

THE STATE OF FAIR HOUSING IN INDIANA REPORT

Marion County's Top Evictors



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The Fair Housing Center of Central Indiana (FHCCI) is an organization that works to be inclusive. Words have power, and languages change over time. We are always learning and trying to improve in this capacity. We acknowledge that “labels” are a challenge as they relate to describing people, especially groups often impacted by housing barriers, challenges, and discrimination. In this report, we have strived to be more “people-first” in our use of language.

Particularly, there are significant challenges in the broad or very specific ways that public data, in particular U.S. Census data, is gathered and reported as it relates to race and ethnicity.ⁱ When possible, we have tried to be inclusive while still trying to be consistent with the data as reported to not confuse the public if they gather their own data. In Census data, the government uses “Black or African American” and “Hispanic or Latino” when referencing data collection for persons in those groups. We use the term “Black,” which we view as broader than “African American,” when referring to data collected on Black and/or African American individuals. We also combine Hispanic and Latino individual statistics under “Hispanic/Latino,” where possible, and under the broader “Hispanic” when more limited. We mean no disrespect in the use of these labels. The FHCCI acknowledges the significant cultural differences between Hispanic and Latino people, as well as the preference by some for the use of “Latinx.” The Census uses “Asian” instead of “Asian American” in referring to the broad demographics of people in that population. The Census most often combines “Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander” persons together under that group. They also combine “American Indian or Alaskan Native” residents together as well. We again mean no disrespect in using these categories to match data with government sites. There is also debate about whether to capitalize “white” when referring to the racial or ethnic designation for populations with European ancestry. We have chosen to not capitalize “white” when referring to white individuals, except in headings where capitalizing is needed. We also group “white” and “white non-Hispanic” persons together since not all white individuals indicate their ethnicity in public data we source. We use “neighborhoods of color,” “communities of color,” “people of color,” or specify the predominant race(s) or ethnicities rather than utilizing the term “minority.” Our preference is also the use of terms like “historically excluded” instead of using “disinvested” or “underrepresented” when describing a neighborhood impacted by discriminatory and historic practices that limited housing opportunity or choice. We have also tried to eliminate the use of terms such as “blighted blocks,” “distressed places,” “struggling neighborhoods,” “high-crime areas,” or any such combination which uses “deficit,” plus “geography,” to describe communities impacted by racism, disinvestment, physical destruction, or economic exclusion because such language reduces these communities to only their challenges.ⁱⁱ When referencing those with disabilities, the federal Fair Housing Act uses the term “handicap” instead of “disability.” See *Bragdon v. Abbott*, 524 U.S. 624, 631 (1998) (noting that the definition of “disability” in the Americans with Disabilities Act is drawn almost verbatim “from the definition of ‘handicap’ contained in the Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988”). The terms have been found to have the same legal meaning but have different origins in their inclusivity. We use “disability” or “person with a disability” which is the more people-first language.ⁱⁱⁱ

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ⁱ U.S. Census Bureau. “Updates to Race/Ethnicity Standards for Our Nation.” December 24, 2024. <https://www.census.gov/about/our-research/race-ethnicity/standards-updates.html>

ⁱⁱ Jennifer S. Vey and Hanna Love. “Recognizing that words have the power to harm, we commit to using more just language to describe places.” Brookings, July 13, 2020. <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/recognizing-that-words-have-the-power-to-harm-we-commit-to-using-more-just-language-to-describe-places/>

ⁱⁱⁱ ADA Network. “Guidelines for Writing About People With Disabilities.” <https://adata.org/factsheet/ADANN-writing>

The State of Fair Housing in Indiana Marion County's Top Evictors

Executive Summary

Marion County renters face an increasingly unaffordable housing landscape. This, plus Indiana's landlord-friendly rental housing laws, leads to a disproportionately high risk of eviction for tenants across the county. This report builds on our report from earlier this year by examining eviction filing rates for major landlords in Indianapolis and racial disparities present between Indianapolis neighborhoods where evictions have occurred. We call on state and local policymakers to take urgent action to address Marion County's eviction crisis and increase housing stability for tenants, such as by building and preserving affordable housing, strengthening tenant protections during their leases and in eviction court, and ensuring consistency across courts in implementing these protections. Key report findings:

- Across Marion County, there were 24,938 eviction case filings in 2025. The city of Indianapolis had the sixth-highest eviction filing rate in 2025 among the 42 cities tracked by Eviction Lab, with 14.0 eviction filings for every 100 rental housing units. This is significantly higher than every other similar-sized Midwestern city (i.e. Columbus, OH; Cincinnati, OH; Milwaukee, WI; etc.).
- Eviction courts in Indiana often fail to give tenants adequate time or legal resources to defend themselves. Because Indiana makes it so easy, quick, and cheap to evict tenants, landlords appear to be incentivized to file evictions more often than they otherwise would, using policies like automated eviction filings and high late fees.
- Less than half of renters in the Indianapolis metro area make enough money to afford a modest two-bedroom apartment, according to the National Low Income Housing Coalition. Among tenants facing eviction in Marion County, the most common reason for falling behind on rent was job loss or reduced hours at work (48%), followed by unexpected expenses (27%), according to a sample of tenants in eviction court taken by the Indianapolis Office of Public Health and Safety (OPHS).
- The lack of affordable and available rental housing remains a core driver of eviction filing rates. For the lowest-income renters, often, the only affordable option is subsidized housing. We find the eviction filing rate at subsidized multifamily properties to be 10.4 filings per 100 rental units, on average, which is lower than the county average (14.0) and less than half the average for multifamily properties overall (21.1). Thus, even though tenants in subsidized properties have limited income and savings, when rent is restricted to an affordable level, their likelihood of being evicted drops significantly. This underscores the need to develop more subsidized housing units across diverse neighborhoods.
- Unfortunately, specific subsidized properties still produced high eviction filing rates, such as Eagle's Edge, a Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) subsidy property managed by Van Rooy Companies, which had an eviction filing rate of 58.0 in 2025. We find that among the subsidized properties with the highest eviction filing rates, nearly all are LIHTC properties, highlighting the limitations of some housing subsidy programs like LIHTC.
- We found that the single-family landlords with the largest portfolios have higher eviction filing rates than mid-sized landlords. For example, Main Street Renewal (owned by Amherst), owned 849 homes and filed 285 evictions in 2025, giving an eviction filing rate of 33.6 filings for every 100 rental homes in their portfolio. This is more than four times the average for single-family landlords, and more than twice the average for the county at large.
- However, over two-thirds of Marion County's 2025 eviction filings came from multifamily properties, amounting to 21.1 filings per 100 renter-occupied units. Nearly all evictions at multifamily properties come from large properties with 100+ units. This is partly because apartments are cheaper to rent than single-family homes, so tend to attract lower-income tenants. Possibly, the policies and practices of their corporate owners may also have an impact.
- The multifamily landlord with the highest eviction rate, BSG Enterprises, operates Heather Ridge Apartments, a 204-unit property on the Indianapolis west side. It filed 137 evictions against tenants in that property in just one year, giving an eviction filing rate of 67.2 filings per 100 units. This amounts to more than 2 eviction filings for every 3 units.
- We also examined the relationship between the price of rent and eviction filing rates at multifamily properties. Eviction filing rates were lowest among multifamily properties where the rent for a two-bedroom was less than \$700 (mostly subsidized properties) or greater than \$1,600.
- According to OPHS' sample of tenants facing eviction in Marion County, two-thirds of these tenants were Black. Within the households facing eviction, 44% of household members are children under 18.
- According to the FHCCI's analysis, the eviction filing rate in Marion County's majority Black and Hispanic census tracts is significantly higher than the eviction filing rate in majority white census tracts. Even when we compare neighborhoods at similar income levels, neighborhoods of color experience higher eviction filing rates than white neighborhoods.
- Racial disparities persist, and even worsen, when we compare properties managed or owned by the same companies in neighborhoods of color versus white neighborhoods. For example, Main Street Renewal's eviction filing rates in Black census tracts and other majority non-white census tracts was more than double its eviction filing rate in white census tracts. Van Rooy Companies had an eviction filing rate of 43.6 among its properties in majority Black census tracts (more than one filing for every three units), but only 5.9 in its properties in majority white census tracts.

The State of Fair Housing in Indiana – Marion County’s Top Evictors

Marion County renters continue to face an increasingly unaffordable housing landscape, with stagnant wages failing to keep up with rising rental costs. They also must contend with Indiana’s landlord-friendly rental housing laws, which offer little protection to renters compared to other states. These dual forces come together in Marion County’s eviction crisis, where the legal system allows or even encourages landlords to churn through tenants as quickly as possible, putting renters at risk of losing their homes and potentially being put out on the street. But these outcomes are far from inevitable; they are the result of specific policy choices by lawmakers and housing providers.

In our previous report on eviction filings in Marion County,¹ we analyzed the distribution of eviction filings by township and neighborhood and examined the policies and court procedures that give rise to high eviction filing rates across the county. In this follow-up report, we dive into patterns in eviction filing rates at the property and landlord levels for the largest Indianapolis landlords and the landlords with the highest eviction filing rates. We also examine disparities between white neighborhoods and neighborhoods of color.

This report covers data on eviction case filings for the full year of 2025 in Marion County, which we obtained from the Indiana Supreme Court. We matched each eviction filing to the census tract where it was located; then we used Census data to draw conclusions about the racial make-up of the area in which an eviction took place. To link eviction filings to the landlords who filed them, we also used multifamily (5+ unit) property data from CoStar, the data provider behind Apartments.com; and single-family (1-4-unit) property data from ATTOM Data Solutions. We identified landlords by the name of the plaintiff on the eviction case filing, by the name of the property (for multifamily properties), or by the address of the defendant tenant.

In this report, we first examine overall eviction filing rates for different rental property types and then individual

eviction filing rates for major landlords in Indianapolis. We then look at disparities in the racial or ethnic make-up of the neighborhoods where eviction filings took place, as well as the racial/ethnic disparity in eviction filing rates by neighborhood for specific landlords. Finally, we examine eviction filing rates at subsidized properties.

Marion County’s Eviction Crisis

For far too many renters in Marion County, their income simply is not high enough to keep up with the cost of rent. The National Low Income Housing Coalition (NLIHC)’s 2026 *Out of Reach* report calculated the level of income required in order to be able to afford an average two-bedroom apartment at market rent (\$1,473/month) in the Indianapolis metro area without becoming cost-burdened (spending more than 30% of one’s monthly paycheck on rent). They found that a renter household would have to make \$28/hour (or around \$59,000/year), which is nearly four times Indiana’s minimum wage (\$7.25/hour), and about five times the average Supplemental Security Income payment for a senior or person with disabilities (\$994/month). Less than half of renters in the Indianapolis metro area make enough money to afford a two-bedroom without becoming cost-burdened.²

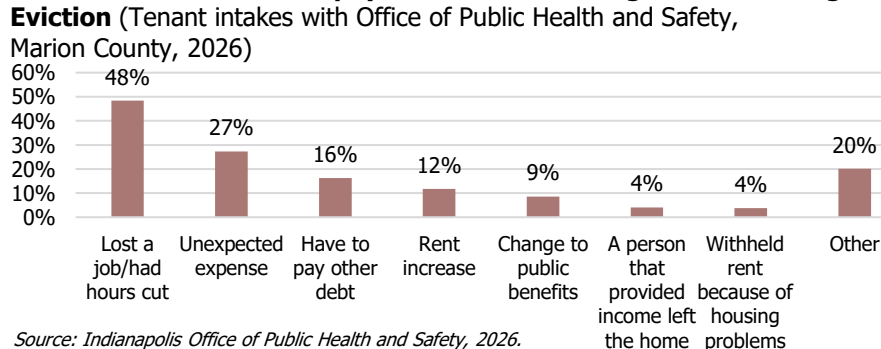
When renters are cost-burdened, they have to stretch their budgets, foregoing other necessary expenses in order to pay the rent every month. In these circumstances, a relatively minor or temporary setback—a sickness, a vehicle breakdown, reduced hours at work—can cause a household to fall behind on rent, putting them at risk of eviction. In the worst-case scenario, when a renter household cannot keep up with the cost of rent, they may end up unhoused.

The Indianapolis Office of Public Health and Safety (OPHS), which provides court navigators in Marion County eviction courts, offers data from a sample of renter households who received help from OPHS in the first half of 2026 (Chart 1).

OPHS found that the most common reason for eviction among these tenants was job loss or reduced hours at work (48%), followed by unexpected expenses (27%).³

Across Marion County, there were 24,938 eviction case filings in 2025. This amounts to 14.0 eviction filings per 100 renter households (i.e. the eviction filing rate), or one eviction filing for every seven renter households. As we noted in our previous report, the city of Indianapolis had the sixth-highest eviction filing rate among the 42 cities tracked by Eviction Lab.⁴ By

CHART 1: Reason for Nonpayment of Rent Among Tenants Facing Eviction (Tenant intakes with Office of Public Health and Safety, Marion County, 2026)



¹ FHCCI. “The State of Fair Housing in Indiana – The Stacked Deck: Eviction Filings in Marion County Townships and Neighborhoods.” March 2026. <https://www.fhcci.org/wp-content/uploads/2026/03/FHCCI-Evictions-Report-Part-1-2026-3-24-26.pdf>

² National Low Income Housing Coalition. “Out of Reach: Indiana.” July 2026. <https://nlihc.org/oor/state/in>

³ Indianapolis Office of Public Health and Safety (OPHS). “Eviction Diversion Program.” Accessed August 24, 2026. <https://app.powerbigov.us/view?r=eyJrIjoimWQ4Y2YxZjU0ZTljYS00ZmU0LTk2ZjYtOWI4NjZlMTdkM2I5IiwidCI6ImMwNjg1MDhlLWQzNDQ0NDk3Yi1hNzFhLWw0M2I5IiwiaXN2QxNmJlOCJ9>

⁴ Eviction Lab. “Eviction Tracking System.” July 1, 2026. <https://evictionlab.org/eviction-tracking/>

comparison, every other similar-sized Midwestern city had a significantly lower eviction filing rate in 2025, such as Columbus, OH (8.9); Cincinnati, OH (8.3); Milwaukee, WI (6.4); etc. (Chart 2).

