

UNDERSTANDING THE RENTAL LANDSCAPE: A PROFILE ANALYSIS OF DETROIT LANDLORDS TO INFORM LEAD-SAFE HOUSING POLICY



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AUTHOR Edward Lynch, AICP

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PROJECT TEAM Detroit Future City Data Driven Detroit City of Detroit Housing and Revitalization Department

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GRAPHIC DESIGN Susana Castro-Pollard

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INTRODUCTION

Among the substantial challenges facing the city of Detroit is the condition of its housing stock. In many parts of the city, housing is aging, and much of it has experienced considerable deferred maintenance. This is an issue not only for the condition of the city's neighborhoods, but also for the health of the city's residents, especially its children.

Ninety percent of Detroit's housing was constructed before 1980, and a third was built prior to 1940. Housing built prior to 1978, when lead paint was banned, has an increased risk of exposing children to lead. This is especially true for housing built prior to 1940, with 85% of housing units still containing lead-based paint.¹ Lead-based paint is a large contributor to elevated blood-lead levels (EBLLs) in people, and is most dangerous in children. Exposure to the highly toxic metal can be linked to "brain and kidney damage, slowed growth and development, learned and behavioral problems, and hearing and speech problems."² In 2020, 5.6% of Detroit children tested had an elevated blood-lead level. This is more than twice the rate for the entire state of Michigan (2.4%).

 ¹ American Healthy Homes Survey II Lead Findings, U.S. Department of Housing & Urban Development (HUD)
² "Health Effects of Lead Exposure." Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 7 Jan. 2020, www.cdc.gov/nceh/lead/prevention/health-effects.htm.



The City of Detroit has taken steps to improve the condition of rental housing and has adopted one of the most stringent rental ordinances in the country. Currently, landlords are required to register their rental properties, and, if the property was built before 1978, it must undergo a lead inspection, a risk assessment, and (assuming lead-based paint hazards are found) a clearance exam. This is in addition to the non-lead-specific, general condition inspection. Only after that will a certificate of compliance be issued. Though there are regulations in place to provide for leadsafe housing, an overwhelming majority of properties in the city remain out of compliance. The combination of stringent requirements, low property values and the rent commanded by substandard rental properties can make compliance with the current regulations onerous and financially infeasible for many landlords, who, in turn, will choose to not register their properties.

To be able to begin successfully addressing the condition of rental housing in the city, there must be a better understanding of the rental housing system and who owns the city's rental housing stock. This information will answer vital questions about housing in the city, such as how many landlords there are in the city and some general characteristics about who they are.



PURPOSE AND GOAL OF THIS PROJECT

A major challenge in regulating Detroit's rental housing market is the lack of data on rental housing in the city. This project provides a look into who owns these properties. This project seeks to adapt a method developed in Cleveland³ to classify that city's landlords, and the Property Praxis data base developed by Dr. Joshua Akers at the University of Michigan-Dearborn.

The rental study for lead-safe homes is focused on classifying landlords within Detroit into distinct groups based on a series of shared characteristics, including the number of properties owned, the properties' value, and whether the property

³ Coulton, C. et. al, Characteristics of Rental Properties and Landlords in Cleveland: Implications for Achieving Lead Safe Rental Housing



is owned by a corporate entity. In doing so, this report will create a better understanding of who owns and maintains these properties. This will allow for the development of more effective programs and resources for landlords, creating safer and more affordable living conditions for tenants within the city.

Given the number of lives affected by housing quality across the city, this work is critical. More importantly, we must be proactive about analyzing the data available to us and utilizing that data to create change via research, policy, advocacy, and education.



CLASSIFYING DETROIT'S LANDLORDS

To better understand the universe of landlords and the rental housing system, the project team built on work conducted in Cleveland and worked through a four-step process to identify a typology of landlords. These four steps were:





Datasets used to identify rental housing

To begin the analysis and identification of the universe of landlords in Detroit, the project team started with Data Driven Detroit's Integrated Property Data System (IDPS). Within this, the City of Detroit assessor's file from 2021 served as a base. The team used 10 other datasets as filters to first identify the universe of residential housing, then rental housing and, finally, landlords. (See Appendix 1 for a full list and description.)

The process began with the Southeast Michigan Council of Governments (SEMCOG) Building Footprints dataset, which used LIDAR data to identify where buildings are located in the region. The team then added Detroit Land Bank Authority data on demolitions to provide a picture of which properties have structures on them, and Valassis mailing data (which provide information on whether a property is vacant). Data from the City of Detroit's Buildings, Safety Engineering, and Environmental Department (BSEED) provide a series of datasets that show connections with the city's rental system and whether properties are likely to be rentals. Finally, Property Praxis provides a detailed look at bulk ownership of properties within the city and connects corporate entities, such as LLCs, to their owners.

