The State of Evictions
Racial and Gender Disparities in Washington Evictions

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Forced Migration: Evictions
Forced Relocation & Residential Instability

**Figure 1.** Theoretical model of the relationship between residential mobility and economic status among urban renters.

Forced Relocation & Residential Instability

**FIGURE 1.** Theoretical model of the relationship between residential mobility and economic status among urban renters.

Evictions

Housing Burden

Increasing Rent

Evictions

Inadequate Welfare

Individual-Level Dynamics

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Individual Level Dynamics

Prior Research
- *Milwaukee study of evictions* (Desmond 2012)
  - Court records and surveys

Demographics
- Women disproportionally overrepresented
- Black evictions are high
- Families & children

Neighborhoods
- Poor & minority
- Latino evicted in white neighborhoods

Rent Burden
- 80% - 90% income towards rent

Outcomes
- Worse health
- Layoffs
- Environmental hazards
- Involuntary displacement
- Homelessness
- Crime exposure
Neighborhood-Level Dynamics & Racial Disparities

Local & Extra-Local Conditions

- Location & Concentration

Increasing Rent

- Evictions
  - Housing Burden
  - Inadequate Welfare

Neighborhood Change

Individual-Level Dynamics

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First Evictions Project

Dissertation

Case by the ACLU and the Northwest Justice Project

Evictions: 5,225 Unlawful Detainer Records for King County, WA in 2013

- Legal eviction cases filed by landlords to remove tenants
- Heard and decided within 1 week
  - If undecided, trial scheduled within 30 days
  - Writ of restitution (physical removal)

Regardless of outcome, UD stays on record of an individual

- Screened by landlords
- Preventing affordable housing

Demographic Estimations

- Using name and location we can estimate the race and sex of defendants
- Overlay neighborhood data to look at where and why evictions occur
Regional Distribution

- S. King: 57%
- Seattle: 27%
- East: 15.2%
- Other: 0.6%

Neighborhood Types

- South:
  - Minority & integrated
- Seattle & East:
  - White & Asian

Unlawful Detainer

Neighborhood Racial Categories

- All White
- White−Shared
- White−Asian
- White−Mixed
- White−Latino
- White−Black
- Integrated
- Mostly Minority
King County Eviction Rates by Sex & Race

Sex
- Women 2% > Men

Race
- **Black** head:
  - 4x > whites
- **Latinx** head:
  - 1.4x > whites

Sex & Race
- **Black female**:
  - 7x > white fem.
- **Black male**:
  - 5.4x > white male

Eviction Rates by Sex & Race

Thomas, 2017 - https://digital.lib.washington.edu/researchworks/handle/1773/40705
King County Rent & Eviction Rates

Eviction Rate (%)

Rent Categories

- $1.0k to $1.4k
- $1.4k to $2k
- $2.0k to $2.5k
- $2.5k to $3k
- $3.0k to $5k

Race
- White
- Black
- Hispanic
- Asian

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Thomas, 2017 - https://digital.lib.washington.edu/researchworks/handle/1773/40705
The Washington State Evictions Project

- **271,458 cases since 2004**
  - About 17,000 to 22,000 per year

- **1 in 55 WA. adults between 2013 to 2017**
  - 130,203 adults or 1.8% of population

- **397,697 adults Since 2004**
Evictions by Gender

- Women are evicted about 6% to 10% more than men across the state.
- Rates are different for different counties.
Evictions by Race

- **1 in 6 Pierce Co. black adults**
  - 17.9% of the black adult population

- **1 in 11 King Co. black adults**
  - 8.8% of the black adult population

- **1 in 100**

Percent of adults formally evicted within their respective racial group from 2013 to 2017

Data source: UW Washington Evictions Project data
Pierce County Evictions

Evictions in Pierce County by Census Tract and Legislative District (2017)
Pierce County Evictions

Evictions by Race in Pierce County (2010 - 2017)

Household Race*
- White
- Black
- Latinx
- Asian
- Other

*Each dot represents one eviction. This map displays an estimated 92% of unlawful detainers in Pierce County.

