, as local leaders have emphasized.

Today, three full-time employees in the AOIC's ATJ Division oversee the creation and development of standardized forms across 13 subcommittees on different civil court case types. Composed of volunteer experts across the state, including judges, court personnel, lawyers, and legal aid groups, each subcommittee is responsible for driving the form development process, including a plain language review, user testing, and public comment period. All form sets are approved by a committee, a 10-member governing body, before they are published on the Illinois Courts' website.

The eviction subcommittee, formed in 2016, has overseen the development of numerous **standardized forms**, including 11 eviction complaint forms, six forms for responding to an eviction complaint; seven eviction order forms; and four forms to remove

an eviction court file from public record. As codified in Supreme Court **Rule 10-101**, all courts in Illinois are required to accept the standardized forms and are prohibited from creating or promoting alternate forms that fulfill the same legal purpose.

The **Eviction Order** form, which outlines the judgment terms, is required to be used by all courts.<sup>8</sup> This means that for every eviction lawsuit in Illinois in which a plaintiff wins a judgment against a tenant (for possession, money, or both), courts are capturing identical information, including which parties were present in court at the time the order was entered; whether a judgment is by default, after a hearing, or by agreement; and a detailed breakdown of the money owed in the order (e.g., for rent, court costs, or attorney fees). While not all forms are required, the seven eviction order forms—each one corresponding to a different potential outcome (e.g., agreed dismissal, agreed settlement, or a judgment entered into by a judge after a hearing)—offer detailed information on the range of potential outcomes, now collected in a standardized way.

Each set of forms is accompanied by an easy-to-interpret and detailed **road map** that offers guidance for court staff and the parties. These road maps help demystify legal terminology and provide structured entryways into the court system for self-represented litigants. Further, the road maps may benefit court staff in providing consistency in how legal terms are defined and interpreted statewide.

While collecting information via standardized court forms is necessary to produce high-quality and meaningful eviction data, the impact on data quality still relies on how courts process, store, and share this information. Because Illinois does not have a unified court system, courts differ in how they incorporate forms into existing processes, and in what case management technology they use. While it is premature to assess the impact of standardized forms on the quality of court eviction data in Illinois, many benefits are already clear.

## **II. Who Is Filing Eviction Lawsuits?**

Understanding who is filing evictions is important for tracking which landlords are filing for eviction most frequently, and for identifying opportunities for direct intervention with landlords. In cases where property owners may use the legal eviction process as a way to collect rent and other fees, for example, policy interventions—such as requiring landlords to address all outstanding code violations before filing or increasing the fee for filing an eviction—may be considered.

#### Question 4: Which Plaintiffs (Landlords) File the Most Eviction Lawsuits?

<b>Court Data Required</b> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Name of person(s) or companies filing the eviction (plaintiff/landlord)</li></ul>
<b>Metric</b> 	The <b>number of eviction cases filed per plaintiff</b> over a period of time.
<b>Common Challenges</b> 	<b>Data Challenges</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>The name of the plaintiff is documented in court records but landlords, in particular large landlords, commonly use multiple business names (dubbed LLCs or “limited liability companies”) such that their name (or company name) is difficult to link across eviction records. This requires a lot of investigation and manual work to associate plaintiffs with eviction cases filed. Similar to address data, this information is not often validated and misspellings or different formats (e.g., “Landlord LLC” or “Landlord, LLC”) will be categorized as two different plaintiffs.</li></ul>
<b>Analysis in Action</b> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>The Harris County Evictions Dashboard, developed by January Advisors and updated daily using court data, shows the volume of eviction cases filed by landlords in Harris County, Texas. Acknowledging the frequent errors and typos in the court data, January Advisors notes that the data is not further cleaned after obtaining it from the courts, meaning some landlords might be listed multiple times.</li><li>Hennepin County’s eviction dashboard shows which plaintiffs are filing the most evictions in the Minnesota county. Users can filter by type of plaintiff (banks, LLCs, and public housing), and also see how many eviction cases filed by a specific plaintiff ended in an eviction judgment (versus another kind of outcome). The landlord that has filed the most evictions between 2016 and 2024 is the Minneapolis Public Housing Authority, 32 percent of which resulted in an eviction (or 483 out of 1,507 evictions filed).</li></ul>

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## Question 5: What Is the Average Amount of Rent That Plaintiffs (Landlords) File Eviction Cases over in Non-Payment of Rent Cases?

