# High-Evicting Properties in Bexar and Harris Counties: Findings From a Five-Part Investigation

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# Executive Summary

This five-part investigation examines the properties, owners, public subsidies, and business practices behind the highest concentrations of eviction filings in Bexar and Harris Counties. Texas Housers identified the 30 properties with the highest number of eviction filings in 2024 in each county and compiled information on eviction activity, ownership, public subsidies and public-private partnerships, and property conditions.

We found that eviction filings are highly concentrated among a relatively small number of properties and owners, and that these patterns persist across years. Publicly supported properties also appear among the highest evictors, particularly in Bexar County, raising questions about whether public investments in affordable housing are delivering meaningful housing stability. Complex ownership structures can obscure the private actors behind publicly supported properties, while the repeated use of eviction filings against the same tenant suggest that, at some properties, eviction is used as a routine tool for collecting rent rather than as a last resort. Many top-evicting properties continue to file evictions while neglecting property maintenance and allowing harmful physical conditions to persist. However, some local public data and enforcement systems make it difficult to get a clear picture on conditions.

**Taken together, these findings challenge the idea that eviction is simply the result of individual tenants falling behind on rent.** Eviction filing patterns are also shaped by landlord practices, ownership structures, public programs, and the rules governing the eviction process. This investigation identified several policies to improve these systems and support better outcomes for low-income tenants at high-evicting properties.

# Key Findings and Recommendations

Eviction patterns are not evenly distributed and are not inevitable. The State of Texas, local governments, and courts should implement policies to reduce unnecessary evictions, improve public data to support accountability, strengthen tenant protections in subsidized housing, and address substandard conditions at high-evicting properties.

### 1. Reduce the incentives for routine eviction filings

Eviction filings were heavily concentrated – about one in ten eviction filings in Bexar and Harris counties was filed at one of the top 30 evicting properties. More than one third of all filings at top-evicting properties in Bexar County and nearly half of the filings in Harris County were serial filings, or repeat filings against the same tenant at the same property.

This suggests that eviction can function as a routine rent-collection and enforcement mechanism. Tenant protections can change this pattern by creating opportunities to resolve disputes before an eviction becomes necessary. Policies that add meaningful friction to the process can help reduce the number of serial filings. Texas cities can require protections at properties they fund through city programs.

The central policy goal is not just to reduce the number of cases appearing in eviction courts, but to create a housing system in which eviction is genuinely a last resort rather than a routine response to the ordinary financial instability experienced by low-income renters.

Policy Recommendations:

- Increase court filing and county service fees
- Extend notice periods at the state or local level
- Implement state or local just cause eviction standards
- Implement local opportunity to meet and payment plan requirements
- Implement state or local policies to increase tenant access to legal aid

### 2. Build the data infrastructure needed to identify persistent problem properties and owners

We encountered multiple barriers to collecting and analyzing public data – inconsistent formats, lack of identifiers to connect related datasets, data only available upon request or on a property-by-property basis, and more. These barriers make it difficult to analyze eviction or conditions issues on a large scale, such as citywide.

Rental registries and improved public ownership records can help local governments connect properties across an owner's portfolio and identify repeat high-evictor owners. Connecting rental registry records with eviction filings, code violations, subsidy information, and appraisal data allows governments to identify patterns that are invisible when each dataset is considered separately. At a minimum, governments should make it easier to connect property records using consistent property identifiers, improve the accuracy of addresses in eviction data, and make ownership and eviction information publicly accessible and searchable.

Policy Recommendations:

- Implement state or local policies to require properties be listed on a rental registry in order to operate as a rental
- Create better, more easily connected local public data (eviction filings, code violations, appraisal data, etc.)

### 3. Tie public investment to housing stability

We identified many top-evicting properties that received public funding or property tax exemptions in return for providing units at restricted rents for low-income families. This was particularly true for Bexar County, where over one-third of Bexar County's top evicting properties were publicly subsidized through tax credits or property tax exemptions.

Public subsidy should come with meaningful expectations for tenant stability.

When properties receive tax exemptions, tax credits, or other public support while also generating unusually high levels of eviction activity, public agencies should have the information and authority to investigate why. This includes evaluating whether existing tenant protections are strong enough, whether compliance systems track eviction activity, and whether owners with persistent harmful practices should remain eligible for additional subsidies.

Policy Recommendations:

- Require subsidized properties to adopt eviction mitigation policies at the state or tax-exempt entity level
- Use local data to ensure that public subsidies do not fund high-evicting properties with substandard conditions

### 4. Connect housing conditions and eviction accountability

We found that many high-evicting properties have a substantial number of property maintenance complaints and violations. In San Antonio and Austin, many top-evicting properties can also be found in local proactive inspection programs meant to target properties with persistent code violations.

If the same properties are both sites of persistent housing condition problems and high eviction activity, local governments need tools to address those harms together. Rental registries, proactive inspection programs, clean-hands requirements, and portfolio-level enforcement can help ensure that landlords are not able to perpetuate both high eviction risk and poor conditions.

Policy Recommendations:

- Implement state or local “clean hands” policies prohibiting landlords with housing condition violations from filing evictions
- Change state laws to allow tenants to bring a countersuit following an eviction filing
- Improve local code enforcement systems and implement effective local proactive inspection programs

## Policy Recommendations and Issues Addressed

| | Routine Evictions | Public Data | Subsidy Accountability | Substandard Conditions |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Require subsidized properties adopt eviction mitigation policies at the state or tax-exempt entity level | | | ✓ | |
| Implement state/local policies to require properties be listed on a rental registry in order to operate as a rental | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Create better, more easily connected local public data (eviction filings, code violations, appraisal data) | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Use data to ensure that public subsidies do not fund high-evicting properties with substandard conditions | | | ✓ | |
| Increase court filing and county service fees | ✓ | | | |
| Extend notice periods at the state or local level | ✓ | | | |
| Implement state/local just cause eviction standards | ✓ | | | |
| Implement local opportunity to meet and payment plan requirements | ✓ | | | |
| Implement state or local policies to increase tenant access to legal aid | ✓ | | | ✓ |
| Implement state or local “clean hands” policies prohibiting landlords with housing condition violations from filing evictions | ✓ | | | ✓ |
| Change state laws to allow tenants to bring a countersuit following an eviction filing | ✓ | | | ✓ |
| Improve local code enforcement systems and implement effective local proactive inspection programs | | | | ✓ |

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# Introduction: A Five-Part Investigation of High Evictors

Evictions remain a defining feature of the affordable housing problem in Texas. Every year, Texas Housers tracks tens of thousands of households in **Bexar** and **Harris** counties who are pulled into an eviction process that is fast, destabilizing, and deeply harmful. But eviction is not evenly distributed. Who are the landlords filing the most evictions? What patterns emerge among them, and what do those patterns reveal about the broader forces driving housing instability in Texas?

These questions are the focus of a five-part Texas Housers investigation into the highest-evicting properties in Bexar and Harris Counties. Originally published as a series of blogs, the investigation builds from one question to the next: Where are evictions most concentrated? Who owns the properties where filings are most common? What role does public subsidy play? How are eviction filings being used in practice? And how do property conditions intersect with these patterns?

Each segment examines a different dimension of high eviction activity. Because the investigation developed over time, each analysis raises questions that the next explores more deeply. Taken together, they provide a fuller picture of the actors, structures, and practices behind concentrated eviction activity.

Texas lacks the public data infrastructure that many other states and localities provide for understanding rental housing, property ownership, and eviction practices. Much of the information needed to understand eviction behavior is fragmented or inaccessible. Our analysis therefore relies on stitching together available public records, public information requests, manual data collection, and extensive data cleaning. Even with these limitations, clear patterns emerge among the highest-evicting properties in Texas.

We identified the **30 properties with the highest number of eviction filings in 2024 in both Bexar and Harris Counties**. For each high-evicting property, we compiled data on ownership, subsidies, public-private partnerships, property sales, property conditions, and eviction activity. Connecting these datasets makes it possible to see patterns that are otherwise difficult to identify: where eviction is concentrated, who owns those properties, how they are funded, and how they are operated. The five parts examine different questions under the broader umbrella of high eviction activity:

**How the Investigation Unfolds**

| Part | Research Question | Focus |
|---|---|---|
| 1: Concentration (p. 3) | Where are evictions concentrated? | The 30 properties with the highest number of eviction filings in Bexar/Harris Counties. |
| 2: Public subsidy (p. 12) | Do publicly funded properties appear among the top evictors? | Public funding, tax exemptions, and whether public investment leads to housing stability. |
| 3: Ownership (p. 19) | Who is behind the highest-evicting properties? | Repeat owners and complex ownership structures. |
| 4: Eviction practices (p. 26) | How do high-evicting properties use eviction? | Court outcomes, serial filings, and eviction as a rent collection tool. |
| 5: Housing conditions (p. 33) | How does eviction intersect with conditions? | Property maintenance issues and code enforcement data needs. |

# Part 1. A Small Number of High-Evicting Properties, an Outsized Impact

Texas Housers maintains public eviction tracking tools for **Bexar County** and **Harris County** to better understand where evictions are happening, who is driving them, and what patterns emerge over time. These dashboards allow policymakers, advocates, and community members to add data to anecdote and examine activity at the level of neighborhoods, properties, and owners.