Cartographer: Alex Ramiller 01/30/19
Projection: UTM Zone 10N

Data: Washington Evictions Project and US Census Bureau
University of Washington
Pierce County Evictions

Estimated Evictions by Race (Pierce County)

Washington Evictions Project
University of Washington
Pierce County Evictions

Evictions in Pierce County by Census Tract and Legislative District (2017)

Estimated Number of Evictions and % of County Total

- 0 (0%)
- 1 - 14 (0 - 0.3%)
- 15 - 34 (0.3 - 0.7%)
- 35 - 63 (0.7 - 1.4%)
- 64 - 97 (1.4 - 2.2%)
- 98 - 152 (2.2 - 3.4%)
- No Data

Cartographer: Alex Ramiller 01/30/19
Projection: UTM Zone 10N

Data: Washington Evictions Project and US Census Bureau
Classification: Natural Breaks
University of Washington
Pierce County Evictions: Dist. 27

Evictions by Race in Legislative District 27 (2010 - 2017)

Household Race*
- White
- Black
- Latinx
- Asian
- Other

*Each dot represents one eviction. This map displays an estimated 92% of unlawful detainers in District 27.

Cartographer: Alex Ramiller 02/02/19
Projection: UTM Zone 10N

Data: Washington Evictions Project and US Census Bureau
University of Washington
Pierce County Evictions: Dist. 27

Evictions by Census Tract in Legislative District 27 (2017)

Estimated Evictions by Count and Percent of Total
- 2 - 11 (0.3 - 1.6%)
- 12 - 27 (1.7 - 3.9%)
- 28 - 48 (4.1 - 7.0%)
- 49 - 77 (7.1 - 11.2%)
- 78 - 137 (11.4 - 20.0%)

Cartographer: Alex Ramlie 02/02/19
Projection: UTM Zone 10N
Classification: Natural Breaks

Data: Washington Evictions Project and US Census Bureau
University of Washington
Pierce County Evictions: Dist. 27

Estimated Evictions by Race (District 27)

Washington Evictions Project
University of Washington
Pierce County Evictions: Dist. 29

Evictions by Race in Legislative District 29 (2010 - 2017)

Household Race*
- White
- Black
- Latinx
- Asian
- Other

*Each dot represents one eviction. This map displays an estimated 92% of unlawful detainers in District 29.

Evictions by Census Tract in Legislative District 29 (2017)

Estimated Evictions by Count and Percent of Total
- 1 - 18: (0 - 1.2%)
- 19 - 40: (1.3 - 2.7%)
- 41 - 63: (2.8 - 4.3%)
- 64 - 97: (4.3 - 6.6%)
- 98 - 152: (6.6 - 10.3%)

Cartographer: Alex Remiller 02/02/19
Data: Washington Evictions Project and US Census Bureau
Projection: UTM Zone 10N
University of Washington
Classification: Natural Breaks
Pierce County Evictions

Estimated Evictions by Race (District 29)

Washington Evictions Project
University of Washington
How did we get here?
Race & Ethnicity in Seattle

2010

1 Dot = 1 Person
- White
- African American
- Asian
- Latinx

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Why Segregation Matters

- **Concentrated Poverty** (Crowder and South 2005; Quillian 2012)
- **Crime** (Massey and Denton 1993; Wilson 2006)
  - Violence and Drugs
- **Mass Incarceration** (Pettit 2012; Wacquant 2000)
- **Health Disparities**
  - Exposure to pollution (Crowder and Downey 2010)
  - Stress related disease
- **Teenage and Out of Wedlock Pregnancies** (Wilson 1987)
- **Economic Disadvantage** (Pager 2008)
- **Educational Disadvantage** (Sharkey 2013)
- **Little Political Clout to Change Area** (Diez Roux 2010)
The Birth of the Ghetto

1890 - 1940
The Great Migration: 1910 - 1940

- Post-reformation Jim Crow in the South
  - Residential and educational segregation
  - Policing (e.g., sundown laws)
- Moved to the north for better jobs and opportunities

Source: US Census
Redlining
Seattle

Home Owners Loan Cooperation (HOLC) Map: 1930 - 1940

Source: Mapping Inequality https://dsl.richmond.edu

A "Best"
B "Still Desirable"
C "Definitely Declining"
D "Hazardous"
Collective Action Racism

1940 - 1970
Over 400 restrictive housing covenants in King County

Source: Seattle Civil Rights & Labor History Project
# Seattle Neighborhoods with Restrictive Covenants