<p><b>Court Data Required</b></p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cause of action (or, a stated reason for the eviction filing)</li> <li>• Claim amount (total amount requested by the plaintiff in the initial filing/complaint)</li> </ul>
<p><b>Metric</b></p> 	<p>Below is the formula to calculate the <b>average amount of money owed</b> at time of an eviction filing.</p> $\frac{\text{Total claim amount across all evictions filed}}{\text{\# of eviction cases filed for non-payment of rent}}$
<p><b>Common Challenges</b></p> 	<p><b>Data Challenges</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Data on money owed may not be captured in court records. Some legal eviction processes are filed solely with the intention for a landlord to regain possession of their property and the amount of unpaid rent has to be claimed separately, which may require additional investigation and data requests.</li> </ul> <p><b>Analysis Challenges</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In addition to the back rent owed, court data may include costs associated with late charges, utilities, fees, and security deposits. Depending on the court data, this information may or may not be disaggregated from the total amount in controversy.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Analysis in Action</b></p> 	<p>A one-time, in-depth analysis on eviction filings in Washington, DC, conducted by Georgetown University found that the median amount of rent owed in eviction cases filed in 2018 was \$1,207, and 12 percent of eviction cases were filed for less than \$600. This prompted 2022 legislation that banned eviction filings for unpaid rent totaling less than \$600 in the district.</p>

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### III. Who Is Facing Eviction Lawsuits?

While court records do not collect demographic information or other characteristics of defendants, it is critical to understand the populations who experience eviction most frequently. This understanding is essential for delivering resources more effectively and addressing racial, gender, and other inequities within the system. To account for this gap in court data, researchers often append demographic data from other sources to reveal sociodemographic trends among those experiencing eviction.

The **Foreclosure and Eviction Analysis Tool**, or FEAT—a data tool developed by New America and DataKind—joins around 70 variables from the U.S. Census Bureau’s American Community Survey (ACS) to eviction data summarized at the census tract level and measures the strength of the association as a proxy of which communities are most at risk. A 2023 Eviction Lab study linked court eviction data from across the country with ACS data at the household level to identify the race, ethnicity, gender, age, and place of birth of households with an eviction filing between 2007 and 2016.<sup>9</sup>

This analysis should be undertaken thoughtfully, with appropriate caveats in place outlining the limitations of what we can understand about individual defendants through appending other data sources. For example, making assumptions about a defendant’s race or gender based on their name could potentially lead to inaccuracies in findings about the way evictions impact a certain group.

## Question 6: How Many Households Have Eviction Cases Repeatedly Filed Against Them?

<b>Court Data Required</b> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Name of defendant (tenant)</li><li>• Address of eviction filing</li><li>• Previous eviction filings against the same defendant</li></ul>
<b>Metric</b> 	<p>The <b>serial eviction filing rate</b> is the number of households with two or more eviction filings in a given period of time per unique renter household with an eviction filing in an area. Below is the formula to calculate this rate.</p> $\frac{\text{\# of households with 2+ eviction filings}}{\text{\# of households with eviction filings}} \times 100$ <p>A 33 percent serial eviction filing rate, for example, indicates that one-third of households with an eviction filed against them were already filed against in a specified period of time.</p>
<b>Common Challenges</b> 	<p><b>Data Challenges</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Users need to define the methodology for identifying a serial eviction based on the data that is accessible.</li></ul> <p><b>Analysis Challenges</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Users must define the time period in which an eviction filing against a household is considered a “serial” filing (e.g., within six months, within a year).</li><li>• Multiple filings against the same address could be counted towards calculating a serial filing rate, but it would be even more accurate to only count filings at that same address where the same defendant is listed in court records. This analysis will be informed by the availability of data.</li></ul>
<b>Analysis in Action</b> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• An Eviction Lab analysis of eviction filings in 958 counties in the U.S. found that in 2014, approximately 30 percent of households with an eviction filed received multiple filings at that same address. This research revealed that serial evictions were most common where the eviction legal process is fast and cheap.</li><li>• Research by the Polis Center found that in Marion County, Indiana, one in 10 households with an eviction filing in 2022 saw at least two filings in six months. It also shows that serial evictions were more common among the top 50 evictors in Indianapolis, many of which likely use eviction as a debt-collection strategy in which they can collect rent plus court and late fees at minimal cost.</li></ul>

