

Forced Evictions, Gentrification, & Race Seattle & King County

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Download this talk at bit.ly/seattleevictions

The History of Neighborhood Formation

Race & Ethnicity in Seattle

2010



1 Dot = 1 Person

- White
- African American
- Asian
- Latinx

Redlining Seattle

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

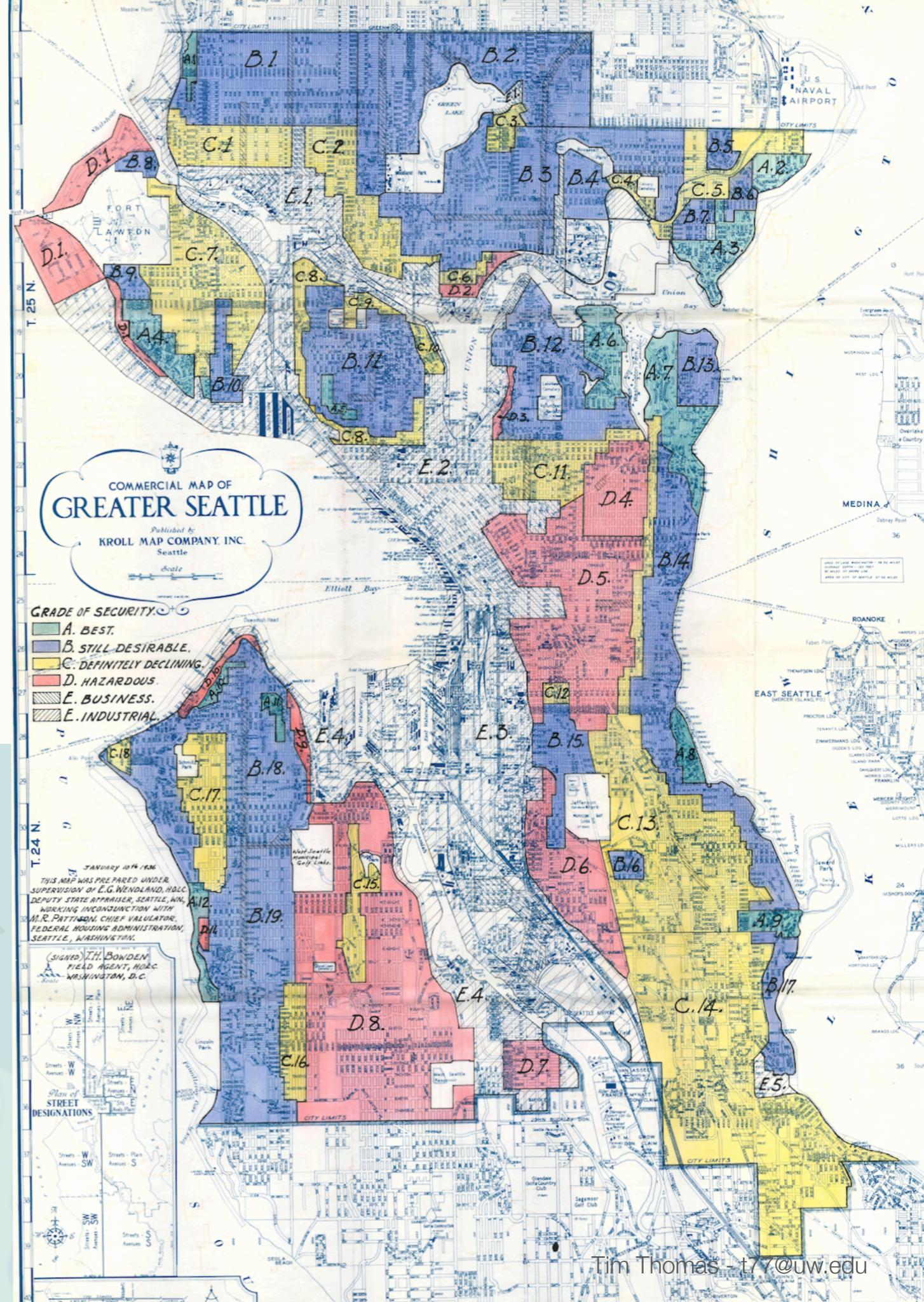
Source: Mapping Inequality <https://dsl.richmond.edu>

A "Best"

B "Still Desirable"

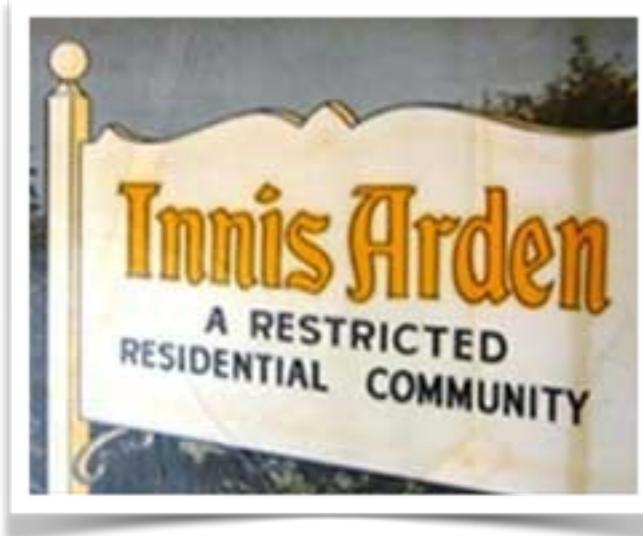
C "Definitely Declining"

D "Hazardous"



Tim Thomas - t77@uw.edu

Restrictive Housing Covenants



Over 400 restrictive housing covenants in King County

said Tracts to a corporation or association formed by residents or owners of property in Innis Arden No. 2, or to a corporation or association formed by residents or owners of Innis Arden, for community purposes, in the activities of which corporation or association residents of Innis Arden No. 2 shall have the right to participate, subject to reasonable restrictions and requirements imposed by such corporation or association.

14. **RACIAL RESTRICTIONS**...No property in said addition shall at any time be sold, conveyed, rented or leased in whole or in part to any person or persons not of the White or Caucasian race. No person other than one of the White or Caucasian race shall be permitted to occupy any property in said addition or portion thereof or building thereon except a domestic servant actually employed by a person of the White or Caucasian race where the latter is an occupant of such property.

15. **ANIMALS.** No hogs, cattle, horses, sheep, goats, or similar livestock shall be permitted or maintained on said property at any time. Chicken hens, pigeons, rabbits and other similar small livestock, not exceeding a total of twenty-five in number, shall be permitted but must be kept on the premises of the owner. Not more than one dog and cat may be kept for each building site. No pen, yard, run, hutch, coop or other structure or area for the housing and keeping of the above described poultry or animals shall be built or maintained closer

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.

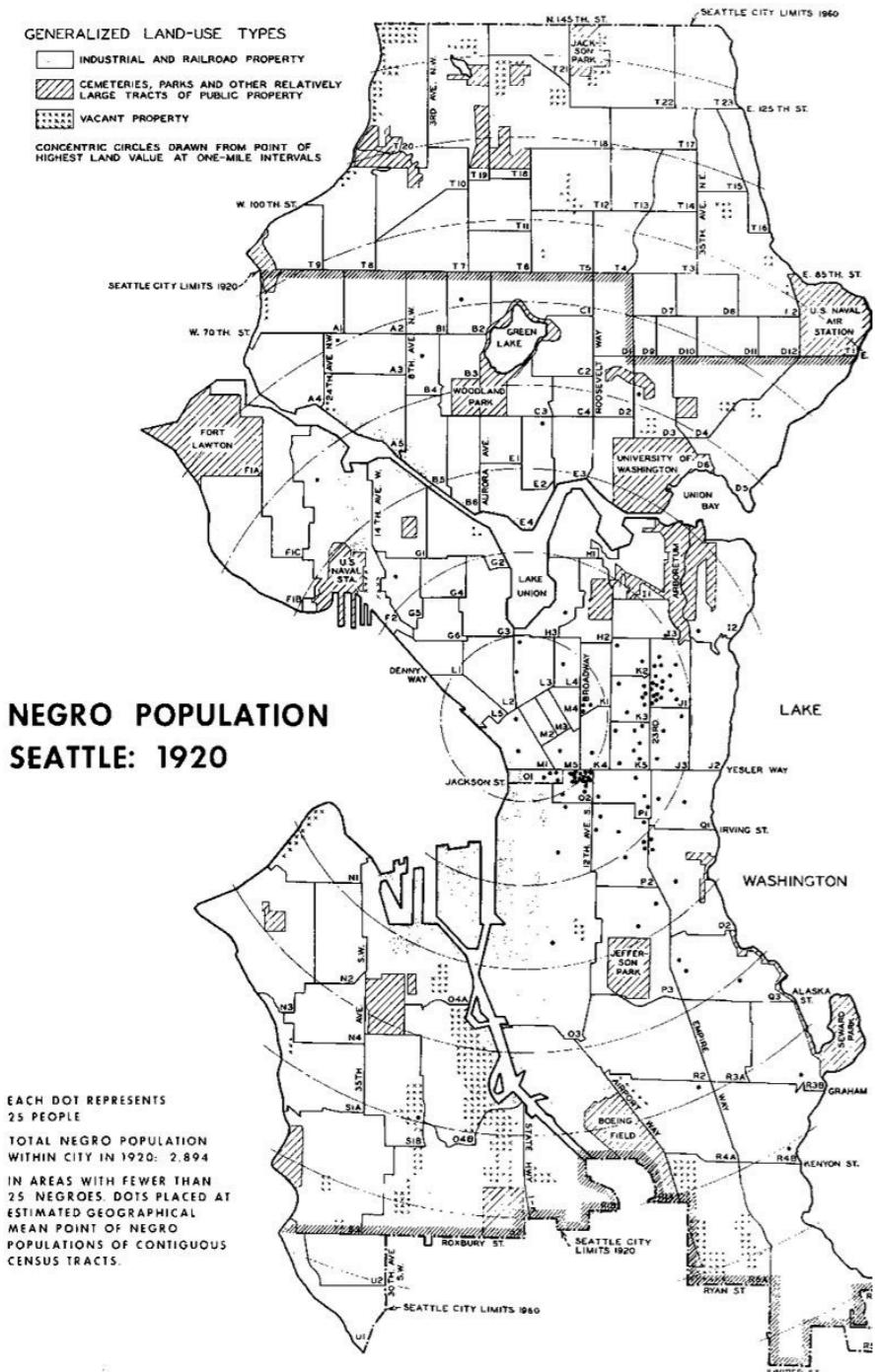
Ballinger (Shoreline)
Briarcrest (Shoreline)
Echo Lake (Shoreline)
Hamlin Park (Shoreline)
Hillwood (Shoreline)
Innis Arden (Shoreline)
Kenmore
Lake Forest Park
North City (Shoreline)
Richmond Beach (Shoreline)
Richmond Highlands (Shoreline)
Ridgecrest (Shoreline)
Westminster Triangle (Shoreline)

South King Co.

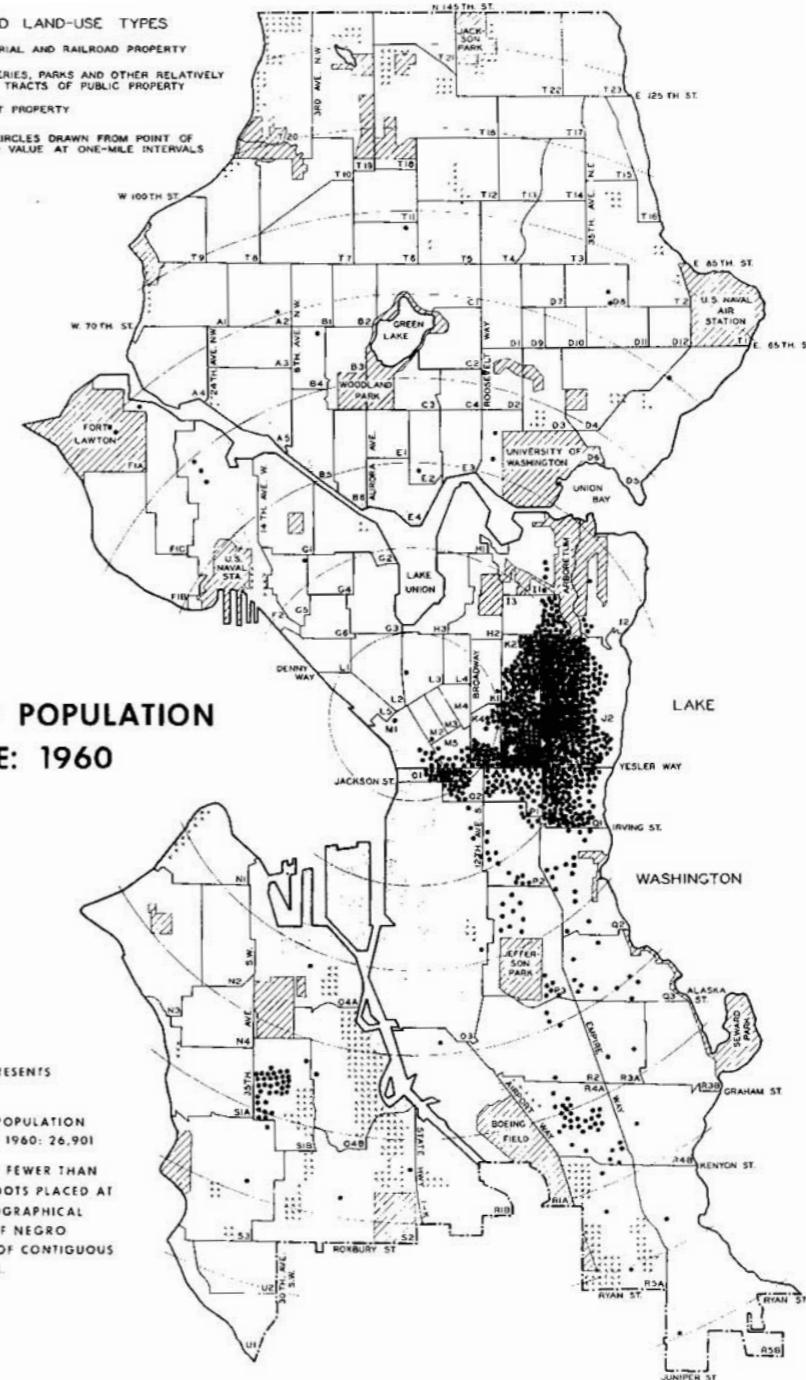
Arbor Heights	Maple Valley
Arroyo Heights	McMicken Heights
Auburn	Normandy Park
White Center	Redondo
Boulevard Park	Renton
Burien	Riverton Heights
Des Moines	SeaTac
Evansville	Shorewood
Kent	Tukwila
Lake Dolloff	

Black Population 1920 - 1960

1920



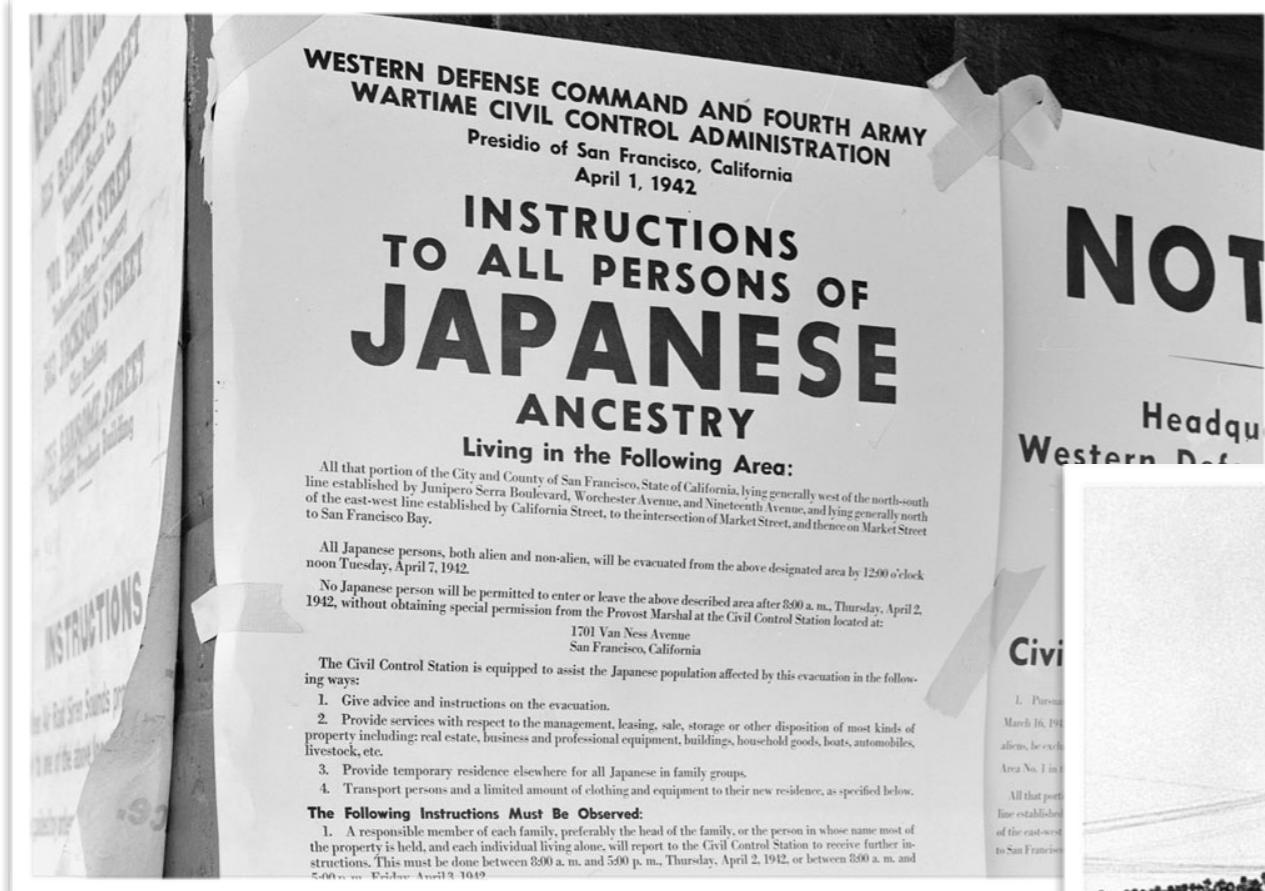
1960



Source: Seattle Civil Rights & Labor History Project

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Japanese Internment 1942



1942 Relocation Notice

Seattle Mass
Evacuation



Japanese Internment 1942



Manzanar Relocation Center
(Photo by: Dorthea Lang)

Japanese Internment 1942



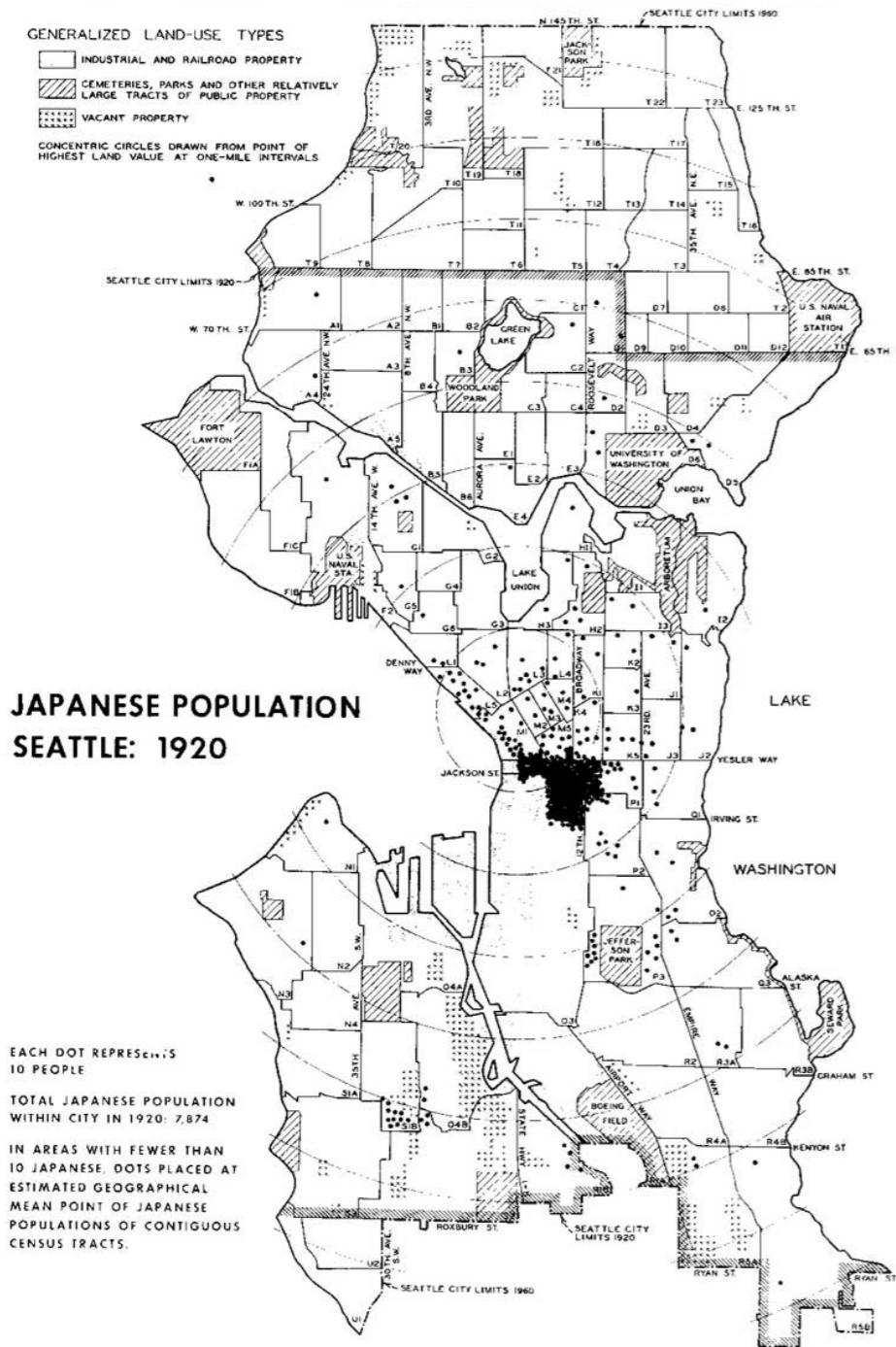
Family Return: Hunt, Idaho (AP Photo)

