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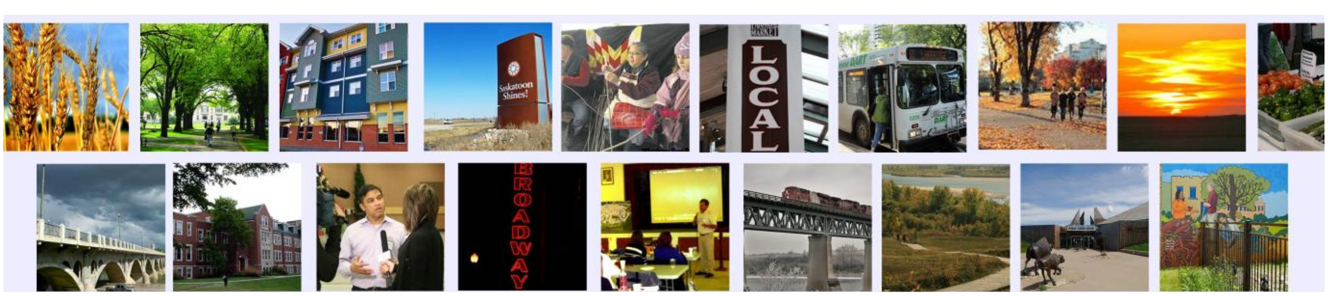
Evictions and the Corporate and Financialized Landlords of Saskatoon

Sarah Buhler and Ifeanyi Oguegbu



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CMHC SCHL
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A SAFE AND AFFORDABLE
PLACE TO CALL HOME

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Eviction contributes to housing insecurity, homelessness, and poverty. But there is evidence that different types of landlords have different approaches when it comes to eviction. Across Canada, researchers have identified the growing financialization of housing—the treatment of rental housing as an investment asset—as an important factor driving rising rents and changing landlord practices, including eviction. Saskatchewan has been identified as a friendly jurisdiction for financialized landlords due to its lack of rent control and other factors. This report examines formal eviction decisions involving Saskatoon tenants in order to investigate how eviction practices differ among different types of landlords, including individual landlords (sometimes known as “mom and pop” landlords), public and non-profit housing providers, and corporate and financialized landlords.

We studied over 800 publicly available formal eviction decisions involving Saskatoon tenants released by Saskatchewan's Office of Residential Tenancies (ORT) during the 2024 calendar year. Unlike studies based on eviction filings, this report focuses on decisions that proceeded to a hearing and resulted in a formal eviction order.

Our findings show that landlords were successful in obtaining eviction orders in almost 92% of cases. Corporate and financialized landlords dominated in terms of their activity at the ORT, accounting for 62% of all eviction orders issued in Saskatoon in 2024. Evictions were also highly concentrated among a small number of landlords: just nine corporate and financialized landlords received over 41% of all eviction orders issued by the ORT in 2024. One financialized landlord received more eviction orders than all public and non-profit housing providers combined.

Rental arrears were by far the most common reason for eviction, accounting for almost four out of every five eviction orders. However, landlord type appeared to influence how quickly landlords turned to formal eviction. Corporate and financialized landlords generally moved to evict tenants after shorter periods of rental arrears than either individual landlords or public and non-profit housing providers. Whereas corporate and financialized on average moved to evict after 1.45 months of arrears, individual landlords waited on average 1.79 months, and social and non-profit landlords waited 2.5 months on average. Financialized landlords demonstrated the lowest tolerance for arrears, while public and non-profit landlords allowed tenants substantially more time before pursuing eviction. These findings are consistent with growing evidence that profit-driven ownership models are associated with more aggressive eviction practices.

Overall, this report suggests that ownership changes in Saskatoon's rental housing market have implications for housing security. As corporate and financialized landlords continue to expand their share of the rental market (it is estimated that financialized landlords own up to 20-30% of purpose-built rental units in Canada), increasing numbers of tenants may face greater risk of formal eviction. The findings also highlight the important role that public and non-profit housing providers play in supporting housing stability.

The report concludes that stronger efforts are needed to prevent eviction and improve housing security. These include ensuring that the ORT gives full consideration to its obligation to make decisions that are "just and equitable," expanding eviction prevention measures and tenant supports, investing in public and non-profit housing, adopting policies to curb the rapid financialization of housing, and embracing housing as a human right. Together, these measures could help promote more secure housing and reduce evictions in Saskatoon and beyond.

INTRODUCTION

On May 24, 2024, Saskatchewan's Office of Residential Tenancies ("the ORT") ordered the immediate eviction of a family from their rental home in Saskatoon (Avenue Living Communities Ltd v. Fry, 2024). The family's landlord, Avenue Living, is a large, financialized landlord that boasted record-breaking growth and profits in 2024 (Avenue Living, 2025).[1] In this particular case, Avenue Living sought immediate eviction on the grounds that the family was less than one month behind on their rent. At the eviction hearing, the father testified that he was living with a disability and had experienced several recent hospital visits. A recent reduction in income had caused the family to fall behind on their bills. The family claimed they would face homelessness if evicted. Noting that "[j]ustice and equity do not demand that a Landlord carry Tenants through difficult financial times", the hearing officer issued an immediate eviction order (Avenue Living Communities Ltd v. Fry, 2024, para. 12).