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#### **IV. How Do Tenants and Landlords Engage in Eviction Lawsuits?**

This question is critical to better understanding which interventions are most effective for preventing unnecessary evictions. Eviction proceedings are intended to provide tenants the opportunity to present counterclaims to the case filed against them, but the speed at which the eviction process unfolds, and their complexity, can lead to stark imbalances of power in eviction cases, potentially resulting in unnecessary evictions.

## Question 7: How Many Defendants (Tenants) Have Legal Representation in Eviction Cases? How Many Plaintiffs (Landlords) Have Legal Representation?

### Court Data Required



- Defendant legal representation
- Plaintiff legal representation

### Metric



The **legal representation rate** (for defendants or plaintiffs) is the percentage of either party (defendants or plaintiffs) in eviction court cases with legal representation during the case. Below is the formula to calculate this rate.

$$\frac{\# \text{ of cases with } (defendant \text{ or } plaintiff) \text{ legal representation}}{\# \text{ of eviction cases filed}} \times 100$$

A 10 percent defendant legal representation rate, for example, means a defendant in the eviction case had some form of legal representation in one out of every 10 eviction cases filed.

### Common Challenges



#### Data Challenges

- Court records do not typically specify whether legal representation was from an attorney or from another legal source. Some states allow landlords or LLCs to be represented by a property manager, rather than by legal counsel.
- Court records typically only indicate whether a defendant or plaintiff had legal representation or not. This will not include information on the duration or nature of that representation (e.g., legal aid/pro bono attorney, private practitioner, or same day/brief advice in which a defendant had access to a lawyer but was not represented by one).

#### Analysis Challenges

- This metric, if calculated using only court data, will not reveal the full spectrum of legal resources or services or whether legal representation was present over the whole case or at specific stages.

#### Context or Interpretation Challenges

- It is important to include in the interpretation the extent of legal representation and the threshold (e.g., legal representation for at least one hearing in their court case).
- When presenting legal representation rates for defendants and plaintiffs, it is important to situate this analysis in the lived realities of eviction court for each party and the asymmetries in access to justice that exist.

### Analysis in Action



An eviction dashboard by the Law Center for Better Housing (LCBH) in Chicago shows that between 2010 and 2019, just over 11 percent of defendants (tenants) in the city had attorney representation, while roughly 81 percent of plaintiffs (landlords) had representation. LCBH notes that this rate is calculated on completed cases only, and defines having representation as the presence of an attorney associated with either the defendant or the plaintiff in court records. LCBH also notes that level of representation can range from one-day appearances to full start-to-finish cases, and legal representation in the form of advice or brief services at a help desk or over the phone are not captured.

## Question 8: How Many Defendants (Tenants) Appear in Court for Their Eviction Hearing? How Many Plaintiffs (Landlords) Appear in Court?

### Court Data Required



- Defendant appearance
- Plaintiff appearance

### Metric



The **appearance rate** is the percentage of either party (defendant or plaintiff) that appeared at their hearing during eviction court cases. Below is the formula to calculate this rate for both defendants and plaintiffs.

For defendants:

$$\frac{\text{\# of defendants that appeared in court for their eviction hearings}}{\text{\# of eviction hearings}} \times 100$$

For plaintiffs:

$$\frac{\text{\# of plaintiffs that appeared in court for their eviction hearings}}{\text{\# of eviction hearings}} \times 100$$

### Common Challenges



#### Data Challenges

- Whether a defendant or plaintiff appears for their court hearing is not commonly documented in court records, and where it is, it is often not standardized or consistently entered across eviction records.

