

Research on Evictions and Housing Code Violations in the City of Madison and Dane County, WI

Presentation to City of Madison Equal Opportunities Commission

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Introduction

Scope of presentation

1. Summary of previous research on evictions in the City of Madison and Dane County
2. Report new findings on housing insecurity (eviction) and housing quality (DCEDP code violations) in the City of Madison
3. Concluding observations

Previous research on evictions in the City of Madison and Dane County

Summary of previous research (2 of 3)

1. Eviction filings are highly racialized occurring most often in nonwhite neighborhoods
2. Different types of eviction practices in different urban locations
 - gentrification-induced housing insecurity provoked by new multifamily housing development
 - spatial durability and repetitiveness in socially marginalized, nonwhite neighborhoods

Previous research on evictions in the City of Madison and Dane County

Evicted in Dane County, Wisconsin (2016)

Race and eviction

- eviction filings are highly correlated with non-white residential patterns (0.728, statistically significant at the 0.001 level)
- six (6) block groups with the most eviction cases are also among the top ten block groups with the largest percentages of residents of color.

Large property owners and property management companies

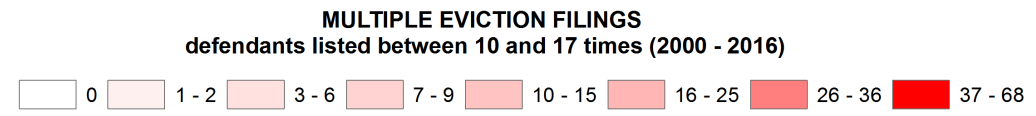
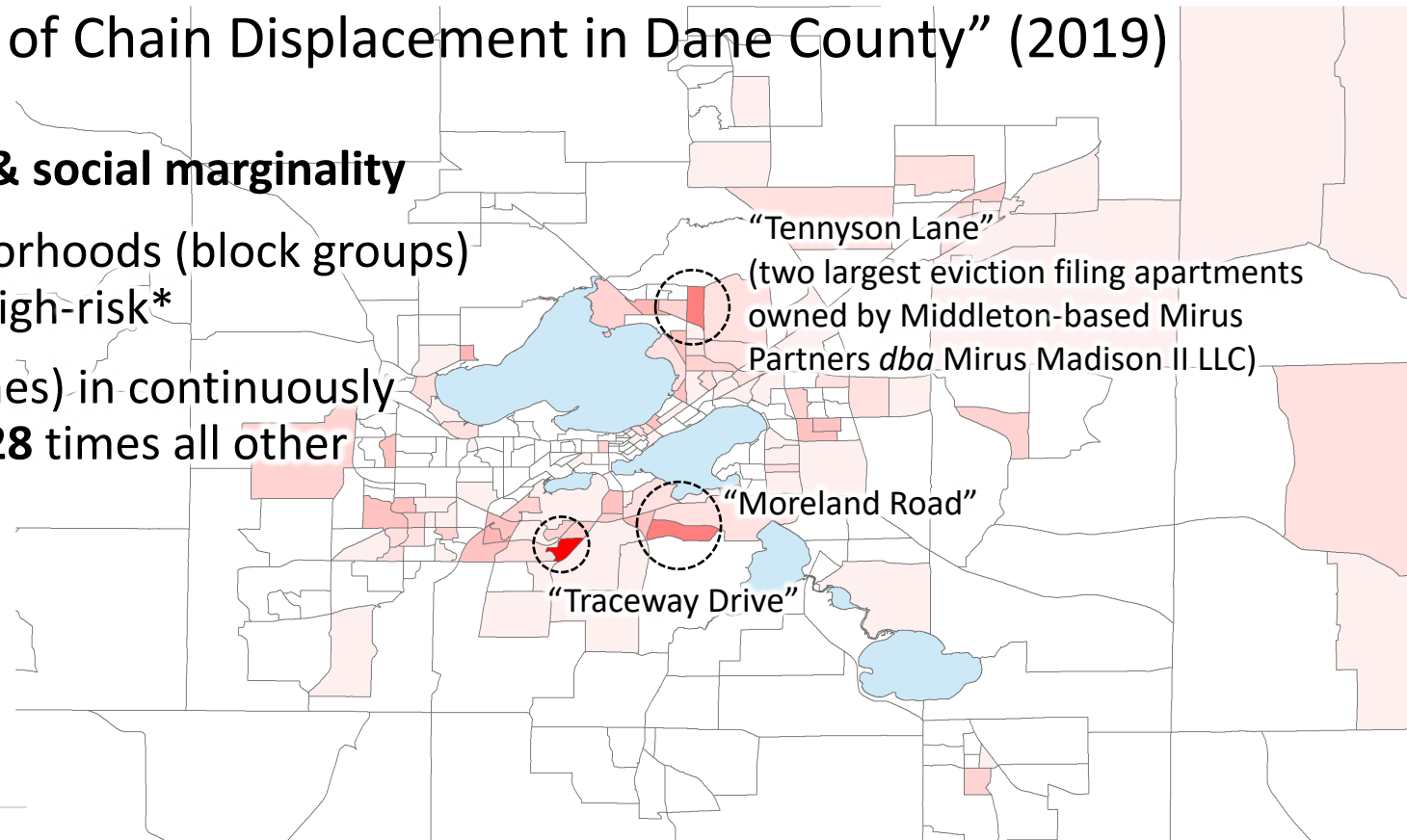
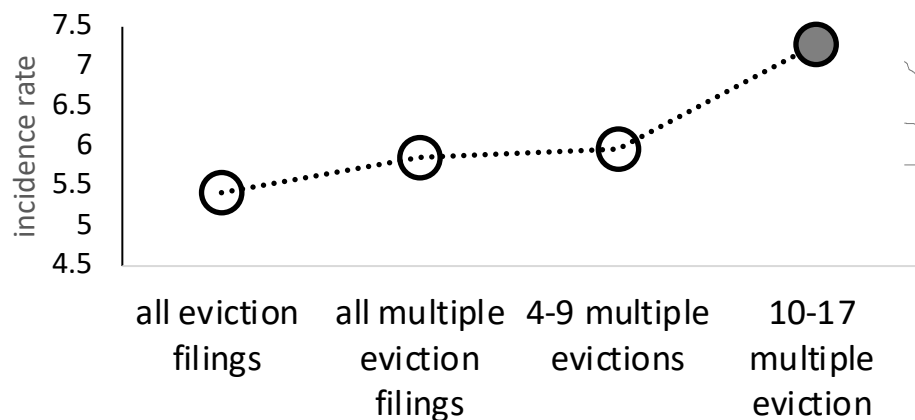
- just 100 plaintiffs account for over half (52%) of all eviction cases (2000-2015)
- two plaintiffs, Madison Property Management Inc (1,444) and Wisconsin Management Company (1,389) accounted for 7% of all cases