This case was one of 815 eviction decisions involving Saskatoon-based tenants released by the ORT in 2024. As in the vast majority of these decisions, the tenants in this case received an immediate eviction order. Also, as in the majority of the decisions, the landlord here was a non-human entity (in this case a large, financialized landlord). In this report, we discuss the findings of our research into the ORT's 2024 Saskatoon-based eviction decisions. Our focus is to identify the types of landlords receiving eviction orders at the ORT, and to study what the decisions reveal about how different types of landlords—including corporate and financialized landlords, public or non-profit housing providers, and individual or "mom and pop" landlords— operate

[1] We define financialization and financialized landlords below.

when it comes to formal eviction processes. This report starts with a literature review that discusses the financialization of rental housing and its connection to the housing crisis and eviction in Canada. The literature review also describes existing research about how different types of landlords tend to approach eviction differently. We then discuss our methodology and present our findings. Our research shows that in 2024, corporate and financialized landlords were the dominant players at eviction hearings involving Saskatoon tenants. Significantly, we found that a very small group of corporate and financialized entities received a majority of eviction orders from the ORT: just nine landlords received over 41% of total eviction orders. In fact, one of these landlords, Mainstreet Equity, received more eviction orders than all social and non-profit landlords combined. Our research also shows that corporate and financialized landlords have a lower tolerance for rental arrears, meaning that tenants of these landlords are often more vulnerable to formal eviction processes than tenants of "mom and pop" or social/ non-profit landlords. Our research is significant because it investigates actual eviction orders: other similar research to date has mostly focused on eviction filing data (Flynn et al., 2026; Gomory, 2022; Summers & Steil, 2025). Our findings highlight the need for more deeply affordable housing, controls on the financialization of housing, meaningful eviction prevention programs, and the promotion of human-rights based housing laws and policies.

Report purpose

This report examines the formal eviction practices of landlords operating in Saskatoon by analyzing eviction orders issued by the Saskatchewan ORT during the 2024 calendar year. It focuses on how landlord type influences the use and outcomes of formal eviction proceedings and contributes new empirical data based on actual eviction decisions.

The report aims to do the following:

- Examine the formal eviction practices of different types of landlords operating in Saskatoon using published ORT eviction decisions.
- Assess whether landlord type influences the frequency and outcomes of formal eviction proceedings.
- Contribute Saskatoon- and Saskatchewan-specific empirical data on landlord behaviour and formal eviction practices based on actual eviction orders.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review covering both peer-reviewed and grey literature discusses eviction law and process, the current housing crisis and financialization of housing, and landlord types and eviction practices.

1. Eviction and eviction law and processes

Paying attention to eviction is important because of the many harmful impacts of eviction for both affected individuals and society more generally. Eviction uproots people from their homes and communities and can induce the loss of social ties and feelings of belonging for those it impacts (Crosby, 2023). Researchers have shown that eviction is associated with negative physical and mental health outcomes and loss of educational and employment opportunities (Collinson & Reed, 2018; Humphries et al., 2019). In a recent report, participants used the language of trauma to describe the impacts of eviction on their lives (Wachsmuth et al., 2023). Eviction can also lead to the fragmentation of families because loss of housing has been shown to lead to child apprehension (Tang et al., 2024). In addition, researchers have shown that eviction often leads to long-term housing instability and homelessness for those who experience it (Collinson & Reed, 2018). Indeed, more than half of respondents in Saskatoon's 2024 Point-in-Time Homelessness Count reported that an eviction had precipitated their homelessness (Nili et al., 2025). And eviction does not affect all tenants equally. Rather, research has established that eviction disproportionately affects already-disadvantaged groups (August, 2022; August & St-Hilaire, 2025; Crosby, 2023; Paradis, 2016).

In Saskatchewan, eviction cases are handled not by a court, but by an administrative tribunal known as the Office of Residential Tenancies (the ORT). Landlords can seek to evict tenants on a variety of grounds, including late or non-payment of rent, tenant behaviours, or because the landlord seeks to renovate or have a family member move into the property. However, as we will discuss below, by far the most common ground for eviction matters at the ORT is rental arrears. Where a tenant is 15 days or more in arrears, the landlord can formally commence the eviction process (*The Residential Tenancies Act, 2006*, s. 57(1)). The ORT adjudicates applications by landlords for eviction through a hearing that is typically held over the phone. The hearing officer must evaluate evidence and determine whether a landlord has proven their case. As part of the analysis, the ORT hearing officer must determine whether eviction would be "just and equitable" (*The Residential Tenancies Act, 2006*, s. 70(6)). The Court of King's Bench has held that this means hearing officers are able to "do what is just, fair and right, in consideration of the facts and circumstances of the individual case" (Donnelly v. Dupuis, 2007, para. 14). More recently, the Court has held that when considering eviction, hearing officers must inquire into various factors including the length of the tenancy, the source of the tenant's income, and possible impediments to the receipt of income and family circumstances (Bell v Mainstreet Equity, 2024). In short, eviction is not supposed to be an automatic outcome.

However, previous research has established that landlords are almost always successful in eviction matters in Saskatchewan and beyond. Multiple factors contribute to the high rate of landlord success in formal eviction hearings. First, in the majority of cases, tenants do not attend the hearing. For example, according to Wachsmuth et al. (2023), only 17% of tenants reported attending their hearings. Faced with an eviction application, many tenants feel hopeless, pessimistic, and resigned to searching for new housing (Buhler & Tang, 2019; Wachsmuth et al, 2023). Second, high caseloads and busy dockets mean that hearings happen very quickly and decisionmakers have little time to assess evidence and consider the law. Indeed, the Saskatchewan Court of King's Bench has commented on the ORT's "rocket docket" approach wherein hearings may be concluded within a few minutes (Bell v. Mainstreet Equity, 2024). Other factors that contribute to high landlord success rates include landlord familiarity with the process (especially in the case of large landlords with multiple rental properties), tenant lack of knowledge about their rights, and persistent power imbalances between landlords and tenants (Sabbeth, 2018).