THE RESIDENTIAL HOUSING UNIVERSE

The first step in developing the universe and typologies of landlords is to identify the universe of residential parcels within the city of Detroit. The City assessor's parcel file that serves as a base for this analysis covers all 380,000 parcels in Detroit. That file contains every parcel, regardless of use or presence of a structure. To filter these down to just the occupied residential parcels, those that met the following conditions were removed from the analysis:

Removed industrial and tax-exempt parcels

This step worked from the assessor's file and ensured that properties that are only residential, or possibly residential (such as certain types of commercial-classed properties), are included in the residential universe dataset.

Removed parcels owned by the Detroit Land Bank Authority as of August 2021

Parcels owned by the Detroit Land Bank cannot be owned by a landlord or rented legally.

Removed parcels following demolitions

Any parcels with a demolition according to the Detroit Land Bank's demolition dataset, 2014-21, were removed from the dataset.

Removed parcels without structures

Parcels without any structures according to the 2020 SEMCOG Building Footprints dataset were removed from the dataset.

 Added back parcels with rental certificates, certificates of occupancy, certificates of compliance, or lead clearance reports

These datasets represent a variety of ways that landlords can interact with the City regarding their rental properties. If a landlord has pulled one of these certificates recently, one can be fairly confident that the property is actively a rental, thus residential.⁴

 Removed parcels that have been vacant since the third quarter of 2019 as likely long-term vacant properties

Using Valassis United States Postal Service data, this indicator removed housing that had been vacant for two years, as it is unlikely to be an active residential property.

Through this process, the complete universe of parcels in the city was filtered to contain occupied residential parcels. There were 198,086 likely residential parcels identified through the filtering process.

⁴ The exception is a certificate of occupancy, which, in retrospect, should not have been included because it does not necessarily indicate a rental property, rather that a property has had construction performed. Though these should not have been added to the residential universe, this did not strongly impact the rental universe. Many properties that were incorrectly added had additional rental unit flags, but a small number of commercial-use, non-residential properties were added back into the dataset.



IDENTIFICATION OF THE RENTAL UNIVERSE

After the 198,000 parcels were identified, an analysis was conducted to determine which properties were likely rentals.

Properties were filtered by whether they met a set of criteria that would identify them as likely rental properties. These criteria were:

- Being included in the City's rental system through having at least one of the following:
 - A rental certificate
 - A certificate of occupancy⁵
 - A certificate of compliance
 - A lead clearance report
- Having been cited for a blight violation related to a rental cause

- A property where the owner's address was different from the parcel address
- Having a taxpayer name that included "LLC" or "Inc."
- Being classified as residential without a Primary Residence Exemption
- Having an eviction case filed in 36th District Court in 2020

There were 82,235 parcels that were identified through this analysis as being likely rental properties. Since each residential parcel can contain more than one housing unit, the residential parcels were combined with the Valassis mailing data to determine the number of units at each parcel, creating an estimate of 137,346 rental units. This estimate is within the margin of error for the 2019 one-year American Community Survey estimate for rental units.⁶

Figure 1: Rental analysis

INDICATOR	COUNT	SHARE		
Estimated residential parcel universe	198,086			
Estimated rental parcels	82,235	42% of residential parcels		
Estimated occupied rental units	137,346	57% of occupied housing units		
Estimated occupied non-rental units	105,083	43% of occupied housing units		

2019 ACS – Five-year estimates

UNIVERSE	COUNT	MARGIN OF ERROR
Total occupied housing units	263,688	+/- 2,056
Renter-occupied units	139,136	+/- 2,202
Owner-occupied units	124,552	+/- 1,883

 5 This was misidentified as part of the rental universe and pulled in 198 non-residential properties.

⁶ For a detailed description of the differences between parcels, units, and addresses, see https://base-units-detroitmi.hub.arcgis.com.

Characteristics of rental properties

When examining the residential property universe, there were just over 82,000 properties that contained at least one indicator that it was a rental property, with the most common being related to the address of the taxpayer, with 72% of rental properties having an address in a different parcel listed as the address, and 63% having a different ZIP code.

When looking at the totality of the nine distinct characteristics that were screened to create the rental universe, nearly 72% of properties had more than one indicator of being a rental property.

This analysis revealed several notable findings, the first being the location of property owners. More than 60% of parcels had an owner with a Detroit address, and 87% had a Michigan address. The other notable finding was the relatively low connection to the formal rental system in the city, with only 17% of parcels being connected through one of the mechanisms noted above.



Figure 2: Rental indicators

LANDLORDS IN DETROIT

Identifying landlords

Having identified the universe of rental housing in the city, the next step in the process was to use that dataset to identify ownership. To do this, the rental dataset was combined with ownership information from two sources: the City of Detroit Assessor's Office and the Property Praxis data that was assembled by the University of Michigan-Dearborn. Part of this process was an extensive look at the ownership of corporate entities to provide light on who owns multiple properties across different groups⁷, which was used to identify property owners in the city.