Previous research on evictions in the City of Madison and Dane County

“Multiple Eviction: An Investigation of Chain Displacement in Dane County” (2019)

Repeated (multiple/serial) eviction filing & social marginality

- eviction filings primarily occur in neighborhoods (block groups) characterized as continually extremely high-risk*
- incidence of multiple eviction (10-17 times) in continuously extremely high-risk neighborhoods is **7.28** times all other neighborhoods’ predicted values



* Neighborhood change index based 10 comprehensive variables from the 2006–2010 and 2012–2016 NHGIS–ACS five-year estimates. Variable values converted to z-scores and totaled to create unweighted index

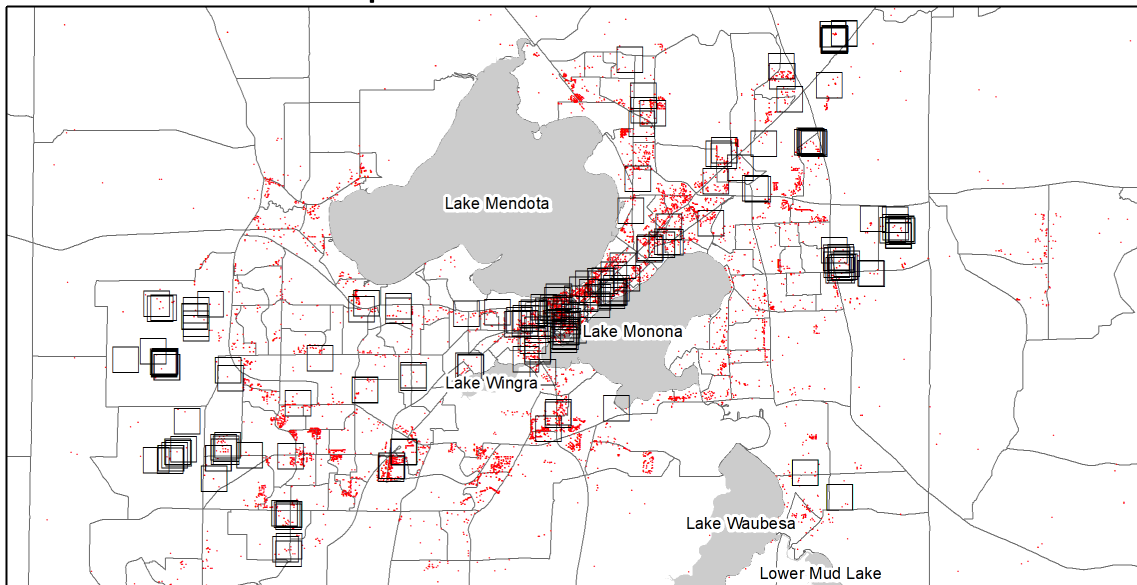


Previous research on evictions in the City of Madison and Dane County

“Measuring the Effect of Gentrification on Displacement: Multifamily Housing and Eviction in Wisconsin's Madison Urban Region” (2021)

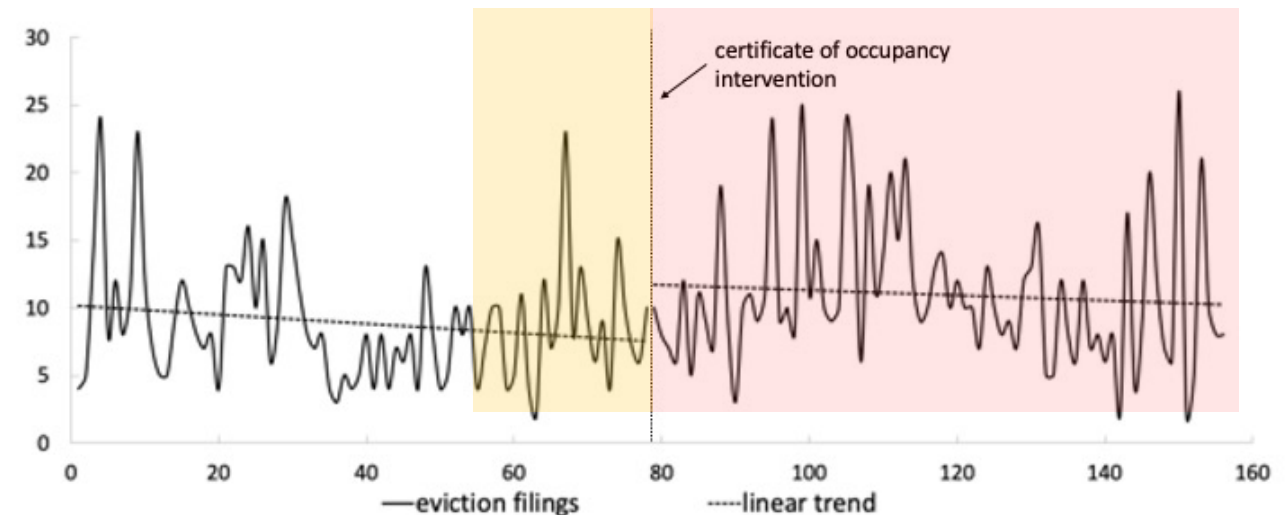
Gentrification and housing development

- new large (5+ units) housing development increases eviction filings within 10th of a mile radius
- 24 weeks postintervention – it amounts to an additional 4.23 eviction filings (a relative increase of 60.7%)



Sources: City of Madison Department of Planning and Community and Economic Development; Tenant Resource Center; U.S. Census Bureau Geography Division Spatial Data Collection and Products Branch

- 5+ unit developments (221)
- eviction filings



Previous research on evictions in the City of Madison and Dane County

Summary of previous research (3 of 3)

1. Eviction filings are highly racialized occurring most often in nonwhite neighborhoods
2. Different types of eviction practices in different urban locations
 - gentrification-induced housing insecurity provoked by new multifamily housing development
 - spatial durability and repetitiveness of eviction in socially marginalized, nonwhite neighborhoods
3. High eviction neighborhoods can be described as a type of **housing submarket**

New research on housing insecurity and quality in the City of Madison

Housing submarkets

1. econometric definition:

market imperfections that prevent/hinder long-term equilibrium and create distinct areas of relatively homogenous dwellings (e.g., “reasonable substitutes”)

Q: Do similar homes in white and black neighborhoods sell at different prices?