2. The housing crisis and the financialization of housing

Safe and affordable housing is essential for human health and wellbeing. In 2019, the Government of Canada passed legislation stating that housing is a human right in this country (*National Housing Strategy Act*, 2019). Yet all indicators point to a growing housing crisis in Canada. Rates of homelessness have risen sharply across the country HICC, 2026) and growing numbers of people experience "core housing need", which is defined as when "a household is below one or more of the adequacy, suitability and affordability standards" and "the household would have to spend 30% or more of its before-tax household income to access local housing that meets all three standards" (CMHC, 2019). Over 40% of tenants in Canada pay more than they can afford. According to McDonald and Tranjan (2022), a Canadian minimum wage worker cannot afford an average one-bedroom apartment in 93% of the country's neighbourhoods.

Saskatoon is one of the cities in Canada with the highest rate of homelessness relative to population (City of Saskatoon, 2026). Homelessness rose 172.5% from 2022 to 2024 and rose 30% from 2024 to 2025 in Saskatoon (City of Saskatoon, 2026). Minimum wage workers in Saskatoon find it difficult to access affordable homes as only about 5% of rental homes were realistically affordable for them in 2023 (CMHC, 2024a; CCHR, 2024). Most low-income families in Saskatoon experience core housing need (HART, 2024). It is estimated that at least 178 new affordable rental homes per year are required in Saskatoon, but production is not keeping pace with demand (Saskatoon Community Foundation, 2023).

The stage for the current housing crisis in Canada was set as early as the 1990s, when the federal government entered into an era of retrenchment from social housing investments, and where rent controls and other tenant protections were weakened across the country (August 2022; Crosby & Kennelly, 2022). In recent years, researchers have been particularly concerned about the phenomenon of the "financialization of housing" which they have identified as a key driver of the current housing affordability crisis (August & St. Hilaire, 2025). The financialization of housing refers to a process whereby financial actors are able to invest in rental housing through entities such as Real Estate Investment Trusts (REITs)—known as "financialized landlords" (August, 2022).[2] Today's financialized landlords include private equity funds; publicly listed real estate companies such as Real Estate Operating Companies (REOCs), or Real Estate Investment Trusts (REITs); Asset Management Companies; institutions such as pension funds, insurance companies, or endowment funds; and hedge funds and sovereign wealth funds (August, 2022).

[2] In 1997, Canadian Apartment Properties REIT (CAPREIT), Canada's first multi-family apartment REIT, was launched (August, 2022).

What distinguishes them from other types of corporate entities is that their primary focus is to enable third parties to invest and profit from real estate. This leads to more aggressive strategies and tactics aimed at extracting profits from tenants.

Financialized landlords acquire multi-family rental housing and then turn these units into investment products by making it possible for investors to subscribe, either privately or publicly on the stock exchange with the goal of making a return on investment (August, 2022). This investment income is primarily derived from monthly rent paid by tenants. However, in order to increase profitability, financialized landlords must continuously find ways to extract profit from their rental units whether through rent increases, the imposition of new charges and costs on tenants, or cuts to amenities and services (August, 2022; Fesko, 2025). To this end, financialized landlords are leading the way in terms of the use of technology such as algorithmic pricing software which enables them to profile renters and to maximize rents (August & Mah, 2025; Harwood et al., 2025; Wachsmuth et al., 2023). Researchers have shown an association between the financialization of housing and increasing rental prices. For example, August and St Hilaire (2025) showed that financialized landlords charge more rent and increase rents at faster rates than other landlord types. Others have made similar observations. For example, ACORN Canada (2022) found that tenants of financialized landlords in Canada are likely to pay higher rents than tenants of other landlord types. August and Mah (2025) observe that financialized landlords therefore are “driving inequality in the residential sphere” (p. 17).

Saskatchewan has been identified as a friendly jurisdiction for financialized landlords because of its lack of rent controls and other landlord friendly policies (August, 2022). A variety of financialized firms operate in the Saskatchewan housing market and have been rapidly acquiring more units over recent years. One of the largest financialized landlords operating in Saskatchewan is Mainstreet Equity (Mainstreet). Its founder has spoken about the benefits of "unleashed capitalism" in the housing market and noted that Alberta and Saskatchewan were friendly jurisdictions for the firm based on their "free enterprise spirit" (In the Money, 2025; Kanwar, 2025) and lack of rent control (Mainstreet, 2025a). Mainstreet's assets were valued at $3.6 billion in 2025: it owns 18,771 apartments units in Western Canada (Mainstreet, 2025b; Mainstreet, 2025a) including 3,635 units in Saskatchewan with 2,644 units in Saskatoon (Mainstreet, 2025a). Mainstreet is structured as a Real Estate Operating Company (REOC) and pursues a self-described strategy of buying "underperforming properties" and "repositioning" them (Mainstreet, 2025c, 2025d). August argues that the language of "repositioning" is often used by financialized firms as a euphemism for strategies to drive up rents, which may include displacing existing tenants and reducing services (August 2020; Parsons 2015). Mainstreet stated that it "achieved a 12% increase in its rental revenues" in Q3 2025 in Saskatchewan – higher than its rental revenues from Alberta and Manitoba in the same period (Mainstreet, 2025a, p. 27). This increase in revenue was in part because of reductions in utilities and maintenance expenses (Mainstreet, 2025a, 2025b). These profits also seem tied to increases in rents: according to a 2024 news report, Mainstreet's asking rents had increased over 15% in one year (O'Connor, 2024).

While exact numbers are elusive, we know that financialized landlords are purchasing more and more rental units in Saskatoon. August (2022a) estimates that financialized landlords own up to 20-30% of purpose-built rental units in Canada (August, 2022; Doherty, 2021). In 2024, Saskatoon had a total rental housing stock of 34,180 units. This includes 3,935 social housing units (2,891 government units, 949 non-profit units and 95 others); 17,472 private apartment units in the primary rental market; and 12,773 units in the secondary rental market including rental condominiums (CMHC, 2024b; CMHC, 2025). Of the largest private landlords, Mainstreet owned 2,643 units (or approximately 7.7% of all rental homes in Saskatoon) in 2024 (Mainstreet, 2024).