Evictions **are associated with** increased risks of mental illness, chronic disease, job loss, homelessness, and even mortality. An eviction filing – even when dismissed – leaves a permanent mark on a tenant's record that **makes it harder** to secure housing in the future. Understanding where, how often, and by whom evictions are filed – and how those properties are owned and funded – is critical to targeting prevention, accountability, and public resources where they can have the greatest impact.

Across both Bexar and Harris counties, the numbers tell a consistent story: evictions are not evenly distributed. They cluster in specific neighborhoods – and at a small number of properties with an even smaller number of owners.

The top-30 properties accounted for 12% of all 2024 eviction filings in Bexar County and 8% in Harris County. Many Bexar County census tracts with the highest eviction filing rates (the count of eviction filings divided by the number of units) appear that way primarily because of a single high-evicting property within their boundaries, and 25 of the Harris County top-30 properties account for more than half of the evictions in their respective census tracts.

This concentration provides the starting point for the rest of the investigation. If a small number of properties account for a disproportionate share of eviction activity, understanding what those properties have in common can help identify the systems and practices contributing to housing instability. When we look at the 30 highest-evicting properties in each county, several patterns emerge.

*For full property-level tables, scan the QR codes or click the links below:*

**Top Evictors: Bexar County**

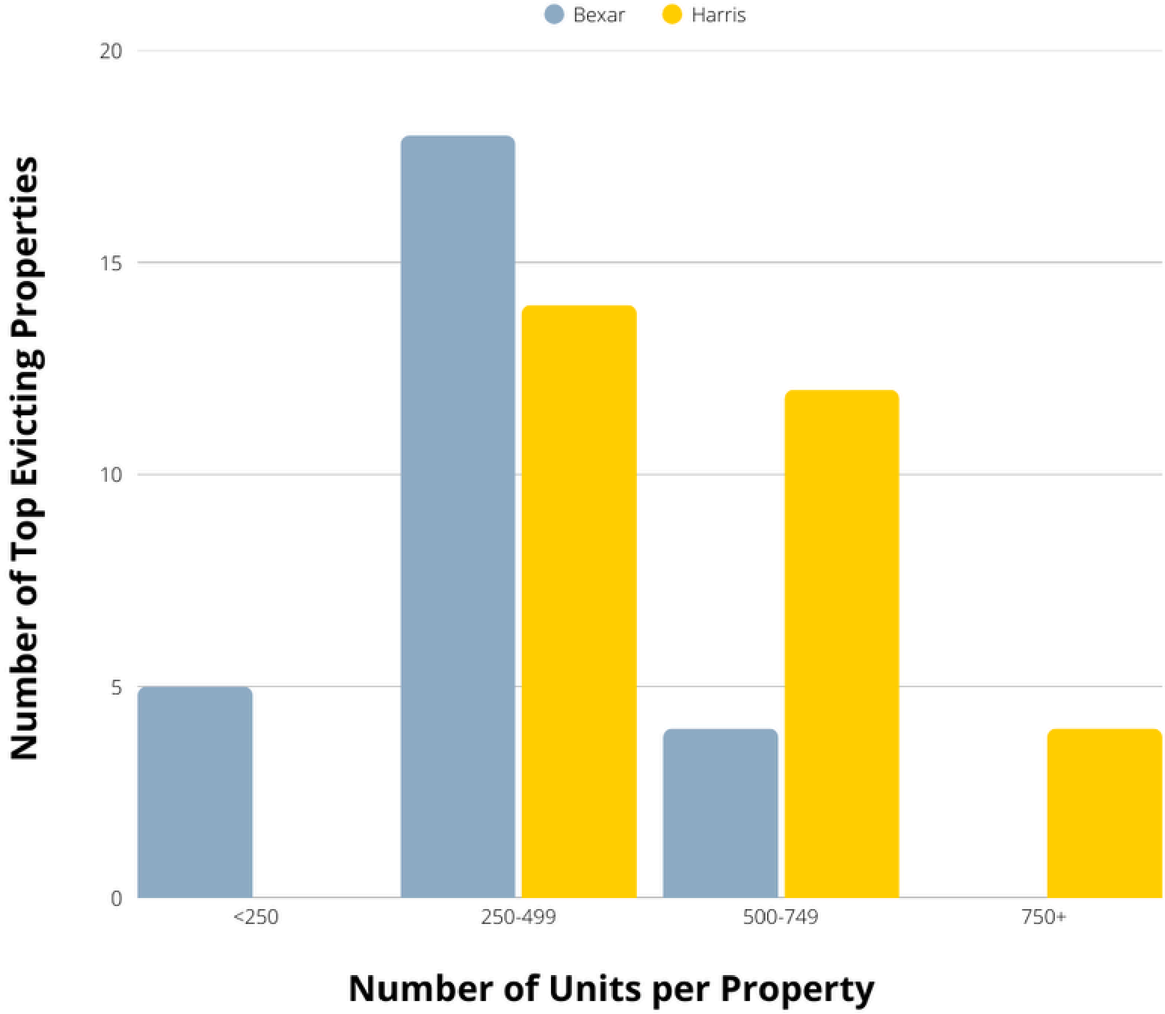
**Top Evictors: Harris County**

## Property size and eviction rates: Harris County top-evictor properties are larger and have higher eviction rates than those in Bexar County.

The top evicting properties in Harris County are generally larger than those in Bexar County. Harris County's top properties range from about 250 to 1,000 units compared to 150 to 700 units in Bexar County. Over half of Harris County's top-30 evicting properties have more than 500 units compared to just 4 properties in Bexar County.

Despite this difference in scale, Harris County's top-evictors post a higher average eviction filing rate – about 40%, compared to 35% among Bexar County's top-30. In other words, not only do the high evictor properties in Harris County have more units, but they also tend to file evictions against a larger share of their tenants.

## Harris County's Top Evicting Properties Are Significantly Larger than Bexar County's




Sources: Harris County Appraisal District, Apartments.com (BCAD property search tool does not include unit counts)

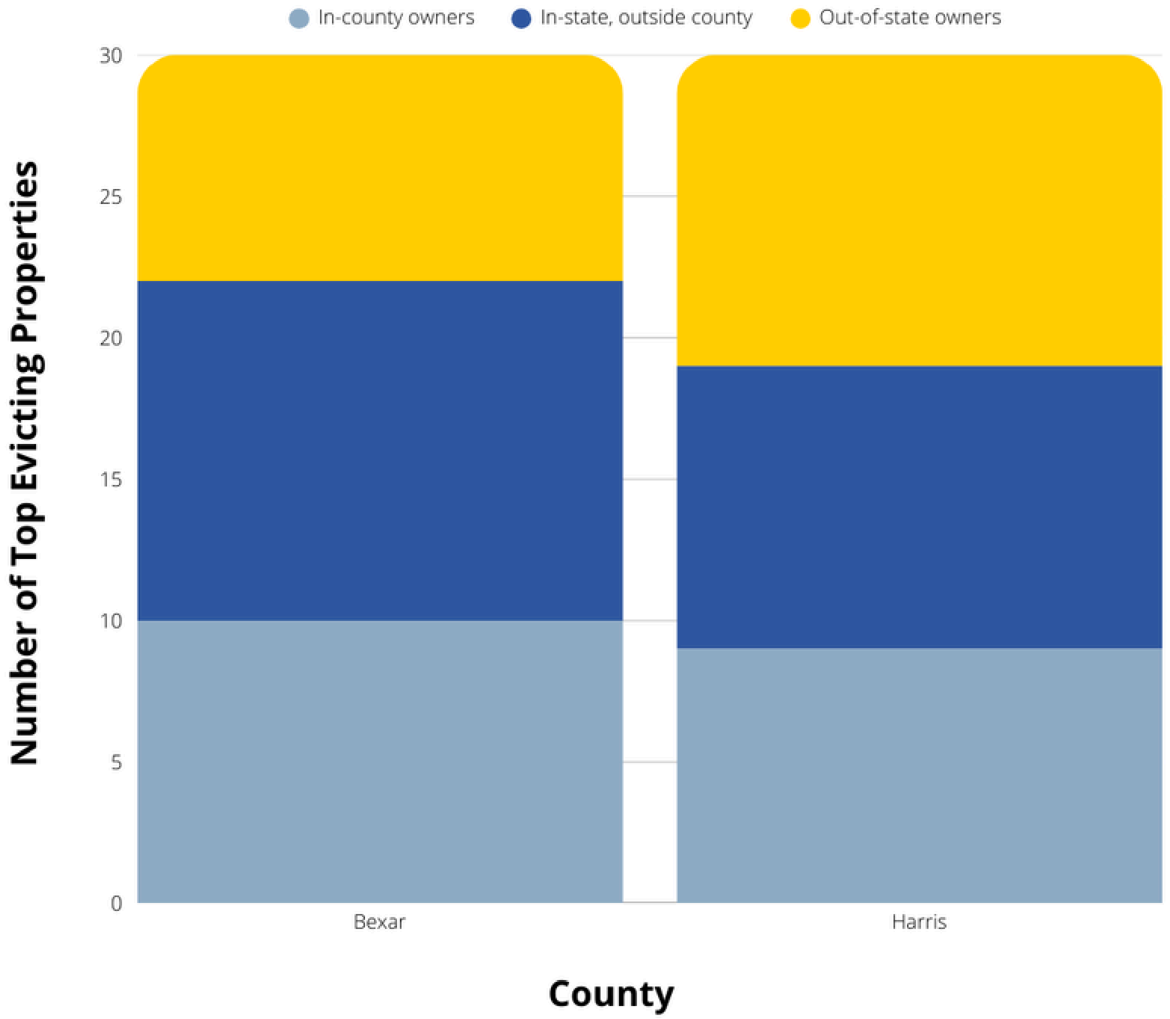
## Ownership characteristics: Both counties reflect broader trends of more eviction filings at **recently-purchased**, **aging** multifamily properties owned by an increasingly **consolidated** pool of **corporate, absentee landlords**.