2. geographic/political economy definition:

the social production of scarcity in specific places and among marginalized social populations that creates conditions for exploitative relationships around the exchange of housing to occur (e.g., “the black tax”)

Q. How does racial exclusion allow forms of unequal exchange and exploitation to arise?

New research on housing insecurity and quality in the City of Madison

Housing submarkets

The function of multiple/serial filing:

“the process of eviction shifts the landlord–tenant relationship from owner–renter to creditor–debtor, with important consequences...

By redefining renters as debtors, filing assists in rent collection by leveraging the police power of the state to materially and symbolically support the landlord’s collection efforts.” *

* (Garboden & Rosen, 2019)

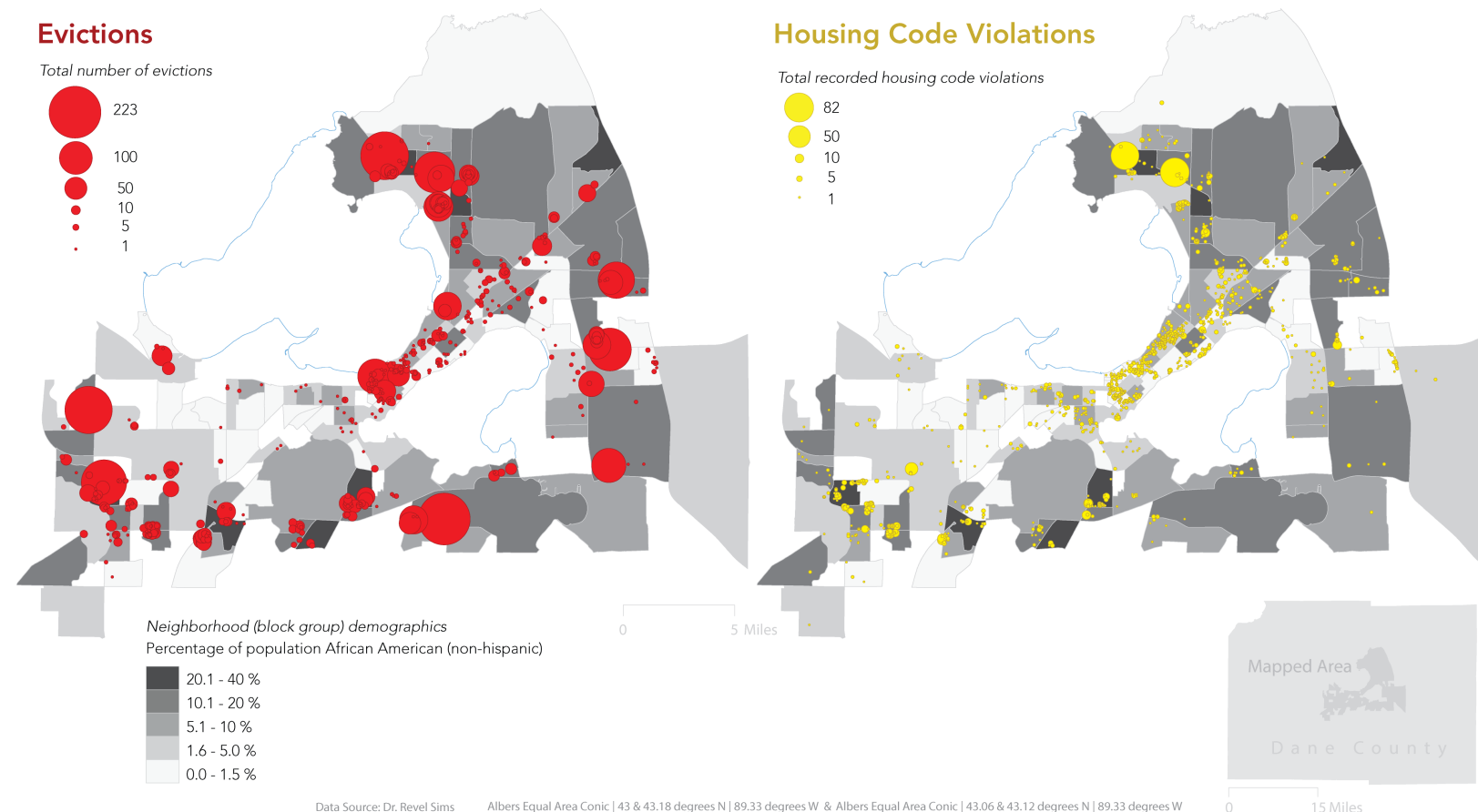
New research on housing insecurity and quality in the City of Madison