3. Landlord types and eviction practices

While financialized landlords have been consolidating an ever-larger share of the rental housing stock in Saskatoon and across the country, other types of landlords also continue to operate. These landlords include individuals, small companies, family-run companies, and social or non-profit housing entities. Researchers categorize landlords in different ways. First, some researchers distinguish landlords by the number of units they own/ the size of their portfolios: for example, single-owner landlords (people or corporate entities that own one property) versus multiple-owner landlords (people or corporate entities that own more than one property) (August & St-Hilaire, 2025). Gomery (2022) uses the terms “small-scale” and “large-scale”. Another way to categorize landlords—and the approach we use here in this study—is by the legal nature of the person or entity that owns the rental units. August and Mah (2025) identified the following categories of landlords: (1) financialized (including REITs, publicly listed companies, institutional investors, or entities in which third parties can invest and profit from real estate); (2)

Chain (a company with multiple properties and an official name and website; (3) Chain manager (defined as a property owned by a single or multi-owner but managed professionally by a third-party property management company); (4) Single owner (a person, group, or numbered company that appears to hold only one property; (5) Non-profit (a charity, or non-profit owner of housing; (5) public (socially owned by government) (August & Mah, 2025; August & St-Hilaire, 2025). As we will discuss in the next section, our landlord categories in this research are somewhat similar to those used by August and Mah (2025).

Researchers have hypothesized that corporate and financialized landlords would behave differently than social or individual landlords when it comes to eviction. For example, Fesko (2025) notes that it would be expected that corporate landlords would engage in "increasing rents, having less flexibility and understanding, and increasing renter turnover, in the pursuit of profit maximization" (p. 10). Rising rents would be expected to lead to higher rates of arrears and defaults, which in turn would lead to higher rates of eviction (Fesko, 2025). Corporate or financialized landlords may also be expected to have a lower "tolerance" for rental arrears given the risk that this poses to revenue. As Fesko (2025) writes, where landlords have an obligation to maximize profits, they "evict more immediately" (p. 2). Researchers have also pointed out that corporate landlords, which may have their head offices in other cities, are less likely to establish personal relationships with renters. This phenomenon may lead to lower levels of empathy and fewer attempts to work with tenants to resolve problems or prevent evictions (Gomory, 2022). In contrast, public or non--profit housing providers often have an explicit mandate to try to help people maintain housing.

Research in other jurisdictions has shown that corporate and financialized landlords do indeed seek to evict tenants at higher rates than other types of landlords (August, 2022; Gomory, 2022; Harwood et al., 2025; Sanborn-Hum & Mah, 2025). In the United States, Raymond et al. (2018) found that corporate landlords were 68% more likely to file an eviction than smaller owners, and that the "largest firms are the worst offenders" (p. 11). And Fesko (2025) found that the presence of institutional investors (financialized landlords) in a given area was associated with an 18-24% increase in evictions filed, threatened, and actually adjudicated. In Canada, August and Mah (2025) found that financialized landlords filed for eviction at a disproportionally high rate as compared to other landlords, noting that financialized landlords "are distinctive in their behaviour, treating buildings differently even than corporate chain landlords" (p. 17).

Why is this the case? Of course, we know that many non-financialized landlords, including individual or "mom and pop" landlords, may seek to make profits from their rental unit/s. However, August and St-Hilaire (2025) point out that these landlords are not structurally compelled to maximize profits in quite the same way as financialized landlords. As noted earlier, the survival of financialized landlords depends on continuing to maximize value for their shareholders: this compels more aggressive approaches when it comes to eviction (August & Mah, 2025). However, it is important to note that while research has shown that smaller corporate and individual landlords tend to have lower eviction rates as compared to financialized landlords (August & St-Hilaire, 2025; Reosti et al., 2024; Summer & Steil, 2025), there is evidence that these smaller corporate landlords may be influenced by the strategies and tactics employed by larger firms (August & Mah, 2025; August & St-Hilaire, 2025; Gomory, 2022;

Sanborn-Hum & Mah, 2025). In this way, the practices and tactics employed by financialized landlords influence the wider rental landscape.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, researchers have shown that non-profit and social landlords provide the best security of tenure for tenants (August & St-Hilaire, 2025; Summers & Steil, 2025). Indeed, in Wachsmuth et al.'s (2023) study, none of the participants reported being evicted from public or non-profit housing. August and Mah (2025) conclude that "The least aggressive eviction filers are those that do not operate according to capitalist logics of profit maximization—non-market operators that subsidize rents, provide housing with a social mission, and treat it as a social good rather than a market commodity" (p. 17).

METHODS

The purpose of our study is to investigate aspects of the formal eviction practices of landlords in Saskatoon, and specifically to determine if landlord type made a difference when it came to landlord approaches to formal eviction processes at the ORT. By formal eviction, we mean evictions that go through the formal administrative tribunal process.[3] To do this, we analyzed one calendar year (2024) of published decisions of the Saskatchewan Office of Residential Tenancies (ORT) where a landlord sought an eviction order and where the residential address of the rental home was recorded as being located in the City of Saskatoon.