#### Analysis Challenges

- Eviction cases may have multiple hearings, so a user will need to define the numerator and denominator based on what is most valuable and the data that is available. For example, appearance rates may only be reflective of whether a plaintiff or defendant appeared at their first hearing.

#### Context or Interpretation Challenges

- Understanding the legal consequences of a tenant or plaintiff's failure to appear in court is imperative for interpreting this data. In some jurisdictions, a defendant's failure to appear in court results in an automatic default judgment. In instances with limited data on defendant appearance, researchers often use default judgment rates (see Question 12) to approximate the rate of defendant appearance; however, understanding appearance rates independent of its impact on a case is important for knowing how many defendants are losing the opportunity to access day of services and assert their rights and counterclaims.

### Analysis in Action



An analysis of eviction data in New York State between 2016 and 2022, conducted by NYU's Furman Center, found that 54 percent of cases filed are unanswered by a defendant (tenant). Among cases that are unanswered, 20 percent (11 percent of all cases) receive a default judgment because the tenant later fails to appear in court.

## **V. What Are the Outcomes of Eviction Lawsuits?**

Understanding the different outcomes of eviction court cases is critical for understanding not only the scope of displacement as a result of an eviction filing, but also for evaluating the impact of eviction prevention policies.

Information on an eviction judgment in favor of a plaintiff, however, is harder to define from jurisdiction to jurisdiction, as court systems have different legal processes and terminology for what constitutes a court-ordered eviction. As a result, both within and across court systems, data on what constitutes a court-ordered eviction is context-specific. Aggregating this information across cases can often require manual investigation and coding by someone with knowledge of local eviction processes and court systems.

## Question 9: How Many Eviction Filings Resulted in an Eviction (or, the “Eviction Court Displacement Rate”)?

<b>Court Data Required</b> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Number of eviction filings</li><li>• Number of evictions</li></ul>
<b>Metric</b> 	<p>The <b>eviction court displacement rate</b> is the eviction rate relative to the eviction filing rate within a given jurisdiction. Below is the formula to calculate this rate.</p> $\frac{\# \text{ of evictions}}{\# \text{ of eviction filings}} \times 100$ <p>A court displacement rate of 50 percent, for example, means that one out of every two eviction cases filed results in an eviction.</p>
<b>Common Challenges</b> 	<p><b>Analysis Challenges</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Users should select the most appropriate local metric for capturing tenant displacement, which could be a writ of eviction, a scheduled eviction, or an eviction judgment.</li><li>• Users must take into account factors that can skew this metric—i.e., expungements or record sealing can impact the number of eviction filings, inflating this rate.</li></ul> <p><b>Context or Interpretation Challenges</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Eviction court displacement rates help quantify the role of the legal eviction system in bringing about a court-ordered eviction. But a rate on its own does not explain which laws, procedures, and access-to-justice factors contribute, and how. A lower eviction displacement rate (either over time or across jurisdictions) should not automatically be interpreted as progress toward improving outcomes for defendants. A lower eviction displacement rate can be caused by a greater number of defendants moving out and into less stable or safe housing prior to reaching a judgment or receiving a writ, for example. See the case study below for more detail.</li></ul>
<b>Analysis in Action</b> 	<p>See the case study below on a 2022 analysis on eviction court displacement rates.</p>

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→ **CASE STUDY: LEVERAGING EVICTION COURT DISPLACEMENT RATES TO ASSESS THE ROLE OF THE LEGAL SYSTEM IN SHAPING EVICTION OUTCOMES**

**Type:** Research and Analysis

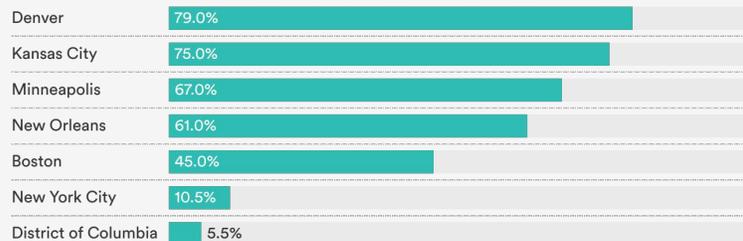
**Policy/Action:** Court Displacement Rates