Through the use of these two datasets, 42,191 unique landlords were identified.⁸



⁷ www.propertypraxis.org

⁸ The inclusion of the Property Praxis data aided greatly in understanding the scope of corporate owners of property in the city. One substantial challenge identifying owners is that many corporate owners may lead back to a single owner. The Property Praxis data has connected the owners to their corporate entities for some property in the city, but further iterations of this study could take a deeper look at corporate ownership in the city. Doing so would likely increase the number of type 3 and 4 landlords.

LANDLORD TYPOLOGIES

Creating typologies of landlords

With the identification of the landlord universe, the Data Driven Detroit team created typologies of landlords. To do this, a statistical process called Latent Class Analysis was performed, which was used to sort the typologies and identify distinct categories of landlords based on a specific set of variables, listed below. This is similar to the process conducted in Cleveland, however, the variables for the analysis used to identify the typologies of Detroit landlords were adapted based on the availability of data and the specific characteristics of Detroit's rental housing market. One example of this was the assessed value of the property, which was notably lower in Detroit than in Cleveland, with 27% of Detroit's occupied rental properties having an assessed value of less than \$10,000.

THE LATENT CLASS ANALYSIS USED IN THE FINAL VERSION OF THIS PROJECT INCLUDED THE FOLLOWING VARIABLES:

- Assessed value of the property
- Corporate ownership
- Having been cited for a blight violation
- Location of the taxpayer
- Property acquisitions
- Number of units owned

Through this process, four categories of landlords were identified.

TYPOLOGY1

The general characteristics of this group are that they own one to two properties, and the properties are predominantly single-family housing. This group also exhibits limited indicators of broad professionalization – they are not well integrated into the rental system, have lower prevalence of corporate ownership (LLC, Inc., etc.) and limited recent blight violations or evictions.

This typology comprises 29,410 landlords and accounts for 43,018 units. This is the largest group of landlords, accounting for 70% of the landlords in the city. However, given that each landlord in this set owns only one or two properties, they own only 40% of the rental properties and 30% of the rental units in the city.

This class of landlord is also more likely to be local to Detroit than other classes, with 73% of Typology 1 landlords having a Detroit mailing address.

TYPOLOGY 2

Accounting for 7,228 landlords and 33,827 rental units, owners under Typology 2 are similar to those in Typology 1, with owners in this group owning one or two properties. However, this group differs in its degree of professionalization.⁹ Sixty-four percent of landlords in this class have corporate ownership. There are also higher rates of engagement with the rental system, with 46% of these landlords having a property on the City's rental registry, 53% having a code violation in the past three years, and 29% having filed an eviction.

TYPOLOGY 3

Typology 3 includes landlords that own three to four properties. There are signs of growing professionalization, with 28% being on the City's rental registry and 30% having corporate ownership. Additionally, one-third of landlords in this group own multifamily housing.

At 3,280, these landlords account for the smallest share of properties among the four typologies. This group also holds a relatively small number of units and properties.

TYPOLOGY 4

Typology 4 is comprised of the largest landlords, those who own five or more properties. Though this group accounts for only 5%, or 2,273 of the landlords in the city, collectively, they own more units than any other group, and about one-third of the rental units in the city. Even though landlords in this typology are the city's biggest owners, for many, their portfolio remains relatively small, with 57% owning fewer than 10 units, and 87% owning fewer than 25.

This group of landlords exhibits the highest levels of professionalization. In addition to owning multiple properties, they are more likely than other types to own multifamily housing, and more likely to be involved in the City's rental housing system, with 62% on the City's rental registry and 66% having filed an eviction in the past two years. They also have a high rate of corporate ownership, accounting for more than half of the landlords in this group.

⁹ Among the limitations in the data is the lack of a clear understanding of corporate owners, and which individual is the owner of each corporate entity. The Property Praxis data do address this for some properties, but not all. For this reason, this group may contain some landlords under Typology 4.

Figure 3: Landlord typology counts

	TYPE 1	TYPE 2	TYPE 3	TYPE 4	TOTAL
Number of Landlords	29,410	7,228	3,280	2,273	42,191
Number of Properties	33,716	9,127	10,897	28,183	81,923
Number of Units	43,018	33,827	18,187	46,584	141,616

Figure 4: Share of landlord typologies



Note: Because of rounding, numbers may not add up to 100%

Figure 5: Property counts by landlord type

LANDLORDS WITH	TYPE 1	TYPE 2	TYPE 3	TYPE 4
1-2 properties	29,410	7,228	-	-
3-4 properties	-	-	3,280	-
5+ properties	-	-	-	2,273
Only single-family	84%	77%	67%	52%
Corporate ownership	0.4%	64%	30%	53%

For a detailed data on each of the typologies, see Appendix 2.