Harris County has more out-of-state owners among its top-evictors (13) than Bexar County (8). These owners tend to have larger, multi-state portfolios.

Ownership of high-evicting properties is more concentrated among fewer owners in Bexar County than in Harris County. There are 18 unique owners in Bexar County's top evicting list compared to 24 in Harris County.

The majority of properties on both top-evictor lists were originally built before 1990 and were purchased after 2019.

**Top Evicting Properties in Harris County Are More Likely to Be Owned by Out-of-State Landlords**




Sources: Harris County Appraisal District, Bexar County Appraisal District

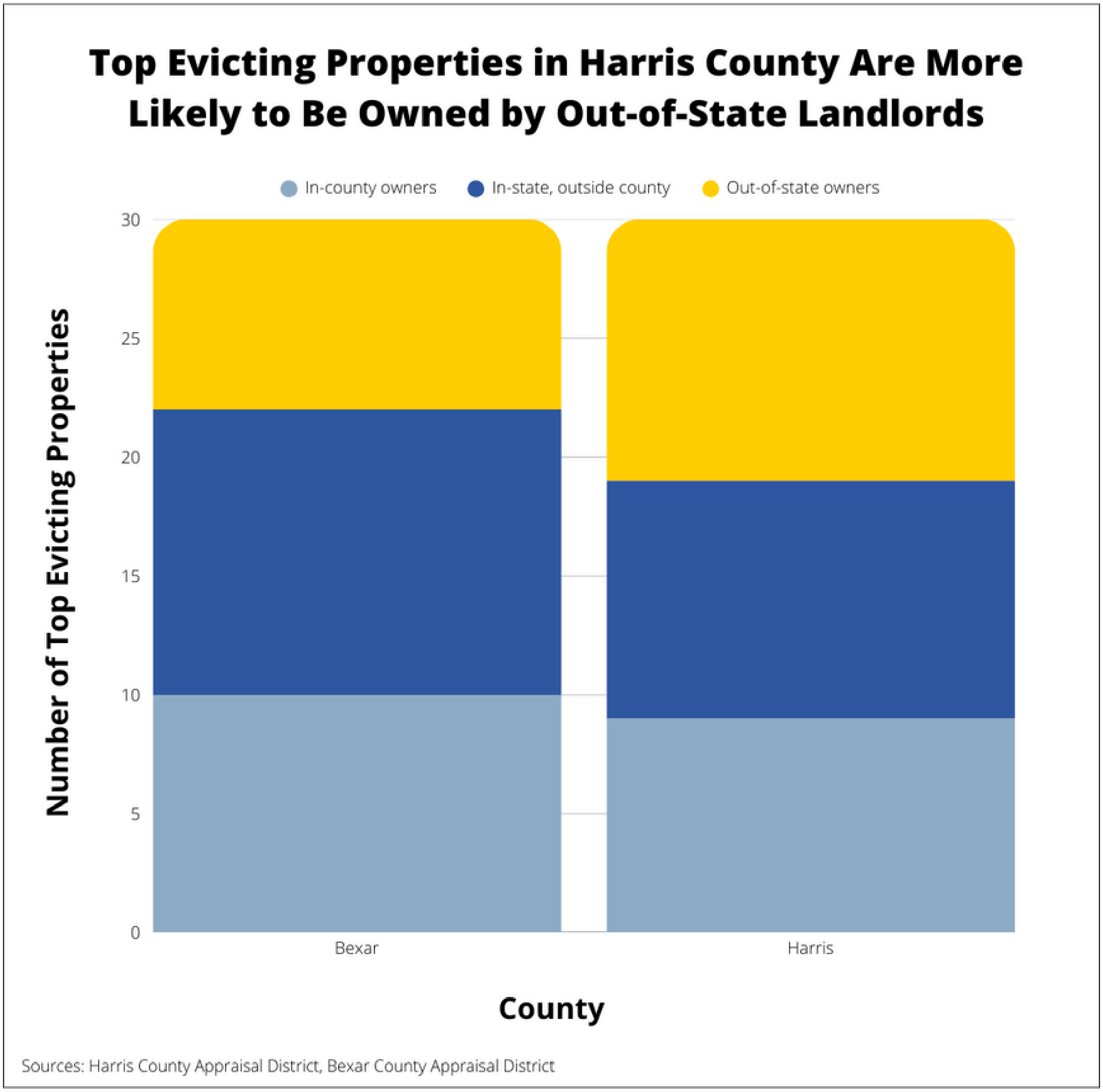
## Subsidies and public funding: The majority of top-evictors in both counties are private, market-rate properties, but publicly subsidized properties appear on both lists.

The majority of top-evictors in both counties are private, market-rate properties. But publicly subsidized properties for low-income renters appear on both lists – particularly in Bexar County, where one-third of top evicting properties are owned by local Housing Finance Corporations (HFCs), Public Facility Corporations (PFCs), or Public Housing Authorities (PHAs).

Over one-third of Bexar County's top evicting properties are publicly subsidized. There are nine HTC properties in Bexar County's top-30, eight of which also get tax exemptions through HFC, PFC, or PHA ownership, plus two additional PFC properties.

One Harris County top-30 evicting property received funding for development through the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit Program (LIHTC) and two properties have full property tax exemptions due to being owned by a HFC.

The presence of publicly supported properties among the highest evictors raises a question that the next part of our investigation examines: what should the public expect from housing developments that receive public financing, tax exemptions, or other forms of government support?


Top Evicting Properties in Harris County Are More Likely to Be Owned by Out-of-State Landlords
In-county owners
In-state, outside county
Out-of-state owners
Number of Top Evicting Properties
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
Bexar
Harris
County
Sources: Harris County Appraisal District, Bexar County Appraisal District

# For future research: transparency supports stable housing

In Texas, meaningful analysis of eviction practices is constrained by fragmented, incomplete, and often inaccessible data. Much of the information needed to understand eviction behavior – such as case-level court data, property ownership, and subsidy status – is not collected in one place, not publicly available, or not updated in real time. Our analysis relies on stitching together what data is available, often through public information requests, manual data collection, and extensive data cleaning, but still falls short of what is needed to fully understand eviction practices across owners and regions.

Tools like rental registries and public eviction data allow researchers and the public to look beyond individual properties and cases. They can help connect different data sources to look at patterns across eviction filings and eviction courts, property ownership, outcomes for state and local housing programs, and property conditions. Transparent eviction processes and case data are essential for identifying where resources are needed, helping people remain stably housed, and supporting larger-scale organizing work **across a landlord's entire portfolio**.

Even review of the limited local eviction and property ownership data that is available is still helpful for identifying key questions that could be answered with better transparency:

- Who owns the county-level portfolio with the most evictions? State-level?
- Do eviction rates differ across properties with the same owner? Are problems the same across high-evicting owners' entire portfolios?
- Do more professionalized, larger owners use automated eviction processes? Are tenants at their properties evicted more often than those at properties with smaller, more local owners?
- How much public subsidy do the properties that file the most evictions receive? What types of subsidy (e.g. for development, property tax breaks,

rental assistance)?

- What tenant protections do public subsidies guarantee for tenants? What should they guarantee?
- How do eviction patterns intersect with property conditions and code enforcement? Are high-evicting properties also properties that deal with persistent property condition deficiencies? Do professionalized, larger owners maintain properties to the same degree as smaller owners?
- For policy purposes, how do we define a "bad actor" high evictor owner, and what policies would meaningfully hold repeat bad actors accountable?

These questions recur throughout the investigation. Evictions are not inevitable. They are shaped by law, government program rules, and business decisions. By making eviction behavior visible, we can begin to articulate the need for solutions – from landlords, from public agencies, and from policymakers charged with protecting housing stability for Texas families.

# Part 2. When Public Subsidy Meets High Evictions: Are We Getting the Housing Stability We Pay for?

When we think of landlords likely to file the most evictions, we often think of **large**, **corporate** landlords who operate market-rate properties as a profit-generating business. But a notable share of the highest-evicting properties in Bexar and Harris counties benefit from public financing, tax exemptions, or income-restricted housing programs meant to serve low-income renters.

The majority of top-evictors are market-rate properties. But subsidized developments appear on both counties' high evictor lists – especially in Bexar County, where more than a third of the top-30 receive some form of public subsidy or tax exemption (or both). These include properties developed with **Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) program** funding or owned through tax-exempt private partnerships such as **Public Facility Corporations (PFCs)**, **Housing Finance Corporations (HFCs)**, or Public Housing Authorities (PHAs) that receive full property tax exemptions. In exchange for public subsidies, these properties provide income-restricted units with rents below market level.