In the field of eviction research, rates of eviction filings and forced tenant moves as a result of eviction are commonly used to understand the volume and impact of residential displacement. A 2022 essay by Georgetown University law professor Nicole Summers introduces a metric that explores the relationship between these two rates—the eviction court displacement rate.<sup>10</sup> This metric, detailed in Question 9, captures the rate at which defendants (tenants) are displaced from their homes after eviction cases are filed.

Court displacement rates are a powerful metric because they assess the role of the legal eviction system in determining eviction outcomes and provide an entry point for further inquiry. In Washington, DC, for example, only 5.5 percent of eviction filings result in displacement, while in Kansas City, three-quarters do.

**Eviction Court Displacement Rates across Select U.S. Cities**

The court displacement rate is a measure of the rate of tenant displacement relative to the eviction filing rate within a given jurisdiction.



Source: Nicole Summers, "Eviction Court Displacement Rates," *Northwestern University Law Review* 117, no. 287 (2022). The studies including data on each jurisdiction are cited therein.

Does the high court displacement rate in Kansas City, for example, signal that eviction filings are more likely to be greenlit

by the legal system, or perhaps that landlords are using eviction filings as a tool for rent collection? On the other hand, does DC's relatively low displacement rate suggest that the court policies or procedures play a role in discouraging tenant displacement?

There is still so much that we do not understand about eviction in the United States, and court displacement rates on their own do not provide the answers. This metric highlights how widely court systems vary in facilitating eviction, and in exploring why that is, researchers can deploy it to investigate which laws, procedures, or access-to-justice factors are most effective in preventing court-ordered eviction.

## Question 10: What Is the Average Length of Time from an Eviction Filing to an Initial Outcome?

<p><b>Court Data Required</b></p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Date of eviction filing</li> <li>• Date of initial outcome</li> </ul>
<p><b>Metric</b></p> 	<p>The <b>median number of days</b> from date of eviction filing to date of initial outcome.</p>
<p><b>Common Challenges</b></p> 	<p><b>Data Challenges</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There may be several outcomes in a case—such as an agreement but then a judgment. This question is specific to the initial outcome listed in the docket.</li> <li>• It is important to select the event or outcome that is most meaningful for those who would be using this information (e.g., eviction judgment or other outcome, writ of eviction, etc.).</li> </ul>
<p><b>Analysis in Action</b></p> 	<p>The City of Alexandria’s eviction dashboard shows that in 2024 the average length of time from an initial filing (called “unlawful detainer summonses”) to when a writ of eviction for cases is issued is 48 days. In this instance, the writ of eviction is the initial outcome recorded. Local legal providers requested this information so they understand the time frame they have to assist clients with their cases.</p>

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## Question 11: What Percentage of Eviction Cases End in a Specific Outcome (Other than Judgment in Favor of a Landlord)?