<http://peopleus.blogspot.com/2010/10/japanese-internment-at-manzanar.html>

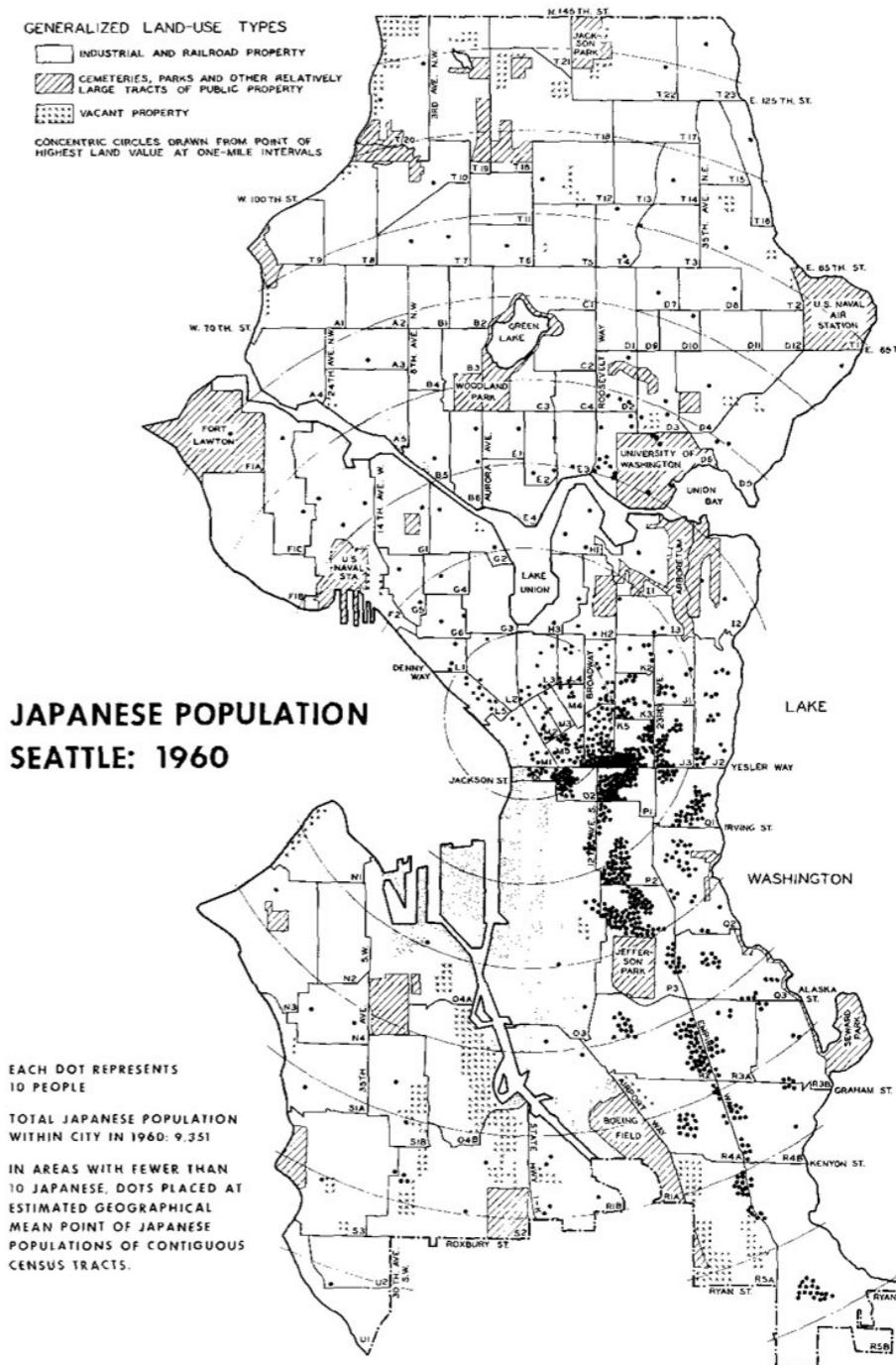
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Japanese Population 1920 - 1960

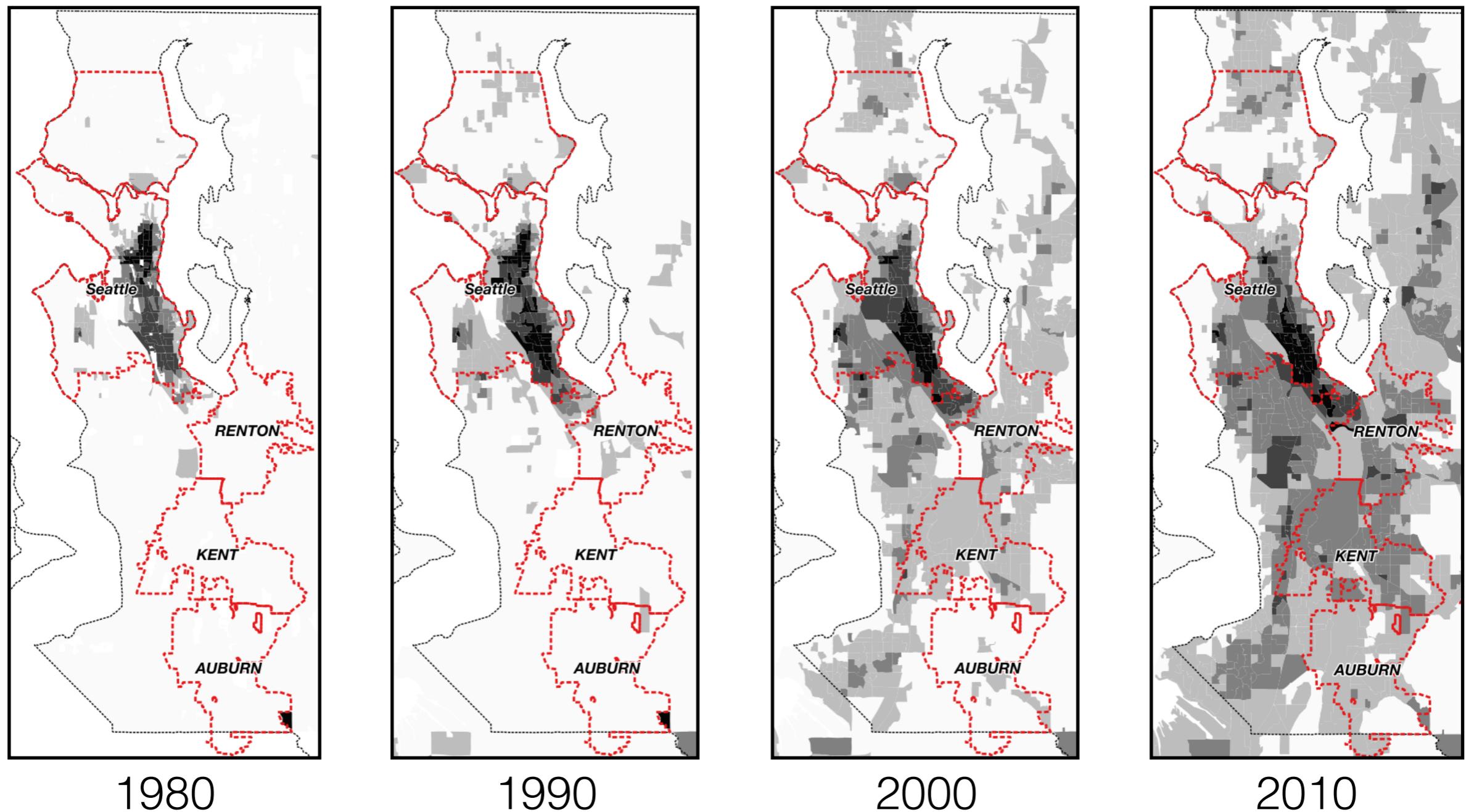
1920



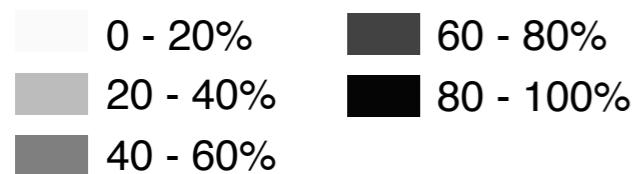
1960



Non-White Mobility of 40 Years

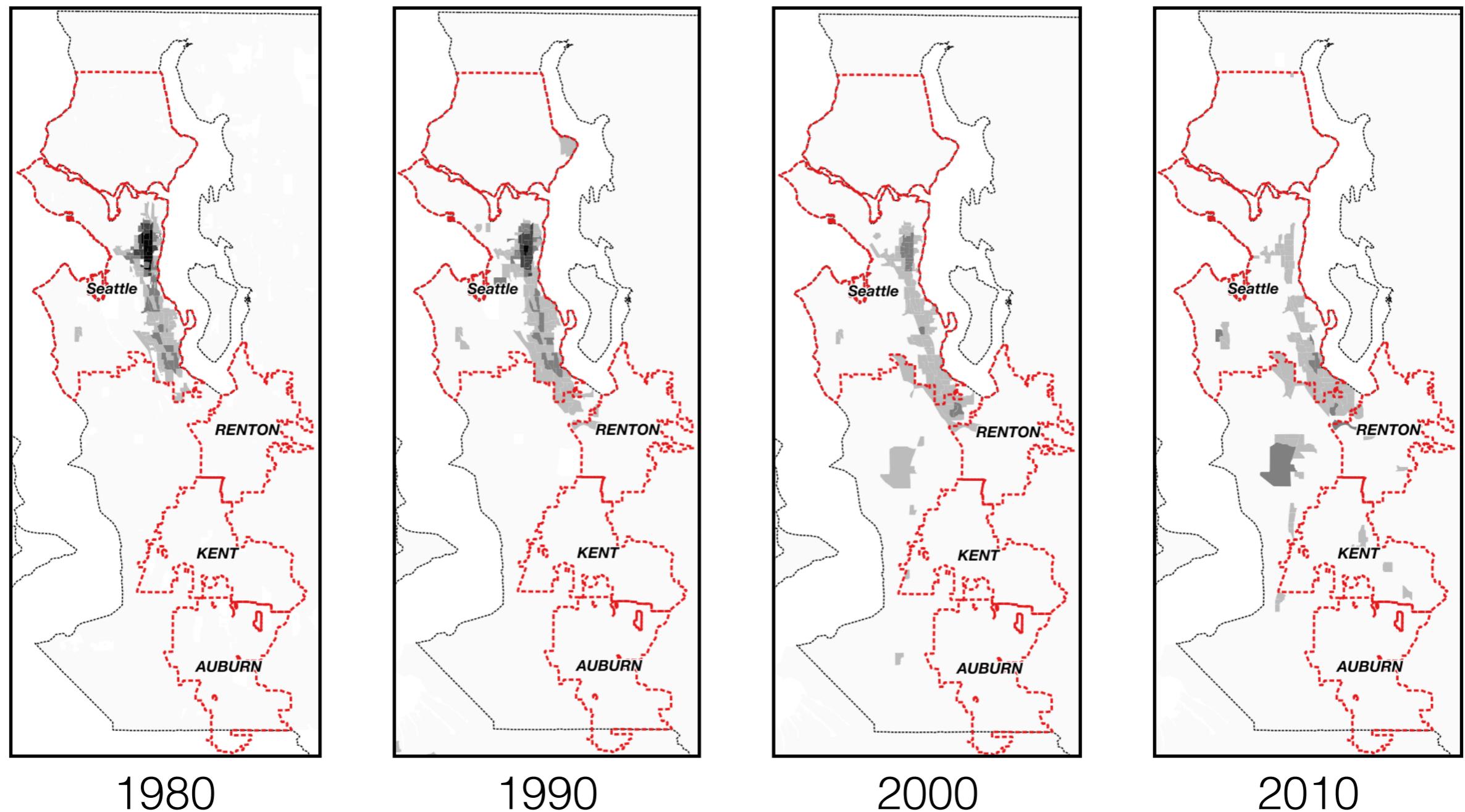


Percent Non-white



Tim Thomas, Department of Sociology, University of Washington, Source: U.S. Census

Black Mobility Over 40 Years



Percent Black

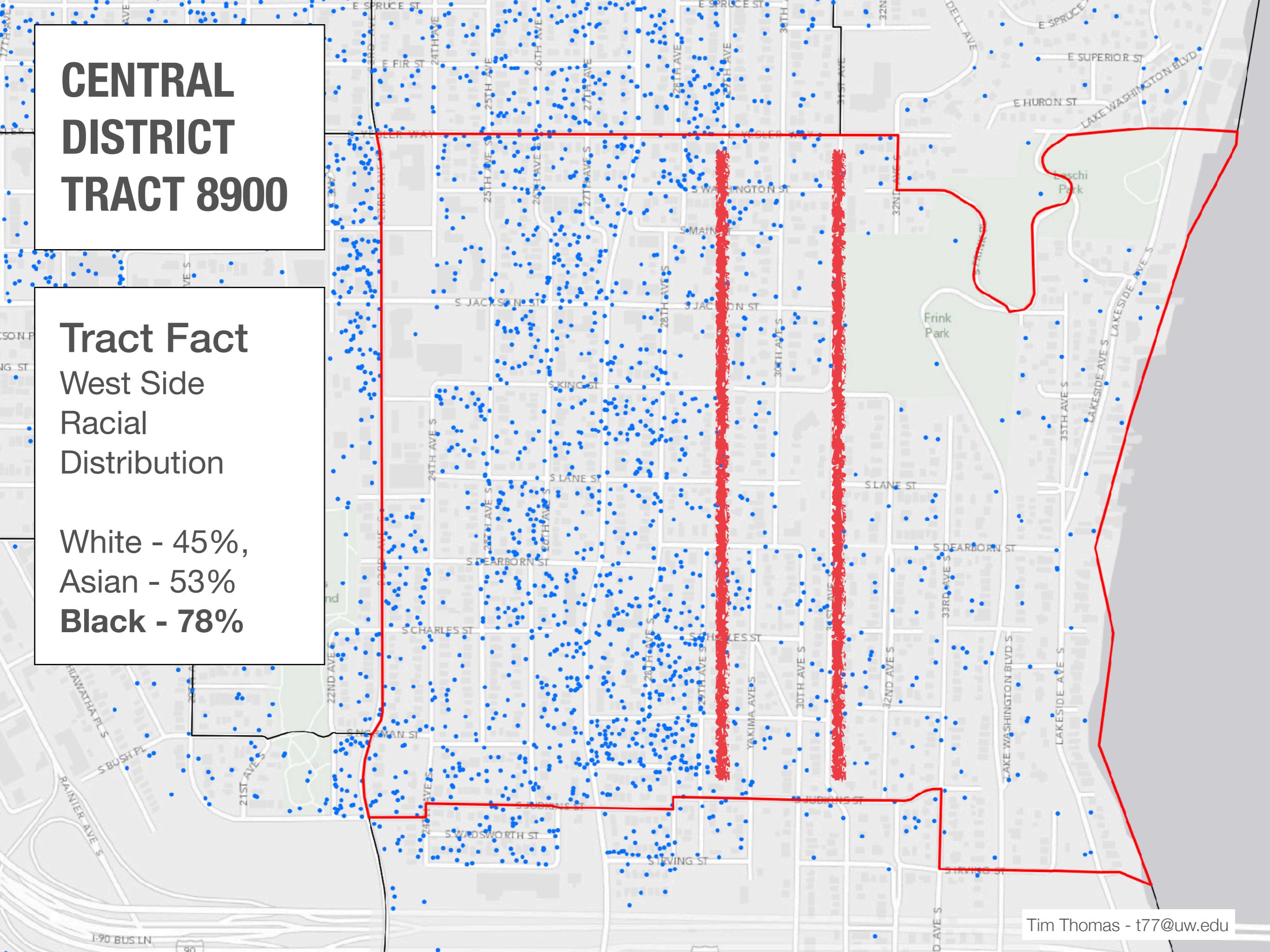


Tim Thomas, Department of Sociology, University of Washington, Source: U.S. Census