## Seattle
- Alki
- Ballard
- Beacon Hill
- Bitter Lake
- Blue Ridge
- Broadmoor
- Bryant
- Capitol Hill
- Central District
- Duwamish
- Eastlake
- Greenlake
- Greenwood
- Haller Lake
- Hawthorne Hills
- Lake City
- Lakeridge Laurelhurst
- Loyal Heights
- Madrona
- Magnolia
- Maple Leaf
- Matthews Beach
- Montlake
- Olympic Hills
- North Beach/Blue Ridge
- North College Park
- Northgate
- Pinehurst
- Queen Anne
- Queen Anne Lower
- Queen Anne North
- Rainier Valley
- Ravenna
- Sandpoint
- Sheridan Beach
- Vashon Island
- Victory Heights
- View Ridge
- Wedgewood
- West Seattle/High Point
- Windermere

## Eastside
- Ames Lake
- Arrowhead Point
- Bellevue
- Clyde Hill
- Inglewood
- Juanita
- Kirkland
- Lake Alice
- Lake Sammamish
- Mercer Island
- North Bend
- Redmond
- Sammamish

## North King Co.
- Ballinger (Shoreline)
- Briarcrest (Shoreline)
- Echo Lake (Shoreline)
- Hamlin Park (Shoreline)
- Hillwood (Shoreline)
- Innis Arden (Shoreline)
- Kenmore
- Lake Forest Park
- North City (Shoreline)
- Richmond Beach (Shoreline)
- Richmond Highlands (Shoreline)
- Ridgecrest (Shoreline)
- Westminster Triangle (Shoreline)

## South King Co.
- Arbor Heights
- Arroyo Heights
- Auburn
- White Center
- Boulevard Park
- Burien
- Des Moines
- Evansville
- Kent
- Lake Dolloff
- Maple Valley
- McMicken Heights
- Normandy Park
- Redondo
- Renton
- Riverton Heights
- SeaTac
- Shorewood
- Tukwila

Source: Seattle Civil Rights & Labor History Project

Tim Thomas - t77@uw.edu
Black Population 1920 - 1960

1920

1960

Source: Seattle Civil Rights & Labor History Project
Tim Thomas - t77@uw.edu
Japanese Internment 1942

1942 Relocation Notice
Seattle Mass Evacuation

Japanese Internment 1942

Manzanar Relocation Center
(Photo by: Dorthea Lang)

Japanese Internment 1942

Family Return: Hunt, Idaho (AP Photo)
Japanese Population 1920 - 1960

1920

1960

Source: Seattle Civil Rights & Labor History Project

Tim Thomas - t77@uw.edu
Decentralized Racism 1970 - 1990

- Civil Rights Act (Fair Housing Act) 1968
  - Dismantled legal discrimination
  - Segregation peaked in 1970 and declined
  - However, lasting legacy of redlining, block busting, and discrimination provided little opportunities to move to better neighborhoods.
  - *Concentrated poverty* continued to rise
- Black middle-class moved to suburbs
- White flight and avoidance
Homeownership Rate by Race/Ethnicity, 1976–2016


Notes: White homeownership rate includes Hispanic whites. The 2016 homeownership rate for non-Hispanic whites is 72 percent.

Source: http://apps.urban.org/features/wealth-inequality-charts/
Urban Revitalization 1990 - 2019

• Concentrated Poverty in the Urban Core
  • Peak crime in the city (1990’s)
    • Limited opportunities
  • Market divestment

• The Back to the City Movement (Gentrification)
  • Whites more likely than black families to get loans to revitalize urban core
    • Black more likely to get high-interest and subprime loans
  • Generation-X and Millennials desiring walkable, affordable, and interesting urban neighborhoods
  • Public policies intended to clean up urban spaces led to gentrification
  • Massive displacement where wages are stagnant while housing costs rise
Non-White Mobility of 40 Years

Figure 7: Change in Seattle's Black Population Over 40 Years.

Percent Non-white

- 0 - 20%
- 20 - 40%
- 40 - 60%
- 60 - 80%
- 80 - 100%

Tim Thomas, Department of Sociology, University of Washington, Source: U.S. Census
Figure 7: Change in Seattle's Black Population Over 40 Years.