The difference between Indianapolis and these other Midwestern cities is not necessarily affordability. Per NLIHC’s analysis, the average wage needed to afford a two-bedroom apartment is about the same in the Indianapolis metro area (\$28/hour) as it is in the Cincinnati (\$26/hour), Columbus (\$28/hour), and Milwaukee (\$26/hour) metro areas. All four metro areas also have a similar share of the renter population that is cost-burdened (around 43%-46%).

While affordability is a challenge everywhere, Indiana has a uniquely landlord-friendly approach to evictions. Indiana’s state law contains significant loopholes allowing landlords to file evictions without providing advance notice to tenants, limiting a tenant’s ability to catch up on payments before a filing. After an eviction judgment, tenants may be ordered to move out in as little as 48 hours, though most Marion County judges give tenants at least a week.⁵ Eviction courts in Indiana are also known to churn through cases without giving tenants adequate time or legal resources to defend themselves.⁶ Because Indiana makes it so easy, quick, and cheap to evict tenants, landlords appear to be incentivized to file evictions more often than they otherwise would. We see this in the policies certain landlords use at their properties, which lead to more eviction filings, such as serial evicting (filing repeated evictions against the same household), automated eviction filings, high late fees, payment portal lock outs, and refusing to accept partial payments.⁷

Reducing eviction filings is crucial to limit the number of tenants who are displaced from their homes, as well as to limit the risk of eviction filings ending up on tenants’ records. The use of eviction records in tenant screening is rife with errors, meaning tenants can be blacklisted for a past eviction that was dismissed, found in their favor, or even belonged to someone else with a similar name.⁸ Excessive eviction filing, even when tenants are able to stay in their homes, needlessly increases the risk of bad data being used against those tenants down the line.

In this report, we consider why certain types of properties and certain landlords produce higher eviction

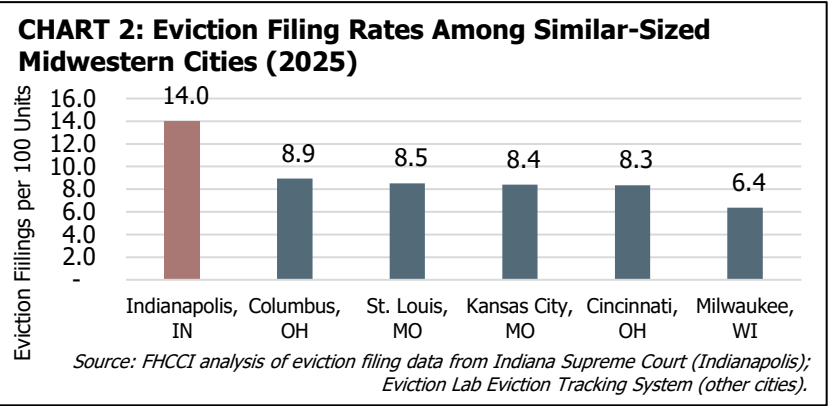


TABLE 1: Eviction Filings by Rental Property Type Marion County, 2025			
Unit Type	Occupied Housing Units	2025 Eviction Filings	Eviction Filing Rate ^a
Multifamily Rental (5+ Units)	83,633	17,666	21.1
Single-Family Rental (1-4 Units)	88,177	6,305	7.2
Manufactured Homes ^b	6,055	940	15.5
All Renter-Occupied Housing Units ^b	178,112	24,938	14.0

A small number of housing units and eviction filings could not be categorized as multifamily, single-family, or manufactured home. ^aEviction filings per 100 occupied rental housing units. ^bIncludes manufactured homes where the occupant rents both the home and the lot and where the occupant owns the home but rents the lot (these are considered owner-occupied by the Census, but are still subject to evictions). Source: FHCCI analysis of eviction filing data from Indiana Supreme Court; 2024 American Community Survey 5-year estimates.

filing rates than the Marion County average, which already exceeds that of Indianapolis’ peer cities. We also weigh the effect of the lack of affordable housing against the policies and practices of landlords that may exacerbate evictions.

Eviction Filing Rates by Property Type

Based on our analysis, over two-thirds (17,666) of Marion County’s 2025 eviction filings came from multifamily properties (Table 1). The eviction filing rate for multifamily properties is 21.1 filings per 100 renter-occupied units—nearly 50% higher than the rate for all property types across Marion County. Nearly all eviction filings at multifamily properties (99%) come from large properties with 100+ units.

One quarter of eviction filings in 2025 (6,305) came from single-family homes, yielding an eviction filing rate of 7.2

“A single algorithmic error can plunge a family into homelessness simply because an applicant shares a common last name with someone who faced a housing emergency three states away.”
- Emily Benfer, Eviction Lab

⁵ FHCCI, “The Stacked Deck: Eviction Filings in Marion County Townships and Neighborhoods,” March 2026.
⁶ Fran Quigley, Megan Stuart, Judith Fox, & Adam Mueller. “Too Fast, Too Easy: How Indiana Courts are Fueling Our Eviction Crisis.” Indiana Justice Project, September 2025. indianajusticeproject.org/s/Too-Fast-Too-Easy-How-Indiana-Courts-are-Fueling-Our-Eviction-Crisis.pdf

⁷ FHCCI, “The Stacked Deck: Eviction Filings in Marion County Townships and Neighborhoods,” March 2026.
⁸ Emily Benfer. “The Scarlet E: Confronting the Life-Altering Consequences of an Eviction.” Eviction Lab, July 26, 2026. <https://evictionlab.org/the-scarlet-e-confronting-the-life-altering-consequences-of-an-eviction/>

filings per 100 renter-occupied homes, much lower than the county filing rate. Nine hundred forty filings came from manufactured homes, yielding an eviction filing rate of 15.5.

This analysis shows that multifamily properties drive a disproportionate share of Marion County’s eviction filings. That is not to say evictions are not a problem in single-family rentals, as we will discuss later in this report, certain single-family landlords produce eviction filing rates much higher than the average. But evictions at large multifamily properties are clearly a major driver of the overall eviction filing rate, pushing Marion County’s rate above its peers’.

This is partly due to economics—single-family homes are more expensive to rent out, so their occupants tend to be higher-income and less likely to fall behind on rent. Based on our analysis of rental pricing data on single-family homes from Parcl Lab and multifamily units from CoStar, the median asking rent for an apartment in Marion County in September 2025 was \$1,283, compared to \$1,735 for the median single-family rental listing.

However, we cannot discount the role that landlords play in driving eviction filing rates. As we described in our previous evictions report, landlord behavior—such as serial eviction filing, automated eviction filings, high late fees, payment portal lockouts, and retaliatory evictions—can increase the number of eviction filings a landlord produces, separate from their tenants’ ability to pay rent.⁹

KEY TAKEAWAY: Multifamily properties drive a disproportionate share of Marion County’s eviction filings, partly because they tend to attract lower-income tenants than single-family homes, and possibly because of the policies and practices of their corporate owners.

A key difference between multifamily and single-family landlords is that multifamily properties, especially large ones, are almost 100% owned and operated by corporate landlords, by nature of their size and multi-million-dollar price tags. On the other hand, corporate entities own about half of single-family rental homes, the remainder being owned by individuals, i.e. mom-and-pop type landlords (a small share is also owned by nonprofit community organizations, banks, or government entities).¹⁰ Multiple studies¹¹ show that corporate ownership of rental housing is associated with higher eviction rates. In our own experience with observing eviction courts and speaking with evicted tenants, corporate landlords tend to adopt the policies, like serial eviction filings and automated evictions, that lead to higher eviction filing rates. The disparity in eviction filing rates between different types of properties calls for a deeper examination of the policies and practices among landlords that exacerbate our eviction crisis.

Top Single-Family Landlords’ Eviction Filing Rates

Table 2 shows the top 8 largest single-family property owners in Marion County, who own over 500 homes each, as well as the number of evictions they filed in 2025 and

TABLE 2: Top 8 Largest Single-Family Landlords, With Eviction Filing Rates (Marion County, 2025)						
Landlord Name	Total Units	Eviction Filings	Eviction Filing Rate ^a	Median Listed Rent	HQ State	Company Ownership Type
FirstKey Homes/Cerberus	1,939	396	20.4	\$1,930	GA	Private Equity-Backed
Progress Residential/Pretium	1,495	270	18.1	\$1,940	AZ	Private Equity-Backed
VineBrook Homes/Access Private Capital & NexPoint	1,215	211	17.4	\$1,415	OH	Private Equity-Backed
SLB Investments/Job Capital ^b	1,206	12	1.0	N/A	IN	Privately Held
Tricon Residential/Blackstone	957	111	11.6	\$1,849	CA	Private Equity-Backed
American Homes 4 Rent (AMH)	935	272	29.1	\$1,960	NV	Publicly Traded
Main Street Renewal/Amherst	849	285	33.6	\$1,810	TX	Privately Held
Rainbow Realty ^b	620	1	0.2	N/A	IN	Privately Held
All Single-Family Renter Households	88,177^c	6,305	7.2	\$1,735		
<i>Excludes landlords that are primarily property managers, house flippers, or multifamily property owners. ^aEviction filings per 100 units. ^bThese property owners are known to provide land contracts or leases with purchase options, so not all their properties are rentals subject to eviction processes. ^cBased on U.S. Census American Community Survey 2024 5-year estimate. Source: FHCCI analysis of eviction case filing data from Indiana Supreme Court; tax assessor’s data provided by ATTOM Data Solutions; rental listing price data from Parcl Labs. See Appendix A for full table with top 25 largest single-family landlords.</i>						

⁹ FHCCI, “The Stacked Deck: Eviction Filings in Marion County Townships and Neighborhoods,” March 2026.
¹⁰ FHCCI, “The State of Fair Housing in Indiana – Who Owns Central Indiana’s Houses: An Update of the Largest Single-Family Home Investors.” January 2025. <https://www.fhcci.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/01/FHCCI-SFR-Investor-Update-1-9-25.pdf>
¹¹ Forrest Hangen and Daniel O’Brien. “Linking landlords to uncover ownership obscurity.” *Housing Studies*, March 20, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2024.2325508>;
Elora Raymond, Ben Miller, Michaela McKinney, & Jonathan Braun. “Gentrifying Atlanta: Investor Purchases of Rental Housing, Evictions, and the Displacement of Black Residents.” *Housing Policy Debate*, vol. 31, no.

3-5 (2021). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10511482.2021.1887318>; Elora Raymond, Richard Duckworth, Ben Miller, Michael Lucas, Shiraj Pokharel; “Corporate Landlords, Institutional Investors, and Displacement: Eviction Rates in Single-Family Rentals.” Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, December 2016. <https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/title/community-economic-development-discussion-papers-8602/corporate-landlords-institutional-investors-displacement-eviction-rates-single-family-rentals-660833>;
Katharine Harwood, Ingrid Gould Ellen, and Katherine O’Regan. “The Rise of Corporate Landlords: An Examination of Behavioral Differences in the Multifamily Market.” *Real Estate Economics*, September 28, 2025. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1540-6229.70007>

Note on Evictions by Land Contract Providers

Two landlords in Table 2 have very few eviction filings for 2025: SLB Investments/Job Capital and Rainbow Realty. These landlords are also major land contract operators, selling homes on a contract that only transfers the deed once the house is mostly or completely paid off. Under a land contract, occupants are responsible for repairs, maintenance, taxes, and insurance. Our interviews with residents in land contracts and analysis of land contract documents show that policies for removing occupants who fall behind on house payments vary widely. Some land contracts treat this as a foreclosure, requiring a monthslong legal process before the occupant can be removed; others treat it as an eviction, allowing a much quicker removal process. We have also heard from residents in land contracts who were informally evicted or pressured to vacate before an eviction would be filed.

Due to lack of mandatory recording, it is impossible to say how many SLB or Rainbow Realty's homes are being used for land contracts versus traditional rentals. The eviction

filing rates for these two companies are extremely low, far below what would be expected for a property owner of their size. We also know that, because land contract homes are sold "as-is" and often need substantive repairs, occupants often fall behind on rent due to the cost of maintenance and renovations. This causes us to suspect that occupants are not going through eviction court when they fall behind on payments, either because they are being informally evicted or because they are being routed through foreclosure instead. We identified fewer than 10 foreclosures attributed to Rainbow Realty or SLB Investments/Job Capital between 2021-2025. As a result, we suspect that when tenants fall behind on payments, they may be voluntarily vacating or being forced to vacate their homes outside the court process.

See also the FHCCI's "The State of Fair Housing in Indiana Report – Land Contracts: The Promise and Perils of Alternative Home Financing" (June 2024). <https://www.fhcci.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/07/Land-Contract-Report-FINAL-6-30-24.pdf>

their eviction filing rate. Most of these top landlords have eviction filing rates far above the average for single-family landlords in Marion County, which was 7.2 filings per 100 rental units. (See Appendix A for a table with eviction filing rates for the top 25 largest single-family landlords.)

Excluding the two land contract providers (Rainbow Realty and SLB Investments/Job Capital), all the single-family landlords among the top 8 are out-of-state landlords. All also have eviction filing rates well above the average for single-family landlords, and almost all (with the exception of Tricon) surpass the overall county average as well. Four of the top 8 single-family landlords are backed by private equity. The FHCCI has previously highlighted our concerns about private equity ownership of rental housing, due to their practices of loading the companies they purchase with debt, quickly extracting profit, and lacking the incentive to keep the companies in good condition for the long term.¹² More frequent eviction filings may be part of that strategy, as indicated by the higher-than-average eviction filing rates among these large private-equity-backed landlords.

The worst offender among the Marion County top 8 single-family landlords, Main Street Renewal (owned by Amherst, a privately held company) owned 849 homes and filed 285 evictions in 2025, giving an eviction filing rate of 33.6 filings for every 100 rental homes in their portfolio. This is more than four times the average for single-family landlords, and more than twice the average for the county at large. Tricon

Residential (backed by private equity firm Blackstone) had an eviction filing rate of 11.6 filings per 100 single-family rental homes, which is still higher than the average for single-family landlords. Interestingly, these two landlords had roughly the same median rental listing price in Marion County in 2025 (\$1,849 for Tricon and \$1,810 for Main Street Renewal).¹³ We would expect that, if the price of rent is similar, the financial status of renters in each landlord's portfolio (and their likelihood of falling behind on rent) is also fairly similar. As a result, we can only deduce that other factors, such as the policies and practices of each landlord, rather than the price of rent itself, have caused Main Street Renewal to file more evictions than Tricon.