CENTRAL DISTRICT TRACT 8900

Tract Fact
West Side
Racial
Distribution

White - 45%,
Asian - 53%
Black - 78%

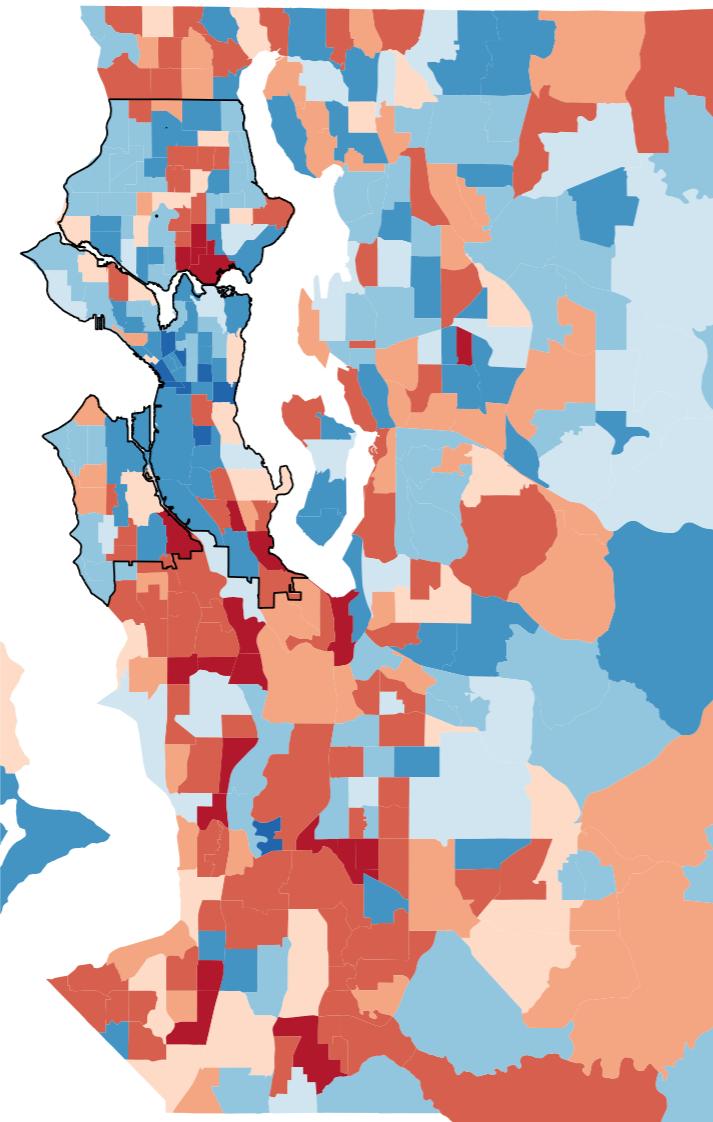


Neighborhood Change 2000 to 2016

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%

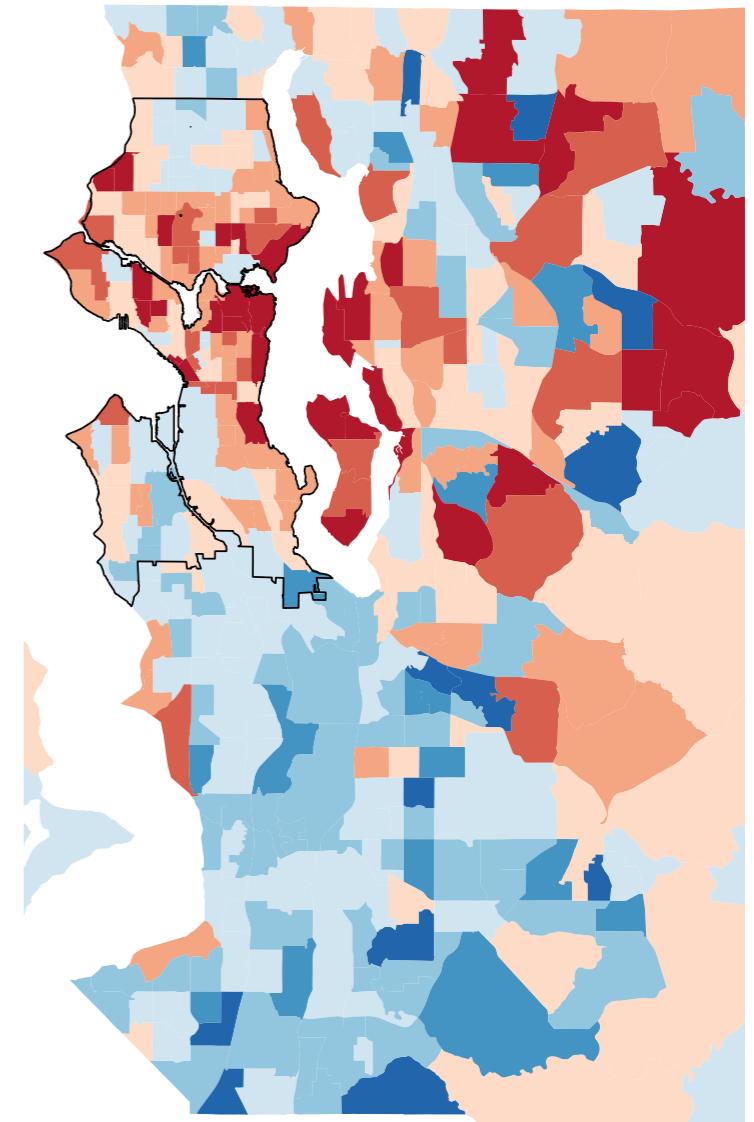


Similar to Black and Latino change

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 Education and New Movers

Gentrification & Displacement

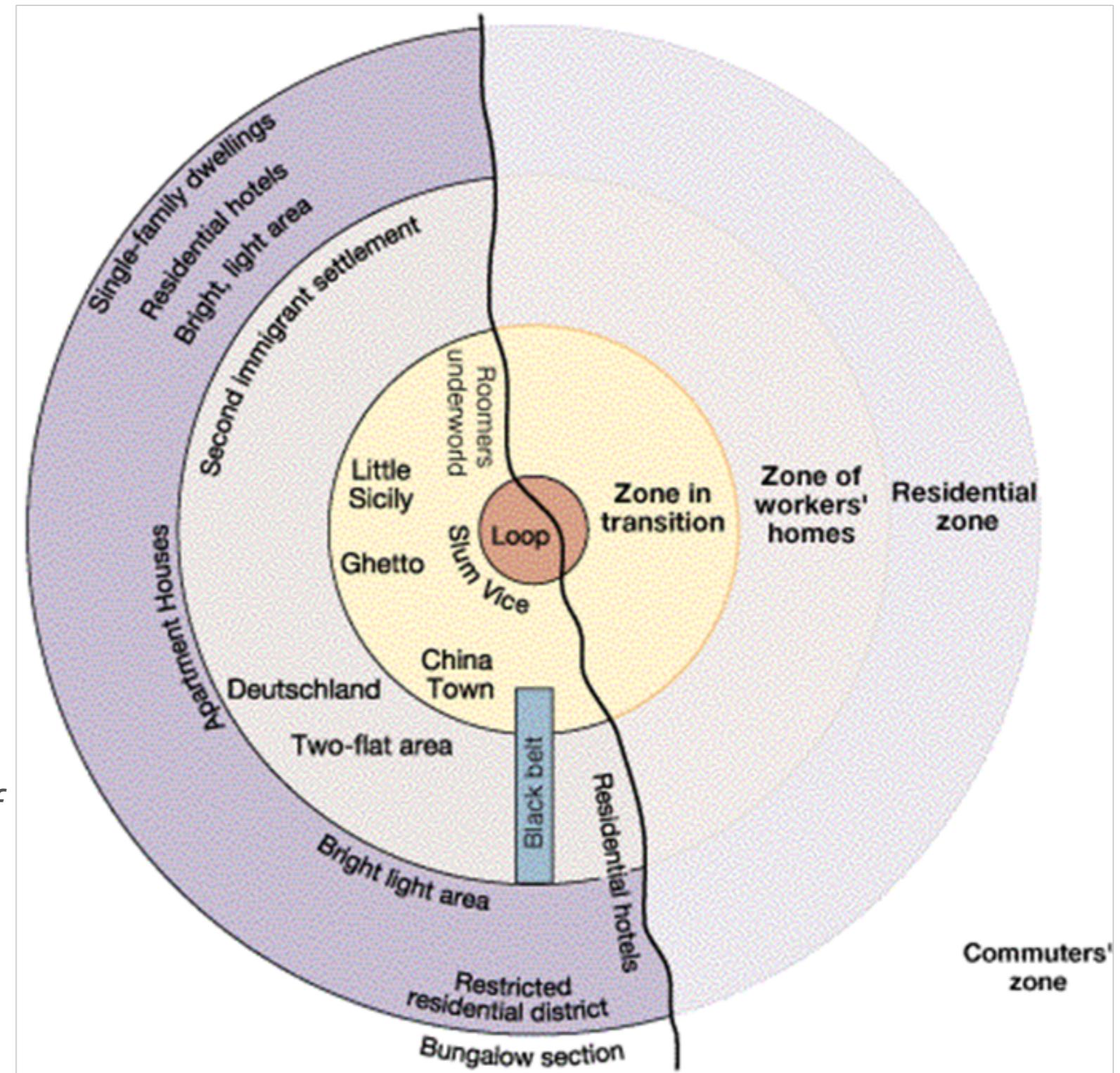
Ecology of the City

Invasion/Succession

- Concentric Zone Theory (Burgess 1925)
 - Competition
 - Conflict
 - Accommodation

Political Economy

- Growth Machine (Logan and Molotch 1987)
 - “...the city's growth is guided by a coalition of monied land interests.”
 - Monied win, poor & minority lose



Stages of Gentrification

Stages of Gentrification

1. Sweat Equity in Low-Income Neighborhoods

- *Tolerant White households with little money and a lot of elbow grease move in*
- *Mostly artists and socially disenfranchised*
- *Begins to enhance tax-base and increases socioeconomic integration*

2. Young Families

- *Little more capital, seeking cheaper single-family housing near urban core/business districts*
- *Voting and reshaping area in their favor*
- *Attracting early political and market interest and investment*
- ***Displacement begins***

3. Risky Investment

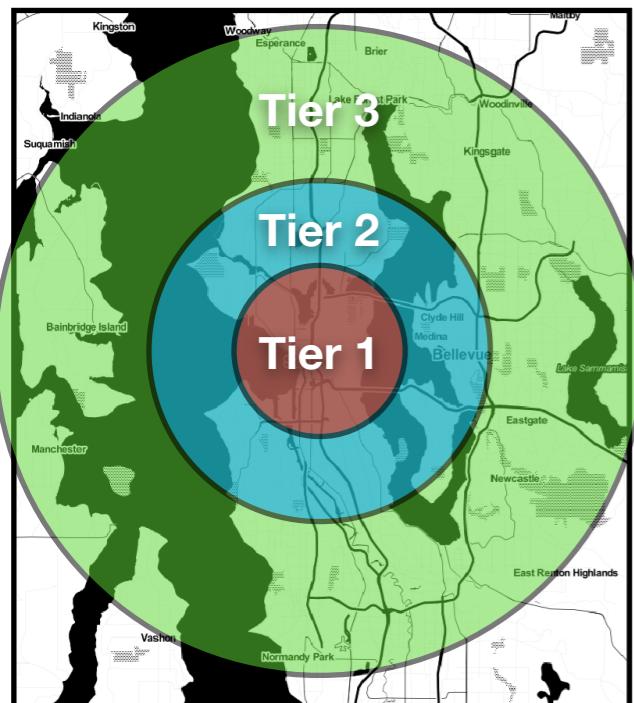
- *Lending and small-time development*
- *New restaurants, amenities, and infrastructure to accommodate growing/wealthier population*
- ***Social services start to disappear or are pushed out***

4. Large Scale Development

- *High-rise building and business establishment*
- ***Full demographic shift & change in political interests***