This raises a question beyond who is filing the most evictions: whether public investments in affordable housing are delivering the housing stability they are designed to create.

# Public housing subsidies flow to high evictors in Bexar County

In Bexar County, nine LIHTC developments appear among the top-30 evictors in 2024. These properties posted eviction filing rates ranging from 26% to 55% – meaning that in some cases, half of all households or more faced an eviction filing in a single year.

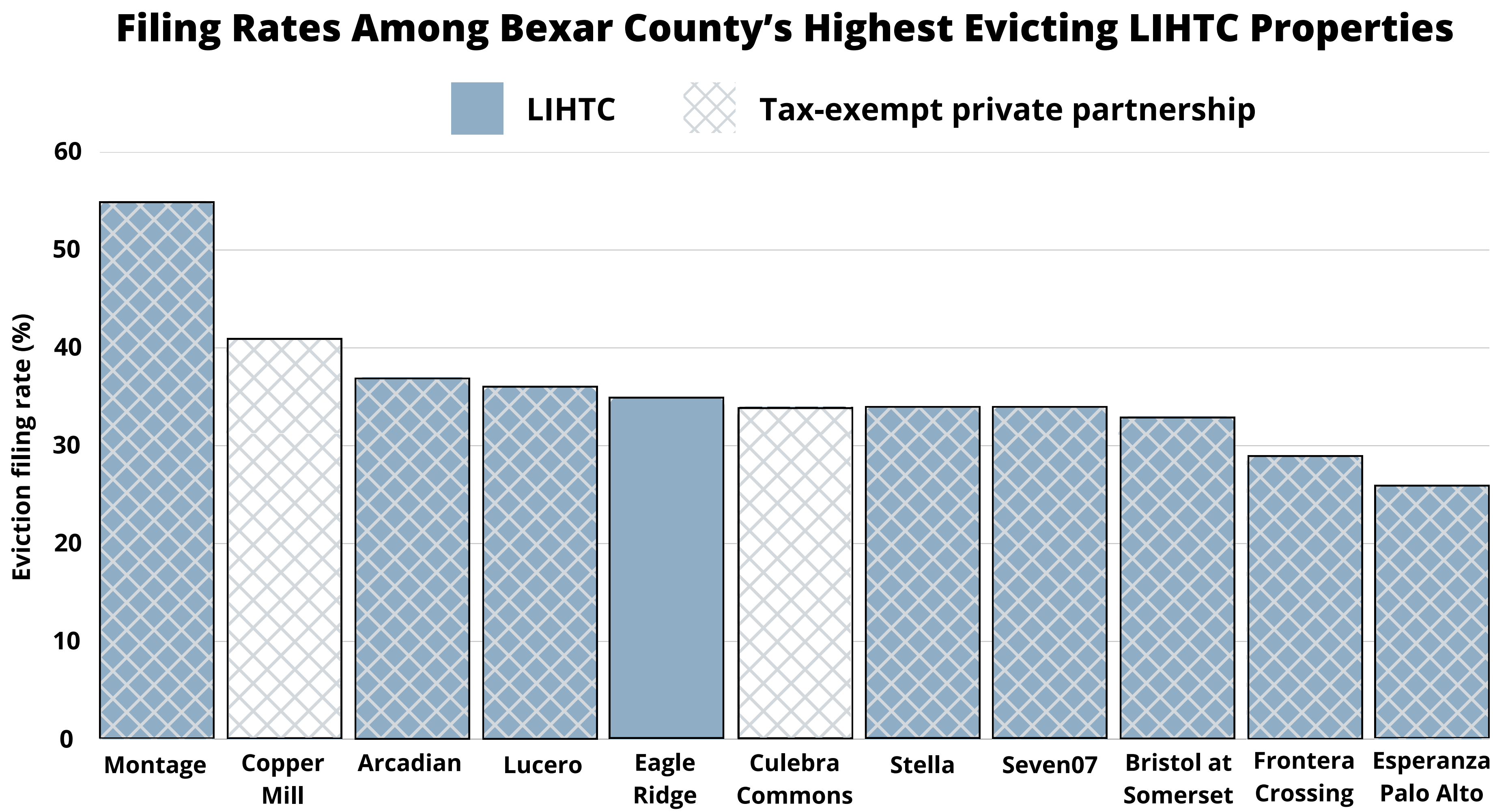
Many LIHTC properties require multiple forms of public subsidy to support lowering rents below market rate. Eight of the nine also receive 100% property tax exemptions through tax-exempt private partnership ownership structures. top-evictors in Bexar and Harris counties account for $23.4 million in annual tax credits (adjusted to 2025 dollars) and $9.7 million in 2025 property tax savings.

*For full property-level tables, scan the QR code or click the link below:*

**Top Evictors by Subsidy Amount**

Affordable housing programs like LIHTC and tax-exempt private partnerships are regulated. They come with affordability requirements, compliance monitoring, and tenant protection frameworks in the form of income-restricted reduced rents, required voucher acceptance, habitability standards, and in some cases “good cause” eviction requirements.

The presence of subsidized properties on high-evictor lists suggests that protections on paper do not always translate into stability in practice. This situation points to a critical, unaddressed question: **When developments benefit from both federal tax credits and local property tax breaks, what level of housing stability should the public be able to expect in return?**




Source: Texas Department of Housing and Community Affairs

# Public entities purchase high-evicting properties in Harris County

In Harris County, we see a related but distinct dynamic. In addition to one LIHTC property, two properties that ranked among the highest evictors in both 2023 and 2024 were tax-exempt properties acquired in early 2025 by HFCs located hundreds of miles away.

These acquisitions occurred shortly before state lawmakers moved to **prohibit "traveling HFC" deals** – arrangements where an out-of-jurisdiction public entity could extend tax-exempt financing to properties without local approval, effectively removing them from local tax rolls. Both local properties were already top-evictors before acquisition, raising serious questions about due diligence, oversight, and the criteria used to determine when public or quasi-public entities provide subsidies to privately operated housing.

The affordability requirements for Texas' multifamily rental tax exemption tools **do not necessarily result in substantially lower rents**, sometimes leading to "affordable" housing that is very close – or identical – to market rate. The traveling HFC deals found in the Harris County top-evictors converted high-evicting market-rate properties into publicly subsidized ones – without necessarily changing the underlying management practices driving eviction filings. It will be important to monitor evictions at these properties in coming years to determine whether the **stronger tenant protections** required by HFC tax exemption reforms have the effect of lowering eviction rates at these high evictor properties.

## Subsidy does not automatically equal stability

The presence of subsidized properties on a high evictor list may seem counterintuitive. Income-restricted housing is designed to serve renters with lower incomes by limiting rents to affordable levels, hopefully reducing the risk of eviction due to non-payment of rent. The programs that fund these units often come with stronger protections against other types of evictions.

But income restrictions do not guarantee housing stability. In fact, research shows that **Public Housing Authorities** are frequently top-evictors. Like in Bexar and Harris counties, tax-exempt private partnership properties have also been identified as **top-evictors in Travis County**.

Tenants in subsidized housing are, by definition, more economically vulnerable. They are **more likely** to experience job loss, income volatility, or other financial shocks that make it harder to keep up with rent – even when that rent is capped below market levels.

This suggests that some subsidy structures are not well designed for the economic realities of extremely low-income households. **Research** has found that while deeply subsidized public housing can reduce eviction risk, other forms of housing assistance like LIHTC and tax-exempt private partnerships may not have the same stabilizing effect unless specific eviction prevention policies are required.

# Policy recommendations and future research: stronger housing stability protections matter

Policy design can address housing instability as a result of eviction at subsidized properties. For example, the San Antonio Housing Trust implemented stronger **tenant protection policies** in recent years – including enhanced screening protections, just cause eviction standards, payment plan requirements, and expanded notice provisions. Notably, properties operating under the newer, more robust tenant protection frameworks do not appear among high-evictor lists, while earlier developments that are not required to follow those rules did.

This suggests that patterns of high eviction filings in publicly subsidized or supported housing are not inevitable. Program rules, enforcement mechanisms, and tenant protections can materially shape outcomes.

For example, the state can require that tax-exempt private partnership properties and other subsidized housing adopt eviction mitigation policies. Like the San Antonio Housing Trust, other individual HFCs, PFCs, or PHAs can also implement these requirements. **Potential mitigation policies include**:

- Requiring a 30-day notice of lease termination and 10-day right to cure period for lease violations;
- Implementing just cause standards for lease nonrenewal and termination;
- Banning evictions for unpaid fees and fines; and
- Adopting eviction mitigation plans. Mitigation plans should require proactive engagement with tenants, training for property management staff, connecting tenants with additional assistance, allowing payment plans, and acceptance of partial rent payments.

In addition, the State of Texas and local governments can require that properties be listed on a rental registry in order to operate as a rental. Rental registries should indicate if a property is exempt from taxes and include information on both public and non-public partners for tax-exempt private partnerships. While property-level information on PFCs and HFCs is available through the state housing agency, it’s difficult to easily connect this data to local datasets. Rental registries would help address that issue.

To unlock new uses for the rental registry data, local governments must enable better, more easily connected public datasets covering issues like eviction filings, code violations, and appraisal district data. When making funding decisions that impact which properties get tax breaks or funding, local governments and tax-exempt private partnerships should use data to ensure that they fund decent housing, not high-evicting properties with substandard conditions.