<p><b>Court Data Required</b></p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Case outcomes (e.g., withdrawal, default judgment, dismissal, agreed or stipulated judgment, etc.)</li> </ul>
<p><b>Metric</b></p> 	<p>Below is the formula to calculate the <b>percent of eviction cases filed that end in a specific outcome</b>.</p> $\frac{\# \text{ of } X \text{ outcomes}}{\# \text{ of eviction filings}} \times 100$
<p><b>Common Challenges</b></p> 	<p><b>Data Challenges</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Court data does not typically provide a field that summarizes the outcome (often referred to as the disposition) of an eviction court case. Users often need to combine several fields of data and analyze case activities to determine how a court case ended, which can require a significant amount of investigation and data engineering.</li> </ul> <p><b>Analysis Challenges</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Case outcomes and the terminology are not standardized and are specific to a court's legal process, so outcomes and definitions should be mapped to current eviction laws. For example, users must think about whether it makes sense for this metric to include all eviction cases, or whether it should exclude cases that have been dismissed for non-service.</li> </ul> <p><b>Context and Interpretation Challenges</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The implications of court case outcomes are complex and vary across jurisdictions. Even a seemingly "favorable" outcome for a defendant, such as a dismissal or entering into a settlement agreement in which an eviction order is avoided, might not signal a "win." An example of this might be if the tenant already vacated the property or enters into a settlement agreement that may or may not lead to less favorable terms.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Analysis in Action</b></p> 	<p>The eviction tracker in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, shows final disposition data from cases filed with the Wisconsin Circuit Courts from 2016 to 2020, including stipulated dismissals (an agreement between the plaintiff and defendant to agree on certain conditions to avoid an eviction being issued); default judgment (eviction judgments granted when a party does not file a response or attend court); dismissed cases; and judgment after a court trial. Over this five-year period, the majority of eviction cases filed ended in a default judgment.</p>

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**Question 12: How Many Cases Result in Favor of the Plaintiff (Landlord) Because the Tenant Did Not Participate in the Court Process?**

<p><b>Court Data Required</b></p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Default judgment</li> </ul>
<p><b>Metric</b></p> 	<p>Below is the formula to calculate the <b>default judgment rate</b>, or the percentage of eviction cases that end in default judgment.</p> $\frac{\# \text{ of default judgments}}{\# \text{ of eviction filings}} \times 100$
<p><b>Common Challenges</b></p> 	<p><b>Analysis Challenges</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Judges can vacate (reverse) a default judgment if the tenant can provide an eligible reason for missing court and a valid defense. As a result, it is important for analyses to identify whether a default judgment is the initial outcome. It may make sense to also look at the number of default judgments with a later order to vacate or set aside a judgment.</li> </ul> <p><b>Context and Interpretation Challenges</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It is important that this analysis take into account all of the circumstances that can lead to a default judgment, including a defendant not appearing for their eviction hearing.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Analysis in Action</b></p> 	<p>The Law Center for Better Housing eviction tracker in Chicago, Illinois, shows the percent of eviction orders that occurred by default because the defendant (tenant) did not appear in court. In 2019, the last year for which data is available, around 25 percent of cases ended in a default judgment.</p>

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### Question 13: What Percent of Eviction Cases End in an Eviction Order (i.e., a Writ of Eviction) from the Courts?

<p><b>Court Data Required</b></p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Eviction orders</li> <li>• Eviction filings</li> </ul>
<p><b>Metric</b></p> 	<p>Below is the formula to calculate the <b>percent of eviction filings that lead to an eviction order</b>, giving legal authority to law enforcement or another entity to remove the defendant from their home.</p> $\frac{\# \text{ of eviction orders}}{\# \text{ of eviction cases filed}} \times 100$
<p><b>Common Challenges</b></p> 	<p><b>Analysis Challenges</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Eviction terminology and processes vary by jurisdiction, so researchers need to pick the most appropriate piece of available data to decipher whether an eviction lawsuit ended in a court-ordered eviction from a home.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Analysis in Action</b></p> 	<p>The King County, Washington, Eviction Tracker (where Seattle is located) shows the percentage of eviction filings resulting in writs. The Track Milwaukee Evictions dashboard shows trends in writs of restitution issued by month and year in the City of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The Eviction Machine dashboard reports that in December 2022, 259 orders of eviction were issued in Detroit, Michigan.</p>

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## Question 14: What Is the Average Amount in Monetary Damages Awarded to Plaintiffs (Landlords) in Eviction Cases?