Improvement on previous research

- parcel level eviction and housing code violation data

Main findings

- eviction and housing code violations are concomitant
- housing code violations are concentrated in structures built between 1950 and 1974



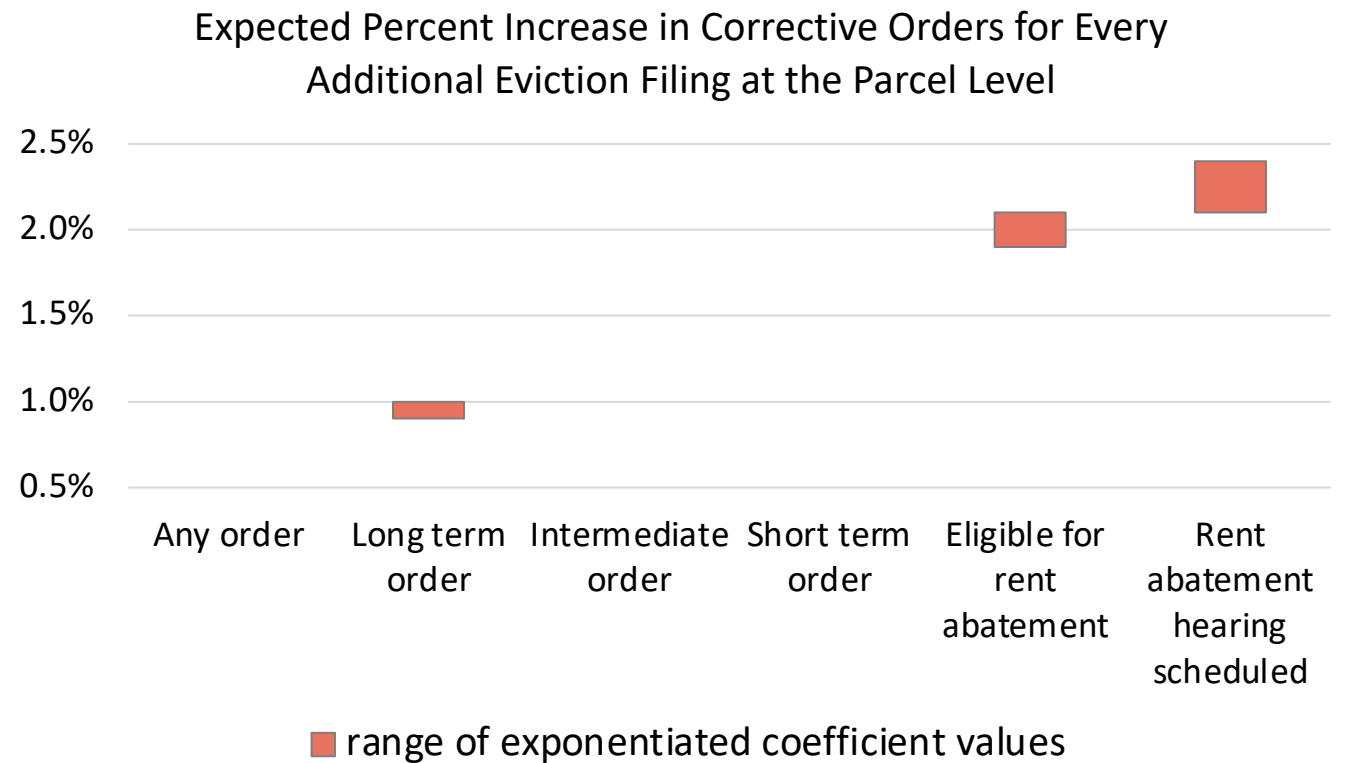
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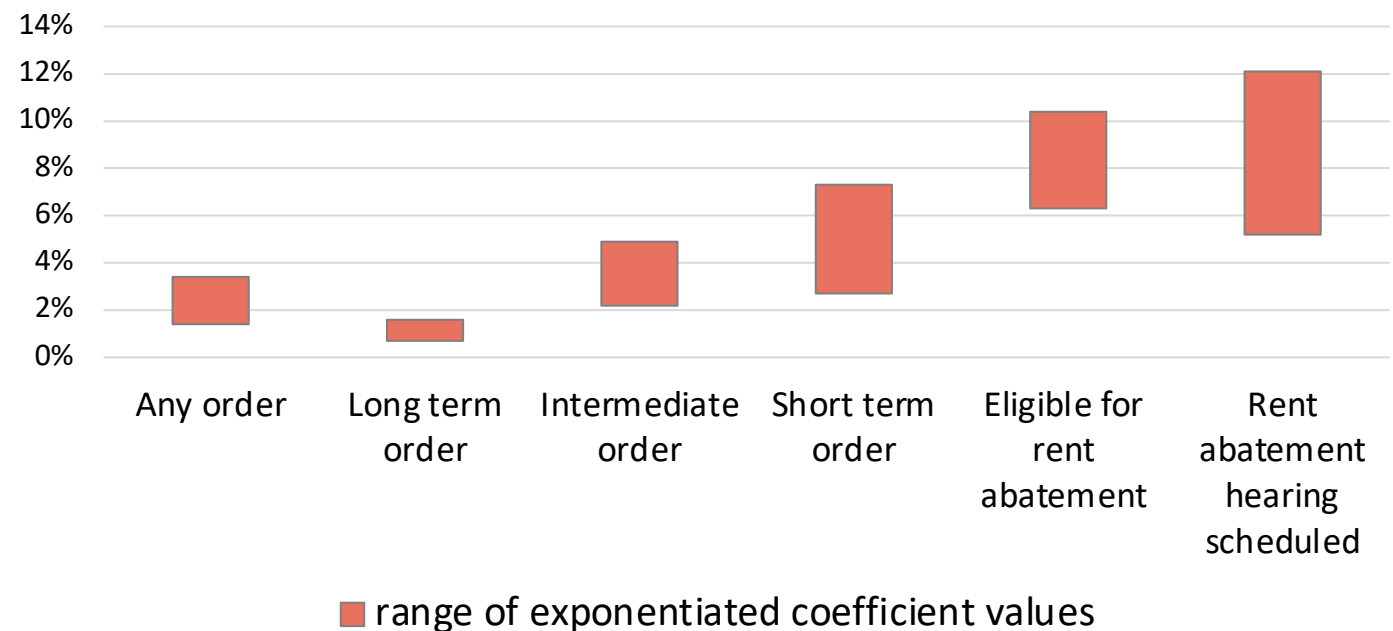
Improvement on previous research

- parcel level eviction and housing code violation data

Main findings

- percent of African American/Black population at the neighborhood level is a consistent predictor of code violations
- the strength of the relationship between housing code violations and the percent African American/Black population increases as violations become more severe

Expected Percent Increase in Corrective Orders for Every Percent Increase of the Black/African American (non-Hispanic) Population at the Block Group Level