Analysis of evictions at subsidized properties points to the need for deeper research and greater transparency, particularly on these questions:

- How do eviction rates vary across different subsidy types and programs? Across different combinations and layerings of subsidies? Which are the most successful at lowering the number of eviction filings, and why?
- What accountability mechanisms exist when subsidized properties become chronic high evictors? Do monitoring agencies track eviction filings as part of program oversight?
- Are existing tenant protections in different programs strong enough to prevent avoidable evictions?
- How do ownership and management practices influence outcomes in subsidized housing? What are the best practices for regulating private actors in subsidy programs?

If public funds are one of our primary tools for addressing the affordable housing crisis, they should deliver not only affordability but lasting stability for the low-income tenants they are meant to serve.

# Part 3. The Owners Behind High Eviction Rates are Even More Concentrated Than They First Appear

Part 1 already established that eviction filings in Bexar and Harris counties are concentrated among a small number of properties. But the concentration of evictions is not just limited to certain neighborhoods or at certain properties; it also includes a concentration among an even smaller number of property owners. The same owners appear on our top-evictor lists year after year, across both counties.

Persistently high eviction filings suggest that this behavior is built in as a part of these owners' standard practices. And these practices have portfolio-wide impacts that are not captured in a top-30 list.

Identifying these owners, however, is more difficult than simply looking at the name attached to a property record. Complex ownership structures can obscure the private actors behind properties and make it difficult to connect properties within the same portfolio, limiting our ability to identify owners whose tenants experience similar patterns of eviction and displacement. Greater transparency around property ownership, eviction, and property conditions is therefore a critical first step toward enabling local systems to identify and address these harms.

# Repeat owners on the top-evictor lists

In Bexar County, 14 of the 30 highest-evicting properties in 2024 were also on the 2023 list. In Harris County, more than two thirds – 21 of 30 – appeared on both the 2023 and 2024 top-evictor lists. This degree of repetition suggests that high eviction filing rates are not isolated incidents or the result of a temporary circumstance. They reflect patterns that persist over time – patterns that are, at least in part, the result of the behavior of a handful of property owners.

*To view the table, scan the QR code or click the link below:*

**Repeat Owners of Top 30 Evicting Properties**

Three large out-of-state owners (Abbey Residential, DRA Advisors, and Fundamental Partners) each have two properties among Harris County's top-30. Three Pillars Group, a Houston-based private equity firm, appears three times.

In Bexar County, ownership is even more concentrated. Just two owners account for 10 of the top-30 highest-evicting properties: **Shippy Properties** (aka Quantum Leap) and the San Antonio Housing Finance Corporation.

Two companies appear on both counties' high evictor lists. American Landmark Apartments is a Florida-based firm operating more than 30,000 units across seven states that notably **builds rent increases and displacement into their business strategy**. American Landmark Apartments is almost entirely owned by Elco, an Israeli company with business ties to Israeli settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem. Disrupt Equity, a Houston-based multifamily investment firm that markets opportunities to **passive investors** through a **significant social media presence**, has appeared on Harris County's top-evictor list two years running and recently acquired one of Bexar County's top-30 properties from a mission-driven nonprofit (On Track Ministries, which owns yet another Bexar County top-evictor).

Eviction patterns often **track with ownership models** and portfolio-wide practices. When the same owners appear repeatedly across multiple regions, it becomes essential to evaluate eviction behavior at the portfolio level, not just the property level.

## Repeat owners on the top-evictor lists

Opaque property ownership makes it difficult to get a better understanding of portfolio-wide practices and the **increasing consolidation** of property ownership alongside evictions. Connecting properties with the same owners **can be challenging** – even more so for properties with certain subsidies.

As discussed in Part 2, many top evicting properties benefit from public subsidies intended to create stability for low-income renters. The most common subsidies across both counties, tax-exempt private partnerships, allow lifetime 100% property tax exemptions in exchange for income-restricted units with rents below market level. For these properties, quasi-governmental entities like **Public Facility Corporations** (PFCs), **Housing Finance Corporations** (HFCs), or Public Housing Authorities (PHAs) own the property in partnership with a private organization that benefits from the tax-exemption. Both the public and non-public partners have an ownership stake in the property.

While identifying these non-public owners is difficult, it reveals even more repeat owners among Harris and Bexar counties' top-evictors.

*To view the table, scan the QR code or click the link below:*

**Non-Public Owners at Tax-Exempt Properties**

At first, **NRP Group** does not appear to have any properties on Bexar County's high evictor list. However, they are in fact the non-public partner for three properties we list as being "owned" by San Antonio Housing Trust PFC and three separate properties "owned" by San Antonio HFC. These six properties make NRP the owner with the most appearances on our top-evictor lists across both counties. NRP Group is headquartered in Ohio, has developed over 67,000 units, and manages more than 32,000 units across the country.

LYND is the non-public partner for two of the top evicting tax-exempt properties in Bexar County. **The San Antonio-based company** has developed more than 47,000 units in 10 states, manages 16,000 units, and already has two other properties on Bexar County's high-evictor list. Once we identify non-public partners, NRP, Shippy Properties, and LYND account for half of all top evicting properties in Bexar County.

Sterling Point in Harris County is "owned" by public partner Pecos County HFC, but non-public partner Austin-based **Eureka Holdings**, which already has another property on the Harris County top-30 list, has a more direct say in day-to-day decisions. The non-public partner for **The Redford**, New York City-based Fundamental Partners, already has two other top evicting Harris County properties. Fundamental Partners purchased these properties, all of which also appeared on the 2023 top-evictor list, **following foreclosure in 2023**. Fundamental Partners owns over 45,000 units across more than 200 properties.

Obscured ownership at tax-exempt properties makes it more difficult to work out how these properties and their real owners fit into the eviction landscape of Texas cities. However, tax-exempt private partnerships are not the only types of deals with complicated ownership structures that can't be fully explained with publicly available information. Complex ownership structures make it seem like a property is owned by a local organization or a small landlord with a modest local portfolio, or a public entity required to provide some public benefit – but in reality they are often run by national giants that employ harmful practices across their portfolios.

## Policy recommendations and future research: tools to reveal high evictor owners

Evictions and the **instability for low-income renters** that they cause are shaped by law, policy, and business decisions. The persistence of high eviction rates at the same properties, under the same ownership, across multiple years suggests that these outcomes are not simply the result of tenant instability. They reflect management strategies and operational choices that actually contribute to tenant instability.

Rental registries are a key policy tool that can help identify owners that evict a high share of their residents across their portfolio and help local governments to proactively address harms. Rental registries contain basic information on ownership that can help connect properties in the same owner's portfolio more easily. Cities can use rental registry status to require certain practices and prevent harmful owner behavior. Pairing rental registries with a **proactive inspection program** allows cities to target persistent substandard physical conditions and improve tenant health, safety, and quality of life.

Governments can **improve connections** between datasets to help provide more and better information on ownership structures at properties. They can **provide interactive tools** to make it easier for the public to access data. Counties can make it easier to connect appraisal district data and county clerk records using property IDs as opposed to legal descriptions. Cities can connect rental registry records with code violations to look at conditions across portfolios and inform **targeted code enforcement**. Connecting the county's tax ID to the city's rental registry enables easy analysis of, for example, potential **retaliatory eviction filings** following tenant reports of code violations.

Simple improvements to data systems can have a big impact. Verifying addresses before entering eviction filing records would remove a considerable amount of work that goes into analyzing filing data and connecting records at the same properties.

Publishing better data and using that data to hold property owners accountable supports more effective use of public funds. Data can be used to flag owners with a proven track record of harmful eviction practices or poor conditions at properties and block them from receiving further public subsidies.

Across the investigation, ownership transparency emerges as a foundational policy need. Better ownership data can:

- Identify and track chronic high-evictor owners across entire portfolios.
- Help governments target eviction prevention and enforcement resources.
- Provide a basis for accountability when owners have persistent, portfolio-wide problems.
- Allow governments to connect eviction activity with property conditions and other indicators of harm.

Property ownership tends to change less frequently than management companies and staff. Tenants may deal with multiple managers throughout their tenure, but ownership is likely to be more stable and has the ultimate say in how properties are run. Long-term accountability to tenants at individual properties must consider portfolio-wide practices and address the owners that do the most harm. Quality public ownership and eviction data can help governments and the public connect patterns across portfolios, identify the owners causing the most harm, and support portfolio-wide enforcement and **organizing**.

# Part 4. When Eviction Becomes Business as Usual: Serial Filing, Court System Strain, and Eviction as a Rent Collection Tool

For many landlords – particularly smaller "mom-and-pop" landlords – eviction is a last resort, as vacancies are costly and lost rental income is bad for business. Yet the patterns in Bexar and Harris counties suggest that some landlords nonetheless use eviction filings as a routine part of property management. Examining court outcomes and repeated filings against the same tenants provides a window into this practice and points to policies that could reduce serial filings and reinforce eviction as a last resort.

## What court outcomes reveal about eviction practices

Looking at eviction case dispositions – outcomes as ruled by a judge – helps us better understand how eviction filings are being utilized by landlords, not just how often they occur.