Percent Black

- 0 - 20%
- 20 - 40%
- 40 - 60%
- 60 - 80%
- 80 - 100%

Tim Thomas, Department of Sociology, University of Washington, Source: U.S. Census
Black Decline in Urban Centers: 1980 - 2010

San Francisco

Las Vegas

St. Louis

Atlanta

Los Angeles

Dallas / Fort Worth

Houston

Percent Point Change in Black:
- 0.50 - 0.99
- 0.25 - 0.50
- 0.05 - 0.25
- -0.05 - 0.05
- -0.25 - -0.05
- -0.50 - -0.25
- -0.98 - -0.50

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Poverty & Rent Change 2000 to 2016

**Poverty**

- **Median Poverty Δ** (med. = 2%)
  - 12% to 35%
  - 5% to 12%
  - 3% to 5%
  - 2% to 3%
  - 1% to 2%
  - -1% to +1%
  - -8% to -1%
  - -22% to -8%

**Rent**

- **Median Rent Δ** (med. = $684)
  - $1.3k to $3.7k
  - $1.1k to $1.3k
  - $900 to $1.1k
  - $700 to $900
  - $500 to $700
  - $300 to $500
  - $100 to $300
  - -$100 to +$100

**Similar to Black and Latino change**

**Similar to Education and New Movers**
Affordable Housing, Homelessness, & Evictions

Washington

Washington trends in affordable housing, homelessness, and evictions
Affordable rental units at $800 or less (2017 dollars)

Data source: US Census American Community Survey, Washington State Department of Commerce Annual Point in Time Count
Affordable Housing, Homelessness, & Evictions

Washington

Washington trends in affordable housing, homelessness, and evictions
Affordable rental units at $800 or less (2017 dollars)

Affordable Rentals
(less than $800)

Homelessness point in time count

Individuals who are homeless

Year

Data source: US Census American Community Survey,
Washington State Department of Commerce Annual Point in Time Count
Affordable Housing, Homelessness, & Evictions

**Washington**

- **Affordable Rentals (less than $800)**
- **Homelessness**
- **Evictions**

Data source: US Census American Community Survey, Washington State Department of Commerce Annual Point in Time Count
Affordable Housing, Homelessness, & Evictions

**Washington**

Washington trends in affordable housing, homelessness, and evictions
Affordable rental units at $800 or less (2017 dollars)

**Affordable Rentals (less than $800)**

Homelessness point in time count

**Homelessness**

Eviction cases from 2004 to 2017

**Evictions**

Data source: US Census American Community Survey, Washington State Department of Commerce Annual Point in Time Count

**King County**

King trends in affordable housing, homelessness, and evictions
Affordable rental units at $800 or less (2017 dollars)

**Affordable Rental Units**

Homelessness point in time count

**Homelessness**

Eviction cases from 2004 to 2017

**Evictions**

Data source: US Census American Community Survey, Washington State Department of Commerce Annual Point in Time Count
Fair Market Rent & Rent Burden

Fair market rent for all bedroom types (left) & income needed to avoid rent burden (right)
rent burden = 30% of income to rent

Data source: HUD Fair Market Rent data & the Bureau of Labor Statistics Consumer Price Index
Median Housing Income by Race

Washington Median HH Income by Race  
King Median HH Income by Race


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Overall Median Income</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>White Non-Latinx</th>
<th>Latinx</th>
<th>Black</th>
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2017 dollars | $100,000 | $80,000 | $60,000 | $40,000 | $20,000 |

Year

80% AMI 50% AMI 30% AMI
Neighborhood Change & Migration

**Tier Theory**

**Tier 1**
White migrants from out-of-county

**Tier 2**
White migrants from within-county

**Tier 3**
Black migrants from within-county

2016

**Mobility Tiers**

- **Types of Movers**
  - White_Movers_Outer_County
  - White_Movers_In_County
  - Black_Movers_In_County
# Demographic Estimation

## Names & Case Numbers
- Public King County Courts request

<table>
<thead>
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### Demographic Estimation

#### Names & Case Numbers
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#### Addresses
- Collected at King County Courts & geocoded

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### Names & Case Numbers
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### Sex
- Cross-referenced SSNR, Census, & Facebook

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## Race
- Bayesian model using surname & neighborhood race

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