New research on housing insecurity and quality in the City of Madison

Improvement on previous research

- Parcel level eviction and housing code violation data

Main findings

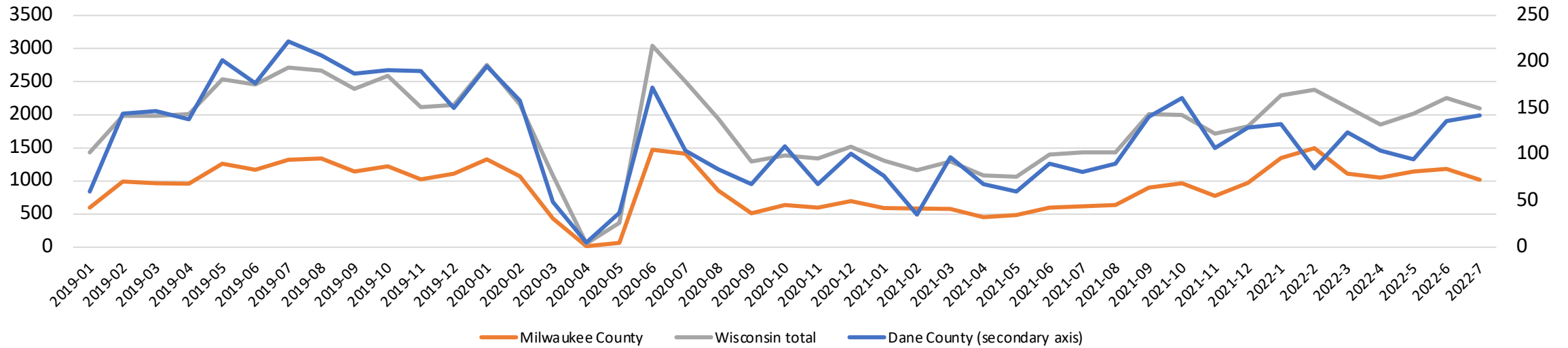
- No observable retaliation, post reported code violation

Concluding observations

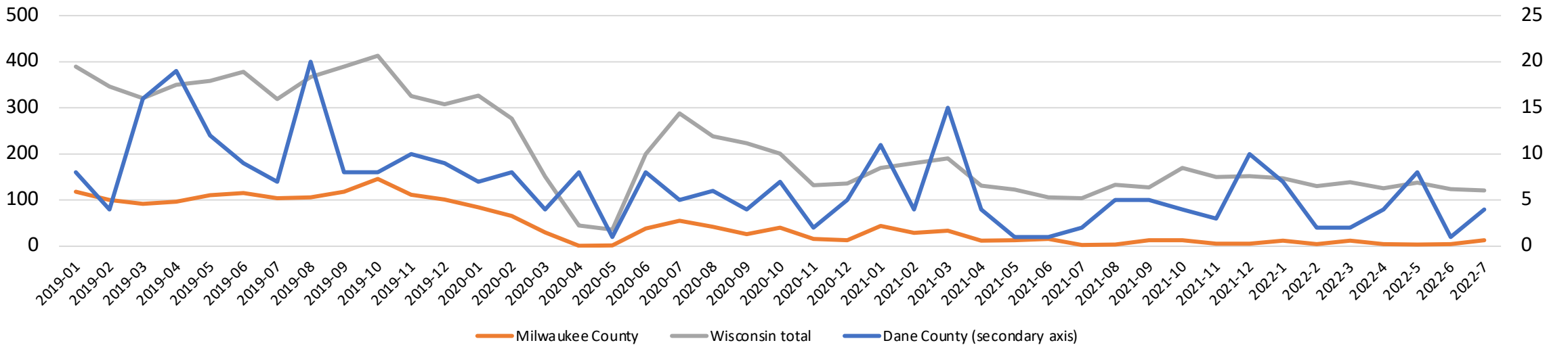
1. The difference in observable eviction patterns – i.e., areas where evictions are provoked by new development (possibly ending in judgements) versus areas where eviction filing is repetitive and durable – may be due to practices and expectations that are built into different housing submarkets
2. Areas of repetitive and durable eviction filings in the City of Madison are a particular housing submarket defined by anti-black racial exclusion from the larger housing market and poor housing quality in the form of documented housing code violations
3. State preemption – Wis. Stat. 66.0104(2)(e); 2015 Wis. Act 176, Section 8 – of routine housing inspection shifts what was formerly a basic regulatory function of the municipality to a burden (and risk) that must now be shouldered by individual tenants
4. Anti-retaliation ordinances – such as Madison General Ordinance 32.04(8)(B) – increase housing security for a limited amount of time (6 months post documented violation), but do not prevent displacement through nonrenewal