Among the top-30 evicting properties in both Bexar and Harris counties, case outcomes differ somewhat from the county average, suggesting that in some cases high evictor landlords are using the eviction process differently than the average landlord. The top-30 properties have lower rates of default judgments and judgments for the landlord, but higher dismissal rates.

**Case Outcomes at top-30 Evicting Properties and Countywide**

| | Default Judgment | Judgment for the Landlord | Dismissed |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bexar County Top-30 | 36% | 17% | 45% |
| Bexar County | 38% | 21% | 39% |
| Harris County Top-30 | 37% | 9% | 50% |
| Harris County | 37% | 14% | 45% |

A default judgment occurs when a tenant does not appear in court, resulting in an automatic ruling for the landlord. A judgment for the landlord means the case proceeded to a hearing and the landlord met the legal requirements for eviction.

A **dismissal**, by contrast, means the case was closed without a formal eviction order – often because the landlord chose to close the case (for example, if the tenant paid the amount owed or moved out before the hearing), the landlord did not appear for the court hearing, or the eviction was improperly filed.

At first glance, a higher dismissal rate may sound like good news. But dismissal does not mean the filing had no impact. **One study found** that an eviction filing alone resulted in $180 in fines for the household and raised monthly housing costs by 20%. In addition, even if a case is dismissed, the filing itself remains on a tenant's record and can be **accessed by tenant screening companies**. This makes it much harder to secure housing in the future and can limit tenants to properties willing to accept a rental history with an eviction filing. The act of filing carries consequences **regardless of the outcome**.

In some ways, Texas incentivizes eviction filings. The cost for filing is relatively low: **$139 in Harris County** and **$171 in Bexar County**. If filing alone can prompt a tenant to pay the amount owed or leave before the case proceeds, the low cost makes eviction filings a potentially routine enforcement and rent collection tool.

## Serial filings in practice: eviction as rent collection

Serial eviction filing refers to the repeated use of eviction filings against the same tenant – often for nonpayment of rent – with cases dismissed once payment is made or the tenant self-evicts. In these situations, eviction filings function less as a legal remedy for a contractual dispute and more as a rent collection strategy, with the consequence of long-term housing instability for the tenant.

Eviction filings at Forest Oaks in Northwest Bexar County illustrate this pattern clearly. In 2024:

- 128 eviction cases were filed.
- 19 tenants appeared repeatedly under different case numbers, accounting for 88 filings.
- One tenant had 12 separate eviction cases in a single year – one per month.
- Most of these cases were dismissed.

This pattern is not isolated. Across the top-30 evicting properties in Bexar County, 1,251 eviction filings – 37.5% of all filings – were serial filings, meaning they were filed against tenants who faced eviction multiple times in the same year at the same property. At the four top evicting properties in Bexar County with the most serial filings, roughly 60-70% of eviction filings were serial filings.

Serial filings should not be a routine practice, and certainly should not account for a plurality of eviction filings at the highest-evicting properties. When a landlord is willing to let a tenant remain in the unit once a rent dispute is resolved, there is little justification for initiating a formal eviction case that can remain on the tenant's long-term record. Mediation is the more appropriate tool for resolving these disputes.

When eviction filings are used this way, they do not just harm individual tenants. They also consume court staff time and administrative resources, [crowding dockets] with cases that function primarily as a rent collection strategy rather than legitimate legal disputes.

While a serial eviction filling pattern is clear in Bexar County, the problem is even more pronounced in Harris County. Like Forest Oaks in Bexar County, Lenox Park Apartments in Harris County also evicted a single tenant once per month in 2024. Of the tenant's 12 eviction cases, four resulted in default judgments and eight in dismissals. A tenant at the Neo at Ten received filings in nine different months in 2024 – every one of them resulted in a dismissal.

*For full property-level tables, scan the QR code or click the link below:*

**[Serial Evictions at Top 30 Evicting Properties]**

Nearly half of all eviction filings at the top-30 properties in Harris County were serial eviction filings (44% or around 2,600 filings). Over 1,000 households living in the top-30 evicting properties were subject to serial eviction filings in 2024 (around 6% of all households) and 18 households were subject to filings in at least six different months in 2024. Six of those 18 households lived at Chateau Dijon and Lenox Park Apartments alone.

The property with the most eviction filings in Harris County, Del Mar Apartments, also had the largest number of tenants subject to serial evictions (71) accounting for 13% of the property's units. More than half of the evictions filed at Del Mar Apartments in 2024 were serial eviction filings (57%). Lenox Park Apartments and Neo at Ten also filed serial evictions against 13% of their residents in 2024 and over 75% of filings at those properties were serial eviction filings. The owners of these properties are not using eviction filing as a last resort. Instead, eviction amounts to an almost daily practice.

As we already discussed, when tenants leave a property due to an eviction filing, they may end up at another property with a high eviction filing rate that is willing to overlook a history of eviction. The data in Harris County supports this – over 50 tenant names appear in eviction filings for separate top-30 evicting properties in the same year. Although it is difficult to confirm if tenants with the same names are the same people, there are at least a dozen examples of unique names facing eviction across multiple properties in 2024.

Harris and Bexar county data suggest that eviction filings are being used as a routine mechanism for enforcing rent payment rather than as a last resort. When filing becomes predictable – when tenants can expect a court case as a regular part of falling behind on rent – eviction shifts from an emergency response into a standardized operating procedure, to the detriment of tenants.

## Large owners have an advantage in eviction court

National research has found similar patterns. Large, professionalized landlords, like those found in the top-30 evictor lists, engage with eviction courts in systematically different ways than small landlords. They are more likely to **file more eviction cases**, use **repeat or serial eviction filings**, and rely on **dedicated** legal representation. Tenants by contrast, do not have experience in how to navigate this legal process and often lack legal representation. Of the 3,652 eviction filings at the top-30 Harris County properties that did not result in a default judgment, 7% of plaintiffs had representation compared to just 1% of defendants.

Legal scholars describe this imbalance as the "repeat player" advantage: parties that appear in court frequently develop expertise and structural advantages over those who do not. When repeat players also control large portfolios, their practices can shape eviction patterns across entire neighborhoods and persist over time.

Reducing the harm of eviction filings, particularly serial filings, therefore requires addressing this imbalance through policy.

## Policy recommendations and future research: responses to the use of eviction as a business practice

The patterns we see in Bexar and Harris counties are consistent with national research: eviction is not only a legal process to resolve contractual disputes, but in some cases a routine business strategy. Research shows that the best way to lower the number of eviction filings and address this behavior is to add friction to the eviction process.

The following policies have been shown to reduce unnecessary eviction filings. Some of these can be enacted at the local level in cities, counties, and courts, while others would require state-level intervention:

- Increasing local court filing and county service fees for eviction petitions to increase the overall cost of filing an eviction;
- Extending notice periods at the state and/or local level (Texas' is just 1-3 days, but in other states notice periods can be two weeks or longer);
- **Just cause** eviction standards at the state and/or local level;
- Local requirements that landlords offer tenants an **opportunity to meet** and enter into payment plans before filing eviction;
- State or local policies and programs that increase tenant **access to legal aid**; and
- State laws or local ordinances prohibiting landlords with housing conditions violations from filing evictions ("clean hands" requirements) or allowing tenants to bring a countersuit.

Ultimately, eviction is shaped by the rules and laws that govern housing – and by the guardrails, or lack thereof, those rules and incentives create. As Part 2's discussion of public subsidy showed, stronger tenant protections can materially reduce eviction filings. Routine eviction filings are not inevitable. They reflect state and local policy choices and court practices that can be changed.

# Part 5. High Evictors, Unhealthy Homes: How Top Evictors Also Enable Poor Housing Conditions

Throughout this series, we have shown that eviction filings in Bexar and Harris Counties are not evenly distributed across the rental market. Instead, they are concentrated among a relatively **small number of rental properties** and an even **smaller number of owners**. We have shown that for some landlords, many of whom **benefit from public subsidy**, eviction is not a last resort, but a **routine part of operations**.

But court records only tell part of the story. An eviction filing says little about what life at a given property is like before a tenant steps into a courtroom. To better understand that experience, we looked beyond eviction filings and examined property maintenance records for the highest-evicting properties in Bexar and Harris Counties.

We found that some of the same San Antonio properties that produce the highest numbers of eviction filings also experience persistent maintenance problems. While not every high-evicting property has substantial code violations, the overlap is too common to ignore. This suggests that housing instability is driven not only by the threat of eviction, but also by the quality of housing itself.

However, it is harder to understand the landscape of local low-income housing issues and hold problem properties accountable when code complaint data is less complete and accessible. In the course of working on this series throughout 2026, we have seen some cities, like Austin and San Antonio, produce usable and informative data while other cities, like Houston, have far more ground to make up in data transparency to hold substandard properties accountable.

These findings align with a growing body of research: at some properties, poor conditions and high eviction rates are **closely intertwined** and, in some cases, built into the same operating model. This is a public health issue that can be remediated through policy.

## Housing instability is a public health issue

Housing affordability often dominates conversations about housing policy, but housing stability is not just about whether someone can afford to keep a roof over their head. It is also about whether that roof is safe.