Displacement Tier Theory

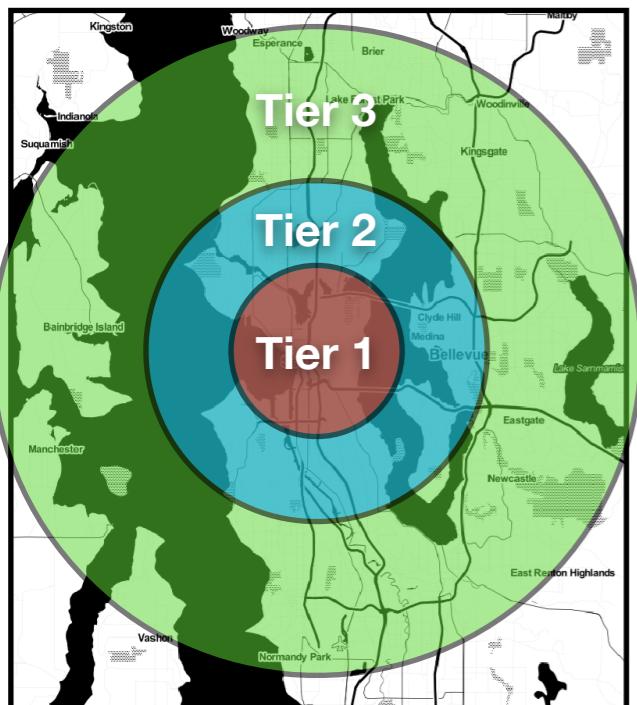
Tier Theory



2016

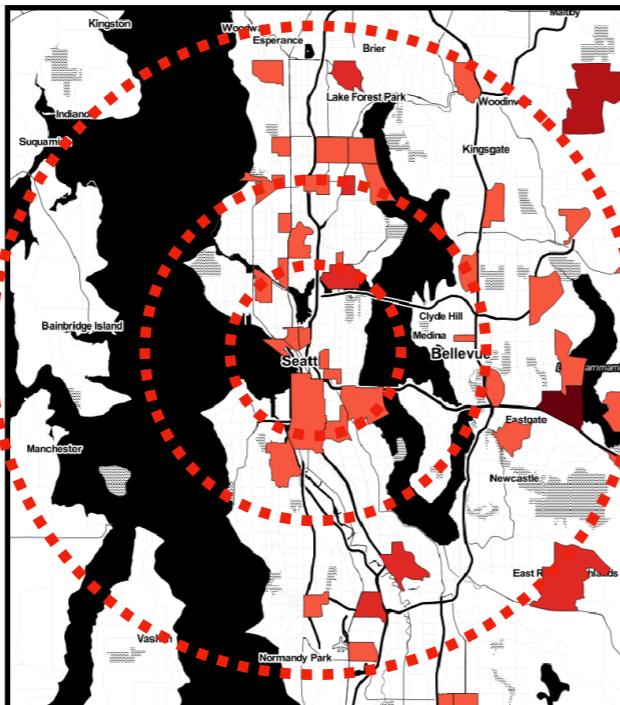
Displacement Tier Theory

Tier Theory



Tier 1

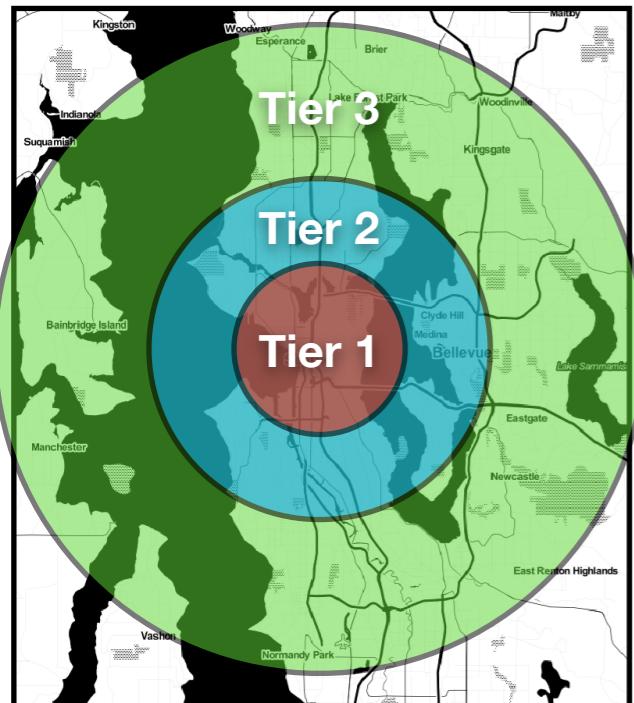
White migrants from
out-of-county



2016

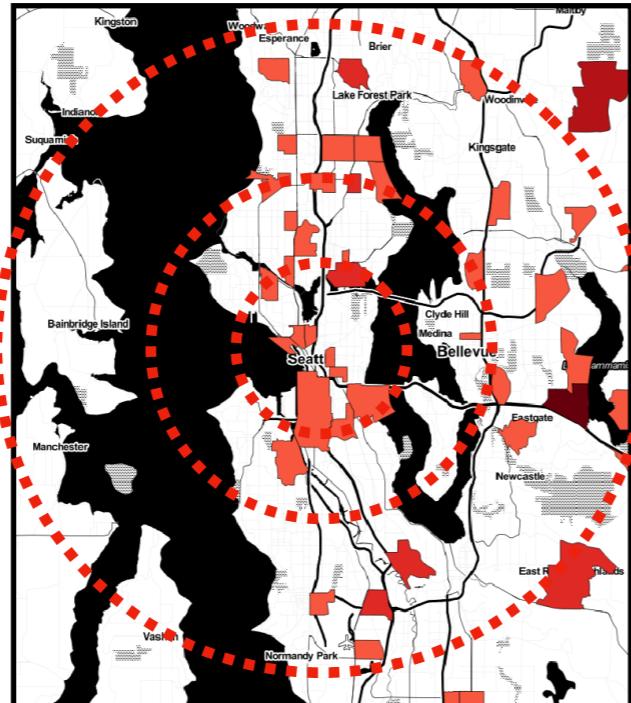
Displacement Tier Theory

Tier Theory



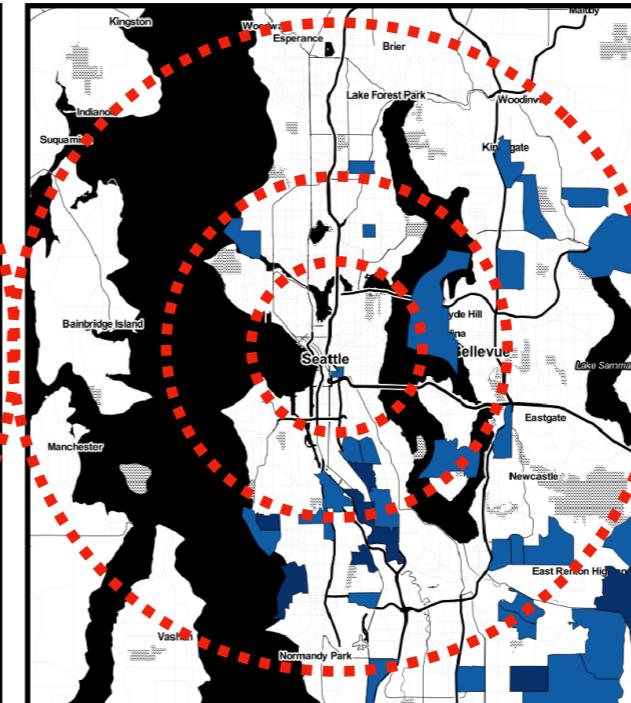
Tier 1

White migrants from
out-of-county



Tier 2

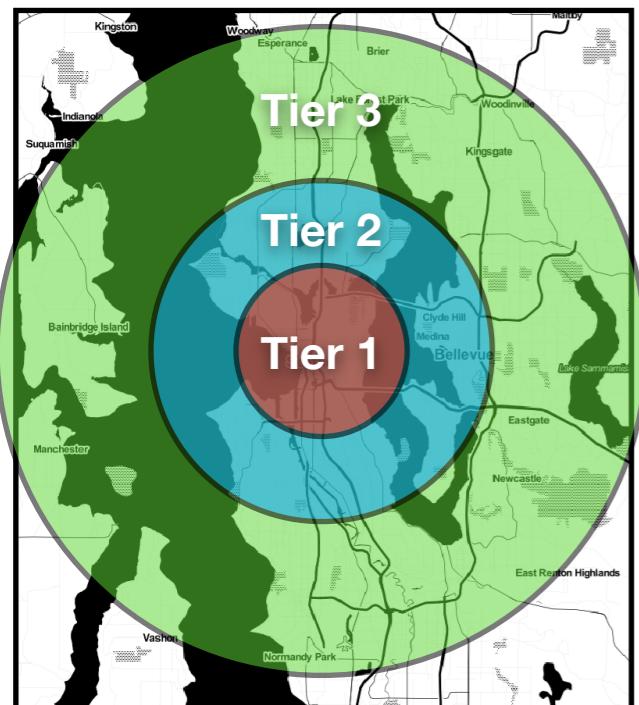
White migrants from
within-county



2016

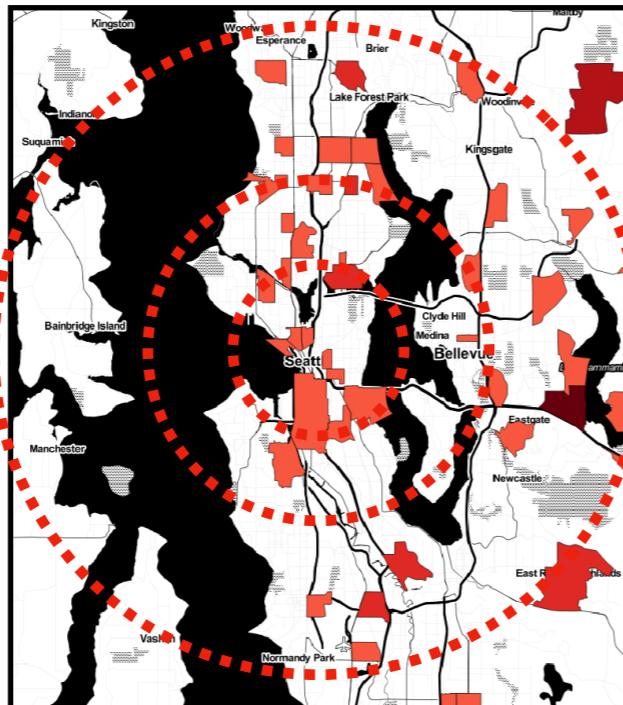
Displacement Tier Theory

Tier Theory



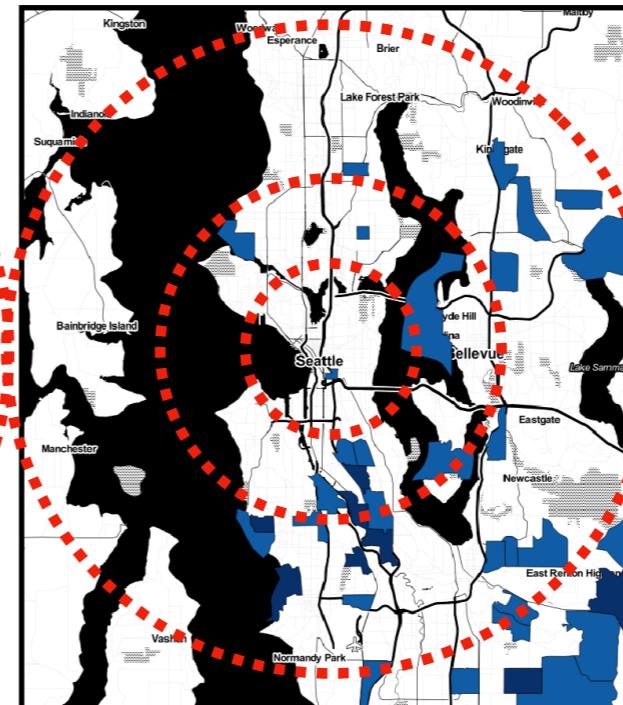
Tier 1

White migrants from
out-of-county



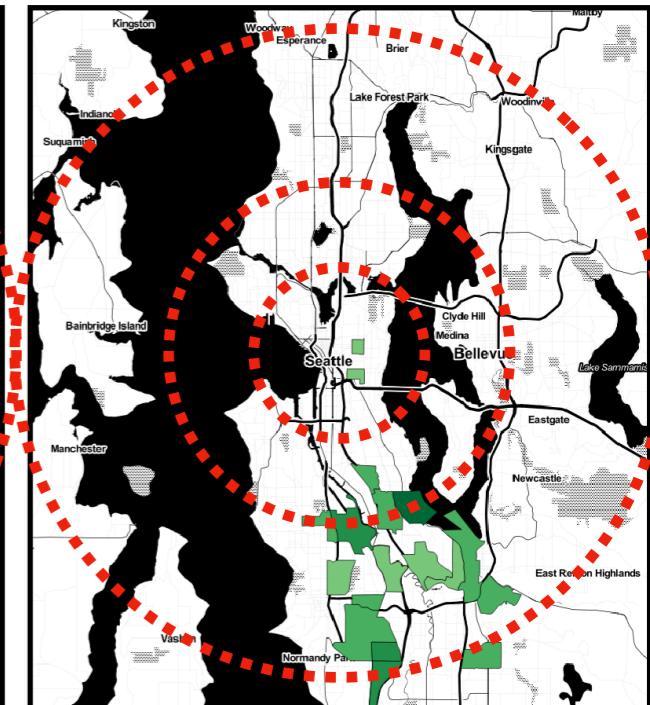
Tier 2

White migrants from
within-county



Tier 3

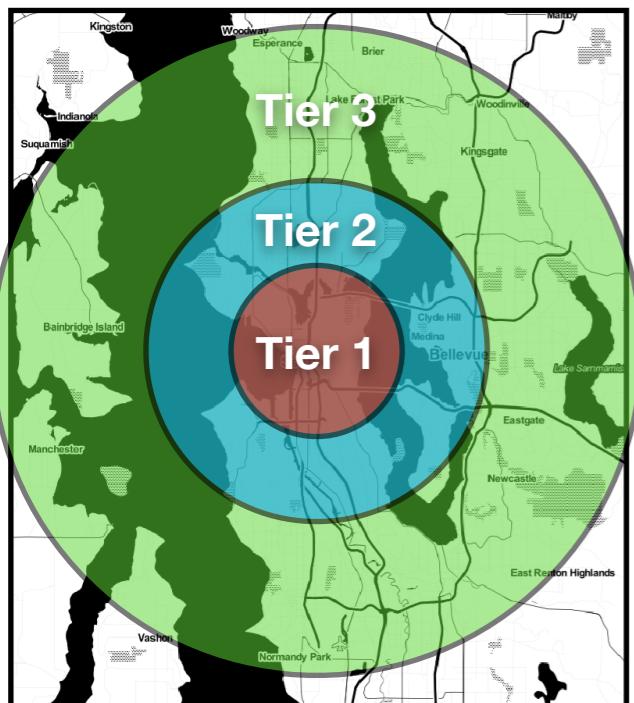
Black migrants from
within-county



2016

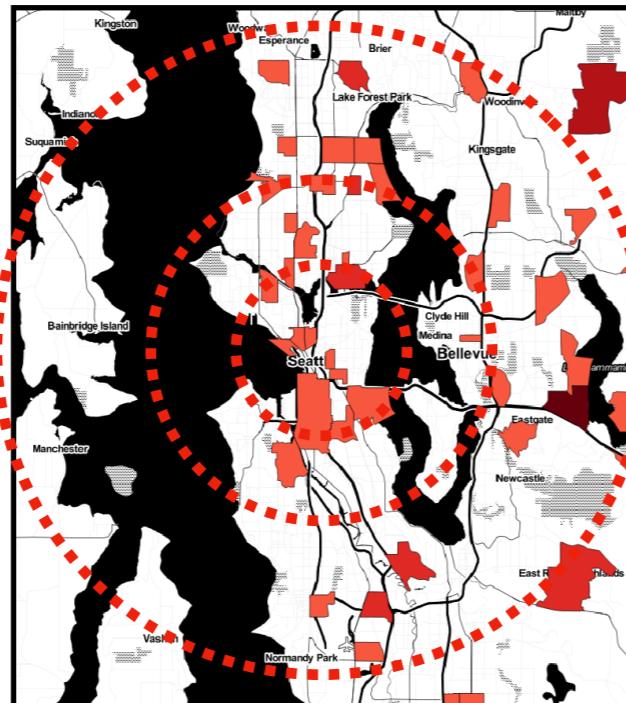
Displacement Tier Theory

Tier Theory



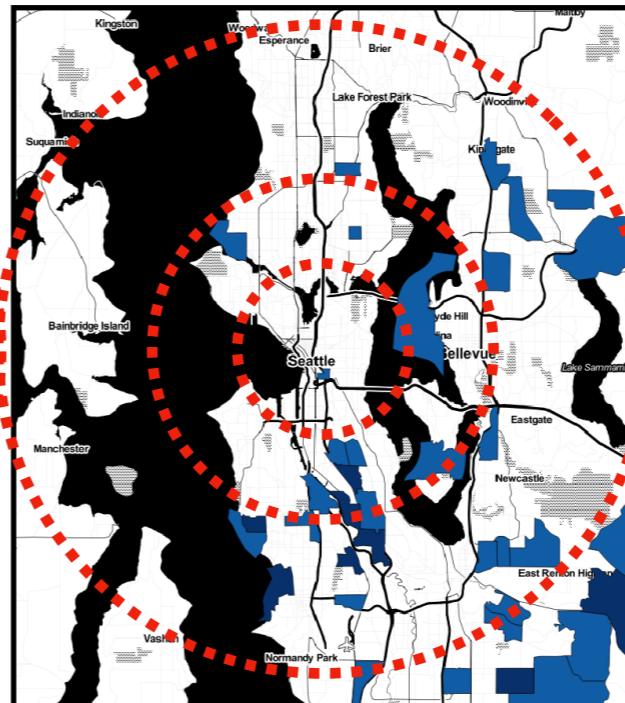
Tier 1

White migrants from
out-of-county



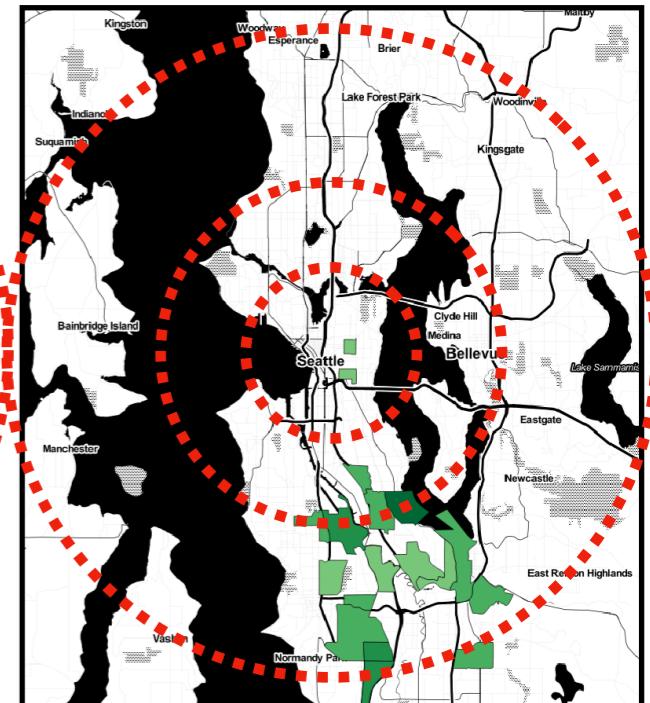
Tier 2

White migrants from
within-county



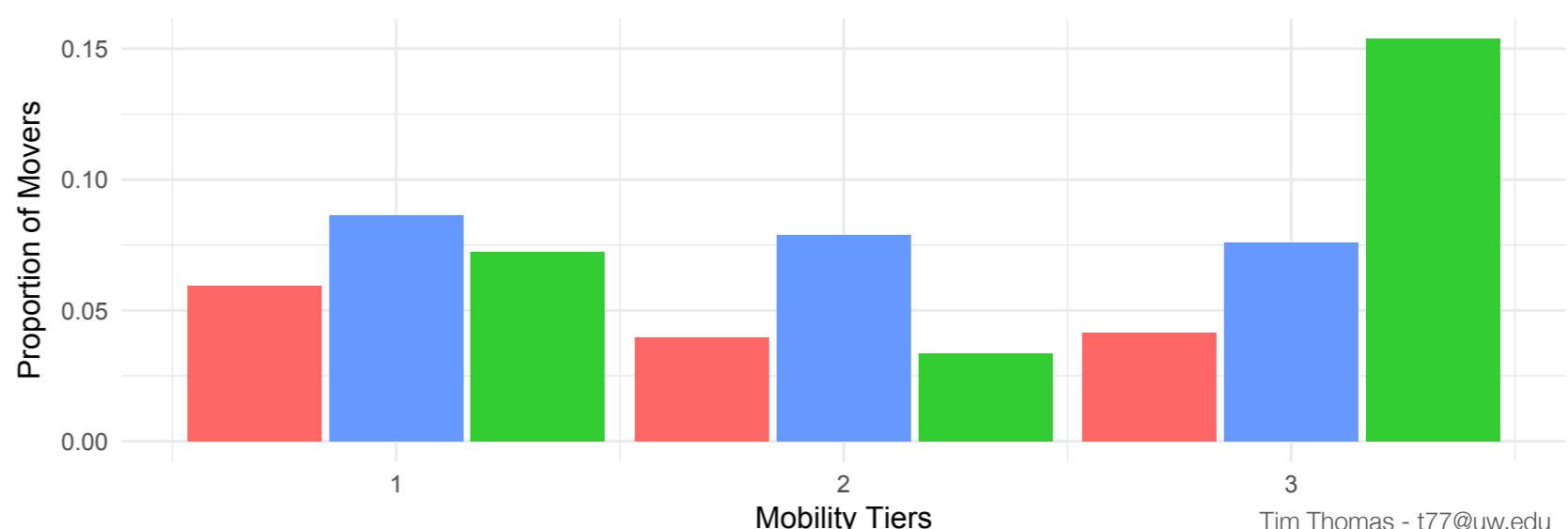
Tier 3

Black migrants from
within-county



2016

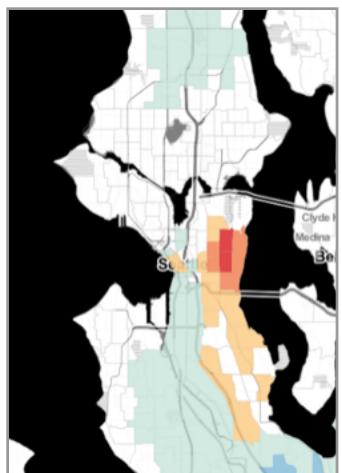
Data: US Census American Community Survey



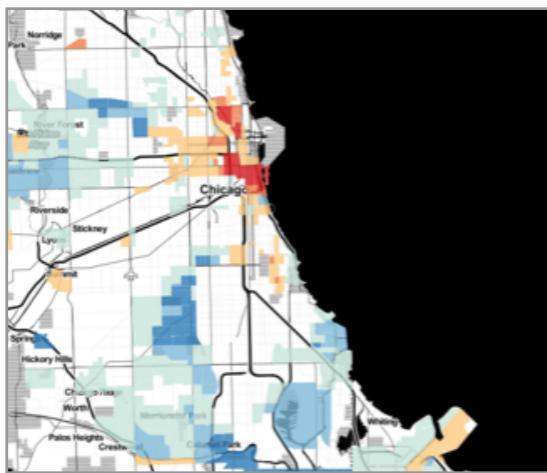
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Black Decline in Urban Centers: 1980 - 2010

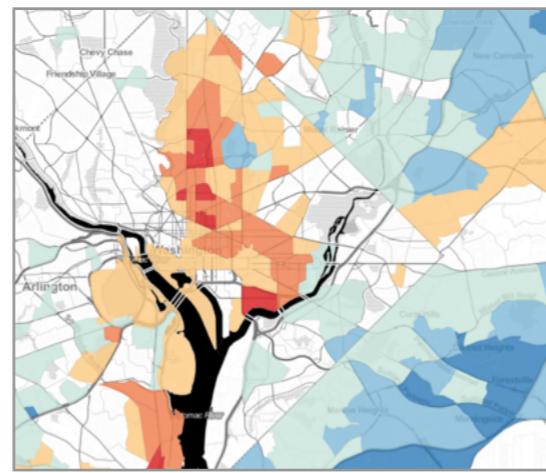
Seattle



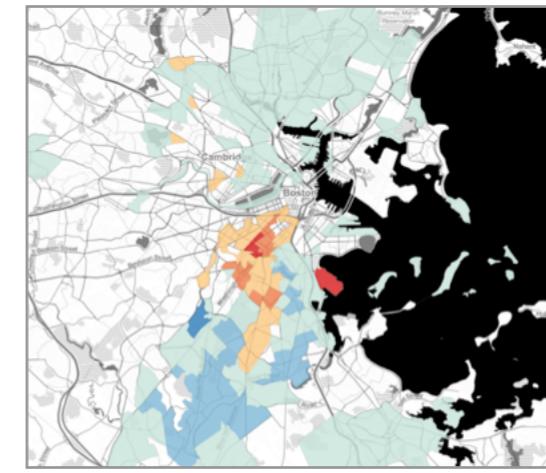
Chicago



Washington DC



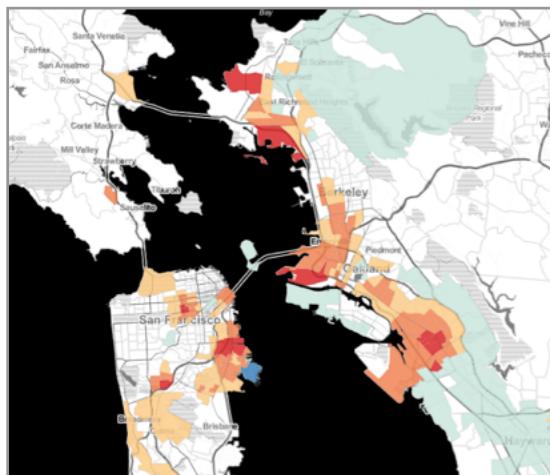
Boston



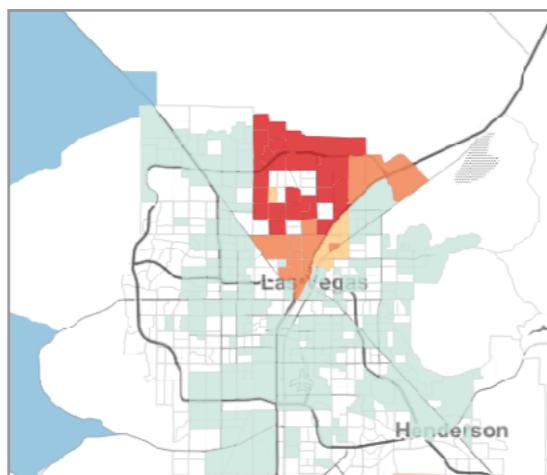
Percent Point
Change in Black

- 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

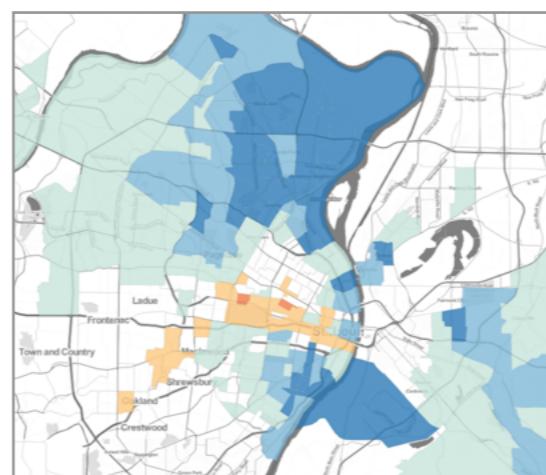
San Francisco



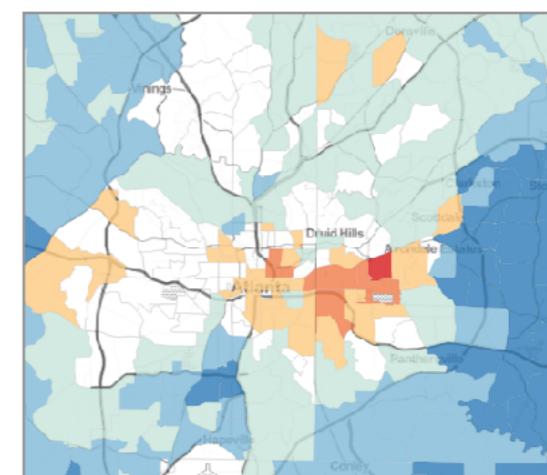
Las Vegas



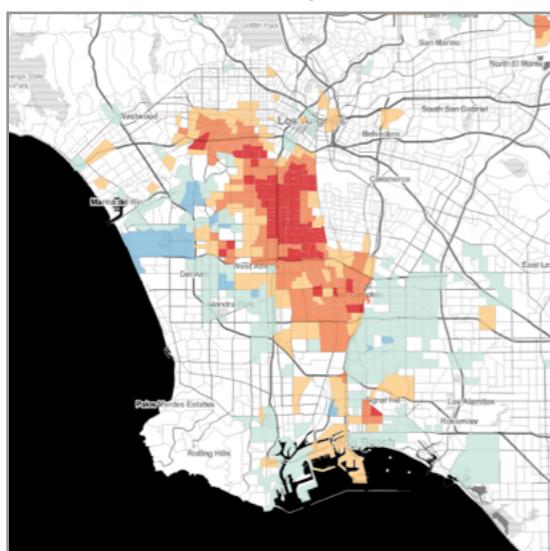
St. Louis



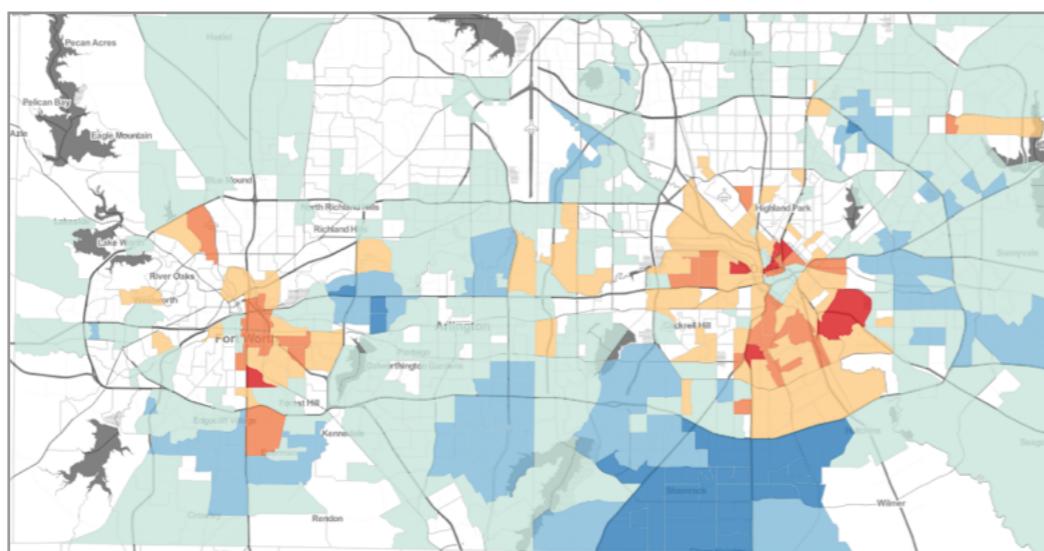
Atlanta



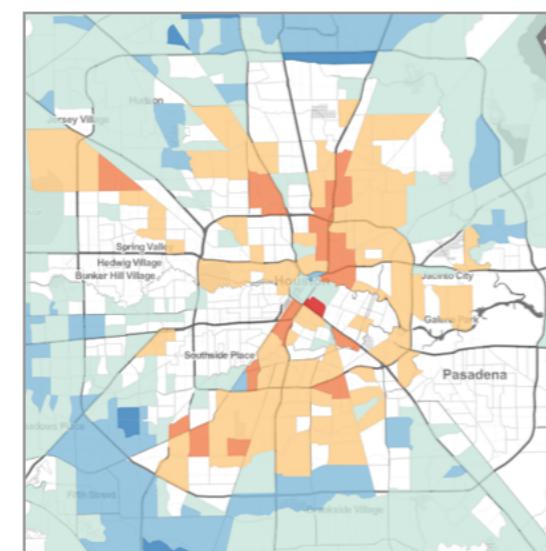
Los Angeles



Dallas / Fort Worth



Houston



Evictions

Forced Relocation & Residential Instability

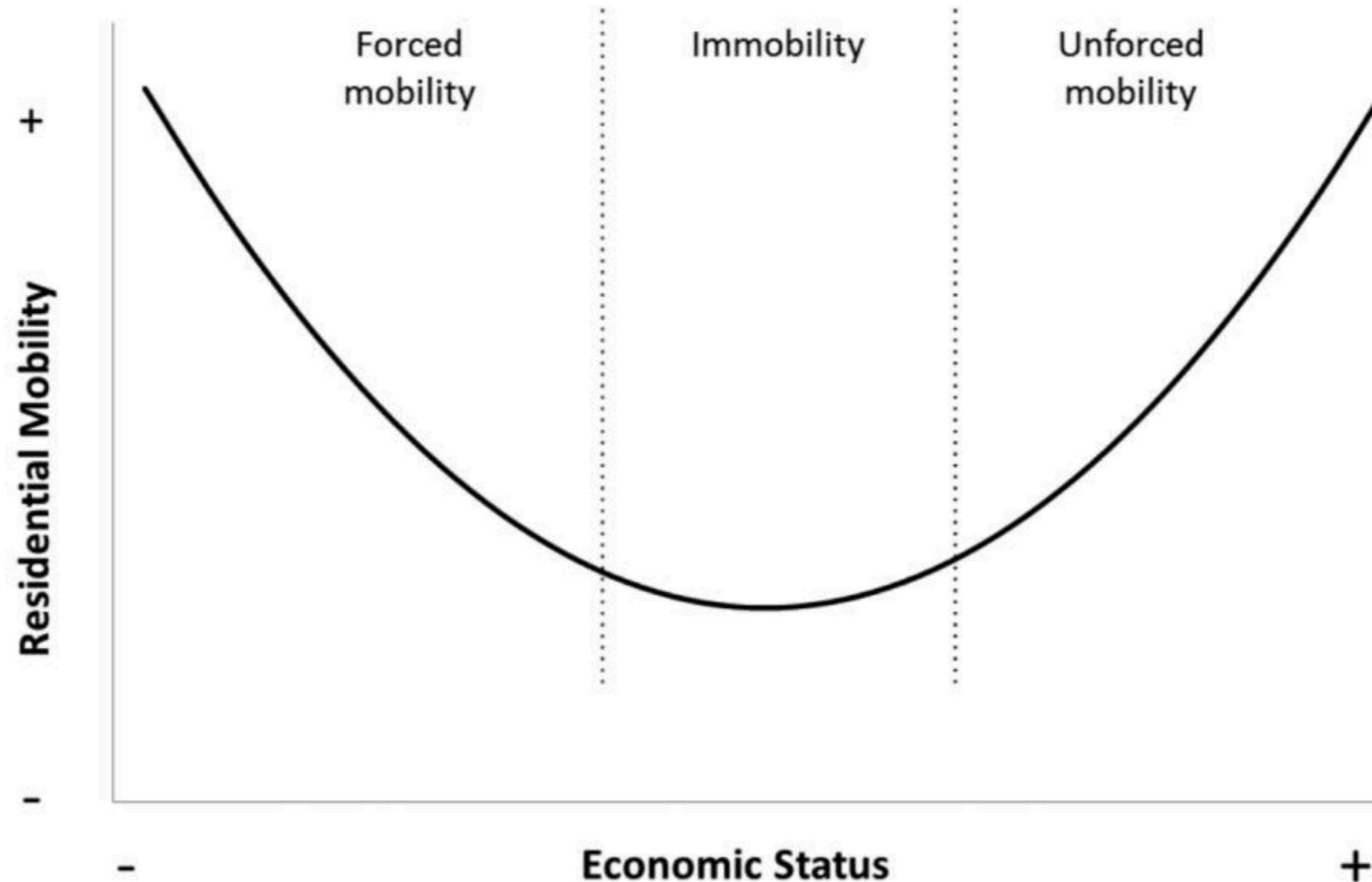


FIGURE 1. Theoretical model of the relationship between residential mobility and economic status among urban renters.

Desmond, Matthew, Carl Gershenson, and Barbara Kiviat. 2015. "Forced Relocation and Residential Instability among Urban Renters." *Social Service Review* 89(2):227–62.