Most of the top single-family landlords have rents higher than the median single-family rental price for Marion County. However, VineBrook Homes¹⁴ posts rents far below the county median but has a relatively high eviction filing rate. Again, we cannot assume that eviction filings are solely a function of rental price. In specific cases, higher rents may not be a proxy for affluent renters—tenant advocates in California have produced research showing that certain corporate landlords appear to use relaxed approval criteria to admit tenants into units that are more expensive than

KEY TAKEAWAY: The single-family landlords with the largest portfolios have higher eviction filing rates than mid-sized landlords.

¹² FHCCI. "State of Fair Housing in Indiana Report – Who Owns Central Indiana's Houses: An Update of the Largest Single-Family Home Investors." January 2025. <https://www.fhcci.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/01/FHCCI-SFR-Investor-Update-1-9-25.pdf>

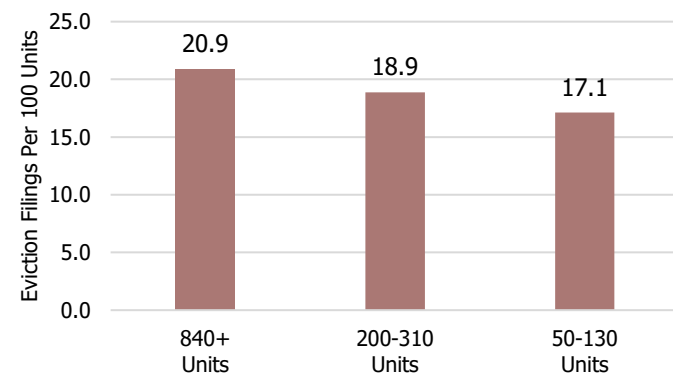
¹³ FHCCI analysis of rental listing data from Parcl Labs, 2025.

¹⁴ Throughout 2025, VineBrook Homes transitioned its in-house property management to a third-party property manager, Evergreen Residential,

which is listed in Table 3. As a result, VineBrook's eviction filing rate for 2025 may in fact be higher than what we represent here. VineBrook Homes. "VineBrook Homes Trust and Evergreen Residential Announce Strategic Partnership" June 10, 2025.

<https://investors.vinebrookhomes.com/news/news-details/2025/VineBrook-Homes-Trust-and-Evergreen-Residential-Announce-Strategic-Partnership/default.aspx>

CHART 3: Eviction Filing Rates for Single-Family Landlords by Portfolio Size (Single-family landlords with 50+-units, Marion County, 2025)



Excludes landlords that are primarily property managers and single-family property owners whose primary business is not rental (i.e. house flippers, builders, land contract providers). Landlords with <50 units not included due to time-consuming manual research required to identify rental landlords versus other types of single-family property owners. Source: FHCCI analysis of eviction case filing data from Indiana Supreme Court; tax assessor's data provided by ATTOM Data Solutions.

TABLE 3: Top 10 Single-Family Property Managers with Highest Number of Eviction Filings
Marion County, 2025

Property Manager Name	Eviction Filings
Alpine Property Management	224
PMI (Property Management Inc.) Franchises	93
T&H Realty	80
CityPlace	65
Jon Rickey Property Management	63
HomeRiver Group	59
True Property Management Group	56
TBH Management	51
AMG Property Management	51
Evergreen Residential ^a	48

Source: FHCCI analysis of eviction case filing data from Indiana Supreme Court. ^aEvergreen Residential began taking over property management for VineBrook Homes in 2025, so some of its eviction filings in 2025 may be attributable to VineBrook properties.

they can afford, only to quickly churn them out when they fall behind.¹⁵ This goes to show that landlord policies and practices play an important role in the frequency of eviction filings, in addition to the affordability of rent.

Overall, we find that the single-family landlords with the largest portfolios have higher eviction filing rates than mid-sized landlords (Chart 3). For this analysis, we excluded any single-family property owner that was not primarily a rental landlord (i.e., builders, house flippers, land contract providers, etc.). We also excluded landlords that do not own most of the properties they manage. Because of the time-consuming manual research required for this analysis, we limited it to landlords with at least 50 units. We found that the very largest single-family landlords (with 840+ units) have an eviction filing rate of 20.9, compared to 17.1 for medium-sized landlords (with 50-130 units). While we cannot compare the eviction filing rates in Chart 3 with an eviction filing rate for small mom-and-pop landlords, we can see that the eviction filing rates for landlords with 50+ units far exceed the overall single-family eviction filing rate.

We cannot determine eviction filing rates for landlords that are primarily property managers, meaning they do not own most of the rental units that they manage, because we have no way of determining the size of their portfolios. Table 3 lists the top 10 single-family property managers with the highest number of eviction filings in 2025. Alpine Property Management leads the list with 224 eviction filings. A high number of eviction filings by a property manager may be a function of their managing a large number of properties, or their filing evictions at a higher-than-average rate.

Top Multifamily Landlords' Eviction Filing Rates

We also calculated the eviction filing rates among the largest multifamily landlords in Marion County. Many multifamily properties are owned by one company and managed by another. In those cases, we assigned the "landlord" to be the property manager, who handles day-to-day operations, including tenant payments and evictions. Table 4 on the next page ranks the top 10 largest multifamily landlords in Marion County by number of units and provides their eviction filing rate. (See Appendix B for an expanded table of the top 25 largest multifamily landlords.)

Based on our analysis, we find that most of the top 10 largest multifamily landlords actually have eviction filing rates below the county average (14.0 filings per 100 units across renter households) and below the average for multifamily renter households (21.3 filings per 100 units). The highest eviction filing rates come from Emerald Empire/CYM Living (a private equity-backed company that purchased the portfolio of properties previously owned by Pangea in 2024) at 18.6 eviction filings per 100 units, followed by Van Rooy Companies at 17.4 eviction filings per 100 units. Unlike the biggest single-family rental landlords, the list of top multifamily landlords is dominated by in-state companies. Private equity does make an appearance but only accounts for 3 of the 10 biggest multifamily landlords.

While eviction filing rates among Marion County's biggest multifamily landlords are mostly below the county overall average, it is worth reminding that Marion County's average eviction filing rate (14 filings per 100 rental units) is higher

¹⁵ Michael Friedrich. "Corporate Landlords Show Racist Eviction Patterns." *The American Prospect*, May 16, 2025.

<https://prospect.org/2025/05/16/2025-05-16-corporate-landlords-show-racist-eviction-patterns/>

Landlord Name	Number of Properties	Total Units	Eviction Filings	Eviction Filing Rate ^a	Avg. Rent for 2-Bed ^b	HQ State	Company Ownership Type
Gene B. Glick Company ^c	24	6,372	717	11.3	\$1,173	IN	Privately Held
The Ardizzone Group	14	6,224	646	10.4	\$1,382	IN	Privately Held
Barrett & Stokely, Inc. ^c	27	5,982	770	12.9	\$1,500	IN	Privately Held
Elon Property Management ^c	25	5,311	535	10.1	\$1,149	NJ	Privately Held
Van Rooy Companies ^c	34	4,645	810	17.4	\$1,282	IN	Privately Held
Birge & Held Asset Management ^c	20	4,528	405	8.9	\$1,533	IN	Private Equity-Backed
Pepper Pike Capital Partners	8	3,864	326	8.4	\$1,191	OH	Private Equity-Backed
Emerald Empire/CYM Living ^c	14	3,602	669	18.6	\$1,056	NY	Private Equity-Backed
Sexton Companies	10	3,002	30	1.0	\$1,153	IN	Privately Held
Flaherty & Collins, Inc. ^c	13	2,964	156	5.3	\$1,923	IN	Privately Held
All Multifamily Renter Households	803	83,633^d	17,666	21.1	\$1,283		

^aEviction filings per 100 units. ^bAs of September 2025, average rent across properties, weighted by number of units per property in portfolio. ^cPortfolio includes at least one subsidized property. ^dBased on U.S. Census American Community Survey 2024 5-year estimate. Source: FHCCI analysis of eviction case filing data from Indiana Supreme Court; multifamily and manufactured housing property data from CoStar. See Appendix B for full table with top 25 largest multifamily landlords.

than it should be. Indianapolis' closest peer city by eviction filing rate, Columbus, OH, had around 9 filings per 100 rental units, for example.

More problematic, however, are multifamily landlords that produce very high eviction filing rates at their properties, beyond the county average or the average for multifamily properties. Table 5 shows the 10 multifamily landlords with the highest eviction filing rates in Marion County in 2025 (excluding landlords with <20 units in their portfolio). All 10 are privately held companies, with the majority being based out-of-state. See Appendix C for an expanded table of the top 25 Marion County multifamily landlords with the highest eviction rates.

The multifamily landlord with the highest eviction rate, BSG Enterprises, operates Heather Ridge Apartments, a 204-unit

property on the Indianapolis west side. It filed 137 evictions against tenants in that property in just one year, giving an eviction filing rate of 67.2 filings per 100 units. This amounts to more than 2 eviction filings for every 3 units at the property. While BSG Enterprises only operates one property in Marion County, other landlords in Table 5 have a much larger footprint. Brookside Properties, for example, operates four multifamily properties across Marion County, with a total of 641 units. It filed 240 evictions at these properties in 2025, giving an eviction filing rate of 37.4, nearly double the average eviction filing rate for all multifamily properties.

Multifamily Properties With The Highest Eviction Filing Rates

We see even higher eviction filing rates when we look at individual properties in Marion County. Everly at Meridian

Landlord Name	Number of Properties	Total Units	Eviction Filings	Eviction Filing Rate ^a	Avg. Rent for 2-Bed ^b	HQ State	Company Ownership Type
BSG Enterprises LLC	1	204	137	67.2	\$1,001	IN	Privately Held
Garden City Mobile Home Park ^c	1	30	19	63.3	N/A	IN	Privately Held
Ackermann Group	2	440	209	47.5	\$1,562	OH	Privately Held
Dennis Brackenridge	2	85	37	43.5	\$867	IN	Privately Held
Zarris & Company ^d	1	120	51	42.5	\$1,326	FL	Privately Held
Chimera Property Management	2	66	28	42.4	\$1,076	IN	Privately Held
Odin Properties	4	412	156	37.9	\$980	PA	Privately Held
Brookside Properties, Inc.	4	641	240	37.4	\$1,578	TN	Privately Held
Burlington Capital	1	212	79	37.3	\$1,078	NE	Privately Held
HI Management	1	173	64	37.0	\$1,001	IN	Privately Held
All Multifamily Renter Households	803	83,633^e	17,666	21.1	\$1,283		

Excludes landlords with <20 units. ^aEviction filings per 100 units. ^bAs of September 2025, average rent across properties, weighted by number of units per property in portfolio. ^cManufactured housing community landlord. ^dPortfolio includes at least one subsidized property. ^eBased on U.S. Census American Community Survey 2024 5-year estimate. Source: FHCCI analysis of eviction case filing data from Indiana Supreme Court; multifamily/manufactured housing data from CoStar. See Appendix C for 25 multifamily landlords with highest eviction filing rates.

Hills, a 113-unit property on the north side, has the highest eviction filing rate out of all multifamily properties in Marion County (excluding properties with <20 units). The landlord, Brookside Properties, filed 86 evictions at this property in 2025, giving a staggeringly high eviction filing rate of 76.1, which amounts to more than 3 eviction filings for every 4 units in the property. Table 6 shows the top 10 multifamily properties with the highest eviction filing rates, out of all multifamily properties with at least 20 units. All these properties have an eviction filing rate higher than 50 filings per 100 units, or one filing for every two units in the property. (See Appendix D for an expanded table with the top 25 properties with the highest eviction filing rates.) Table 6 also shows the rent for a two-bedroom apartment in 2025 at each property, when available from CoStar.

The eviction filing rates at these properties are so high, they can only be rationally explained by the policy or practice of the landlord, rather than by tenants' behaviors. At any property, some number of eviction filings can be expected, especially among lower-income tenants who may be living paycheck to paycheck and occasionally fall behind on rent. But for a landlord to file an eviction for every other unit in a single year, the landlord must be extremely aggressive in filing evictions, or the landlord must be approving tenants for rents that they are not remotely able to afford, setting them up for failure.

Evictions at one property in Table 6, Francis Apartments, attracted news coverage in 2025, when its new owner,

KEY TAKEAWAY: Everly at Meridian Hills, a 113-unit Brookside Properties apartment complex, has the highest eviction filing rate out of all multifamily properties in Marion County, with 86 eviction filings in 2025, or more than 3 eviction filings for every 4 units in the property.

Dennis Brackenridge, began evicting the tenants using Housing Choice Vouchers (Section 8) within weeks of buying the property. (He alleged that the Indianapolis Housing Agency had failed to make payments on behalf of tenants; the agency disputed this.) This was the second property where he evicted voucher-holding tenants en masse after purchasing a property, allegedly for the same reason.¹⁶ This is an example of landlord behavior driving a high number of eviction filings at a property, at no fault of the tenants.

At some properties in Table 6, the high eviction filing rate may be linked to a higher-than-average cost of rent. Everly at Meridian Hills, Riverchase Apartments, and Pebble Point Apartments, for example, post rents for a two-bedroom apartment above \$1,400, significantly exceeding the average price across Marion County (\$1,283). However, other properties in Table 6, like Heather Ridge Apartments and Crossroads at Madison, are far less expensive than the average, with rents close to \$1,000 for a two-bedroom, while still having high eviction filing rates.