A home that is unsafe, unhealthy, or poorly maintained can have lasting consequences for the people living there. Physical housing conditions, **like evictions**, can have a substantial impact on physical and mental health. Research has linked substandard housing conditions (including mold, water intrusion, structural deterioration, pest infestations, poor ventilation, and inadequate maintenance) to asthma, respiratory illness, injuries, chronic stress, anxiety, and other adverse physical and mental health outcomes.

For many families, moving to a better apartment that may be outside of their budget is simply not an option. No family chooses mold, leaks, pest infestations, or unsafe living conditions because they are desirable – they often accept the best available option. Eviction records, poor credit, criminal histories, and tenant screening practices can leave households with **few alternatives**. In our **previous post**, we found that some households received eviction filings at multiple high-evicting apartment communities within the same year, suggesting they were limited to renting at other properties with similar issues.

If those same properties also allow persistent maintenance problems, tenants may find themselves cycling between housing that is both unstable and unhealthy. Poor conditions are hard to challenge when tenants fear retaliation.

Properties can more easily evict tenants and defer maintenance when tenants have nowhere else to go.

In some cases, the connection between evictions and conditions is not hidden – it is an openly stated strategy. One of Bexar County's **most prominent** high-evicting owners, Shippy Properties (also known as Quantum Leap), has publicly described his wealth-building formula of investing in older, lower-cost apartment communities, cutting maintenance costs, and charging tenants new fees. In **his own writing**, founder David Shippy refers to these properties as "cash machines" and describes residents as a "captive audience."

When renters are forced to choose between remaining in unhealthy housing or facing higher housing costs, eviction, or even homelessness, poor housing conditions become more than a maintenance issue. They become a public health issue.

## Some top evictors in Bexar County do not maintain their properties

To better understand whether eviction activity and housing conditions intersect, we analyzed City of San Antonio code enforcement data for Bexar County's highest-evicting properties between 2022 and 2024.

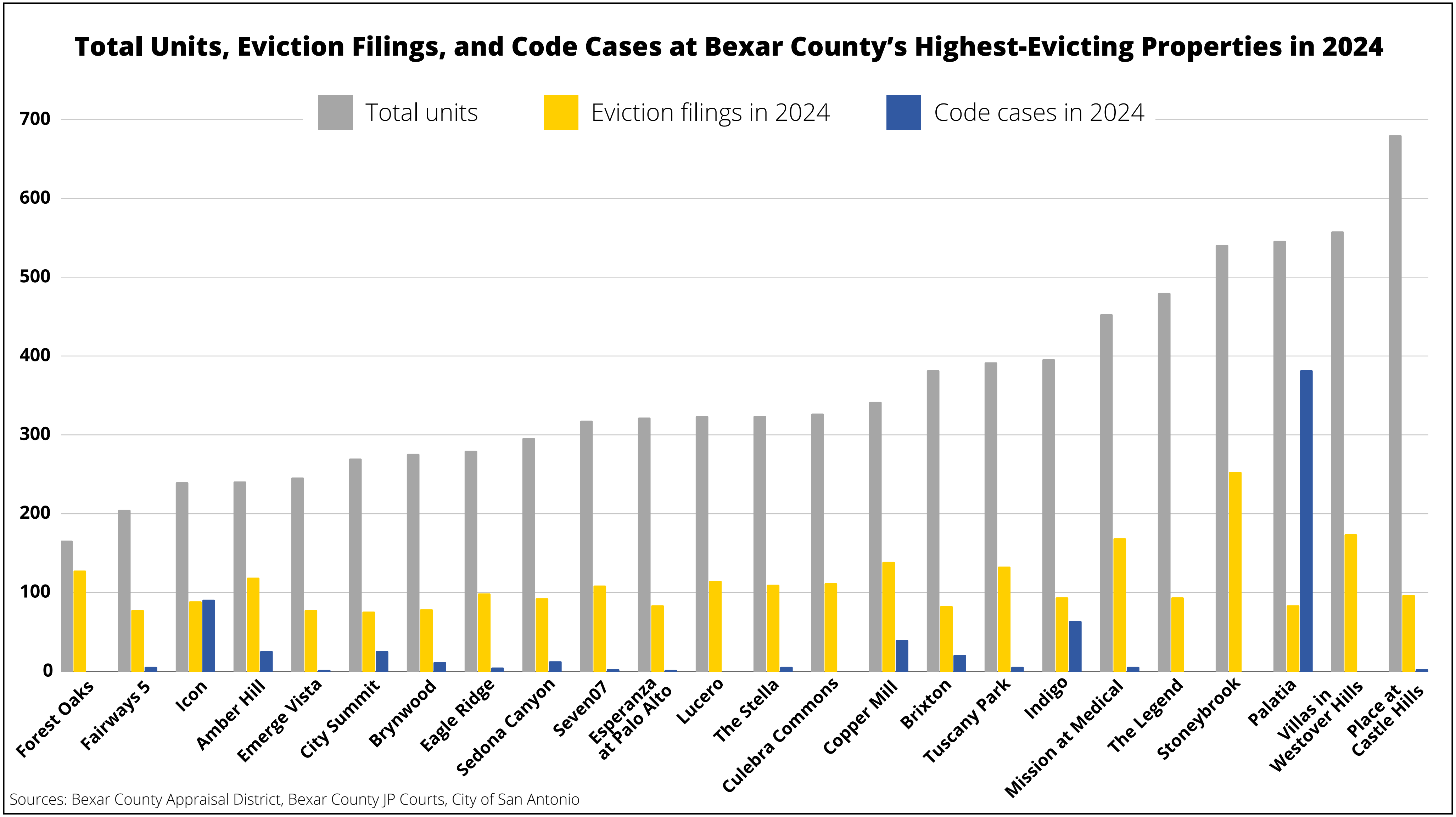
*For full property-level tables, scan the QR code or click the link below:*

**City of San Antonio Property Maintenance Cases at Bexar County Top Evicting Properties**

Some of the county's highest-evicting properties generated property maintenance cases year after year, while others had sharp increases in cases following ownership changes. The same owners that appeared repeatedly throughout this series also emerged in the maintenance data.

Among the most notable examples:

- Palatia Apartments recorded by far the largest number of property maintenance cases among Bexar County's top evictors, with 469 cases in 2023 and 382 in 2024, compared to 110 in 2022 before its ownership change.
- Icon Apartments saw maintenance cases more than triple – from 29 in 2022 to 91 in 2024 – despite being one of the smallest properties on the list with just 240 units.
- Copper Mill Apartments, a tax-exempt Public Facility Corporation property partnered with LYND, nearly tripled its number of maintenance cases following its 2023 acquisition.
- The five Shippy-owned properties among Bexar County's 30 top-evicting properties account for 114 property maintenance cases in 2024 – over half of those at Indigo Apartments alone.


Total Units, Eviction Filings, and Code Cases at Bexar County's Highest-Evicting Properties in 2024
Total units
Eviction filings in 2024
Code cases in 2024
700
600
500
400
300
200
100
0
Forest Oaks
Fairways 5
Icon
Amber Hill
Emerge Vista
City Summit
Brynwood
Eagle Ridge
Sedona Canyon
Seven07
Esperanza at Palo Alto
Lucero
The Stella
Culebra Commons
Copper Mill
Brixton
Tuscany Park
Indigo
Mission at Medical
The Legend
Stoneybrook
Palatia
Villas in Westover Hills
Place at Castle Hills
Sources: Bexar County Appraisal District, Bexar County JP Courts, City of San Antonio

The code enforcement issues at the top-evicting properties are not minor concerns. These issues directly impact tenants' health and safety – water issues, structural hazards, unsafe living conditions, etc. These patterns are not limited to a single property or owner. They appear across multiple high-evicting properties in Bexar County.

The City of San Antonio's **Proactive Apartment Inspection Program** (PAIP) provides enhanced oversight of apartment communities with persistent code enforcement issues. Four of Bexar County's highest-evicting properties are currently enrolled, accounting for 20% of all properties currently in the program. Some properties have been enrolled in the program for years without graduating, suggesting ongoing health and safety concerns despite increased city oversight. Palatia Apartments has been enrolled for three years.

## Lack of transparency in Houston makes accountability difficult

We also reviewed a variety of City of Houston complaint datasets ranging from the early 2000s to 2026. However, complaint data for Houston is a bit more difficult to access and understand.

*For full property-level tables, scan the QR code or click the link below:*

**City of Houston Code Complaint Cases at Harris County Top Evicting Properties**

Houston's **recently-approved apartment inspection ordinance** requires properties with 10 or more health, fire, or building code violations in a six month period to register for enhanced oversight and proactive inspections. It is not currently possible to get a comprehensive dataset of health, fire, and building code complaints.

Two types of data are easily available for Houston: **311 complaints** and Community Code Enforcement cases. There are many well-documented issues with 311 data, including the fact that 311 systems **reflect patterns of civic engagement and neighborhood composition** more than underlying need. They also include complaints that do not become fully investigated cases (e.g., if there is not enough information to investigate the complaint), but do not include code complaint cases that originate outside of 311, like issues found during habitability inspections.

In 2024, there were roughly 600 311 complaints associated with the top 30 evicting properties, around 280 of which are related to health, fire, or building codes or multifamily habitability concerns. Sterling Point alone accounted for about one-fifth of these complaints, including reports of pest infestations, broken A/C, mold, and leaks.