Forced Relocation & Residential Instability

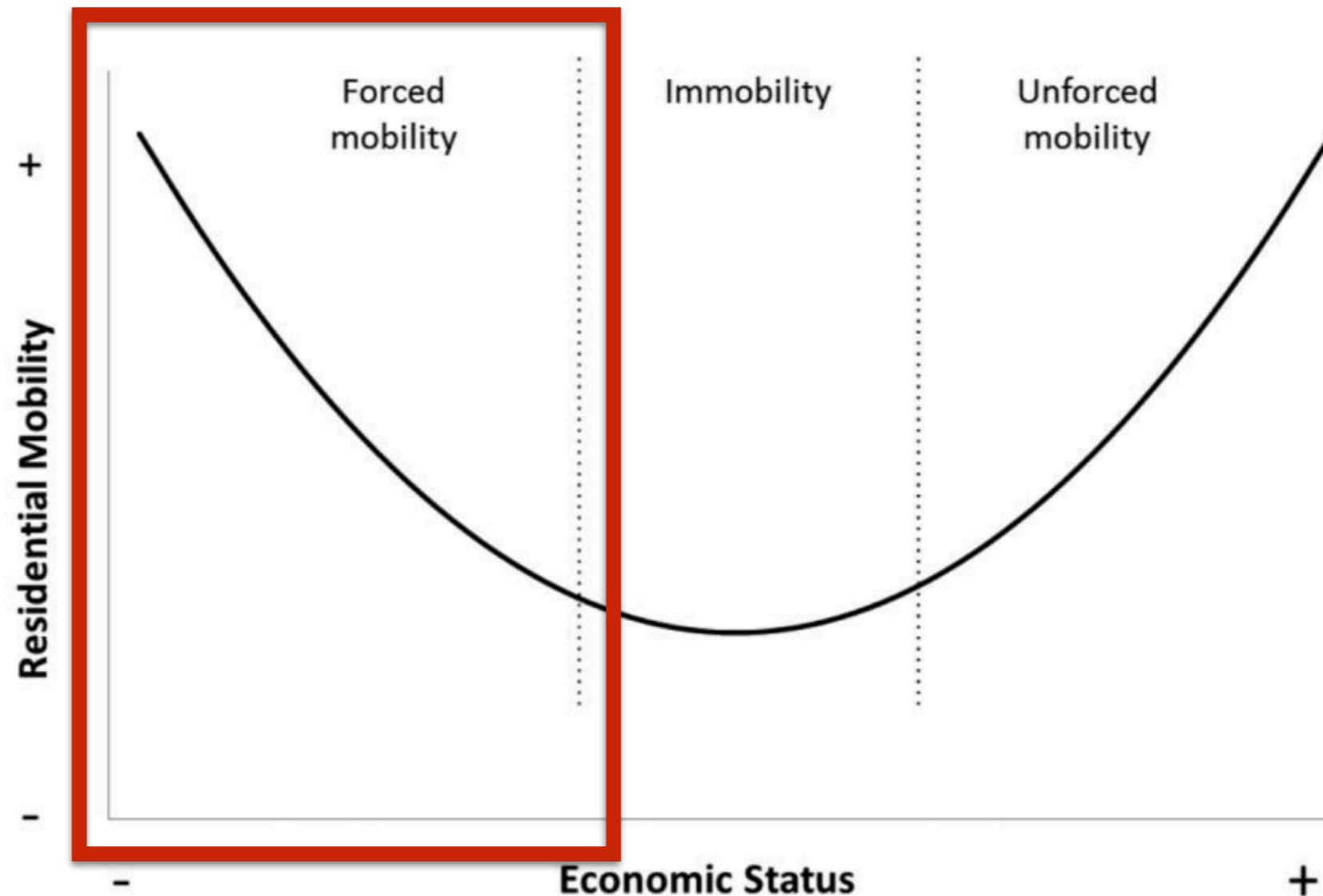
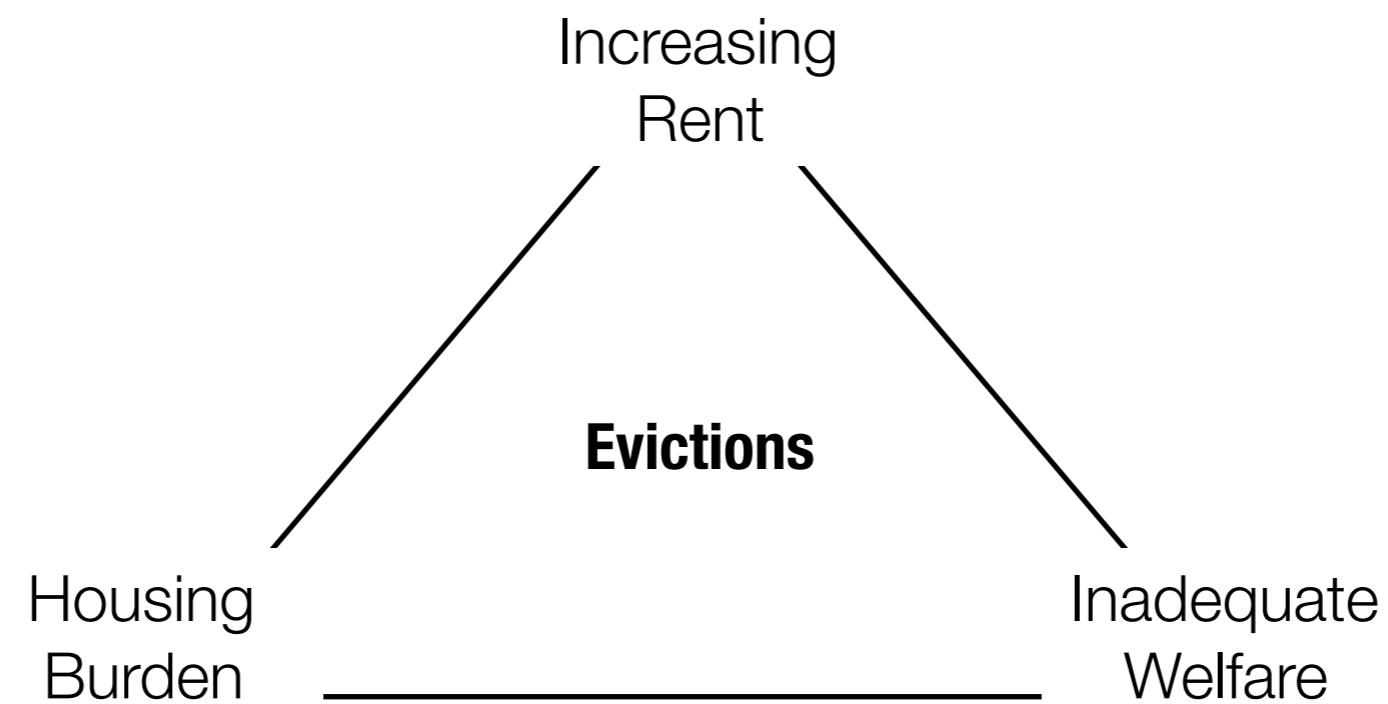


FIGURE 1. Theoretical model of the relationship between residential mobility and economic status among urban renters.

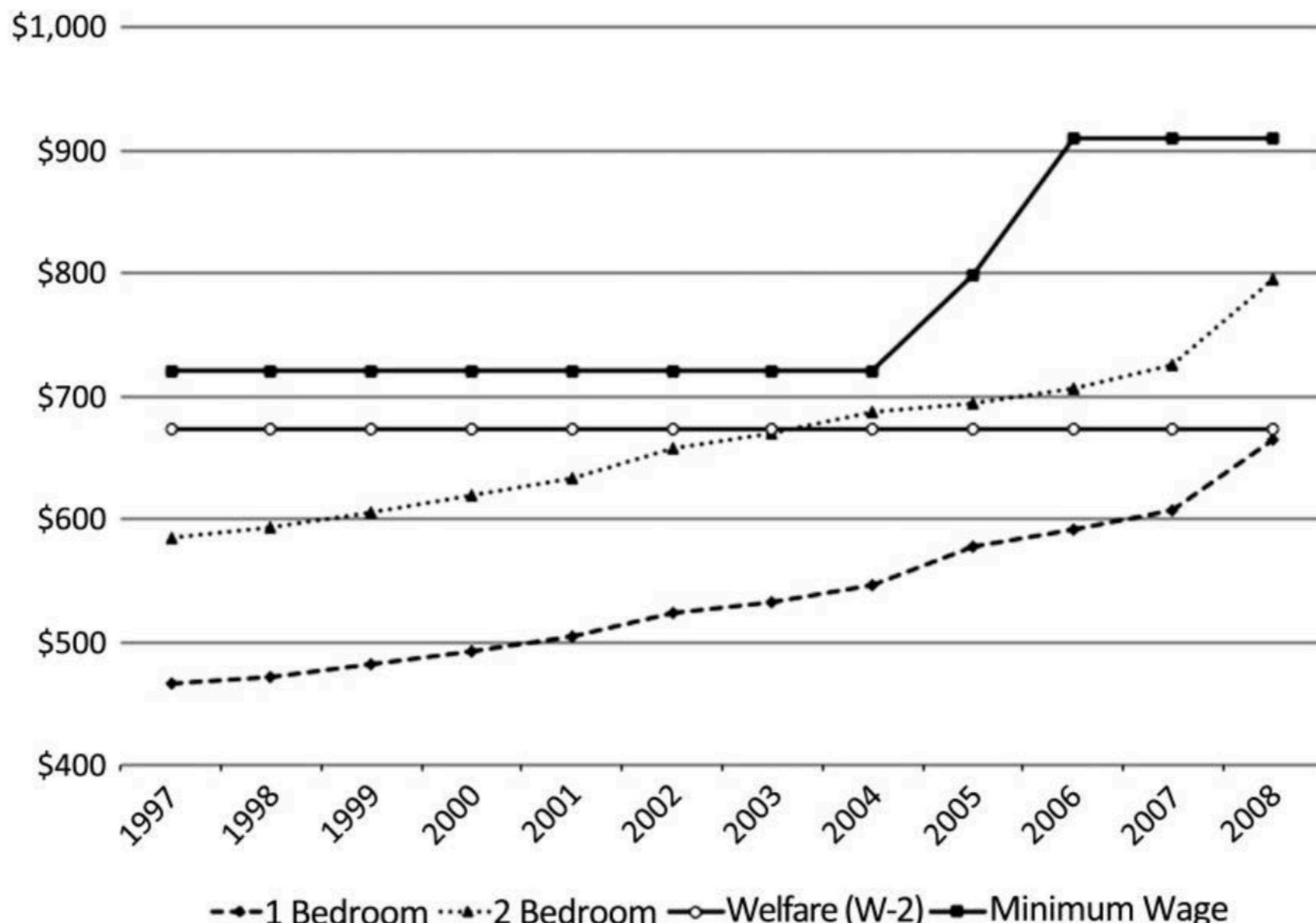
Desmond, Matthew, Carl Gershenson, and Barbara Kiviat. 2015. "Forced Relocation and Residential Instability among Urban Renters." *Social Service Review* 89(2):227–62.



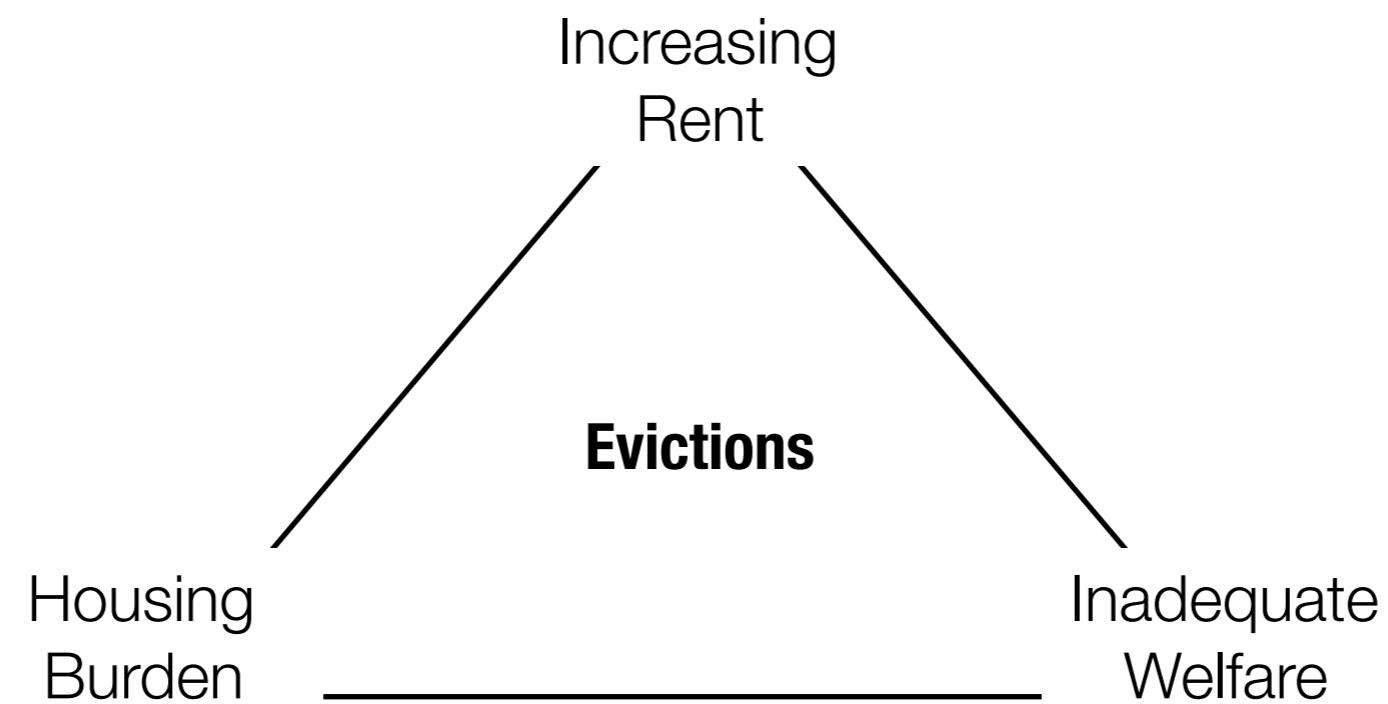
Individual-Level Dynamics

Individual Level Dynamics

Milwaukee Rent, Income, & Welfare

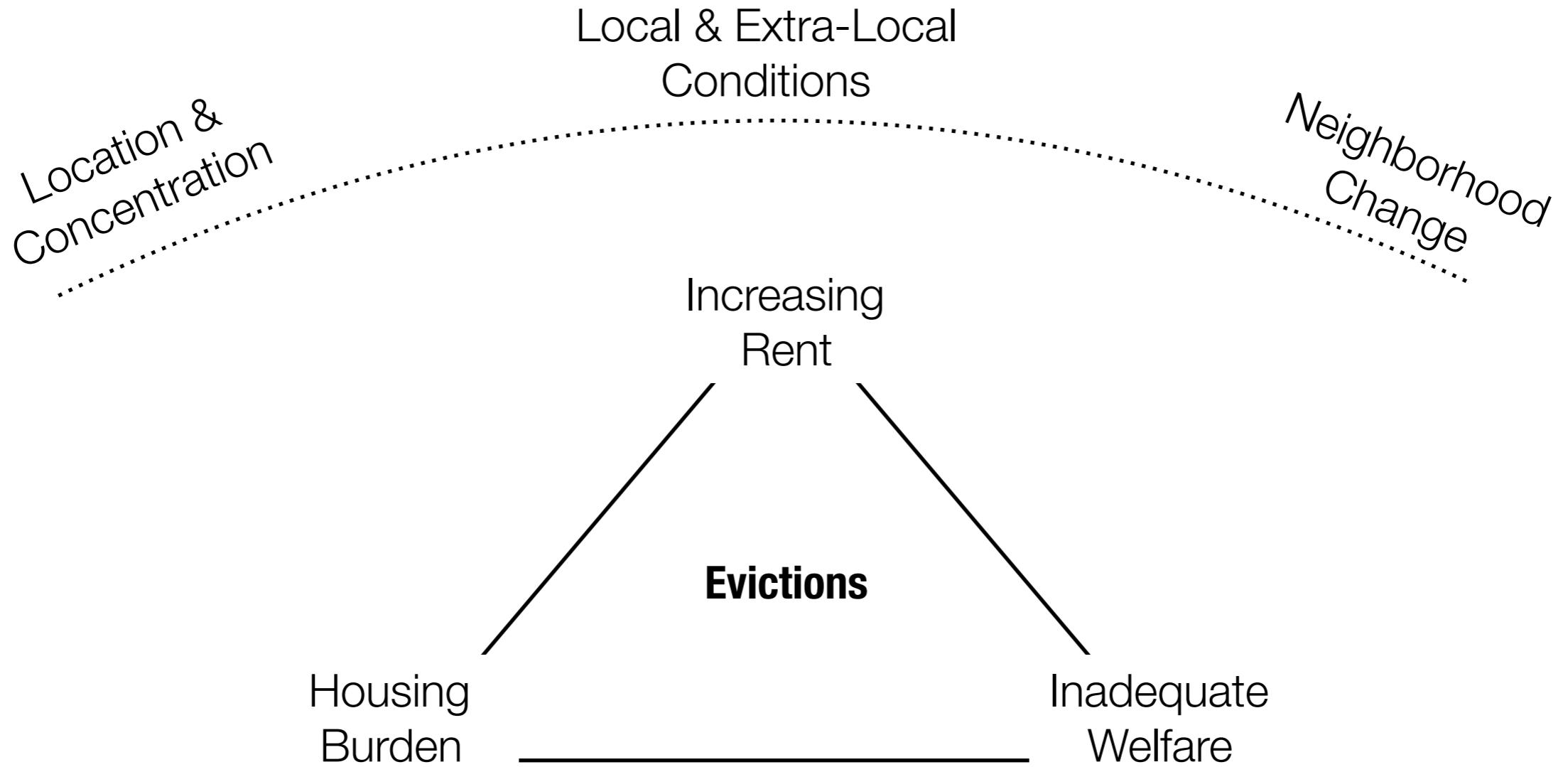


Desmond, Matthew. 2012. "Eviction and the Reproduction of Urban Poverty." American Journal of Sociology 118(1):88–133.



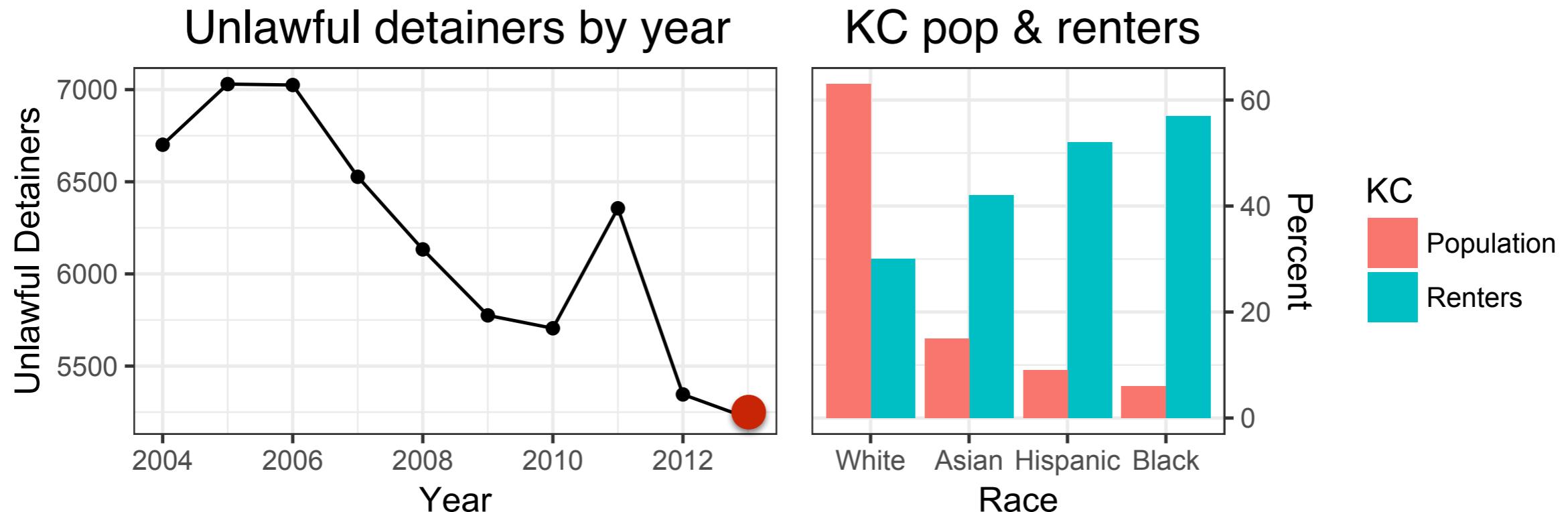
Individual-Level Dynamics

Neighborhood-Level Dynamics



Individual-Level Dynamics

Evictions Data



Unlawful Detainers

- Formal evictions are heard and decided usually within 1 week
- Despite resolution, the mark of an eviction stays on your record, like a criminal record