Our research makes a unique contribution to the literature because it focusses specifically on actual eviction orders. To date, most other research on landlord eviction practices has analyzed eviction "filing" data. That is, researchers have gained access to records showing landlords' *applications* for eviction. Eviction filing data shows which landlords are pursuing eviction but does not show whether eviction hearings actually proceeded or what the outcomes of these hearings were, or whether a tenant was in fact displaced as a result (Wachsmuth et al., 2023). Research on filing practices is valuable as it shows how landlords approach eviction; it also reveals dynamics around landlord behaviour such as the propensity of some large landlords to engage in "serial eviction filing" which has been identified as a disciplinary tactic to pressure tenants to prioritize rental payments but where landlords may not actually proceed to a formal eviction process (Leung et al., 2021). In contrast, our research focusses on eviction matters that

[3] We know that many landlords engage in "informal evictions", meaning that they compel tenants to move out without going through the formal legal process. Informal eviction can include a landlord simply asking a tenant to leave, or may include legal or illegal rent increases that compel a tenant to move, or other tactics such as illegal lockouts.

actually proceed to a hearing and a decision. As we will show, we found that financialized and corporate landlords dominate the total hearings and receive a majority of all eviction orders issued by the ORT.[4]

We were able to conduct this research because the Saskatchewan ORT publishes all of its decisions on a publicly available legal database called CanLII (Young & Restall, 2020). Our focus was limited to decisions of the Saskatchewan ORT published between January 1, 2024, and December 31, 2024, which was the most recent calendar year at the time we commenced our research. The database permits users to filter results based on dates, and so we narrowed the results to decisions released between January 1 and December 31, 2024. We also used the term "Saskatoon" in an attempt to further narrow the results to Saskatoon-based decisions. Our search using these terms returned a total of 1,416 cases. We manually reviewed these cases and removed cases that were not related to eviction or that did not actually involve a Saskatoon tenant address. This process left us with a final total of 817 decisions. We then manually recorded information from each case, including the following: name of landlord, date of hearing, ground under which landlord was seeking eviction, monthly rent (if recorded), rent arrears owed on date of issuance of eviction notice (if the eviction was for rental arrears), and outcome. We note that we used a binary approach to recording outcomes (i.e. either eviction ordered, or dismissed). In reality, the ORT issues several different types of eviction orders, including immediate eviction (most common), meaning the tenant must move out immediately, delayed eviction orders (meaning the tenant has additional time to move out), and in some instances a

[4] Of course, it is likely that not all landlords who received a formal order from the ORT actually proceed to enforce the order.

type of conditional order (meaning that if the tenant complies with a condition stipulated by the hearing officer then the landlord may not remove the tenant) (PLEA, 2018a, 2018b; *The Residential Tenancies Act, 2006*, s. 70(6)). In some cases, the decision also indicates that the eviction order is by consent or with the agreement of the tenant. However, we categorized the various types of eviction orders together for the purpose of this study because in all cases they are an order in favour of the landlord, who would be entitled to enforce the eviction in accordance with the order.

For our study, we decided to create three broad categories of landlords. Where a landlord was listed as a human individual (first name, last name), we categorized that landlord as an "individual landlord". A total of 152 individual landlords were identified in our dataset. The vast majority of these individual landlords engaged in a single eviction over the course of the year, suggesting that they likely did not own multiple properties. However, a small number of individual landlords engaged in several evictions across multiple properties. Second, we created a category for public, social and non-profit landlords—these are non-market players and provide social or supportive housing. These landlords included the Saskatoon Housing Authority, Indigenous housing providers, and non-profit housing providers. Our final major landlord category was corporate/ financialized landlords. This category included property management companies, numbered companies, "chain landlords" and financialized landlords (for example, REITs). As shown below, we later further distinguished between financialized landlords and corporate landlords for some of our analysis.

A limitation of our study is that it captures only formal evictions that proceeded through the ORT. We know that a significant number of tenants are evicted informally, outside the ORT process. Informal evictions are difficult to measure (CCHR, 2025). They include situations where tenants are forced to move out by threats, harassment, payment to leave (known as "cash for keys" in some jurisdictions), lockouts, deliberate sound and noise pollution by landlord construction, or unaffordable rent increases (August & Mah, 2025). At least one American researcher has pointed out that small landlords may be more likely to practice informal evictions, lockouts, and "cash for keys" to avoid the cost associated with formal eviction filing (Reosti et al., 2024). However, paying close attention to formal eviction processes and outcomes is very important because what happens in the formal eviction system has an impact on informal evictions. For example, if the formal system tends to almost always grant eviction orders to landlords, it is likely that tenants will be disinclined to assert their rights when facing informal or illegal eviction attempts by landlords (Desmond, 2016; Roesch-Knapp, 2020; Zainulbhai & Daly, 2022). A further limitation of our study is the possibility of coding or categorization errors because of the manual nature of our research. However, we conducted spot checks throughout the process to try to mitigate this risk.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