<p><b>Court Data Required</b></p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Judgment for plaintiff</li> <li>• Judgment amount</li> </ul>
<p><b>Metric</b></p> 	<p>Below is the formula to calculate the <b>average amount of monetary damages awarded</b> in the final judgment.</p> $\frac{\text{total amount of monetary damages owed}}{\text{\# of cases with judgments for plaintiff}}$
<p><b>Common Challenges</b></p> 	<p><b>Data Challenges</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The amount of money awarded to the landlord at the conclusion of the eviction case may not be documented in court records.</li> <li>• The amount of money awarded may not break out court costs, attorney fees, and the judgment amount.</li> </ul> <p><b>Analysis Challenges</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monetary damages often include several costs associated with an eviction case, including back rent owed, interest on the claim amount, court fees, and attorney fees.</li> <li>• In some jurisdictions, plaintiffs can seek reimbursement from defendants through other means, including debt collection or wage garnishment cases, withholding of the security deposit, or a separate court action against the tenant.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Analysis in Action</b></p> 	<p>In Virginia, the City of Alexandria’s eviction dashboard shows the average amount of unpaid rent for cases where a judgment has been entered in favor of the plaintiff (landlord). This amount—which was \$4,217 in March 2024—includes the amount of rent owed, but not the attorney’s fees.</p>

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## Conclusion

Eviction data can be complicated. Transforming a spreadsheet or .csv file into accurate, actionable insights on a locality's state of evictions requires methodical and time-consuming work. Generating high-quality analysis also requires a critical understanding of court data's limitations. This guide is intended to help users balance the urgent need for this data with the inherent challenges of working with and drawing conclusions from it. As discussed earlier in the "Good Stewardship of Eviction Data" section, communicating any necessary context or caveats to the audience of data analysis is essential for navigating this tension.

Understanding where, how, and why evictions happen is one of many early steps in successfully addressing the ongoing affordable housing crisis and its impacts. The analyses informed by this guidance will hopefully go on to influence policymaking in a variety of jurisdictions and aid in keeping more residents stably housed.

## Notes

- 1 *America's Rental Housing 2024* (Cambridge, MA: Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University, 2024), [https://www.jchs.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/reports/files/Harvard\\_JCHS\\_Americas\\_Rental\\_Housing\\_2024.pdf](https://www.jchs.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/reports/files/Harvard_JCHS_Americas_Rental_Housing_2024.pdf).
- 2 Sabiha Zainulbhai and Nora Daly, *Informal Evictions: Measuring Displacement Outside the Courtroom* (Washington, DC: New America, 2022), <https://www.newamerica.org/future-land-housing/reports/informal-evictions-measuring-housing-displacement-outside-the-courtroom/>.
- 3 Julia Craven, "Eviction Is One Of The Biggest Health Risks Facing Black Children," *New America*, December 7, 2023, <https://www.newamerica.org/better-life-lab/articles/eviction-health-risks-black-children>.
- 4 Sabiha Zainulbhai, *What Can Court Data Actually Tell us About Evictions?* (Washington, DC: New America, 2023), <https://www.newamerica.org/future-land-housing/reports/us-eviction-court-data/>.
- 5 Adam Porton, Ashley Gromis, and Matthew Desmond, "Inaccuracies in Eviction Records: Implications for Renters and Researchers," *Housing Policy Debate* 31, no. 3-5 (2021): 377–394, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10511482.2020.1748084>.
- 6 While court data is necessary to understand eviction lawsuits, this data alone does not provide a complete picture of evictions. Emergency Rental Assistance Program (ERAP) data, data from legal aid providers, and other housing metrics can complement court data to offer a more holistic view of evictions.
- 7 This position was created within the Office of Performance Analytics within the City of Alexandria's Department of Community and Human Services.
- 8 See Illinois General Assembly Statute 735 ILCS 5/9-109.6, 2018, <https://www.ilga.gov/legislation/ilcs/fulltext.asp>.
- 9 Nick Graetz, Carl Gershenson, Peter Hepburn, Sonya R. Porter, Danielle H. Sandlerand, and Matthew Desmond, "A Comprehensive Demographic Profile of the U.S. Evicted Population," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 120, no. 41 (2023), <https://www.pnas.org/doi/10.1073/pnas.2305860120>.
- 10 Nicole Summers, "Eviction Court Displacement Rates," *Northwestern University Law Review* 117, no. 287 (2022), <https://scholarlycommons.law.northwestern.edu/nulr/vol117/iss1/10/>.



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