King County Renting Population

- 322,514 Households
- 63% White, 12.2% Asian, 9.6% Latino, 9.6% black

Eviction Rates by Sex & Race

Sex

- Female head:
 - **32%** > male heads

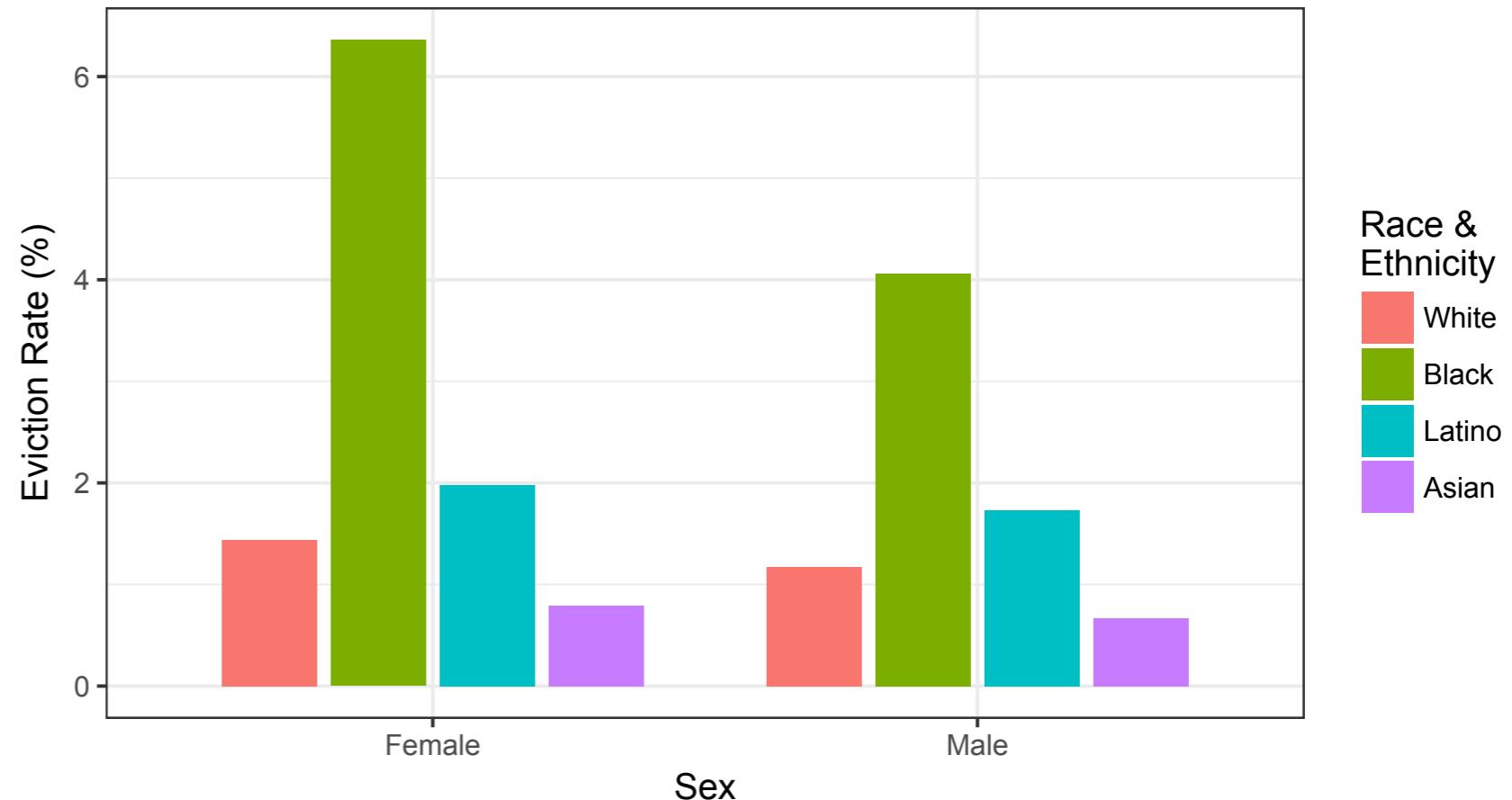
Race

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

Sex & Race

- **Black female** head:
 - **4.4x** > white fem.
 - **5.4x** > white male
- **Black male** head:
 - **3.5x** > white male

UD Rates by Sex & Race



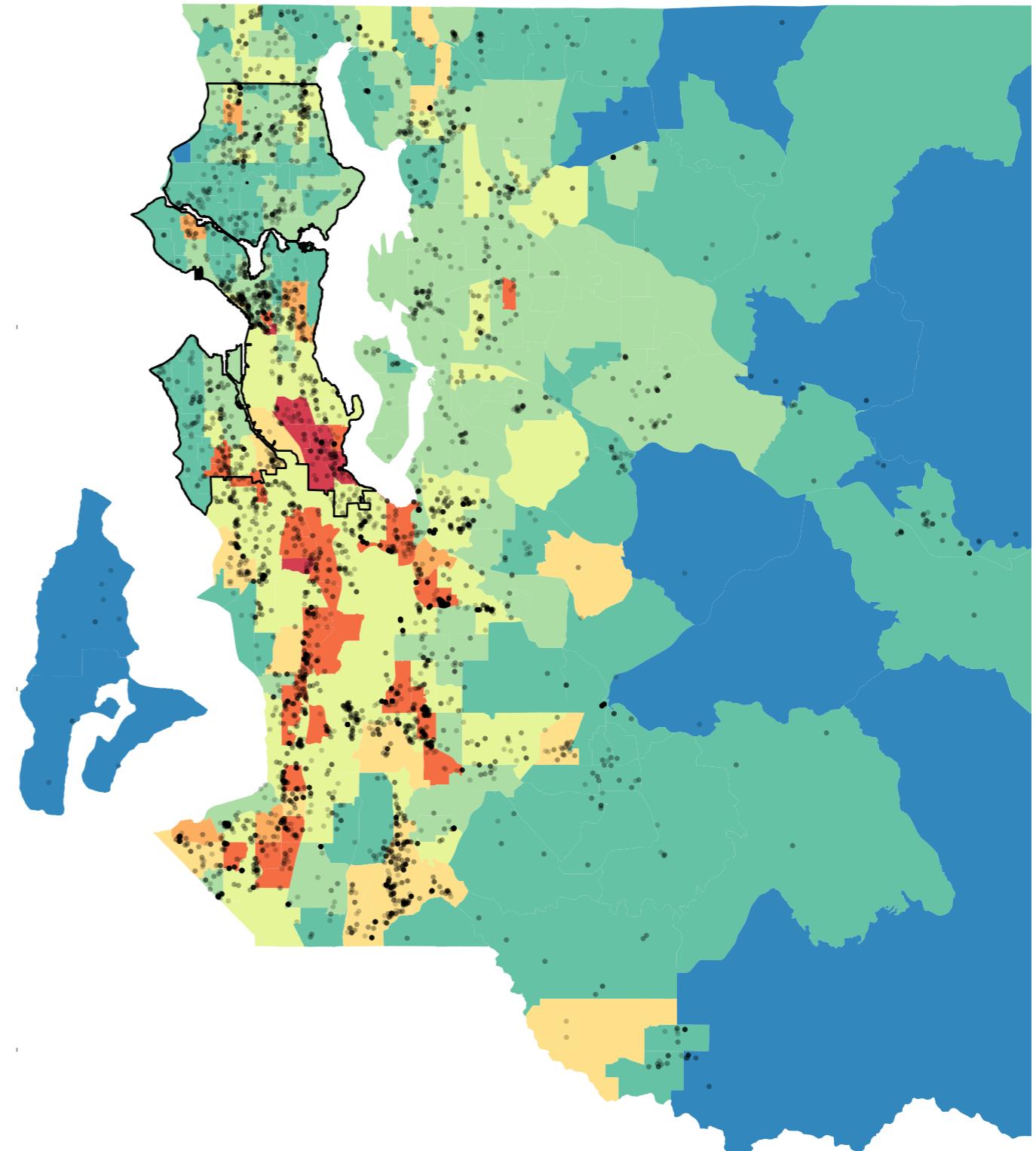
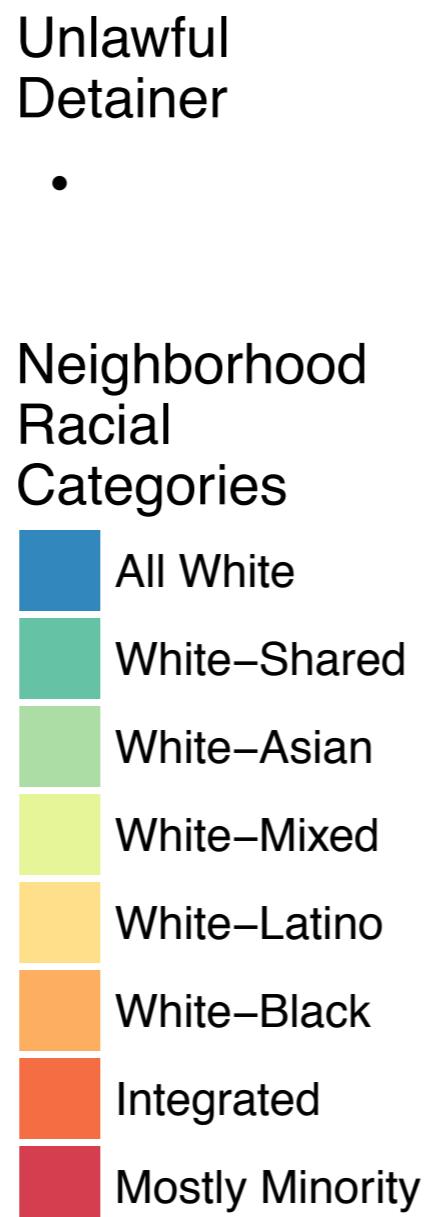
UD Distribution & Neigh. Types

Regional Distribution

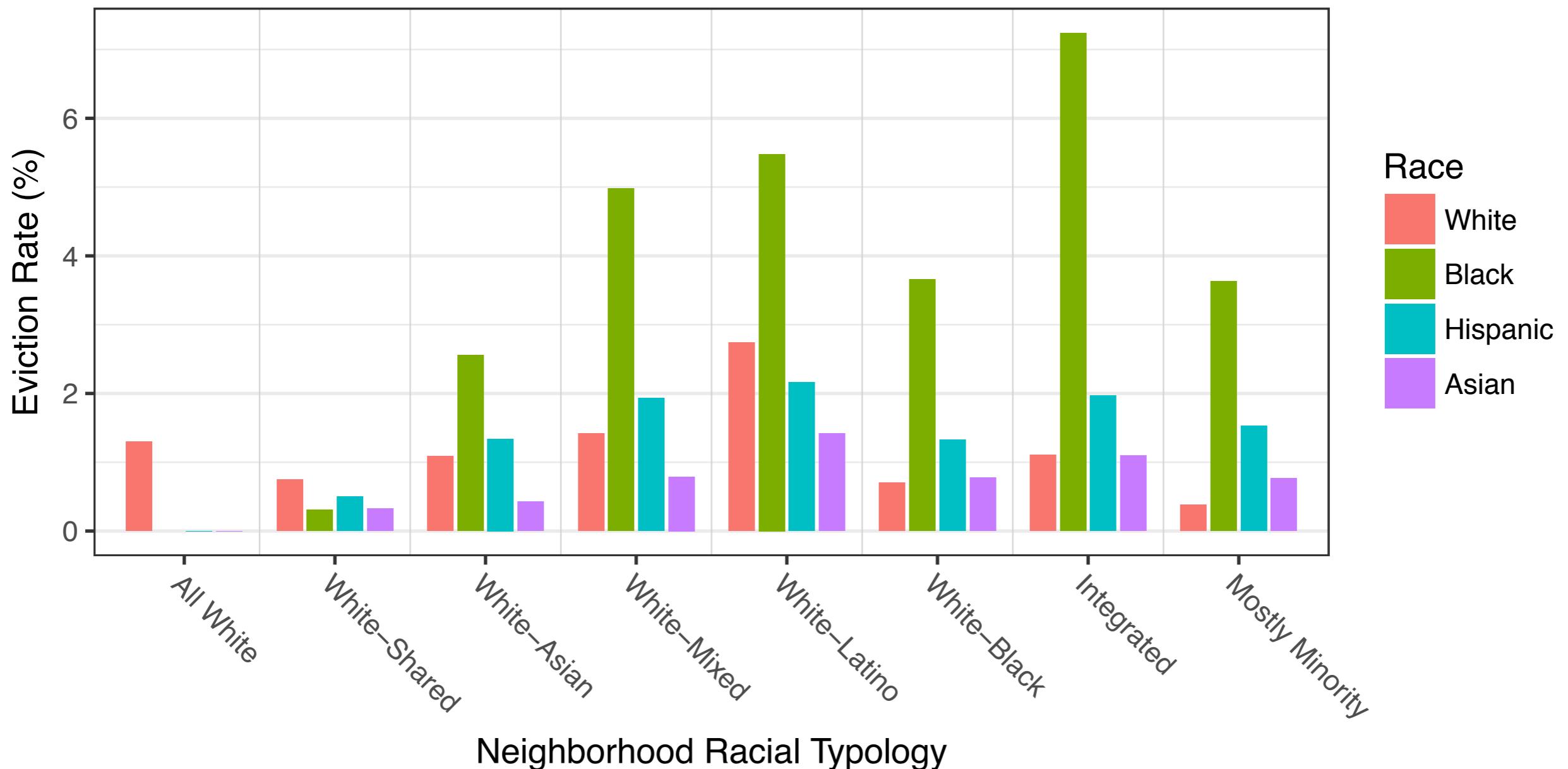
- S. King: 57%
- Seattle: 27%
- East: 15.2%
- Other: 0.6%

Neighborhood Types

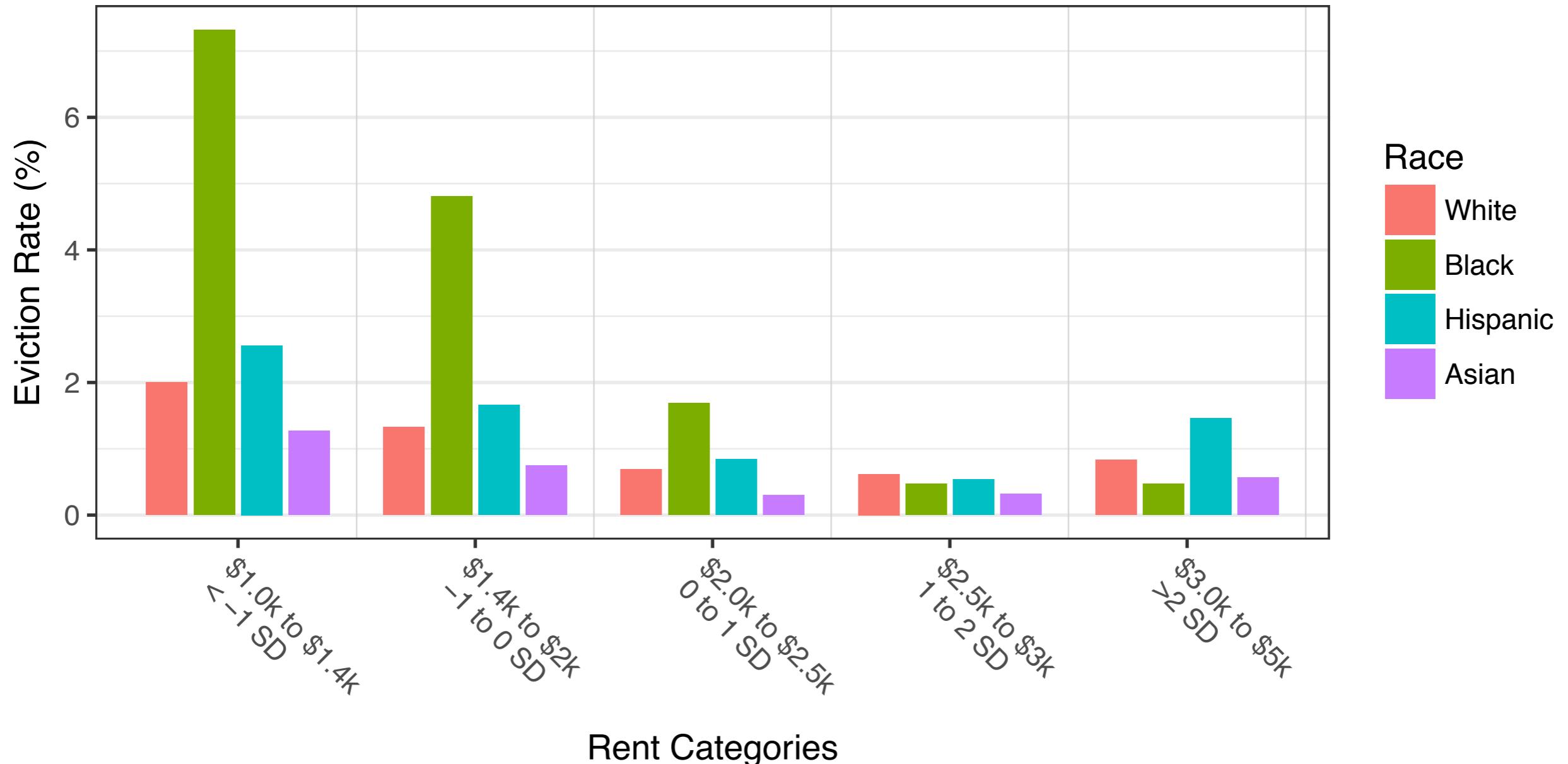
- South:
 - Minority & integrated
- Seattle & East:
 - White & Asian