We further examined the relationship between the price of rent and a property's eviction filing rate by looking at eviction filing rates across all multifamily properties, in

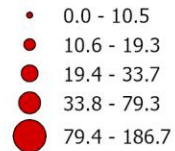
TABLE 6: Top 10 Multifamily Properties By Highest Eviction Filing Rate (Marion County, 2025)

Property Name	Address	ZIP Code	Units	Eviction Filings	Eviction Filing Rate ^a	Rent for 2-Bed ^b	True Owner ^b	Property Manager ^b
Everly at Meridian Hills	832 Park Central Ct.	46260	113	86	76.1	\$1,472	Everly at Meridian Hills	Brookside Properties, Inc.
Riverchase Apartments	2730 Riverchase Dr.	46214	216	161	74.5	\$1,445	Ackermann Group	Ackermann Group
Francis Apartments	1819 Main St.	46107	35	24	68.6	\$818	Dennis Brackenridge	Dennis Brackenridge
Indy Flats Apartments	1304 N. Delaware St.	46202	108	73	67.6	N/A	Barrett Realty Investments	Barrett & Stokely, Inc.
Heather Ridge Apartments	3245 Heather Ridge Dr.	46214	204	137	67.2	\$1,001	Bob Gupta	BSG Enterprises LLC
Garden City Mobile Home Park	4911 Rockville Rd.	46224	30	19	63.3	N/A	James Bohunsky	N/A
Crossroads at Madison	4725 Madison Ave.	46227	111	65	58.6	\$1,004	Hartford Rentals LLC	Hartford Rentals
Eagle's Edge Apartments ^c	4301 Falcon Creek Blvd.	46254	131	76	58.0	\$1,292	Majestic Group LLC	Van Rooy Companies
Linwood Manor ^c	4509 E. Washington St.	46201	28	16	57.1	N/A	Indianapolis Public Transportation Corp.	Herron Property Management
Gladstone Apartments	4317 E. Washington St.	46201	48	26	54.2	N/A	Partners In Housing Development Corp.	Herron Property Management
All Multifamily Renter Households			83,633^d	17,666	21.1	\$1,283		

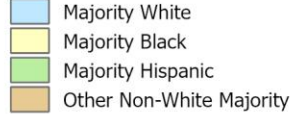
Excludes properties with <20 units. ^aEviction filings per 100 units. ^bAs of September 2025. ^cSubsidized property. ^dBased on U.S. Census American Community Survey 2024 5-year estimate. Source: FHCCI analysis of eviction case filing data from Indiana Supreme Court; multifamily and manufactured housing property data from CoStar. See Appendix D for the 25 top-evicting multifamily properties.

MAP 1: Eviction Filing Rate by Census Tract Majority Race and Median Income (Marion County, 2025)

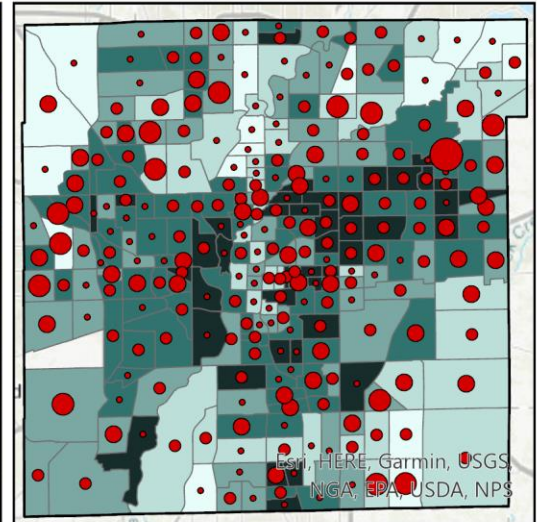
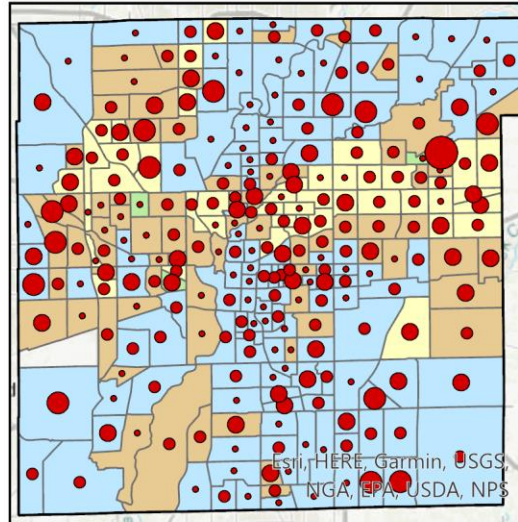
Eviction Filing Rate* By Tract



Census Tracts by Majority Race



Census Tracts by Median Income



*Per 100 renter-occupied housing units. Source: FHCCI analysis of eviction case filing data from Indiana Supreme Court; U.S. American Community Survey, 2024 5-year estimates.

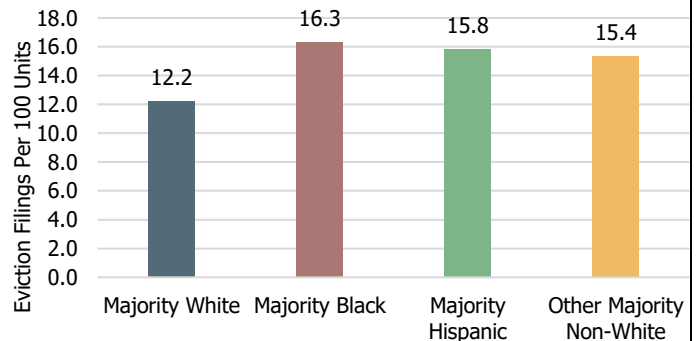
different rental price ranges. We found that eviction filing rates were lowest among multifamily properties where the rent for a two-bedroom apartment was less than \$700 (mostly subsidized properties) or greater than \$1,600. In between, eviction filing rates are quite variable. Overall, we found a very small but statistically significant relationship between rent price and eviction filing rate at multifamily properties (for every \$100 increase in rent, the eviction filing rate reduces by 0.5 filings per 100 units).¹⁷

The 25 multifamily properties with the highest eviction filing rates (Appendix D) collectively account for just 3% of the units but almost 10% of the eviction filings at multifamily properties in Marion County. These properties warrant further review to identify and target any policies or practices that give rise to high eviction filing rates. Addressing these eviction hot spots may help us impact the eviction problem in Marion County overall.

Racial Disparities in Eviction Filing Rates

National research from Eviction Lab shows that Black families with children experience the highest eviction filing rate out of any other demographic group.¹⁸ Eviction filing data from the Indiana Supreme Court does not provide any demographic information, such as race or ethnicity, for tenants facing eviction. However, when we look at the racial makeup of the neighborhoods where eviction filings take place, we find a striking racial disparity. In Marion County's majority white census tracts, there were 12.2 eviction filings per 100 renter households, while in majority Black census tracts, the eviction filing rate was 16.3—a third higher than the rate in white census tracts—and 15.8 in majority Hispanic census tracts (Chart 4). We can see this disparity

CHART 4: Eviction Filing Rates by Census Tract Majority Race (Marion County, 2025)



Source: FHCCI analysis of eviction case filing data from Indiana Supreme Court; U.S. Census American Community Survey, 2024 5-year estimates.

illustrated in Map 1, where the larger dots, indicating higher eviction filing rates per renter households, are concentrated in majority non-white census tracts on the west and east sides of Indianapolis.

These racial disparities reflect an OPHS survey of renter households facing eviction who received help from OPHS court navigators in 2026. Two-thirds of the tenants helped were Black, while about one eighth were white. Within the households facing eviction who were served by OPHS, 44% of household members were children under 18.¹⁹

KEY TAKEAWAY: Eviction filing rates were lowest among multifamily properties where the rent for a two-bedroom was less than \$700 (mostly subsidized properties) or greater than \$1,600.

¹⁷ We used a simple regression for this analysis, which does not take into account any confounding factors that may influence both the price of rent and eviction filing rates.

¹⁸ Nick Graetz, Carl Gershenson, Peter Hepburn, and Matthew Desmond. "Who is Evicted in America." Eviction Lab, October 3, 2023.

<https://evictionlab.org/who-is-evicted-in-america/>

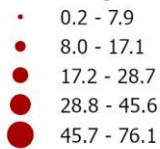
¹⁹ OPHS, 2026

MAP 2: Eviction Filings Rates at Large Multifamily Properties

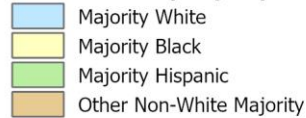
Marion County, 2025

Multifamily Properties (100+ Units)

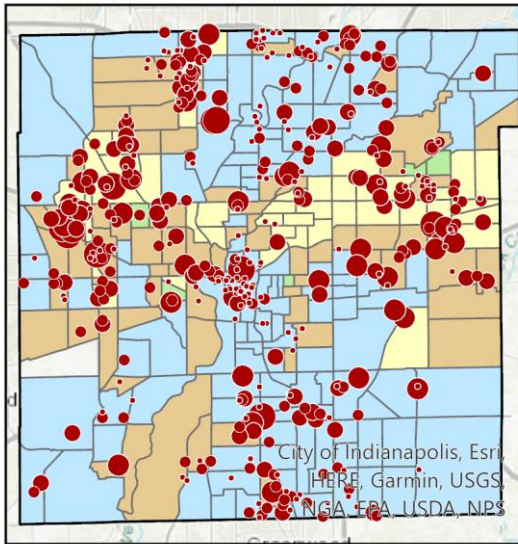
Eviction Filings Per 100 Units



Census Tracts by Majority Race



Source: FHCCI analysis of eviction case filing data from Indiana Supreme Court; multifamily property data from CoStar; U.S. Census American Community Survey 5-year estimates, 2024. Excludes properties with <100 units.



compared to 7.8 in majority Black census tracts and 10.7 in majority Hispanic census tracts. While single-family rentals overall have a lower eviction filing rate and less severe racial disparities between neighborhoods, compared to multifamily rentals, certain single-family landlords have a much worse track record than the rest of their peers, which we will explore in the subsequent section.

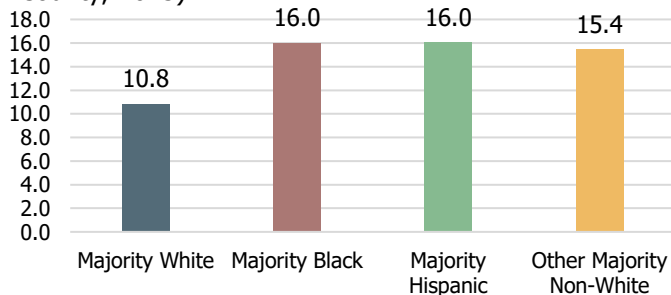
Racial disparities may reflect, at least in part, disparities in income among renter households in white census tracts versus census tracts of color. Due to decades of disinvestment and discrimination, renters living in Black neighborhoods and other

neighborhoods of color have less access to high-paying jobs and other opportunities, causing these neighborhoods of color to have lower median incomes compared to white neighborhoods. This shows as well in Map 1, where we see higher eviction filing rates are also concentrated in tracts with lower median income levels.

However, the racial disparity observed cannot be entirely explained away by income. The FHCCI also compared eviction filing rates in census tracts with similar median income levels, and even then, white census tracts consistently had lower eviction filing rates than Black census tracts and other non-white majority census tracts. For example, we looked at census tracts where the median renter household income was less than \$45,000, which is barely enough to be able to afford a market-rate one-bedroom apartment in Marion County.²⁰ Among these lower-income census tracts, the eviction filing rate in majority Black census tracts was 15.3, while the rate in majority white census tracts was 11.4. Even at higher income levels, among tracts where the median renter household income was between \$65,000 and \$89,000, the eviction filing rate in majority Black census tracts was 18.8, while in majority white census tracts, it was only 12.8.

These results show that even accounting for income, neighborhoods of color experience higher eviction filing rates than white neighborhoods. This disparity may be due in part to renters of color experiencing greater financial

CHART 5: Eviction Filing Rates at Large Multifamily Properties, by Census Tract Majority Race (Multifamily properties with 100+ units, Marion County, 2025)



Source: FHCCI analysis of eviction case filing data from Indiana Supreme Court; multifamily property data from CoStar; U.S. Census American Community Survey, 2024 5-year estimates.

We can see this racial disparity even more starkly when we look at eviction filing rates at large multifamily properties, which drive the bulk of eviction filings in Marion County. At large multifamily properties in majority Black or Hispanic census tracts, there were 16.0 eviction filings per 100 units, compared to 10.8 for large multifamily properties in majority white tracts—a 50% difference (Chart 5). These disparities can be seen more clearly in Map 2, where the larger dots, representing properties with larger eviction filing rates, are concentrated in census tracts of color. In contrast, we see clusters of small dots, indicating properties with low eviction filing rates in white neighborhoods downtown and around the north side.

Among single-family rental properties, the racial disparity between white census tracts and majority non-white census tracts is less severe, but still present. There were 6.8 eviction filings at single-family rental properties per 100 single-family rental units in majority-white census tracts,

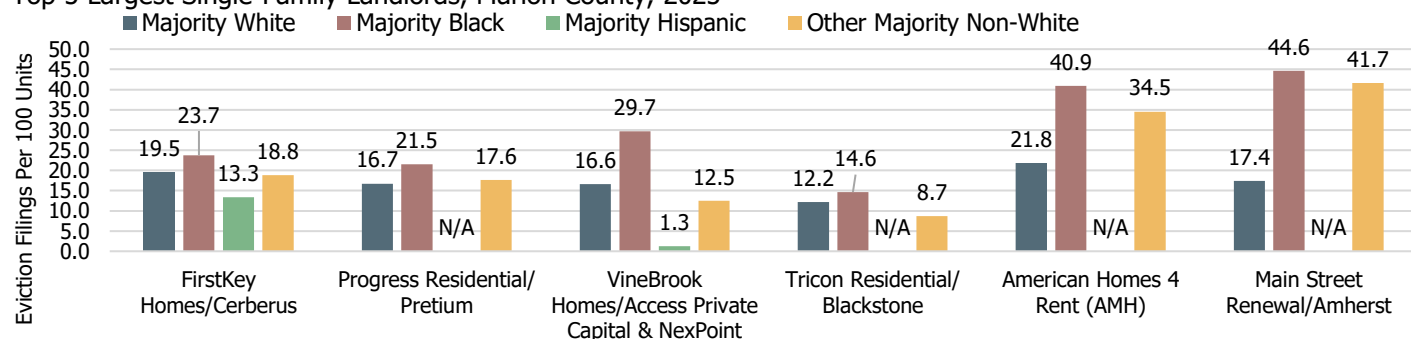
KEY TAKEAWAY: Even when we compare neighborhoods at similar income levels, neighborhoods of color experience higher eviction filing rates than white neighborhoods.

²⁰ FHCCI analysis of multifamily property data from CoStar. Market-rate rent for average one-bedroom apartment in Marion County found to be

\$1,134 as of July 2026. Affordability defined as spending less than 30% of one's income on housing.