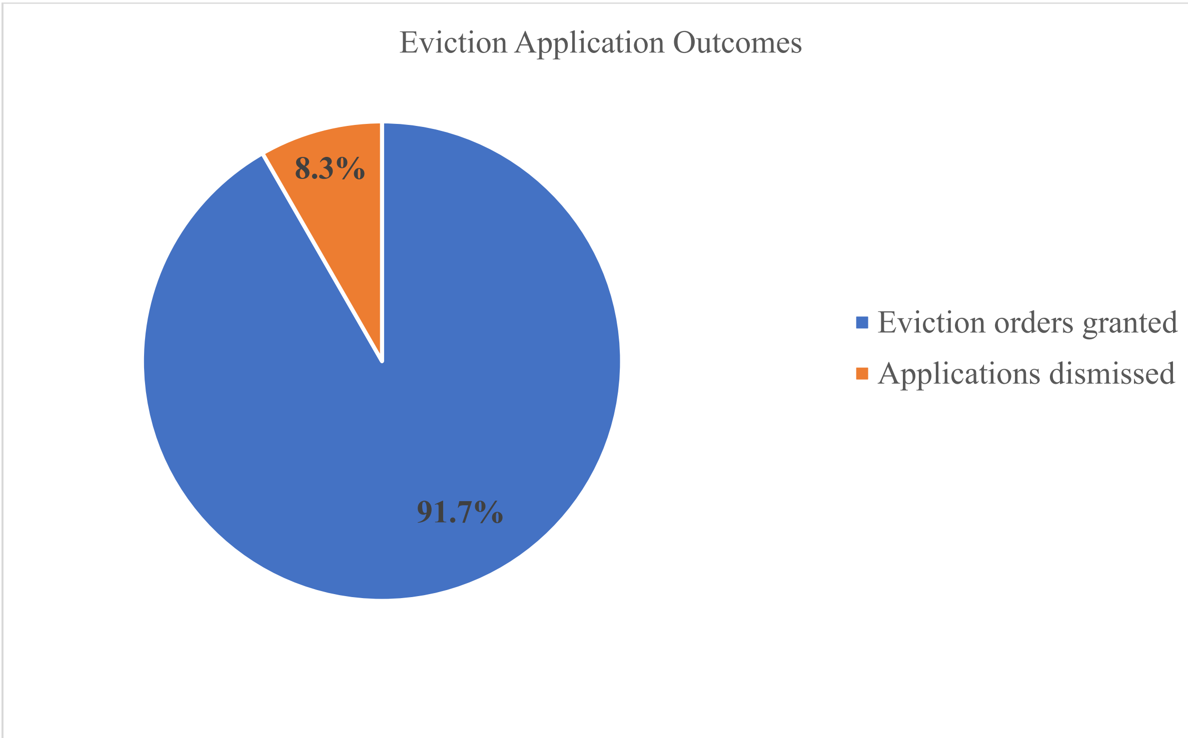
This section sets out and discusses our study findings pertaining to formal eviction orders released by the ORT in 2024 involving Saskatoon-based tenants. We look at eviction success rate and outcomes based on landlord type, the share of eviction orders for which the different landlord types were responsible, the top corporate and financialized landlords in terms of eviction orders obtained, reasons for eviction, and how quickly different types of landlord moved to evict where tenants were in rental arrears.

1. Landlords almost always win and corporate and financialized landlords have higher success rates than individual landlords

In 2024, landlords seeking eviction orders at the ORT in cases involving Saskatoon tenants were successful in 91.7% of cases (747 out of 815 decisions).[5] See Figure 1. While all landlords enjoyed a very high rate of success, our research reveals that corporate and financialized landlords were successful in obtaining eviction orders 93% of the time. Meanwhile, individual landlords were successful in 86% of cases. Overall, landlords were unsuccessful in receiving an eviction order 8.3% of the time. However, we note that the reasons for dismissals were often on technical grounds such as lack of proper service. In many cases, it seemed clear that the landlord could correct the error, re-apply, and likely receive the order.

[5] Including immediate and delayed orders

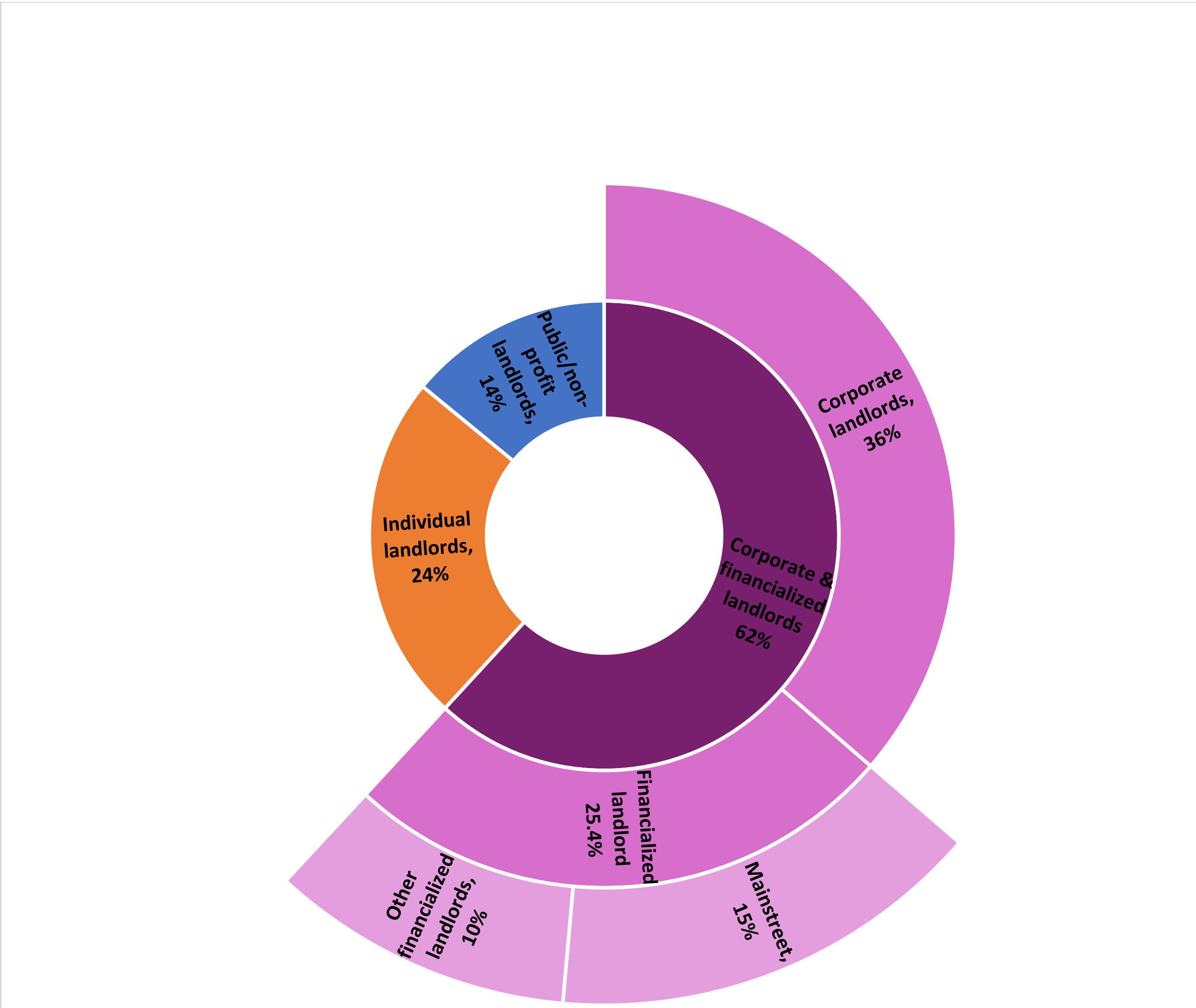
Figure 1. Outcomes (all landlord types)