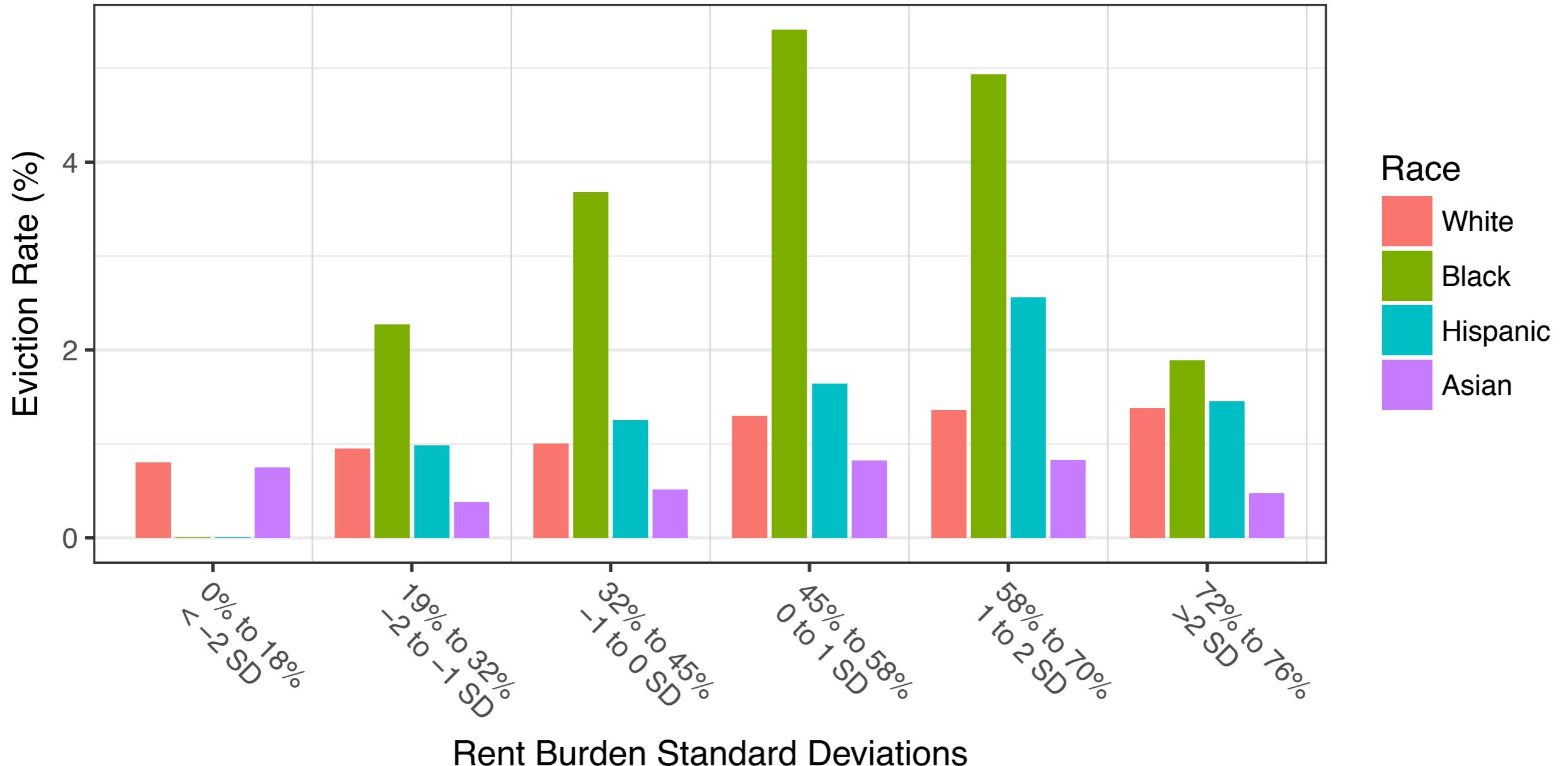
Neighborhood Type



Rent

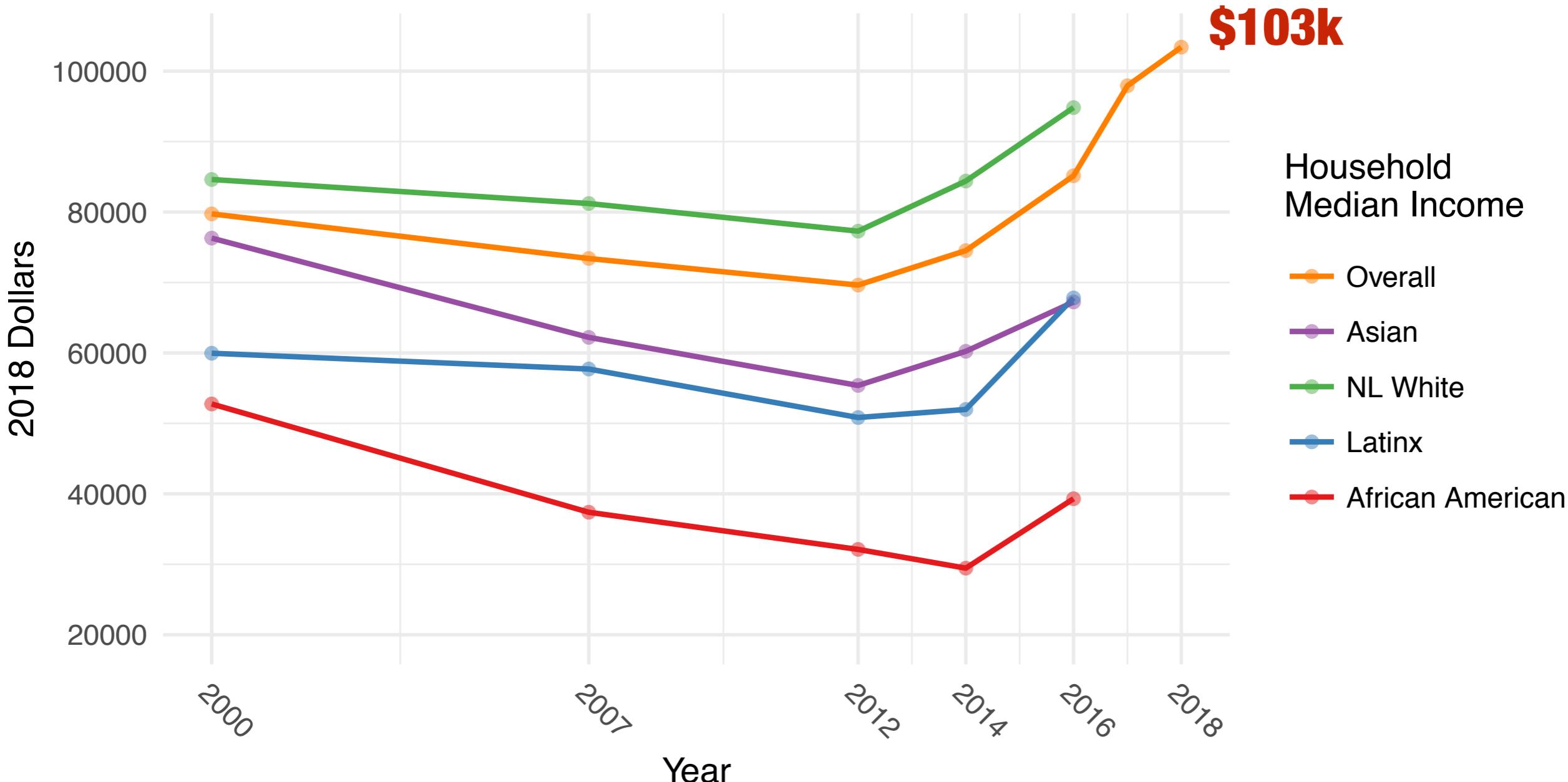


Rent Burden



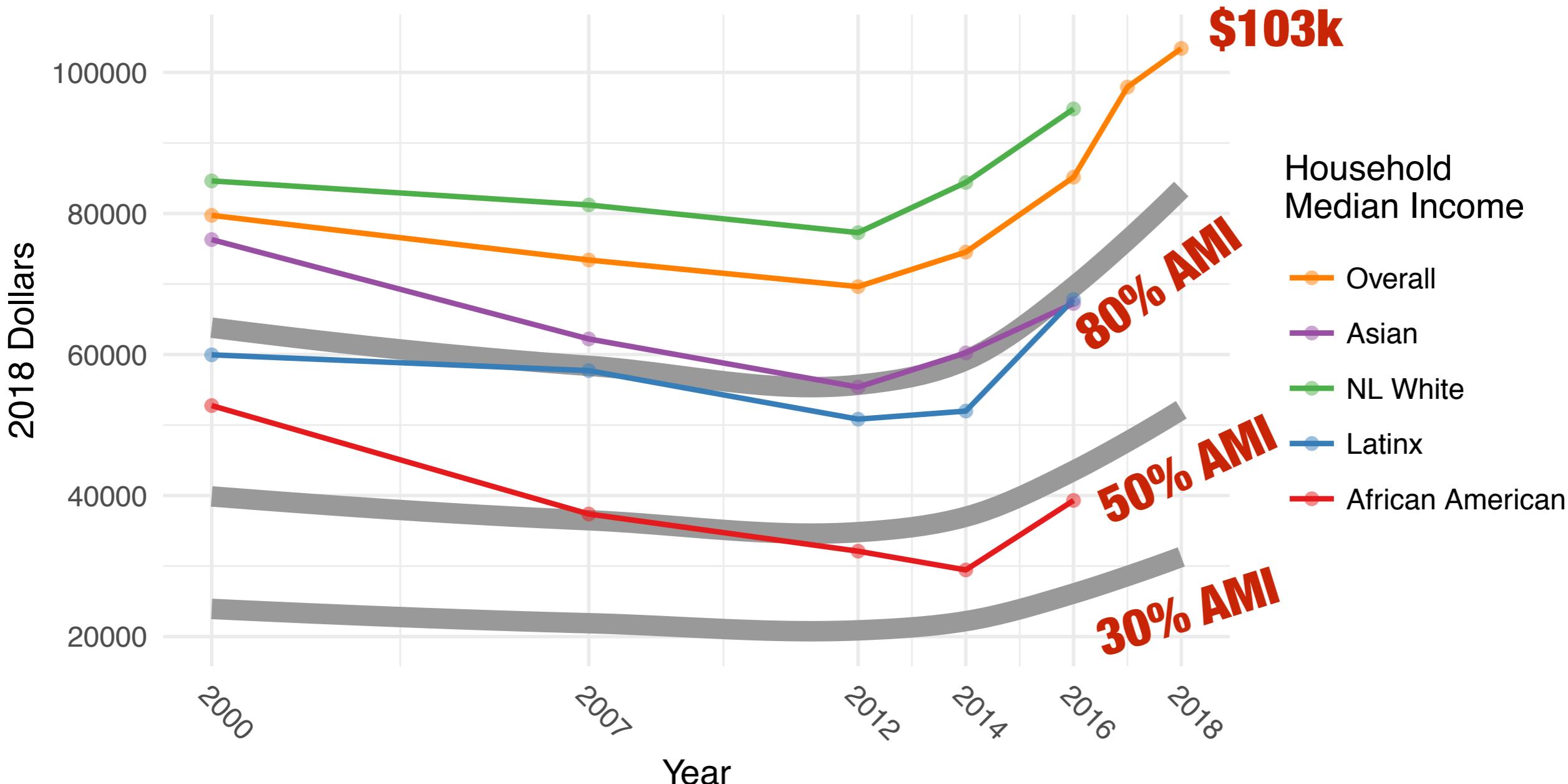
Economic Differences

Seattle Median Household Income by Race



Economic Differences

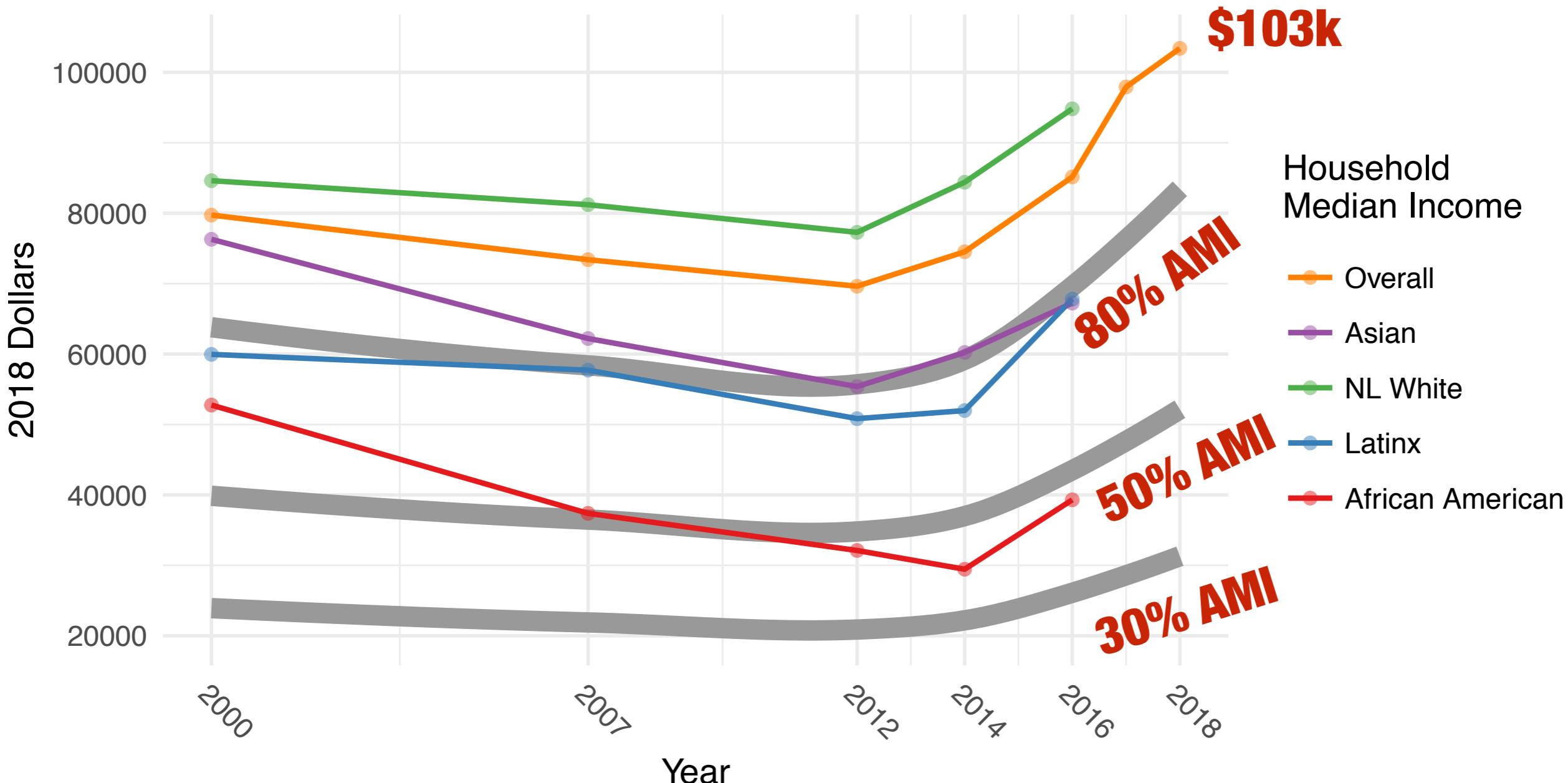
Seattle Median Household Income by Race



Economic Differences

2br Apt in 2018
\$2,200 x 12 = Income
30% rent burden \$88,000

Seattle Median Household Income by Race



Take Aways

1. Non-White, middle-class, & the Creative Class are vulnerable to displacement.

- *The history of segregation & economic/housing exclusion created concentrated poverty in the urban core. Now, the problems of the early city are found in the suburbs: declining infrastructure, redirected investments, increases in poverty.*
- *Richard Florida suggested how to build a city to attract the Creative Class. Sixteen years later, it created economic growth for the already wealthy while displacing the poor and working class.*

2. Bold steps are necessary to curb formal and informal displacement.

- *Continue to raise awareness of race, ethnic, gender, sexual identity/orientation, and economic disparities and how they affect everyone.*
- *Design policies and strategies that help vulnerable groups. For example, consider changing how evictions are handled in the renting process.*
- *Increase the political clout and economic resources for vulnerable groups. They are highly invested in the culture and ethos of Seattle and they can not afford to stay. Empower the community to help their own neighbors.*

3. The public, practitioners, and academics need more data, resources, & communication regarding research related specifically to the changing city.

- *A formal study/survey of displaced households would help explain mechanisms of gentrification.*
- *Researchers need to know what is important for practitioners and the city so they can ask relevant questions.*

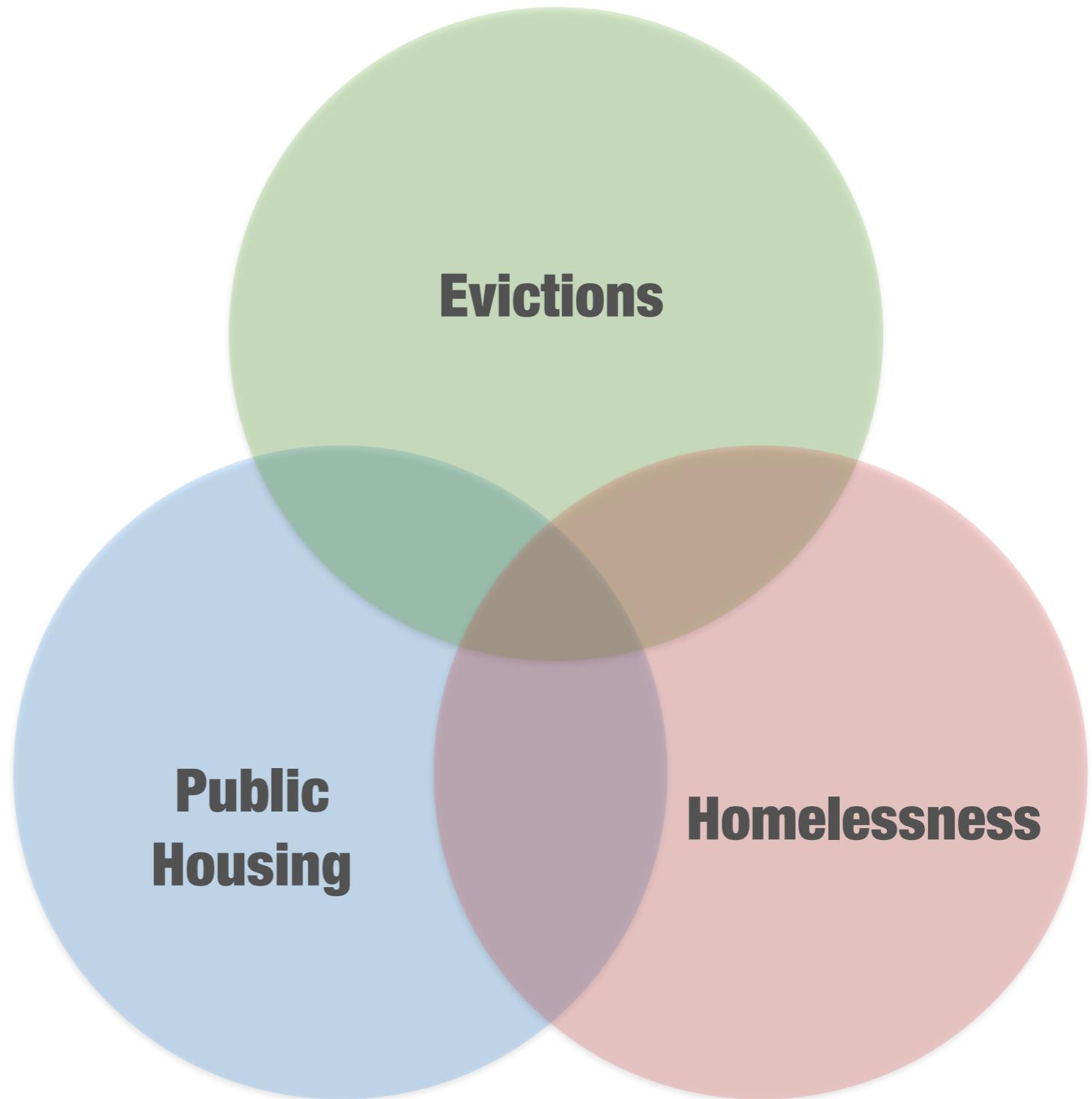
Current Research: Housing Insecurity Longitudinal Database (HILD)

Expand evictions data

Merge datasets

**Measure transitions
between these three**

**Individual &
neighborhood
characteristics**

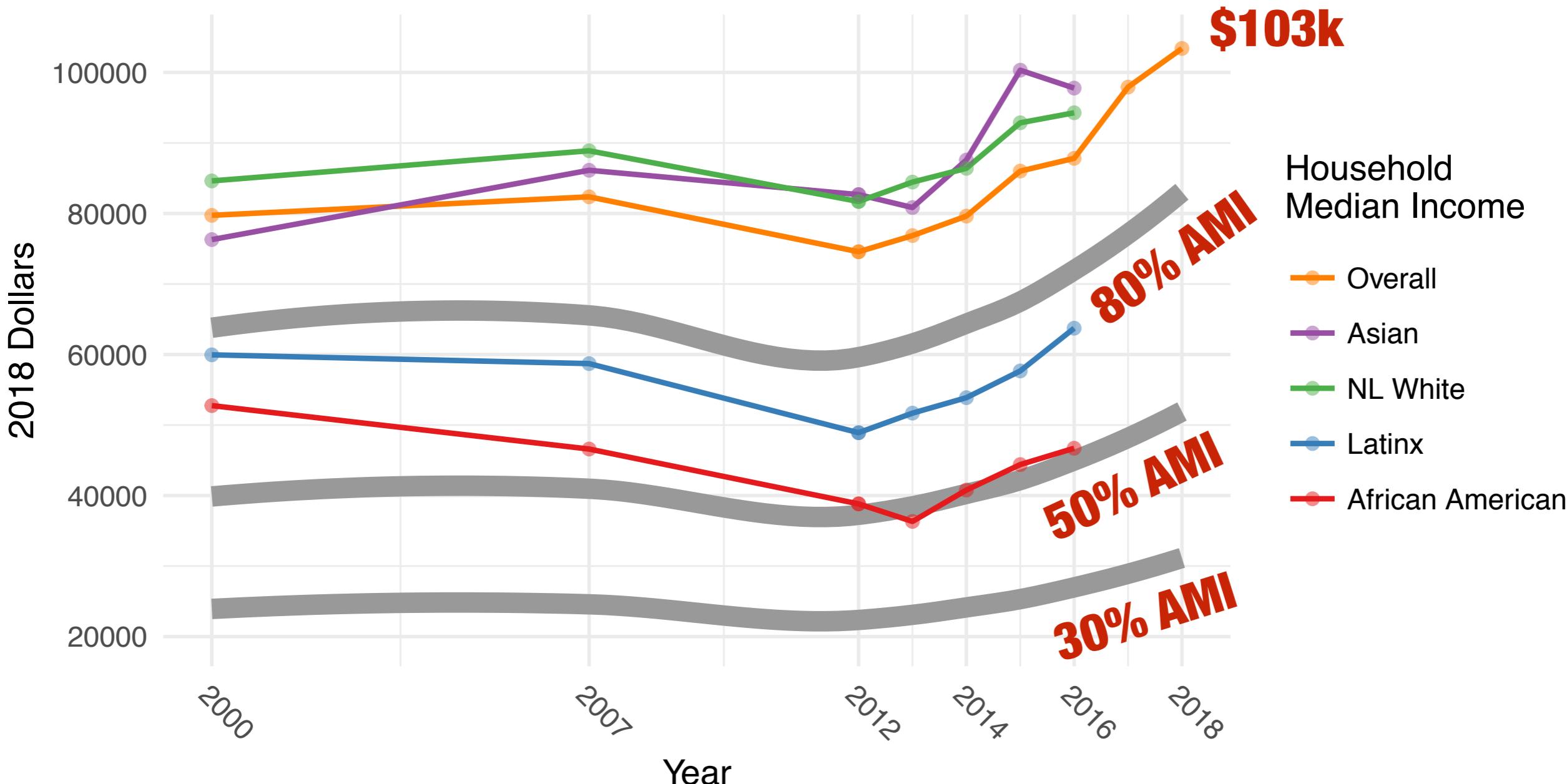


Thank you

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t77@uw.edu

Economic Differences

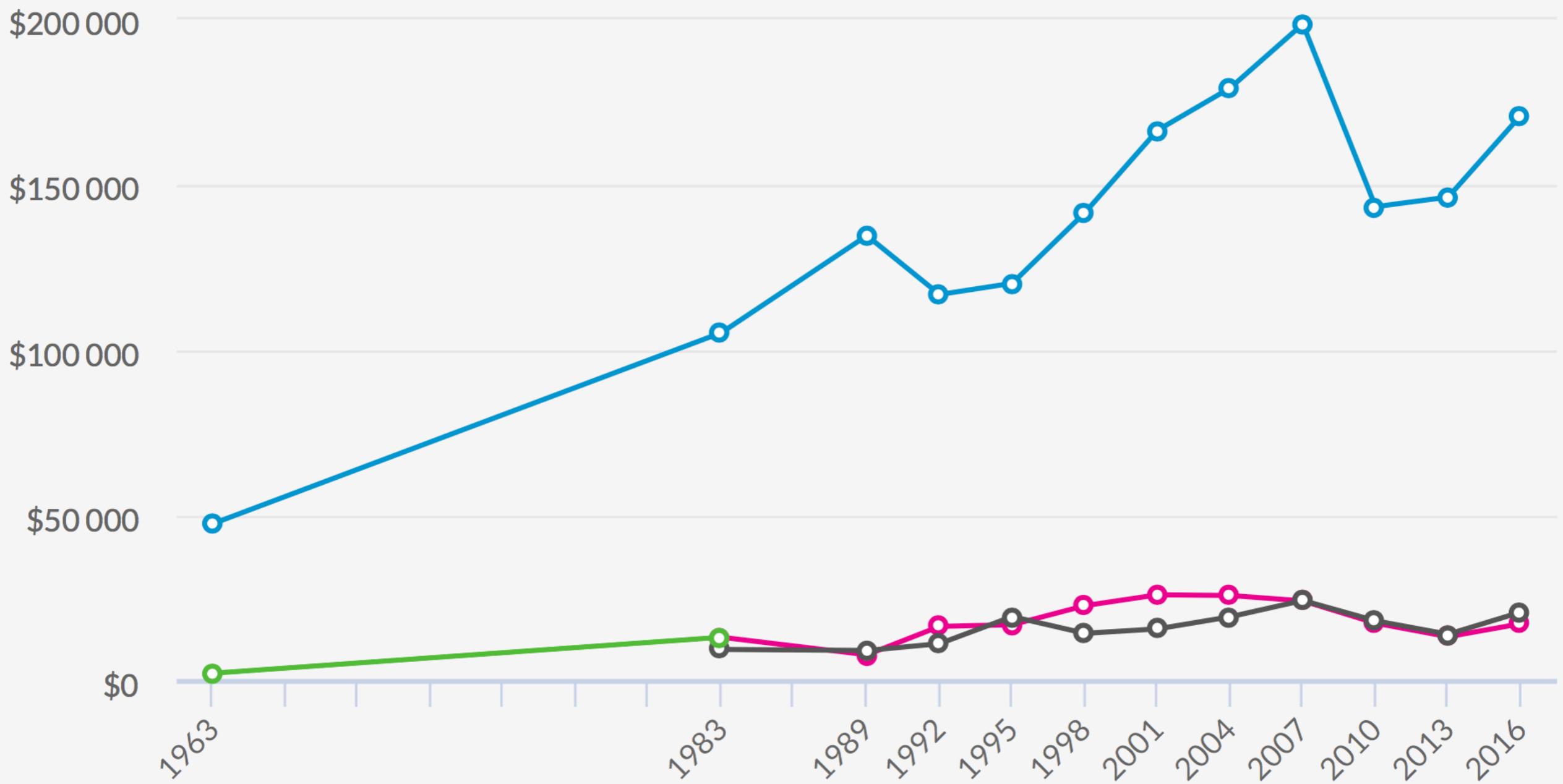
King County Median Household Income by Race