CHART 6: Eviction Filing Rates for Largest Single-Family Landlords, by Census Tract Majority Race

Top 5 Largest Single-Family Landlords, Marion County, 2025



Excludes landlords that also produce land contracts. N/A indicates that landlord did not own any properties in majority Hispanic tracts. Source: FHCCI analysis of eviction filing data from Indiana Supreme Court; multifamily property data from CoStar; U.S. Census American Community Survey, 2024 5-year estimates.

precarity, even at similar income levels as white renters. However, the disparity may also arise from differences in how landlords treat tenants or policies they may choose to enforce in their properties in neighborhoods of color, versus in white neighborhoods.

Regardless of the reason, these racial disparities in eviction filing rates are highly concerning. As we outlined in our previous eviction report, eviction filings have a negative effect on tenants' physical and mental health, as well as their future ability to obtain housing. Displacement from housing due to an eviction compounds these harmful outcomes, affecting children's schooling, parents' employment, and families' financial outlook. When evictions are concentrated in neighborhoods of color, the effect of displacement ripples out, affecting neighborhood stability and draining community resources.²¹

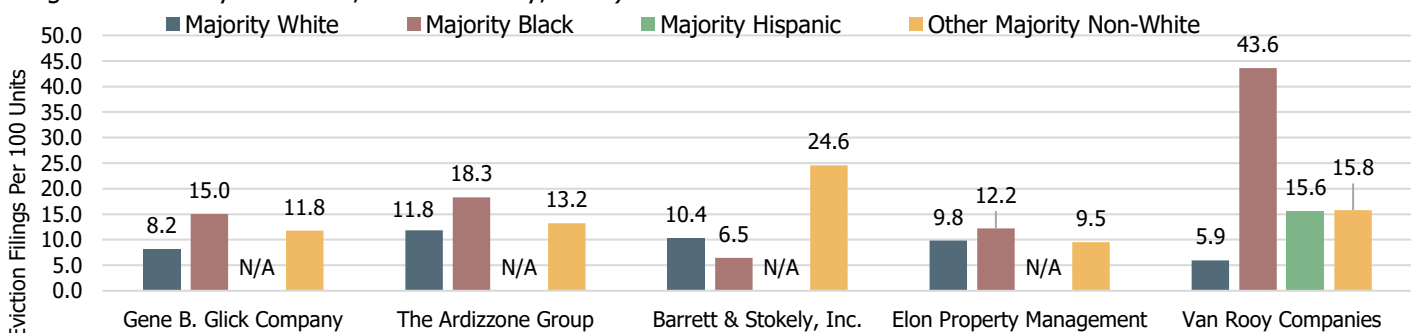
Racial Disparities in Eviction Filing Rates Among Largest Landlords

Unfortunately, racial disparities persist, and even worsen, when we compare properties managed or owned by the same companies in neighborhoods of color versus white neighborhoods. Chart 6 shows the top 5 largest single-

family landlords, and their eviction filing rates among properties they own in majority white, majority Black, majority Hispanic, and other majority non-white census tracts. We find that Main Street Renewal not only has a high overall eviction filing rate, but its eviction filing rates in Black census tracts and other majority non-white census tracts are more than double its eviction filing rate in white census tracts. American Homes 4 Rent and VineBrook similarly have eviction filing rates in Black census tracts that are nearly double those in white census tracts.

We see similarly large disparities between white neighborhoods and neighborhoods of color for properties owned by the top multifamily landlords (Chart 7). Map 3 on the next page also visualizes these disparities among properties owned by the top multifamily landlords, with larger dots representing properties with higher eviction filing rates, color-coded by landlord (see Appendix E for a disaggregated version of this map).

The worst offender, by far, is Van Rooy Companies, which has an eviction filing rate of 43.6 among its properties in majority Black census tracts (more than one filing for every

CHART 7: Eviction Filing Rates for Largest Multifamily Landlords, by Census Tract Majority Race (Top 5 Largest Multifamily Landlords, Marion County, 2025)

N/A = no properties owned in majority Hispanic census tracts. Source: FHCCI analysis of eviction case filing data from Indiana Supreme Court; multifamily property data from CoStar; U.S. Census American Community Survey, 2024 5-year estimates.

²¹ FHCCI, "The Stacked Deck: Eviction Filings in Marion County Townships and Neighborhoods," March 2026.

three units), but only 5.9 eviction filings for every 100 units in its properties in majority white census tracts. Barrett & Stokley also has a significant disparity between its eviction filing rate in white census tracts (10.4) versus other majority non-white census tracts (24.6).

Again, part of the racial disparity may come from differences in economic conditions between white neighborhoods and neighborhoods of color. But given the severity of the racial disparity for some landlords, like Van Rooy Companies and Main Street Renewal, we remain concerned that certain landlords may be applying different eviction policies or treating tenants differently in properties in neighborhoods of color compared to white neighborhoods, or due to some other unknown reason.

Eviction Filing Rates at Subsidized Properties

The lack of affordable and available rental housing remains a core driver of eviction filing rates across Marion County. This is especially true for the lowest-income renters. As the NLIHC found in their 2025 *The Gap* report, there are only 26 affordable and available rental units for every 100 extremely low-income renter households in the Indianapolis metro area. Extremely low-income renter households are defined as those making up to 30% of the metro area median income (AMI) (around \$31,000) or up to the federal poverty level, whichever is higher. In the Indianapolis metro area, extremely low-income households make up almost a quarter of all renter households. (See the FHCCI's 2025 Report, *Rising Rental Burdens in the Indianapolis Metro*, for additional context on rent burdened households.²²) Extremely low-income renter households earn, at most,

MAP 3: Eviction Filings Rates at Top 5 Landlords' Multifamily Properties (Marion County, 2025)

Multifamily Properties (Top 5 Landlords)

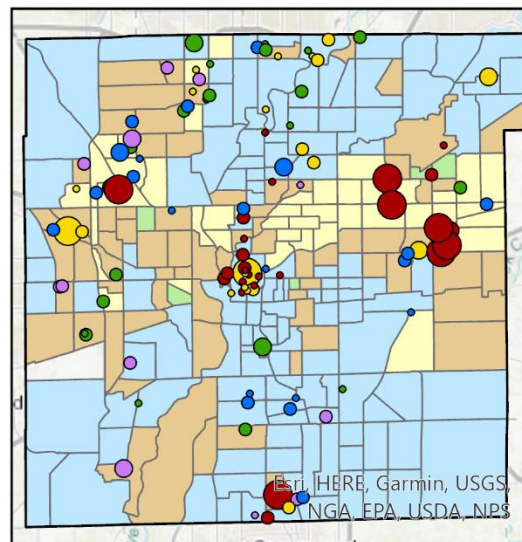
- Gene B. Glick Company
- The Ardizzone Group
- Barrett & Stokely, Inc.
- Elon Property Management
- Van Rooy Companies

Eviction Filings Per 100 Units

- 0.6 - 8.6
- 8.7 - 19.3
- 19.4 - 35.7
- 35.8 - 67.6

Census Tracts by Majority Race

- Majority White
- Majority Black
- Majority Hispanic
- Other Non-White Majority



Source: FHCCI analysis of eviction case filing data from Indiana Supreme Court; multifamily property data from CoStar; U.S. Census American Community Survey 5-year estimates, 2024.

about half the wage needed to afford an average market-rate two-bedroom apartment. Most of these renters are working, have disabilities, or are senior citizens.²³

For these renters, often, the only affordable option is subsidized housing. These are rental units that are priced much lower than market rate (often, no more than 30% of the renter household's monthly income, or 30% of the income qualification threshold for a unit). Landlords agree to accept lower rents from qualifying tenants in exchange for federal subsidies. Depending on the subsidy program, subsidized units may be reserved for extremely low-income tenants, very low-income tenants (making less than 50% of AMI or around \$51,000), or low-income tenants (making less than 80% of AMI or around \$82,000). (For more on different subsidy programs, see Table 4 in the FHCCI's Report *Rising Rental Burdens in the Indianapolis Metro*).

TABLE 7: Eviction Filings in Subsidized Multifamily Properties, by Program (Marion County, 2025)

Subsidy Program ^a	Number of Properties	Eviction Filings	Unit Count	Eviction Filing Rate ^b
Section 811	1	4	24	16.7
Project-Based Vouchers	4	26	213	12.2
HOME	25	201	1,678	12.0
Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC)	95	1,449	12,355	11.7
Project-Based Rental Assistance	24	520	5,817	8.9
National Housing Trust Fund	3	6	124	4.8
Public Housing	4	28	625	4.5
Section 202	10	27	659	4.1
All Subsidized Properties		1,918	18,439^c	10.4

^aIncludes only properties with at least one eviction filing. Properties may have more than one subsidy program, and if so are represented once for each subsidy program. ^bDefinitions of subsidy programs: Low Income Housing Tax Credit (below-market rents for low-income households in some or all units); HOME Investment Partnerships Program (below-market rents for low-income households); Project-Based Rental Assistance (subsidized rents for low-income households); Project-Based Voucher (subsidized rents for low-income households); Section 202 (subsidized rents for very low-income households including seniors); Section 811 (subsidized rents for extremely low-income households with disabled individuals); National Housing Trust Fund (below-market rents for very low-income households). ^cEviction filings per 100 units in property. ^dBased on sum of all units in subsidized properties.

Source: FHCCI analysis of subsidized housing data from National Housing Preservation Database; eviction case filing data from Indiana Supreme Court.

²² FHCCI. "The State of Fair Housing in Indiana – Rising Rental Burdens in the Indianapolis Metro." November 2025. <https://www.fhcci.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/11/FHCCI-Rental-Housing-Report-2025.pdf>

²³ NLIHC. "The Gap Report: Indiana." March 2026. <https://nlihc.org/gap/state/in>

In Table 7, we can see the impact of subsidies on renters' ability to keep up with rental payments in the lower eviction filing rates at subsidized properties. We find the eviction filing rate at subsidized multifamily properties to be 10.4 filings per 100 rental units, on average, which is lower than the county average (14.0) and less than half the average for multifamily properties overall (21.1). We take this as a positive sign that the subsidies are working. Even though tenants in subsidized properties are low-income and may have limited savings or financial stability, by limiting rent to a level affordable to tenants, their likelihood of being evicted drops significantly, compared to tenants in the average multifamily property. As Table 7 also shows, most subsidy programs had an eviction filing rate below the county average. Section 202 properties, which house very low-income seniors, had an especially low eviction filing rate (4.1), as did Public Housing properties (4.5) and National Housing Trust Fund properties (4.8).

Our analysis of evictions at subsidized properties is limited to multifamily properties, where the entire property is participating in a subsidy program that lowers rents in all or a designated portion of its units. The analysis does not include units subsidized by housing choice vouchers (Section 8), which can be used in any single- or multifamily unit, if the landlord is willing to accept vouchers. This is because property data on housing choice voucher usage is not available as it is for other subsidy programs.

Unfortunately, there were specific subsidized properties that produced an outsized number of eviction filings (Table 8). (See Appendix F for an expanded table of 25 subsidized properties with the highest eviction filing rates.) For

KEY TAKEAWAY: Eviction filing rates at subsidized multifamily properties are less than half the average for multifamily properties overall. Even though tenants in subsidized properties are low-income and may have limited savings, by limiting rent to a level affordable to tenants, their likelihood of being evicted drops significantly.

example, Eagle's Edge, a Van Rooy property on the west side, receives the Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) subsidy, which requires it to reserve a portion of its units for low-income tenants and charge rents at only 30% of the income threshold for those units. Nearly all of the units at Eagle's Edge are subsidized (125 out of 131 units). Despite this, Eagle's Edge had an eviction filing rate of 58.0 in 2025 (i.e., more than one eviction filing for every two units).

It is noteworthy that among the subsidized properties with the highest eviction filing rates, nearly all are LIHTC properties. Unlike in other types of subsidy programs, a tenant's rent in a LIHTC property does not scale with the tenant's household income. Rather, it scales with the income threshold attached to the subsidized unit. Subsidized units in LIHTC properties might be reserved for low-, very low-, or extremely low-income households; rent in each of those units is set at 30% of the relevant income threshold. However, an extremely low-income household could still rent a unit reserved for a low-income household, if no extremely low-income units were available. Then, the

TABLE 8: Top 10 Subsidized Properties By Highest Eviction Filing Rate

Property Name	Address	ZIP Code	Eviction Filings	Number of Units	Eviction Filing Rate ^a	Subsidy Program(s) ^d	True Owner ^b	Property Manager ^b
Eagle's Edge Apartments	4301 Falcon Creek Blvd.	46254	76	131	58.0	LIHTC	Majestic Group LLC	Van Rooy Companies
Stratford Place Apartments	6050 Castleford Dr.	46203	51	120	42.5	LIHTC	Zarris & Company	Zarris & Company
Linwood Manor	4509 E. Washington St.	46201	16	56	28.6	HOME	Indianapolis Public Transportation Corp.	Herron Property Management
Camby Crossing Apartment Homes	7402 Camby Crossing Dr.	46113	34	120	28.3	LIHTC	CM3 Properties LLC	Vicinia Property Management
Northampton Village Apartments	3775 Allerton Pl.	46226	48	90	26.7	HOME, LIHTC	Lightwater Capital Investments	Van Rooy Companies
The Villages at Mill Crossing	3615 Sherman Forest Dr.	46205	100	383	26.1	LIHTC	The Community Builders, Inc.	Herron Property Management
Forest Ridge Apartments	7676 Horsetail Dr.	46260	55	220	25.0	LIHTC	Pedcor Companies	Pedcor Companies
Lakes @ Crossbridge	7925 Crossbridge Dr.	46226	61	252	24.2	LIHTC	Kittle Property Group, Inc.	Kittle Property Group, Inc.
The Enclave at Meridian	3777 N. Meridian St.	46208	18	75	24.0	PBV, LIHTC	Kittle Property Group, Inc.	Kittle Property Group, Inc.
The Life at Belhaven Place	625 Belhaven Pl.	46229	58	248	23.4	LIHTC	Olive Tree Holdings	Asset Living
All Subsidized Properties			1,918	18,439^c	10.4			

Excludes properties with <20 units. ^aEviction filings per 100 units in property. ^bAs of September 2025. ^cBased on sum of all units in subsidized properties. ^dDefinition of subsidy programs: LIHTC = Low Income Housing Tax Credit (below-market rents for low-income households in some or all units); PBRA = Project-Based Rental Assistance (subsidized rents for low-income households); HOME = HOME Investment Partnerships Program (below-market rents for low-income households); PBV = Project-Based Voucher (subsidized rents for low-income households). Source: FHCCI analysis of subsidized housing data from National Housing Preservation Database; eviction case filing data from Indiana Supreme Court; multifamily property ownership data from CoStar. See Appendix F for an expanded table with top 25 subsidized properties by highest eviction filing rate.

extremely low-income household, whose income is up to 30% of AMI (around \$31,000), would have to pay rent based on the income threshold of 80% of AMI (around \$82,000). With rent being set at 30% of the income threshold, the extremely low-income household in a LIHTC unit would be paying up to \$2,000 in rent when the most they could really afford is around \$800. In this way, even though LIHTC properties are subsidized, extremely low-income or very low-income households can be placed in units where they would struggle to keep up with the rent, which likely contributes to more frequent eviction filings.