2. **Corporate and financialized landlords received the majority of total eviction orders**

Our research shows that corporate and financialized landlords obtained the majority of total eviction orders against Saskatoon-based tenants in 2024 (Figure 2). Out of the 747 eviction orders in Saskatoon in 2024, corporate and financialized landlords were involved in 461 (62%) of the cases. Meanwhile, eviction orders granted to individual landlords accounted for 24% of total eviction orders (179 decisions). Finally, social and non-profit landlords received 107 eviction orders (or 14% of the total). This finding is illustrated in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Percentage of Total Eviction Orders by Landlord Type



3. **A significant portion of Eviction cases are concentrated among a very small number of corporate and financialized landlords**

In 2024, sixty-nine different corporate and financialized landlords received at least one eviction order at the ORT. These companies include numbered companies registered in Saskatchewan and British Columbia, property management companies, and financialized landlords including Mainstreet Equity, Western Premium, Avenue Living, Progressive Property, Boardwalk, Weidner Investments, Hazelview, and Altyn Chaben. However, a small subgroup of these corporate and financialized landlords received a disproportionate number of total eviction orders. Indeed, of the total 747 eviction orders issued by the ORT in 2024, 310 (or 41.5%) involved only nine landlords. Evictions orders are therefore highly concentrated among a very few large landlords. It is significant to note that Mainstreet Equity Corp., which as noted above owned about 7.7% of total rental units in Saskatoon, received about 15% of all eviction orders issued by the ORT in 2024, more than all social/ nonprofit landlords put together (see Figure 2).

4. **Rental arrears are the primary reason for eviction of Saskatoon tenants and financialized and corporate landlords have a lower tolerance for arrears than other landlords**

Between January 1, 2024, and December 31, 2024, the most common reason for eviction of tenants in Saskatoon among all landlord types including corporate and financialized landlords was rental arrears. In fact, 79% of eviction orders in 2024 involved rental arrears. See Figure 3. Our findings are consistent with the literature that, as discussed earlier, posits that profit-driven landlords and especially financialized landlords have the lowest tolerance for rental arrears, and social and non-profit landlords, whose mandate is to support people's housing, have the most tolerance for arrears. We found that corporate and financialized landlords had the lowest tolerance for rental arrears and moved to evict as soon as tenants were on average 1.45 months in arrears. Meanwhile, individual landlords waited on average 1.79 months before moving to evict, and social and non-profit landlords waited to commence eviction proceedings until tenants were on average 2.5 months in arrears. Significantly, we found that financialized landlords had the lowest average tolerance for rental arrears. Mainstreet Equity proceeded with eviction when tenants were on average 1.37 months in arrears. And Avenue Living and Boardwalk moved to evict tenants before they were even one month behind in their rent (Avenue Living 0.98 months; Boardwalk 0.85 months). The average waiting time for financialized landlords was 1.07 months. See Figure 4.

Figure 3. Reasons for Eviction in 2024

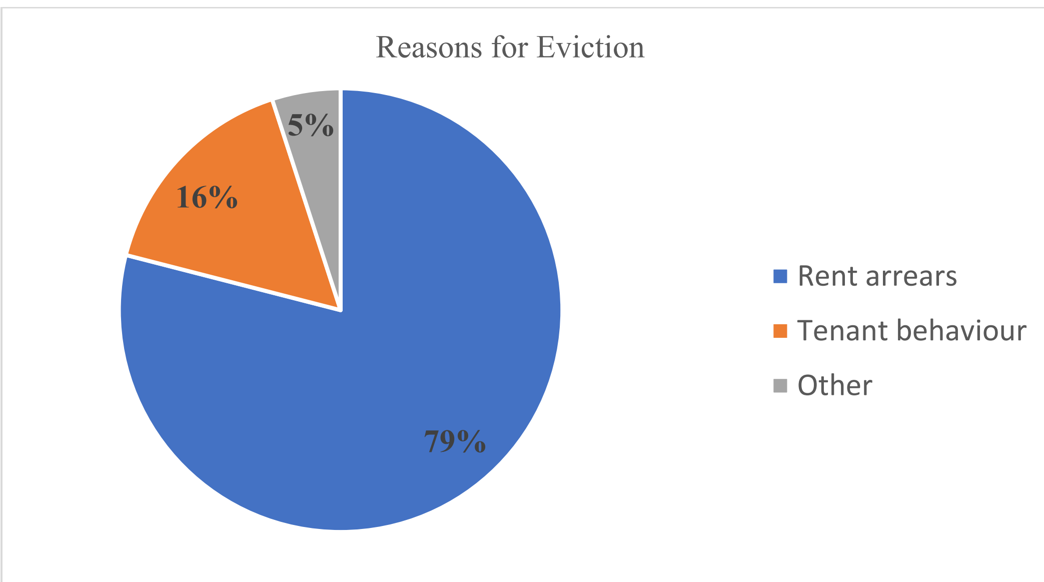
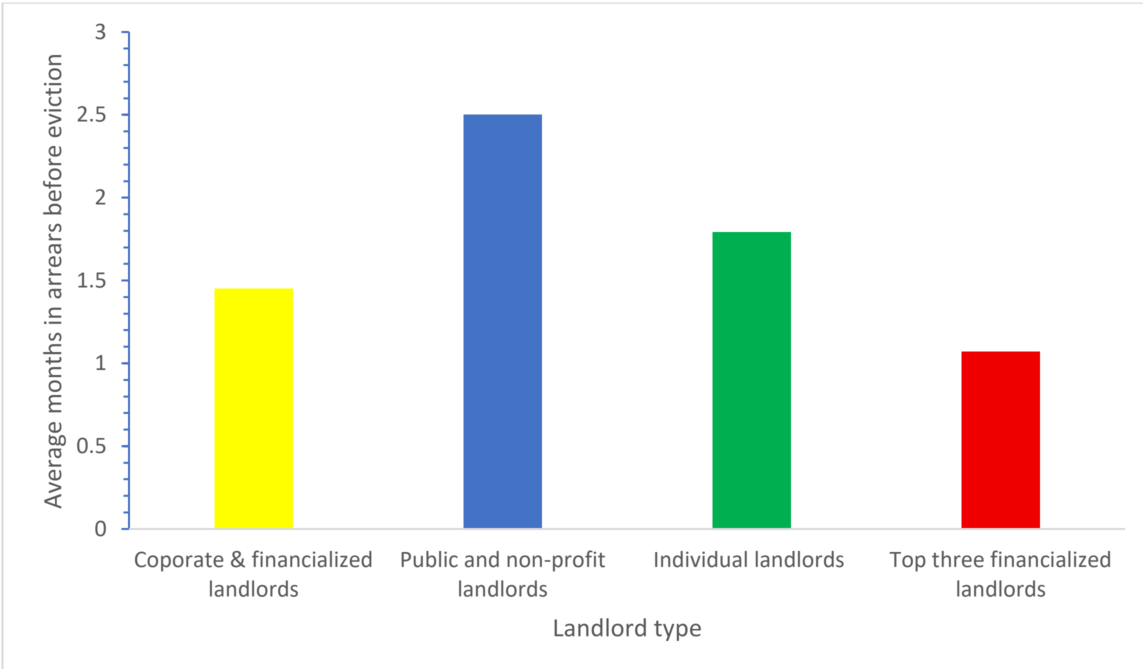