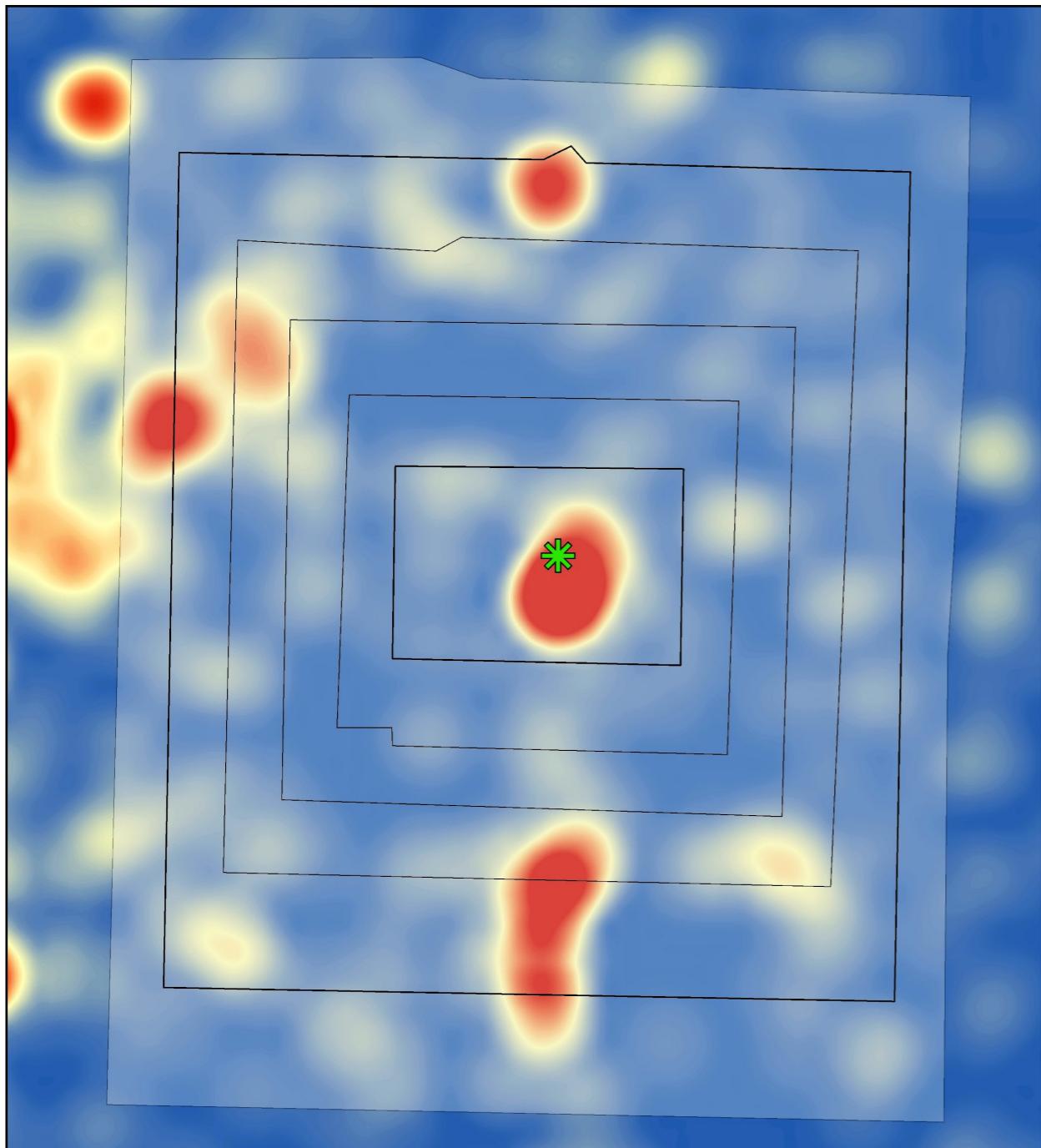
US Wealth Gap

Median Family Wealth by Race/Ethnicity, 1963–2016

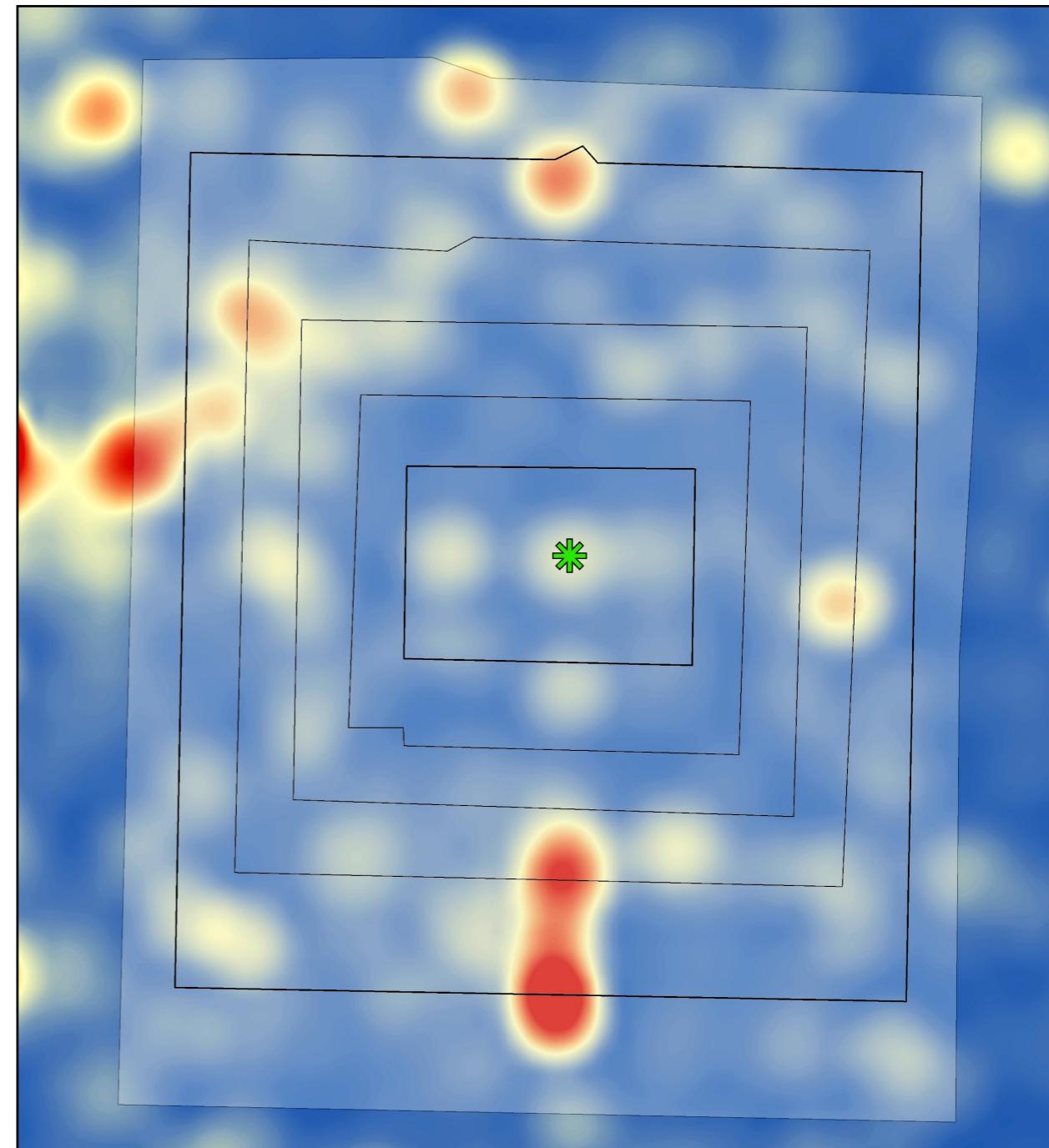
White Black Hispanic Nonwhite



Pre Operation
Jul-Sep 2010



Post Operation
Jan-Mar 2011



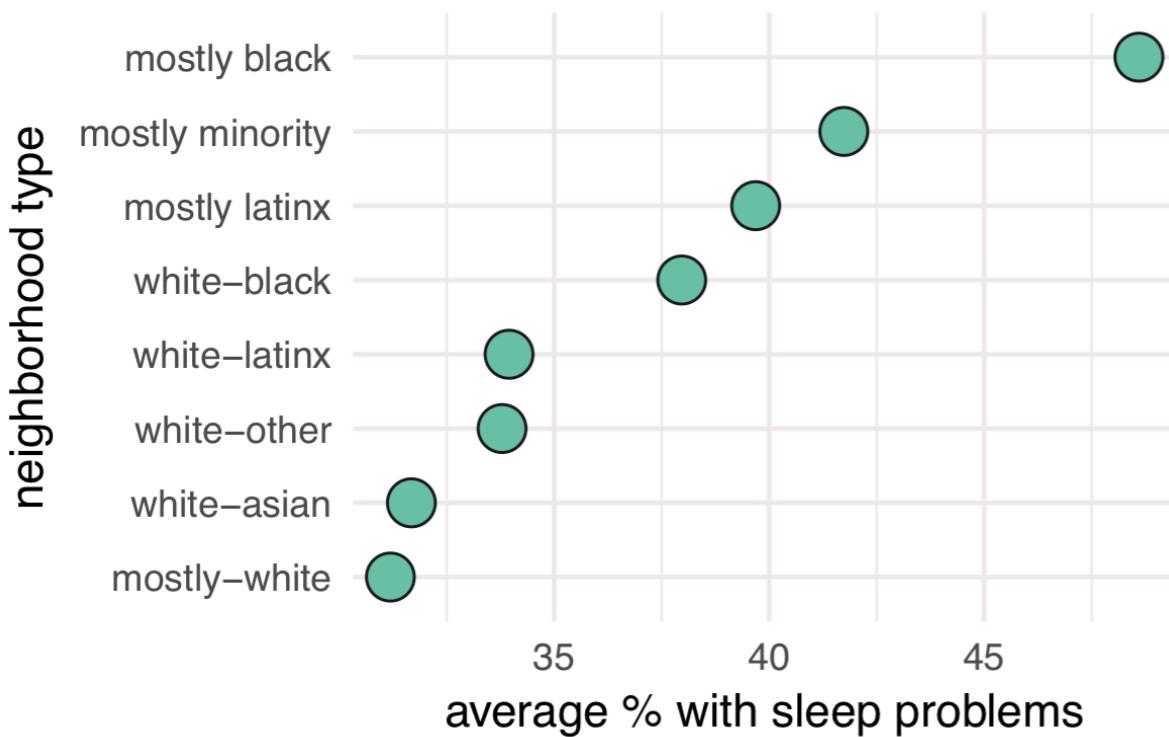
MARIJUANA LEGALIZATION



Health and Segregation

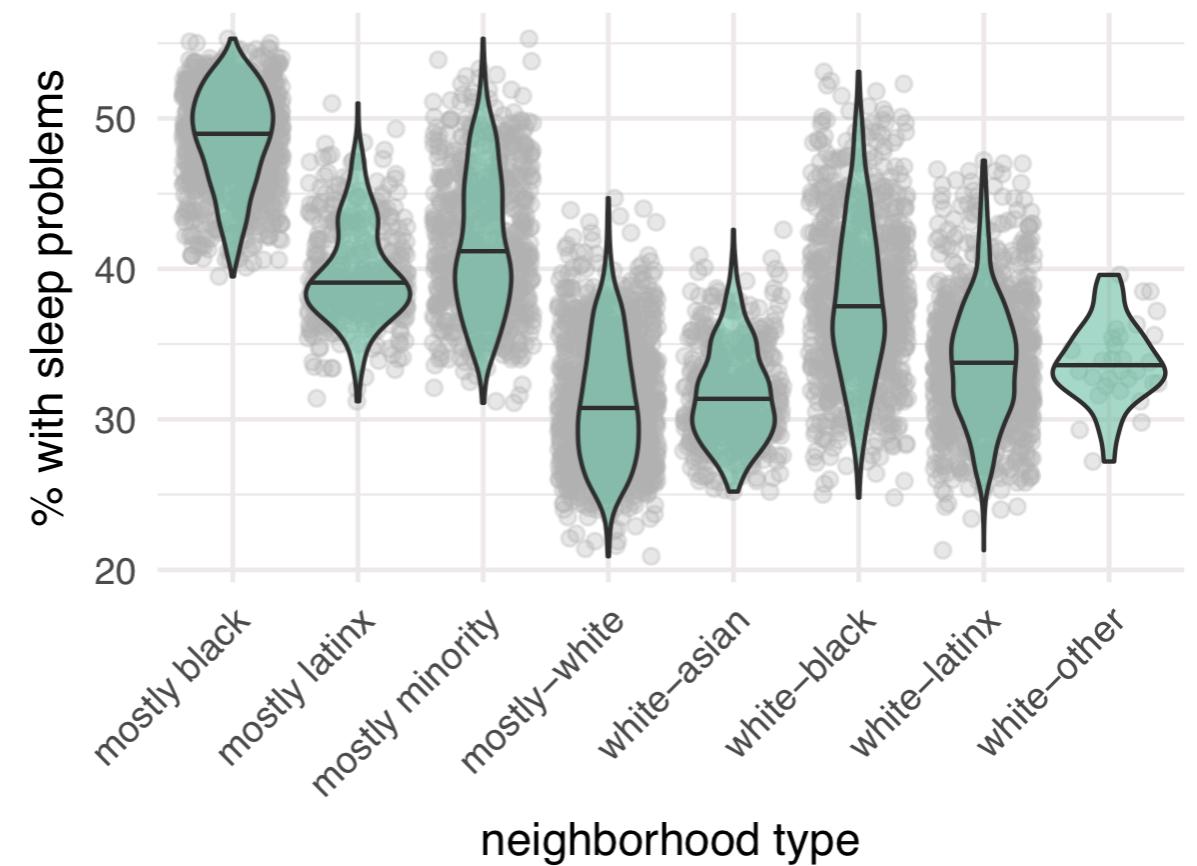
What we know:

Average sleep & neighborhood types



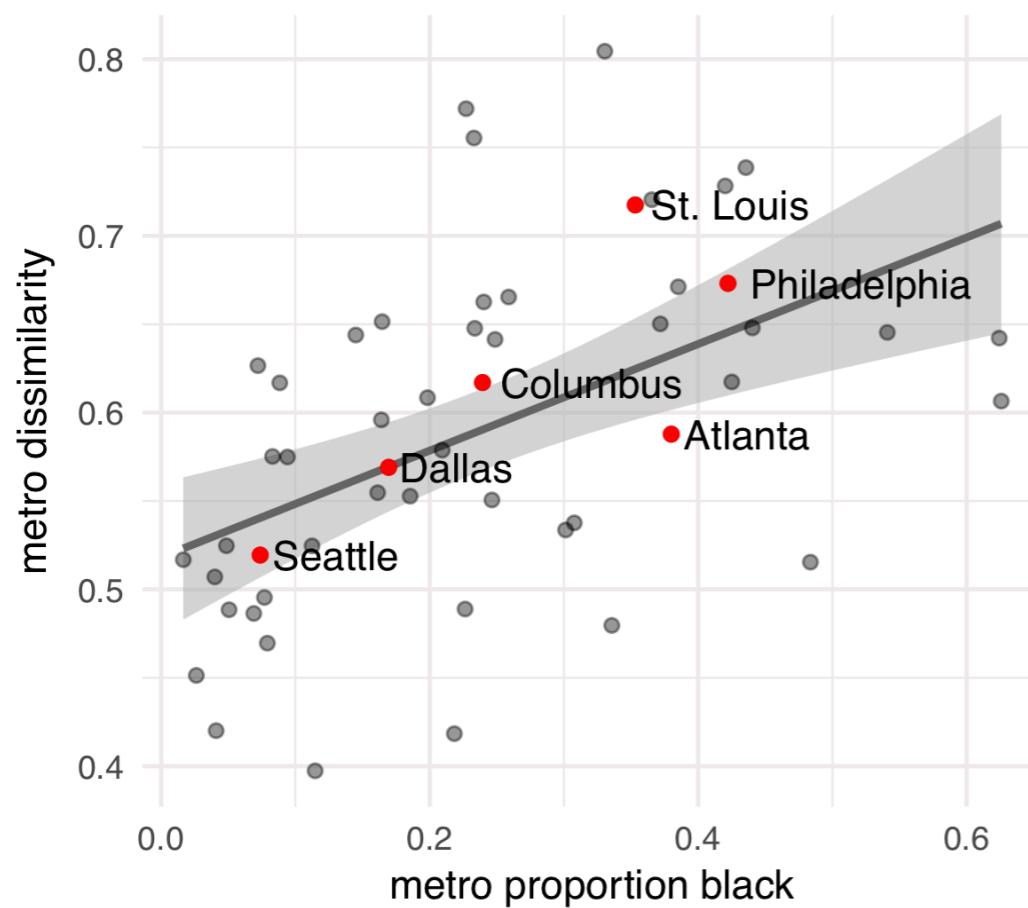
What we don't know:

Variation within neighborhood types

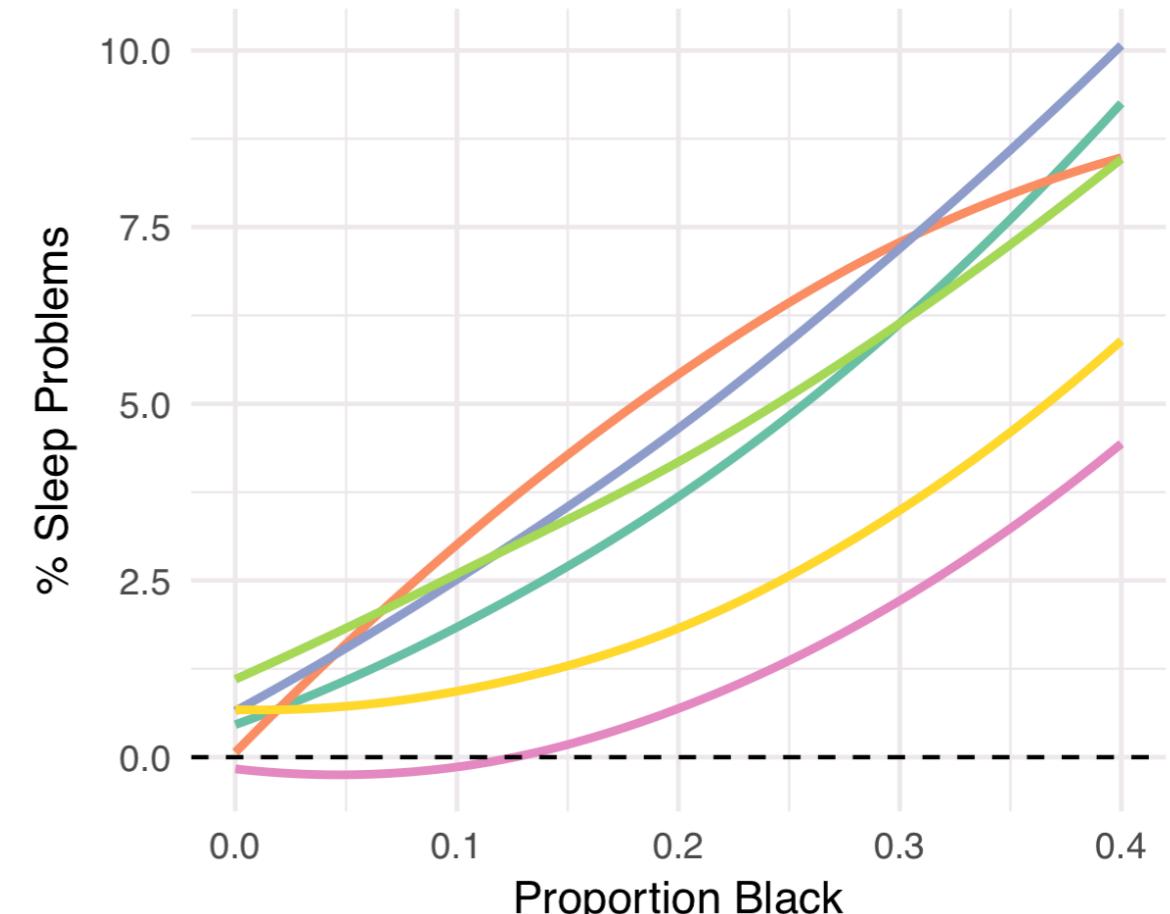


Health and Segregation

Metro segregation & proportion Black



Predicted sleep problems & proportion black



cbsa

Atlanta	Dallas	Seattle
—	—	—
Columbus	Philadelphia	St. Louis
—	—	—