These findings highlight the limitations of some housing subsidy programs like LIHTC, while underscoring the need to develop more subsidized housing units across a diverse collection of neighborhoods.

Recommendations

No matter how it is analyzed, Indianapolis has consistently been at the top of the list of cities with the highest eviction filing rates since at least 2016. While this is a decades-long problem, it is not insurmountable. As we did in our previous evictions report, we call on policymakers at the state and local level to take urgent action to address Marion County's eviction crisis and increase housing stability for tenants.

Build and Preserve Affordable Housing: We again call for an increase in building and preserving affordable housing that serves tenants with the least means. This is the only way to truly address the root cause of evictions for cost-burdened tenants. Our recommendations have previously included increasing funding for affordable housing development and repair; increasing housing choice vouchers; and rescinding the state preemptions that limit localities' ability to enforce inclusionary zoning, source-of-income protection ordinances, and rent caps.

Although the Indiana General Assembly has passed legislation in recent years to try to advance housing development, such legislation has not specifically identified "affordable housing" as being the chief outcome. The result has been more development of market rate housing, at least to date. Proponents of these measures argue that building more luxury and market-rate housing will eventually cause less expensive units to "trickle down" to lower-income renters. However, for tenants with the greatest affordability challenges, market-rate housing costs are unlikely to reduce to a level that they could afford.²⁴

The recently passed federal housing bill, the 21st Century ROADS to Housing Act, made a promised step in this direction by increasing the cap on how much banks (who are the primary investors behind affordable housing projects) can contribute to affordable housing projects like LIHTC. However, at the same time, the Office of the

Comptroller of the Currency and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation have proposed changes to the Community Reinvestment Act (CRA) rules, which would eliminate the CRA obligation of hundreds of banks to invest in projects that benefit their local communities in the first place.²⁵ We urge affordable housing developers, along with state and local officials and community groups, to raise their objections to these changes that would take away a primary means of funding for housing subsidies.

Improve Data Collection on Evictions: We need better data to document and address the root causes of eviction more effectively. Additional data collection could cover topics that eviction case data currently does not, such as demographic questions on age, presence of children, race or ethnicity, disability status, and income, as well as questions on why a tenant's eviction occurred. OPHS's survey of tenants in Marion County eviction court is a good first step, but it could be expanded. Courts could integrate optional surveys into the check-in process before an eviction hearing, to allow coverage of all tenants who come to court. Crucially, we also need this data to be gathered beyond Marion County.

As we shared in our previous report on evictions, the FHCCI found inconsistencies in how different courts categorize the disposition of eviction cases (i.e. whether a case is dismissed, ruled in the landlord or tenant's favor, etc.) in data from the Indiana Supreme Court. We urge the state supreme court to implement a uniform system of categorization, so that we can accurately track the outcome of eviction cases, not just their filing.

Combat Eviction Filings Rates at Subsidized Properties: We highlight our findings that the highest eviction filing rates among subsidized properties are often found among LIHTC properties. When state and local officials are considering LIHTC proposals, we urge them to prioritize projects with a higher number of units reserved for extremely low- and very low-income households, who cannot afford to pay rents at levels designated for higher-income households. We also call for more development in other subsidy programs, whose rents scale more appropriately with tenant incomes.

We also highlight the relatively low rate of eviction filings among public housing properties. There are very few properties remaining in Marion County that are run by the Indianapolis Housing Agency (IHA), which has been beset with mismanagement for years and was put under receivership by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) in 2024.²⁶ It is unclear if the low eviction filing rate at IHA properties is due to any discrepancy in record-keeping. But public housing, when managed properly, is a powerful antidote to housing

²⁴ FHCCI, "Rising Rental Burdens," November 2025.

²⁵ National Community Reinvestment Coalition. "The Proposed 2026 CRA Rollbacks: Key Takeaways and Why it Matters." August 3, 2026. <https://ncrc.org/2026-cra-rollbacks/>

²⁶ Emily Hopkins and Tyler Fenwick. "Broken Housing: How Indy's public housing agency fuels a crisis." *Mirror Indy*, November 21, 2024. <https://mirrorindy.org/broken-housing-ih-indianapolis-section-8-vouchers-hud-urban-development/>

affordability.²⁷ We urge local leaders and community advocates to keep pressure on HUD and IHA's new leadership to repair the agency and restore these affordable housing opportunities back to the city.

Strengthen Tenant Protections: Indiana needs to amend its landlord-tenant laws to better protect tenants, both in the eviction process and throughout their tenancy. As we have stated repeatedly in several past reports, the Indiana General Assembly has consistently passed laws over the past decade that have overwhelmingly favored landlords over renters, creating a lack of parity between the parties.

The state and local governments must disincentivize landlords from filing excessive evictions by slowing down the eviction process, such as by raising the filing fee to evict. Lawmakers should close the loophole that allows landlords to file an eviction without providing notice to the tenant if the landlord includes a waiver of this notice in the small print of a tenant's lease. Tenants should receive prior notice before an eviction filing to allow time to catch up on rent and fix any technical issues, such as problems with their method of payment, or errors. These measures would allow tenants to avail themselves of their due process rights. They also encourage communication between landlord and tenant to resolve issues without a formal eviction filing.

Indiana must join the 46 other states that allow renters to enforce their right to a habitable home when their landlord refuses to make essential repairs, either by withholding rent or deducting repair costs from their rent. Because this right is available in almost every other state in the nation, Indiana tenants often believe they can withhold rent to force their landlord to make essential repairs, causing them to end up in eviction court for nonpayment of rent. A rent escrow law would help force landlords to maintain properties in a good state of repair and keep tenants housed, while also allowing landlords who do make repairs in good faith to continue receiving the rent payments they are owed. Enforcing habitability requirements in rental homes will pay off in the long run, by preserving the habitability of older homes or housing as Indiana's housing stock ages. These "naturally occurring" opportunities for inexpensive housing will disappear if older properties are allowed to deteriorate.

Unlike many other states, Indiana also does not have specific statutes to address landlords' responsibility for mold and bedbug issues in rental homes.²⁸ Without these laws, tenants experiencing hazardous conditions have a hard time

holding their landlords accountable for failing to remediate mold or bedbug issues. Again, this may result in an eviction filing if the tenant withholds rent or is retaliated against when they complain. Lawmakers should pass statutes laying out the steps a landlord must take to address mold or bedbug problems, allowing tenants to challenge a landlord who fails to meet those requirements.

Tenants also need better protection from retaliatory eviction. We continue to hear from tenants whose landlord filed an eviction against them because they complained about unsafe housing conditions or protested the denial of a reasonable accommodation request. While state law prohibits landlords from retaliating against tenants for exercising their rights, Indiana places the burden of proof on tenants, rather than on the landlord, to show that retaliation occurred, making it difficult for tenants to challenge in court. In 2020, the city of Indianapolis tried to pass a more effective anti-retaliation ordinance, which would have shifted the burden of proof to the landlord. The state legislature responded by preempting localities from passing any anti-retaliation measures of their own.²⁹ Fear of retaliation is a significant barrier preventing tenants from reporting bad-actor landlords, allowing those landlords to flaunt the law with impunity. We need stronger anti-retaliation laws to protect tenants and hold bad landlords accountable.

Support Housing First: The downstream outcome of unaffordable housing and high eviction rates is higher rates of homelessness. Indianapolis has begun providing housing for unhoused people through the Streets to Home Indy program, which places individuals in housing first, without initial sobriety or employment requirements, to give them the stability needed to achieve those longer-term goals. The program has been mostly successful, housing 231 individuals as of August 2026, out of an estimated 300-350 people living in unsheltered homelessness the prior year.³⁰ However, recent reports show that the program was only funded to provide a year's worth of housing, not long enough for most participants to become fully independent.³¹ We call on the city and its philanthropic partners to fund the program fully, without half-measures.

Increase Funding for Tenant Counsel and Eviction Prevention, Including Mandatory Mediation: Lawmakers should formally recognize tenants' right to legal counsel in eviction proceedings and put more funding toward legal aid

²⁷ Fran Quigley. "The Case for Social Housing." *Commonweal Magazine*, March 15, 2023. <https://www.commonwealmagazine.org/case-social-housing>

²⁸ Environmental Protection Agency. "State Bed Bug Laws and Regulations." January 6, 2026. <https://www.epa.gov/system/files/documents/2024-02/state-bed-bug-lr.pdf>; Mold Compass. "Mold Laws by State." Accessed August 28, 2026. <https://moldcompass.com/states>

²⁹ Ko Lyn Cheang. "A tenant reported mold to health department. Her landlord evicted her; Indiana law helped." *IndyStar*, January 19, 2022. [https://www.indystar.com/story/news/real-estate/2022/01/19/indiana-](https://www.indystar.com/story/news/real-estate/2022/01/19/indiana-evictions-apartments-housing-anti-retaliation-law-mold-violations/9094217002/)

[evictions-apartments-housing-anti-retaliation-law-mold-violations/9094217002/](https://www.indystar.com/story/news/real-estate/2022/01/19/indiana-evictions-apartments-housing-anti-retaliation-law-mold-violations/9094217002/)

³⁰ Jordan Smith. "He thought he'd die on the street. A new Indy program housed him and 230 others." *IndyStar*, August 24, 2026. <https://www.indystar.com/story/news/local/indianapolis/2026/08/24/indianapolis-homeless-residents-get-apartments-in-housing-program/90955705007/>

³¹ Tyler Fenwick. "Streets to Home has housed 231 people. Some may become homeless again." *Mirror Indy*, August 25, 2026. <https://mirrorindy.org/indianapolis-homeless-program-year-one-streets-home-indy/>

programs³² Landlords are nearly always represented by an attorney in eviction court, while tenants only have limited access to legal advice in Marion County eviction courts. Outside of Indianapolis, tenants rarely have the chance to speak to a lawyer before their eviction hearing. Even in Marion County, legal aid attorneys are stretched thin and cannot represent every tenant in their hearings. Tenants need reliable access to legal representation to be able to raise all available defenses in eviction court, such as retaliation or habitability issues.

Lawmakers should also increase funding for eviction prevention programs permanently and allow localities to test out mandatory mediation programs. In 2022, the state legislature preempted courts from mandating any form of eviction diversion program, pre- or post-eviction filing.³³ This includes mediation programs, which bring landlords and tenants together to resolve a dispute before taking the case in front of a judge.³⁴ Currently, the mediation offered through Indiana's statewide eviction diversion program only comes into play after an eviction is filed, and participation is voluntary, so landlords rarely agree to participate.³⁵ However, when used, mediation has been shown to be an effective solution in reducing the number of eviction judgments and improving tenant outcomes.³⁶

Ensure Consistency Across Courts in Eviction Sealing and Tenant Due Process: Eviction sealing is an important tool to mitigate the harm of eviction filings, which can stay on a tenant's record for years and prevent them from securing housing in the future. This is true even in cases where the tenant was not ultimately ordered to vacate their home. In July 2025, a new eviction sealing law went into effect, requiring courts to automatically seal eviction filings in cases where the tenant won or had their case dismissed; it also allows tenants to petition to seal eviction cases once they have paid off any monetary judgment. However, the FHCCI has heard concerns from tenant advocates that some judges across the state are not implementing the law, leaving eligible cases unsealed.

We are also concerned by reports that some Indiana judges are not implementing a recent state appellate court case, *Jones v. Full Spectrum Property Management*, which established that a tenant has the right to bring up habitability concerns during the possession hearing in an

eviction case (not just during the subsequent damages hearing).³⁷ As the *Jones* decision emphasized, tenants in eviction court have the same rights to due process as litigants in any other court proceeding. Local courts must abide by the law and by higher court rulings, and the Indiana Supreme Court must hold the lower courts accountable if they do not.

Regulate The Use of Evictions in Land Contracts: As interest rates remain high and the cost of homeownership remains out of reach for many Hoosiers, we remain concerned about the use of potentially predatory alternative methods of home financing, such as land contracts. Our analysis for this report showed that major land contract providers very rarely use the eviction *or* foreclosure process to remove occupants from homes when they default on their contracts. Because of the high costs of repairs and other expenses associated with land contract properties, we remain concerned that occupants are falling behind on payments and are likely being removed from their homes outside of a court process. We call on the state legislature to pass a land contract statute, which Indiana currently does not have, and establish that an occupant's default on a land contract must be dealt with through the court foreclosure process. Regulations should also establish that, as with a mortgage foreclosure, the occupant must be able to recoup all or part of the equity they had paid into the home prior to the default.

Support Fair Housing Enforcement: The racial disparities we identified between eviction filings at properties in white neighborhoods and neighborhoods of color are a warning sign of possible discriminatory practices by housing providers. We also know that the impact of evictions is more harshly felt by families with minor children in the home and those with disabilities. The FHCCI is the only nonprofit fair housing organization in Indiana; however, federal fair housing funding is currently being challenged. We ask our community to contact their federal representatives and senators and urge them to continue funding fair housing organizations like the FHCCI. With your support, we will continue to be a resource for tenants and to advocate for housing stability for all Hoosiers.

³² Megan Stuart and Jennifer Terry. "Due process is not optional in Indiana's eviction courts." *Indiana Lawyer*, May 8, 2026.