While 311 data does not provide a lot of detail on case investigations or resolutions, some 311 complaints may not be fully investigated due to evictions. Five health code complaints at four top-evicting properties for mold, pests, and broken A/C were marked "service completed" and state that the tenant was evicted in the resolution notes. An additional eight complaints across four properties were closed because the complainant was not a current tenant. These could include valid complaints from tenants who left following an eviction.

While 311 data has its issues, reviewing 311 records is one of the only ways to get a high-level picture of serious code issues in Houston. City complaint information is heavily siloed and is only available upon request to the department overseeing that specific issue. Even then, health, fire, and building code cases are only available on a property-by-property basis. The most comprehensive data available are Community Code Enforcement complaints, most of which are nuisance violations for issues like excessive trash or weeds on the property.

A 2024-2025 dataset of Community Code Enforcement complaint cases included just 940 cases at multifamily properties citywide. Only five of the top-evicting Harris County properties had any cases at all, accounting for eight cases total.

The lack of cases and complaint datasets in Houston is surprising given findings from other major Texas cities. The City of Austin, for example, openly **publishes complaint data** that can be compared to the top evicting properties in 2024 listed from BASTA's **Eviction Dashboard**. Austin's top-evicting properties account for 167 complaint cases in 2024, 98 of which resulted in confirmed violations. All but one of the top-evicting properties that could be matched to both Austin and Travis County data had complaint cases in 2024 and more than half of the properties had violations.

Austin also has a program for problem properties with repeat conditions issues. One-third of the 2024 top-evicting Austin properties are currently in the City of Austin's Repeat Offender Program, accounting for 153 structure condition violations in 2024 and 2025.

Unlike in San Antonio and Austin, the **preliminary list of 12 properties** to be enrolled in Houston's new inspection program does not include any 2024 top-evicting properties (though there are some **familiar names**). The lack of accessible fire, health, and building code complaint data makes it difficult to determine whether this reflects differences in actual housing conditions between top evictors in Texas' major cities or gaps in Houston's data and enforcement system.

More and better public complaint data is necessary to understand how evictions and poor physical conditions interact and impact low-income tenants at multifamily rental properties in Houston.

## Policy recommendations and future research: Better public data is needed to strengthen accountability systems

When tenants live in unsafe housing conditions and simultaneously face the constant threat of eviction, meaningful accountability is nearly impossible without public oversight. Families have little leverage to demand repairs or challenge unsafe conditions when doing so could jeopardize their housing.

But local code enforcement can play a role in ensuring that the health consequences of substandard housing are not inevitable. They are the result of policy choices about housing quality, enforcement, and tenant protections. Local and state governments can implement changes to reduce the harmful effects of both substandard housing and housing instability more generally. But access to information is an important first step.

One of the clearest lessons from this series is that the local city or county datasets needed to understand housing instability are often fragmented across different departments, incomplete, in incompatible formats, or only available by request. Eviction filings, ownership records, subsidy information, and property maintenance data each tell part of the story, but it is only when they are viewed together that broader patterns begin to emerge.

That kind of transparency should not require months of public information requests, data cleaning, and cross-referencing. Tenants, policymakers, researchers, and advocates all benefit from having a clearer picture of which properties consistently have large numbers of eviction filings, poor housing conditions, and public investment. Better data is not just a research tool; it is essential for accountability.

Throughout this series we have also highlighted several policy changes that are not only effective in preventing unnecessary eviction, but could also help address issues with physical conditions.

- Rental registries that connect ownership, eviction, and property condition data can help identify repeat offenders and improve accountability.
- “Clean hands” policies can prevent landlords with unresolved health and safety violations from pursuing evictions until hazards are addressed. A city could require that properties maintain basic standards (“clean hands”) in order to remain on the rental registry and ban properties not on the rental registry from filing for eviction.
- Allowing tenants to bring remedy and repair claims as valid counterclaims against landlords who fail to maintain standards while filing for eviction can also help prevent eviction until hazards are addressed.
- Expanding access to legal representation can also help tenants assert their rights when facing both unsafe housing conditions and eviction.

Safe housing and stable housing cannot be separated. Reducing displacement requires more than eviction prevention. It also requires ensuring that families have access to housing that is healthy, well maintained, and accountable to the communities it serves.

# Conclusion: What the Investigation Shows

This investigation began with a straightforward observation: a small number of properties account for a disproportionate share of eviction filings in Bexar and Harris Counties. Following that concentration led to a series of questions about who owns these properties, how public subsidies intersect with high eviction activity, how complex ownership structures obscure accountability, how landlords use the eviction process, and how housing conditions intersect with eviction.

The answers point to a problem larger than any individual eviction case or high-evicting property. High eviction activity persists at many of the same properties across years. A smaller group of owners appear repeatedly across high-evictor lists. Some of these properties receive significant public support. Complex ownership structures can make it difficult to identify the private actors benefiting from or controlling publicly supported housing. And at some properties, serial filings suggest that the eviction process has become a routine tool for collecting rent rather than a last resort. Persistent code violations at some of these properties add another layer of instability, suggesting tenants face both the threat of eviction and the conditions that can make housing unhealthy or difficult to remain in.

These findings do not mean that every eviction filing is unnecessary or that every high-evictor owner is acting in bad faith. They demonstrate the need for better information about where eviction activity is concentrated, who is responsible for it, and how those patterns intersect with other aspects of the rental housing system.

Texas cannot effectively address concentrated eviction without the public infrastructure needed to see it. Rental registries, transparent ownership records, public eviction data, property condition data, and subsidy data are not ends in themselves. They are tools that allow governments, advocates, researchers, and tenants to identify patterns that would otherwise remain hidden.

Eviction is not inevitable. It is shaped by law, public policy, court practices, and landlord decisions. Making those systems visible is the first step toward building a housing system that prioritizes long-term stability for low-income tenants and families.

# Data Notes and Limitations

**Ownership**: Property owner information reflects the current owner per the appraisal district at the time we reviewed the appraisal district data. Some owners listed purchased the property after 2024 and may not be responsible for the evictions included here. Ownership information reflects land ownership and may not take into account complex ownership such as ground leases.

**Subsidies**: The annual LIHTC credit amount represents the annual tax credit LIHTC properties receive and has been converted from the year of the award to 2025 dollars using the Bureau of Labor Statistics **CPI Inflation Calculator**. LIHTC properties are awarded the annual amount for 10 years, meaning the total award is 10 times the annual credit. The property tax exemption amount represents one year's worth of property tax savings at 2025 values and rates.

**Evictions**: Due to court data misspellings and formatting inaccuracies, the full scope of serial evictions at the top-30 properties in Harris and Bexar counties is likely even more extensive than what we have included in our analysis.

**Conditions**: Because code enforcement is under the jurisdiction of local cities as opposed to counties, complaint data was not available for all top evictors. This analysis covers properties that fall within both county and city boundaries. San Antonio provided all code violation case records from 2022-2024 in response to a public information request. Our analysis includes cases categorized as property maintenance, fire general, dangerous premises, or water concerns that were either closed or pending resolution during this period. City of Houston data came from public datasets and multiple open records requests as described in the report.

# 2024 Top 30 Evicting Properties

| Rank in Top 30 | Bexar County | Harris County |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Stoneybrook Apartments and Townhomes | Del Mar Apartments |
| 2 | Villas in Westover Hills | Reserve at Westwood |
| 3 | The Mission at Medical | Alegria I & II |
| 4 | Copper Mill Apartments | Rock Creek At Hollow Tree |
| 5 | Tuscany Park | Kessler Jersey Village |
| 6 | Forest Oak Apartments | La Casita |
| 7 | The Arcadian | Aspen Apartments / Altitude Apartments |
| 8 | Amber Hill Apartments | Arden At Cypress Station |
| 9 | Montage Apartments | Estates at Cypress |
| 10 | Bristol at Somerset | Abbey at Energy Corridor |
| 11 | Lucero Apartments | Old Farm Apartments |
| 12 | Culebra Commons | The Redford |
| 13 | The Stella | Ashford Santa Ana |
| 14 | Seven07 Lofts | Quail Creek I & II |
| 15 | Meadows Apartments | Willowbend Apartments |
| 16 | Frontera Crossing | Heights at Post Oak |
| 17 | Eagle Ridge Apartments | Chateau Dijon / Brisa Galleria |
| 18 | The Place at Castle Hills | Park West |

| Rank in Top 30 | Bexar County | Harris County |
|---|---|---|
| 19 | The Legend | Sola Westchase |
| 20 | Indigo Apartments | MAA Fall Creek |
| 21 | Sedona Canyon Apartments | Casa Verde |
| 22 | Icon Apartments | Lenox Park Apartments |
| 23 | Crestwood Estates (Mobile Home Park) | Corridor at Westchase |
| 24 | Palatia Apartments | The Ambrose |
| 25 | Esperanza at Palo Alto | Artesian on Westheimer I & II |
| 26 | Brixton Apartments | Sterling Point |
| 27 | Brynwood Apartments | Neo at Ten |
| 28 | Emerge Vista | Chase View |
| 29 | Fairways 5 | Abbey at Briar Forest |
| 30 | City Summit Apartments | Pine Terrace Apartments |

*For full property-level tables, scan the QR codes or click the links below:*

[Top Evictors: Bexar County]

[Top Evictors: Harris County]