Appendix

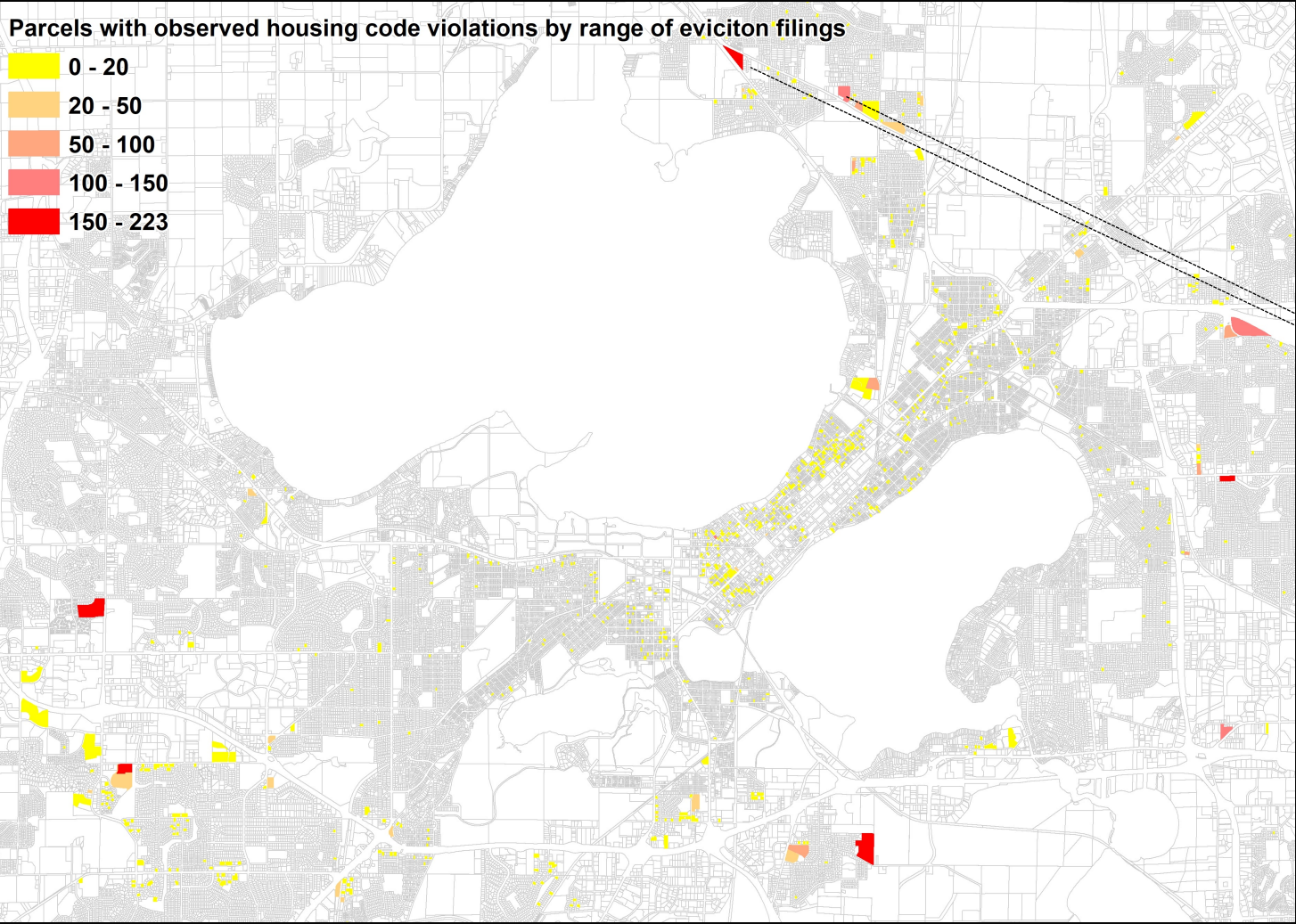
Eviction Filings 01/2019 - 07/2022



Eviction Judgements 01/2019.- 07/2022



Appendix



Sources: City of Madison Department of Planning Community and Economic Development; Dane County Parcels Dane County, WI 2016; Tenant Resource Center

0 1 2 4 Miles



Parcel ID: 080926400906
(194 evictions and 78 orders)

Parcel ID: 080925415914
(146 evictions and 82 orders)

2007: Nimrod Realty
2014: MIRUS LLC