<https://www.theindianalawyer.com/articles/megan-stuart-and-jennifer-terry-due-process-is-not-optional-in-indianas-eviction-courts>

³³ House Enrolled Act 1214: Residential eviction actions. Indiana General Assembly (2022).

<https://iga.in.gov/legislative/2022/bills/house/1214/details>

³⁴ National Center for State Courts (NCSC) Eviction Diversion Initiative. "Eviction Diversion Considerations – Timing and Entry Points." November 20, 2024.

<https://nationalcenterforstatecourts.app.box.com/s/ec5sptphshug5q2inf9vyos74n14lnbw>

³⁵ Danial Carson. "State settlement programs sparsely used as eviction alternative." *Indiana Lawyer*, April 12, 2023.

<https://www.theindianalawyer.com/articles/state-settlement-programs-sparsely-used-as-eviction-alternative>

³⁶ NCSC Eviction Diversion Initiative. "Reimagining Housing Court: A Framework For Court-Based Eviction Diversion." 2024.

[https://www.ncsc.org/libraries/mozilla-pdfs/web/viewer.html?file=https://www.ncsc.org/sites/default/files/media/document/EDI Interim Report 2024 3-18-25.pdf](https://www.ncsc.org/libraries/mozilla-pdfs/web/viewer.html?file=https://www.ncsc.org/sites/default/files/media/document/EDI%20Interim%20Report%2024%203-18-25.pdf)

³⁷ *Denitra Jones v. Full Spectrum Property Management*. Indiana Court of Appeals. February 10, 2026.

https://public.courts.in.gov/Decisions/api/Document/Opinion?Id=OKAMGRM3s3qblEcizi_WwfdUr6HiYuL404Scx_MXG9gMB51zWhGwF_1pGiOYdJ8DQ

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Top 25 Largest Single-Family Landlords, With Eviction Filing Rates (Marion County, 2025)

Landlord Name	Total Units	Eviction Filings	Eviction Filing Rate ^a	HQ State	Company Ownership Type
FirstKey Homes/Cerberus	1,939	396	20.4	GA	Private Equity-Backed
Progress Residential/Pretium	1,495	270	18.1	AZ	Private Equity-Backed
VineBrook Homes/Access Private Capital & NexPoint	1,215	211	17.4	OH	Private Equity-Backed
SLB Investments/Job Capital ^b	1,206	12	1.0	IN	Privately Held
Tricon Residential/Blackstone	957	111	11.6	CA	Private Equity-Backed
American Homes 4 Rent (AMH)	935	272	29.1	NV	Publicly Traded
Main Street Renewal/Amherst	849	285	33.6	TX	Privately Held
Rainbow Realty ^b	620	1	0.2	IN	Privately Held
Apex Realty	305	34	11.1	IN	Privately Held
Pillario Property Management/Ruhl Investments/Simple Cash Offer	256	72	28.1	IN	Privately Held
Maymont Homes/Brookfield REIT	251	42	16.7	SC	Private Equity-Backed
SFR3	237	40	16.9	CA	Privately Held
Gorelick/Bridge Investment Group	207	49	23.7	UT	Private Equity-Backed
OwnEZ ^b	206	1	0.5	TX	Privately Held
Scholtens LLC ^b	185	12	6.5	IN	Privately Held
Indy Urban Advisors	121	14	11.6	IN	Privately Held
B&D Training Services	119	46	38.7	IN	Privately Held
Parc Property Group	119	24	20.2	IN	Privately Held
Vapari Residential	108	21	19.4	IN	Privately Held
Landmark Realty	103	3	2.9	IN	Privately Held
Circle City Land Holdings	97	42	43.3	IN	Privately Held
Adoor Property Management/New Residential Borrower/RIHTM	77	10	13.0	NY	Publicly Traded
Terebinth Group	74	0	0.0	IN	Privately Held
D & L Management LLC ^b	72	0	0.0	IN	Privately Held
SMA Indy	71	5	7.0	IN	Privately Held
All Single-Family Renter Households	88,177^c	6,305	7.2		
<i>Excludes landlords that are primarily property managers, house flippers, or multifamily property owners. ^aEviction filings per 100 units. ^bThese property owners are known to provide land contracts or leases with purchase options, so not all their properties are rentals subject to eviction processes. ^cBased on U.S. Census American Community Survey 2024 5-year estimate. Source: FHCCI analysis of eviction case filing data from Indiana Supreme Court; tax assessor's data provided by ATTOM Data Solutions.</i>					

APPENDIX B: Top 25 Largest Multifamily Landlords, With Eviction Filing Rates (Marion County, 2025)

Landlord Name	Number of Properties	Total Units	Eviction Filings	Eviction Filing Rate ^a	HQ State	Company Ownership Type
Gene B. Glick Company	24	6,372	717	11.3	IN	Privately Held
The Ardizzone Group	14	6,224	646	10.4	IN	Privately Held
Barrett & Stokely, Inc.	27	5,982	770	12.9	IN	Privately Held
Elon Property Management	25	5,311	535	10.1	NJ	Privately Held
Van Rooy Companies	34	4,645	810	17.4	IN	Privately Held
Birge & Held Asset Management	20	4,528	405	8.9	IN	Private Equity-Backed
Pepper Pike Capital Partners	8	3,864	326	8.4	OH	Private Equity-Backed
Emerald Empire/CYM Living	14	3,602	669	18.6	NY	Private Equity-Backed
Sexton Companies	10	3,002	30	1.0	IN	Privately Held
Flaherty & Collins, Inc	13	2,964	156	5.3	IN	Privately Held
Towne Properties	12	2,824	367	13.0	OH	Privately Held
Buckingham Companies	17	2,779	295	10.6	IN	Privately Held
Muesing Management Company, Inc.	12	2,643	377	14.3	IN	Privately Held
Morgan Properties	6	2,447	407	16.6	PA	Privately Held
Asset Living	6	2,148	315	14.7	TX	Private Equity-Backed
Kirkpatrick Management Company	8	2,132	106	5.0	IN	Privately Held
Edward Rose & Sons	4	2,005	353	17.6	MI	Privately Held
Kittle Property Group, Inc.	10	1,895	189	10.0	IN	Privately Held
Herron Property Management	15	1,755	319	18.2	IN	Privately Held
The Mid-America Management Corp.	3	1,754	165	9.4	OH	Privately Held
Cohron Homes ^c	6	1,675	21	1.3	IN	Privately Held
Blue Leaf Residential	5	1,653	205	12.4	NY	Privately Held
Multifamily Management Inc. (MMI)	6	1,645	283	17.2	AL	Privately Held
Zidan Management Group, Inc.	6	1,600	136	8.5	IN	Privately Held
Sheehan Companies	5	1,482	132	8.9	IN	Privately Held
All Multifamily Renter Households	803	83,633^b	17,666	21.1		
^a Eviction filings per 100 units. ^b Based on U.S. Census American Community Survey 2024 5-year estimate. ^c Manufactured housing community landlord. Source: FHCCI analysis of eviction case filing data from Indiana Supreme Court; multifamily and manufactured housing property data from CoStar.						

APPENDIX C: Top 25 Multifamily Landlords By Highest Eviction Filing Rate (Marion County, 2025)

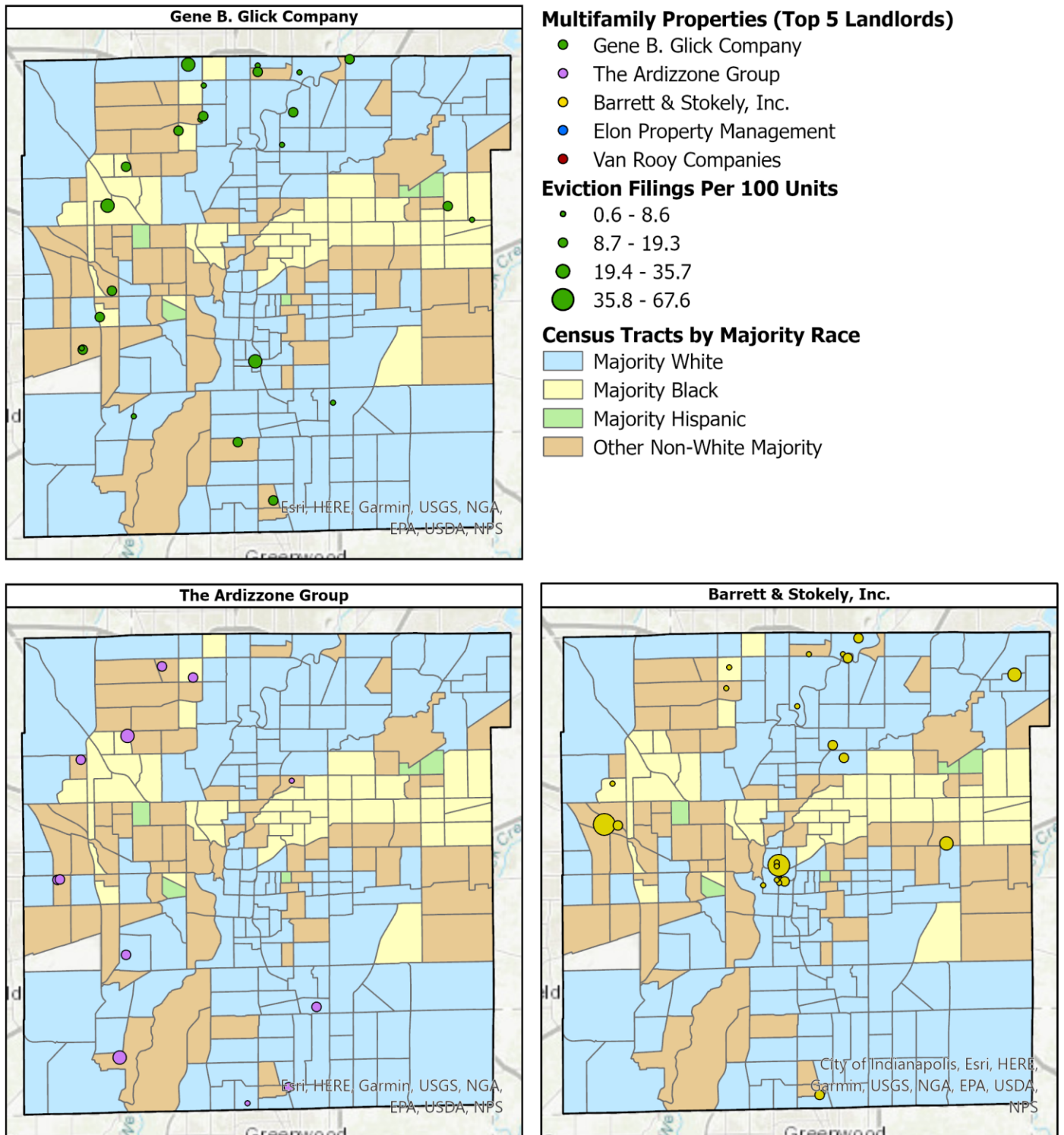
Landlord Name	Number of Properties	Total Units	Eviction Filings	Eviction Filing Rate ^a	HQ State	Company Ownership Type
BSG Enterprises LLC	1	204	137	67.2	IN	Privately Held
Garden City Trailer Park	1	30	19	63.3	IN	Privately Held
Ackermann Group	2	440	209	47.5	OH	Privately Held
Dennis Brackenridge	2	85	37	43.5	IN	Privately Held
Zarris & Company	1	120	51	42.5	FL	Privately Held
Chimera Property Management	2	66	28	42.4	IN	Privately Held
Odin Properties	4	412	156	37.9	PA	Privately Held
Brookside Properties, Inc.	4	641	240	37.4	TN	Privately Held
Burlington Capital	1	212	79	37.3	NE	Privately Held
HI Management	1	173	64	37.0	IN	Privately Held
The Annex Group	1	158	58	36.7	IN	Privately Held
Stan Residential/RW Equities	2	648	230	35.5	NY	Privately Held
Garfield Park Apartments	1	99	34	34.3	IN	Privately Held
Greystar	5	1,372	465	33.9	SC	Private Equity-Backed
Strategic Management Solutions/Manna Capital	2	424	143	33.7	IL	Private Equity-Backed
YES! Communities/Stockbridge Capital Partners	3	1,420	470	33.1	CO	Private Equity-Backed
Zinger Property Group	1	166	54	32.5	IL	Privately Held
Indy Collective Property Group/Reverie Estates	11	499	159	31.9	IN	Privately Held
Clifton River Capital	1	152	48	31.6	NJ	Privately Held
Hope Property Group	1	58	18	31.0	IN	Privately Held
PEG Companies	1	88	26	29.5	UT	Private Equity-Backed
AION Partners	3	1,426	385	27.0	NY	Private Equity-Backed
TBH Management	1	186	50	26.9	IN	Privately Held
Haley Residential	1	196	52	26.5	NE	Privately Held
Granite Student Living	7	220	58	26.4	IN	Privately Held
All Multifamily Renter Households	803	83,633^b	17,666	21.1		
<i>Excludes landlords with <20 units. ^aEviction filings per 100 units. ^bBased on U.S. Census American Community Survey 2024 5-year estimate. ^cManufactured housing community landlord. Source: FHCCI analysis of eviction case filing data from Indiana Supreme Court; multifamily and manufactured housing property data from CoStar.</i>						

APPENDIX D: Top 25 Multifamily Properties By Highest Eviction Filing Rate (Marion County, 2025)