Figure 4. Average Months in Arrears Before Eviction by Landlord Type



CONCLUSION

We conclude by returning to the decision we discussed at the start of this report. The financialized landlord in that case sought (and received) an eviction order where a tenant had been hospitalized and owed less than one month's rent. Like all financialized landlords, this landlord had a mandate to pursue profit for its investors and this likely led to little flexibility when it came to the tenant's health and financial struggles. Although the landlord made record profits that year, the ORT expressed concern that the landlord not be required to bear any financial burden associated with the tenant's difficult situation and granted an immediate eviction order. We do not know if the tenants subsequently became homeless following their eviction as they feared. Our research shows that these Saskatoon tenants were not alone—a total of 747 received eviction orders in 2024—and most of these cases were brought by corporate or financialized landlords.

Our research demonstrated that a significant portion of the tribunal's docket is dedicated to processing (and granting) the claims of corporate and financialized landlords, some of which are highly profitable entities, skilled at extracting maximum profits from their tenants through a variety of tactics. We believe that legislators, policy makers and the tribunal itself should acknowledge this on-the-ground reality. Currently, neither the governing legislation nor the ORT acknowledge the vast power differential between most landlords and tenants, instead often portraying the landlord-tenant relationship as one between equally-situated parties. Blomley (2020) describes this as the "mythologizing" of the landlord-tenant relationship as an "egalitarian form of horizontal mutuality" (p. 40).

One way for the tribunal to better acknowledge this empirical reality is to engage more robustly with its mandated "just and equitable" analysis in all eviction cases. As described earlier, the law already requires hearing officers to carefully consider all the facts of the case (including the circumstances of the tenants) before ordering an eviction. This analysis should also consider the circumstances of the landlord and require the careful scrutiny of claims of highly profitable financialized and corporate landlords, including the impacts of refusing or delaying their applications. We believe that investments in legal assistance and advocacy for tenants facing eviction would be helpful in ensuring that such scrutiny occurs. Landlords who currently experience a high level of success at the ORT may resist such an approach. Indeed, at least one financialized landlord has explicitly identified tenants' rights as a business risk (Mainstreet, 2025a, p. 48).

In other words, we think that existing legal frameworks already give the tribunal the ability to be more alert to empirical realities about tenant and landlord circumstances and to be more focused on eviction prevention. However, given the serious harms of eviction and its links to ongoing housing instability and homelessness, we think policy makers and legislators should consider further measures to protect tenants from eviction. As Fesko (2025) writes, "[t]enants, who have lower average incomes than non-tenants to begin with, have their welfare reduced while investors and corporations have their welfare improve…This indicates that there is an important role for governments in limiting this … increase in inequality" (p.7).

First, we think that legislation could be amended to mandate a focus on eviction prevention, for example, to require mediation and for tenants and landlords to demonstrate measures that they have taken to try to prevent eviction. The ORT could be reimagined as a problem-solving tribunal where it is mandated to marshal housing resources and assistance and focus on supporting eviction prevention. In cases where tenants face homelessness as a result of eviction, governments should be required to assist families with finding alternate housing.

Our research also shows that social and non-profit landlords are slower to evict compared to other types of landlords: this is yet another reason that governments should invest in these types of housing providers. Conversely, governments should limit the power of financialized landlords through measures including stronger tenant protections, rent control, and the elimination of subsidies and tax benefits (August, 2022). Innovative housing models including co-operatives, land trusts, and "limited profit" models should be considered. (Ferreri & Vidal, 2022; Lowe et al., 2022). Given the many harms of eviction and the deep importance of housing to individuals and society at large, these issues are urgent and deserve attention in Saskatoon and beyond.

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