Property Name	Address	ZIP Code	Units	Eviction Filings	Eviction Filing Rate ^a	True Owner ^b	Property Manager ^b
Everly at Meridian Hills	832 Park Central Ct.	46260	113	86	76.1	Everly at Meridian Hills	Brookside Properties, Inc.
Riverchase Apartments	2730 Riverchase Dr.	46214	216	161	74.5	Ackermann Group	Ackermann Group
Francis Apartments	1819 Main St.	46107	35	24	68.6	Dennis Brackenridge	Dennis Brackenridge
Indy Flats Apartments	1304 N. Delaware St.	46202	108	73	67.6	Barrett Realty Investments	Barrett & Stokely, Inc.
Heather Ridge Apartments	3245 Heather Ridge Dr.	46214	204	137	67.2	Bob Gupta	BSG Enterprises LLC
Garden City Mobile Home Park	4911 Rockville Rd.	46224	30	19	63.3	James Bohunsky	N/A
Crossroads at Madison	4725 Madison Ave.	46227	111	65	58.6	Hartford Rentals LLC	Hartford Rentals
Eagle's Edge Apartments ^c	4301 Falcon Creek Blvd.	46254	131	76	58.0	Majestic Group LLC	Van Rooy Companies
Linwood Manor ^c	4509 E. Washington St.	46201	28	16	57.1	Indianapolis Public Transportation Corporation	Herron Property Management
Gladstone Apartments	4317 E. Washington St.	46201	48	26	54.2	Partners In Housing Development Corp	Herron Property Management
Pebble Point Apartments	3030 Pebble Point Dr.	46214	220	118	53.6	White Eagle Property Group LLC	Barrett & Stokely, Inc.
The Courts of Monon	3605-3609 Balsam Ave.	46205	58	31	53.4	Indy Collective Property Group/Reverie Estates	Indy Collective Property Group/Reverie Estates
Northampton Village Apartments ^c	3775 Allerton Pl.	46226	90	48	53.3	Lightwater Capital Investments	Van Rooy Companies
Oxmoor Apartments	3640 N. Meridian St.	46208	20	10	50.0	Indy Oxmoor LP	BHB Investments
Mariners Village Apartments	7135 Islander Dr.	46214	244	120	49.2	RW Equities	Stan Residential
Shadeland Terrace Townhomes	4620 Englewood Ave.	46226	98	48	49.0	Van Rooy Companies	Van Rooy Companies
Parkway Terrace Apartments	4521 E. Washington St.	46201	72	35	48.6	Vaturi Star Properties	N/A
Greenway Apartments	5300 E. 21st St.	46218	96	46	47.9	Odin Properties	Odin Properties
Country Lake Estates	9201 E. 30th St.	46229	185	88	47.6	Lightwater Capital Investments	Van Rooy Companies
Runaway Bay Apartments	2030 Runaway Bay Dr.	46224	192	91	47.4	Independence Realty Trust, Inc.	Independence Realty Trust, Inc.
Edison at Meridian Hills North	811 Antique Ct.	46260	220	104	47.3	Covenant Capital Group	Brookside Properties, Inc.
Historic Audubon Court Apartments	5703 E. Washington St.	46219	32	15	46.9	Indy Collective Property Group/Reverie Estates	Indy Collective Property Group/Reverie Estates
Arlington Village	6035 Williamsburg Ct.	46226	80	37	46.3	Group Ventures, LLC	N/A
Mariwood Mobile Home Community	9231 Mariwood Pkwy.	46234	296	135	45.6	YES! Communities	YES! Communities
Guion Creek Apartments	5902 Guion Rd.	46254	42	19	45.2	Chimera Property Management	Chimera Property Management
All Multifamily Renter Households			83,633^d	17,666	21.1		
<i>Excludes properties with <20 units. ^aEviction filings per 100 units. ^bAs of September 2025. ^cSubsidized property. ^dBased on U.S. Census American Community Survey 2024 5-year estimate. Source: FHCCI analysis of eviction case filing data from Indiana Supreme Court; multifamily and manufactured housing property data from CoStar.</i>							

APPENDIX E: Eviction Filing Rates at Properties Operated by Top 5 Multifamily Landlords

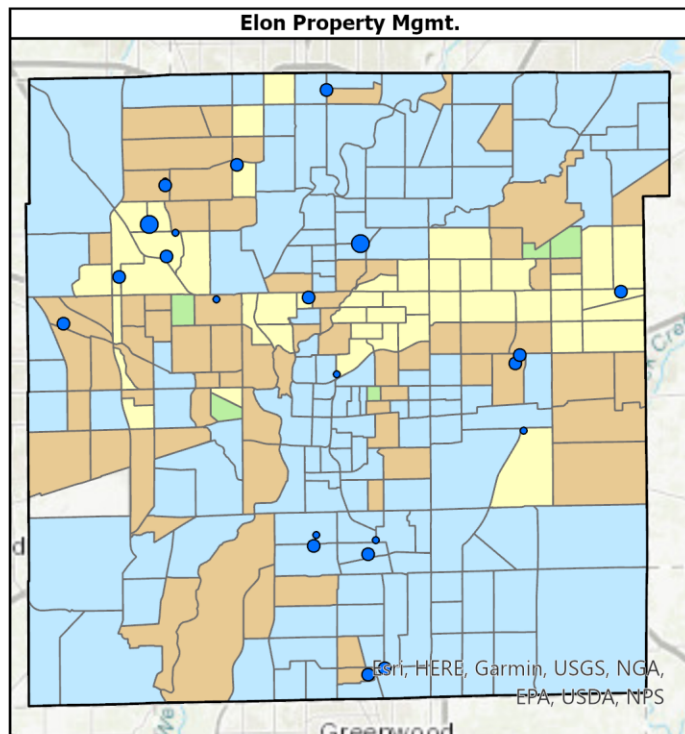
MAP: Eviction Filing Rates at Properties Operated by Top 5 Multifamily Landlords
(Marion County, 2025)



Source: FHCCI analysis of eviction case filing data from Indiana Supreme Court; multifamily property data from CoStar; U.S. Census American Community Survey 5-year estimates, 2024.

APPENDIX E: Eviction Filing Rates at Properties Operated by Top 5 Multifamily Landlords (continued)

MAP: Eviction Filing Rates at Properties Operated by Top 5 Multifamily Landlords (continued)
(Marion County, 2025)



Multifamily Properties (Top 5 Landlords)

- Gene B. Glick Company
- The Ardizzone Group
- Barrett & Stokely, Inc.
- Elon Property Management
- Van Rooy Companies

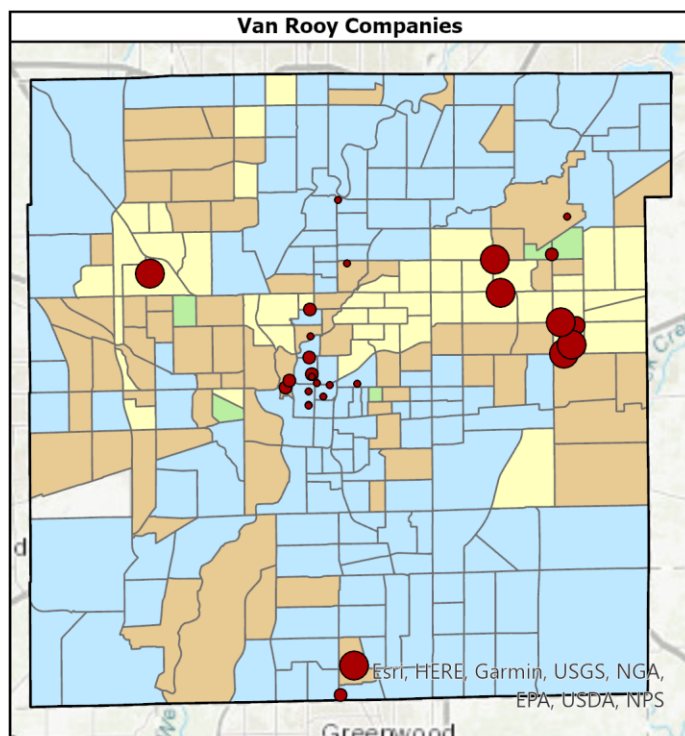
Eviction Filings Per 100 Units

- 0.6 - 8.6
- 8.7 - 19.3
- 19.4 - 35.7
- 35.8 - 67.6

Census Tracts by Majority Race

- Majority White
- Majority Black
- Majority Hispanic
- Other Non-White Majority

Source: FHCCI analysis of eviction case filing data from Indiana Supreme Court; multifamily property data from CoStar; U.S. Census American Community Survey 5-year estimates, 2024.



APPENDIX F: Top25 Subsidized Properties with Highest Eviction Filing Rates

Property Name	Address	ZIP Code	Eviction Filings	Total Units	Eviction Filing Rate ^a	Subsidy Program(s) ^d	True Owner ^c	Property Manager ^c
Eagle's Edge Apartments	4301 Falcon Creek Blvd.	46254	76	131	58.0	LIHTC	Majestic Group LLC	Van Rooy Companies
Stratford Place Apartments	6050 Castleford Dr.	46203	51	120	42.5	LIHTC	Zarris & Company	Zarris & Company
Linwood Manor	4509 E. Washington St.	46201	16	56	28.6	HOME	Indianapolis Public Transportation Corp.	Herron Property Management
Camby Crossing Apartment Homes	7402 Camby Crossing Dr.	46113	34	120	28.3	LIHTC	CM3 Properties LLC	Vicinia Property Management
Northampton Village Apartments	3775 Allerton Pl.	46226	48	180	26.7	HOME, LIHTC	Lightwater Capital Investments	Van Rooy Companies
The Villages at Mill Crossing	3615 Sherman Forest Dr.	46205	100	383	26.1	LIHTC	The Community Builders, Inc.	Herron Property Management
Forest Ridge Apartments	7676 Horsetail Dr.	46260	55	220	25.0	LIHTC	Pedcor Companies	Pedcor Companies
Lakes @ Crossbridge	7925 Crossbridge Dr.	46226	61	252	24.2	LIHTC	Kittle Property Group, Inc.	Kittle Property Group, Inc.
The Enclave at Meridian	3777 N. Meridian St.	46208	18	75	24.0	PBV, LIHTC	Kittle Property Group, Inc.	Kittle Property Group, Inc.
The Life at Belhaven Place	625 Belhaven Pl.	46229	58	248	23.4	LIHTC	Olive Tree Holdings	Asset Living
Constitution Gardens Apartments	3433 Central Ave.	46205	16	73	21.9	PBRA, LIHTC	Merchants Affordable Housing/RDOOR	Bradley Company
Mount Paran Square Apartments	3465 Boulevard Pl.	46208	5	23	21.7	S202	Thomas D Linkmeyer Group	Thomas D Linkmeyer Group
Willow Glen South	4880 Willow Glen Dr.	46107	128	592	21.6	PBRA	Samaritan Companies	Samaritan Companies
Proctor Place	240 N. Warman Ave.	46222	13	61	21.3	LIHTC	Woda Cooper Companies	Woda Cooper Companies
Stonegate Apartments	1220-1226 N. Illinois St.	46202	11	53	20.8	LIHTC	The Millennia Companies	The Millennia Companies
Colonial Square Apartments	5650 Renn Ln.	46254	41	206	19.9	PBRA	Gene B. Glick Company	Gene B. Glick Company
Union at 16th	2152 Emrich Ln.	46222	61	316	19.3	LIHTC	The Annex Group	The Annex Group
The Seminole	920 N. Alabama St.	46202	6	33	18.2	LIHTC	Monument Realty & Management	Monument Realty & Management
Northwood On The Trail	8921 Compton St.	46240	40	254	15.7	LIHTC	TWG Development	Gene B. Glick Company
Pershing Place	1432 N. Pershing Ave.	46222	4	26	15.4	HOME	Nocerino Construction Company	Buckingham Companies
The Steeples on Washington	2910 Steeples Dr.	46222	21	144	14.6	LIHTC	Pedcor Companies	Pedcor Companies
The Pines at SoBro	5018 Lemans Dr.	46205	58	398	14.6	LIHTC	Emerald Empire/CYM Living	Emerald Empire/CYM Living
East Village at Avondale Meadows	3810 Cooper Square Ct.	46205	36	248	14.5	HOME, LIHTC	The Sterling Group	The Sterling Group
Penn Street Tower	115 N. Pennsylvania St.	46204	14	98	14.3	LIHTC	Orloff Property Holdings IN LLC	Orloff Property Holdings IN LLC
Cambridge Square North	7110 Township Line Rd.	46268	54	380	14.2	PBRA	Gene B. Glick Company	Gene B. Glick Company
All Subsidized Properties			1,918	18,439^b	10.4			

Excludes properties with <20 units. ^aEviction filings per 100 units in property. ^bBased on sum of all units in subsidized properties. ^cAs of September 2025. ^dDefinition of subsidy programs: LIHTC = Low Income Housing Tax Credit (below-market rents for low-income households in some or all units); PBRA = Project-Based Rental Assistance (subsidized rents for low-income households); HOME = HOME Investment Partnerships Program (below-market rents for low-income households); PBV = Project-Based Voucher (subsidized rents for low-income households); S202 = Section 202 (subsidized rents for low-income households including seniors). Source: FHCCI analysis of subsidized housing data from National Housing Preservation Database; eviction case filing data from Indiana Supreme Court; multifamily property ownership data from CoStar.

ABOUT THE FAIR HOUSING CENTER OF CENTRAL INDIANA

The Fair Housing Center of Central Indiana (FHCCI) was incorporated in August 2011 by a small group of dedicated fair housing advocates. The FHCCI began operations in January 2012 and is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization.

Mission: The mission of the FHCCI is to facilitate open housing for all people by ensuring the availability of affordable and accessible housing; promoting housing choice and homeownership; advocating for an inclusive housing market; working toward stable and equitable communities; and eradicating discrimination within Central Indiana, the State of Indiana, and nationally.

Vision: The FHCCI recognizes the importance of “home” and envisions a country free of housing discrimination where every individual, group, and community enjoys equal housing opportunity and access in a bias-free and open housing market. We envision a country where integrated neighborhoods are the norm, and private and public sectors guarantee civil rights in an open and barrier-free community committed to healing the history of discrimination in America.

Programs: The FHCCI offers four main programs to advance its mission: Counseling, Education, Inclusive Communities, and Public Policy.

Service Area: The FHCCI primarily serves 24 counties in Central Indiana: Bartholomew, Boone, Brown, Clinton, Decatur, Delaware, Fayette, Franklin, Hamilton, Hancock, Hendricks, Henry, Johnson, Madison, Marion, Monroe, Morgan, Putnam, Randolph, Rush, Shelby, Tipton, Union, and Wayne. We are available to assist other Indiana counties as staff resources and budgets allow. We are the only nonprofit organization in all of Indiana, at the time of this report issue date, focusing exclusively on fair housing barriers and challenges.

To learn more about the FHCCI, its activities and programs, about housing laws, to review breaking news, or to donate, please visit our website at www.fhcci.org.



www.fhcci.org

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THE STATE OF FAIR HOUSING IN INDIANA REPORT

Marion County's Top Evictors



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