THE CHARACTERISTICS OF LANDLORDS IN DETROIT



Figure 6: Year built by landlord type

The distribution of properties by ownership type is reflective of the age of housing within Detroit, with two massive waves of construction in the pre- and post-World War II periods. What stands out is the overrepresentation of landlords in Typologies 1 and 2 – those who own only one or two rental properties – who are renting housing constructed before 1940. These older properties are more likely to have lead hazards; nationally, 78% of housing built before 1940 poses a significant lead-based paint hazard.¹⁰ Type 4 landlords also tend to own newer housing, which is less likely to have a significant lead hazard, although many of those units were built in the 1950s and '60s – before lead paint was banned – and are aging.



Figure 7: Median gross rent of census tract by landlord type

The amount of rent that any rental unit can support is a major factor that influences the condition of the housing in the city. Though quality data on the rate rental housing units can garner is limited, there is information that can be gleaned from the location of those units. The majority of Detroit properties fall in census tracts¹¹ where the median gross rent (which includes utilities) is below \$900 a month. This is especially true for Type 1 landlords, where 62% of properties are in these tracts. This can present a substantial challenge for Type 1 landlords and their ability to conform with the City's stringent rental ordinance when the lower income from their rental property may mean that compliance is cost prohibitive.

¹¹ Census tracts are relatively compact and allow data to be reported for geographically small areas. These are defined by the U.S. Census Bureau and often follow visible barriers, such as major roads or freeways, or non-visible barriers, such as city boundaries. Though census tracts vary in size, they generally contain between 1,200 and 8,000 people, with a target size of 4,000.



Figure 8: Vacancy rate of census tract by landlord type

An additional measure of neighborhood condition is the vacancy rate. Based on the vacancy rate of the census tract in which the property is located, the Type 1 landlords have a greater share of their properties located in neighborhoods with extremely high rates of vacancy.

The geography of ownership

There is a noticeable pattern among the types of landlords in the city. Although these are broadly reflective of the location of housing in the city, there are important patterns that begin to emerge when properties are examined spatially.

One factor that affects the housing in the city is the general stability of neighborhoods. This is reflected in the ownership of rental housing. Type 1 landlords – those who own only one or two properties and show limited signs of professionalization – have the largest geographic dispersion, owning units across much of the city. For the larger and



Properties per square mile owned by TYPE1 landlords, Detroit, MI 2021



Properties per square mile owned by TYPE 2 landlords, Detroit, MI 2021



more professional property owners, such as the Type 3 and Type 4 landlords, a far more concentrated area of ownership is observed. These landlords tend to have property holdings in only the more stable neighborhoods. This would indicate a level of sophistication in the selection of properties.



Properties per square mile owned by TYPE 3 landlords, Detroit, MI 2021





Properties per square mile owned by TYPE 4 landlords, Detroit, MI 2021

(D - 50
ł	51 - 100
	101 - 150
	151 - 200
	201 - 263



COMPARING LANDLORDS IN DETROIT AND CLEVELAND

Though this analysis is modeled after prior work conducted in Cleveland, there were adjustments made to the methodology to fit the conditions and the availability and quality of data in Detroit. The most notable of these changes is the expansion of the number of classifications from three in Cleveland to four in the Detroit study. Even with these changes, there can be comparisons to Cleveland's landlord universe to better understand how Detroit compares to other cities.



There are similarities in the characteristics of landlords between the two cities. In both Detroit and Cleveland, the vast majority of landlords own only a few properties. These small landlords also own the majority of units in both cities, 67% of the units in Detroit and 70% in Cleveland. The number of local landlords is also similar in both cities, with 62% of landlords having a local address. There are also similar degrees of corporate ownership, 23% in Cleveland and 24% in Detroit.

The many similarities between the two cities present the opportunity for continued learning between them as they work to address the issues in their rental housing systems and provide better and healthier options for residents.



KEY TAKEAWAYS

This dive into the universe of Detroit landlords provides the most detailed look yet at who owns rental property in Detroit. There is now a foundation built on data to better understand ownership of the city's rental housing stock, providing a base of information from which to better work with landlords to improve the quality of rental housing in the city.

The most important findings to help work toward this goal include:

The majority of landlords in the city own only 1 or 2 properties

Of Detroit's 42,000 landlords, 87% own only one or two properties, accounting for just over half the units in the city. This is an important consideration that must be taken into account when supporting and regulating the rental housing market in the city. The nearly 37,000 Type 1 and 2 landlords, who own one or two properties, are more likely to have their units in areas with high rates of vacancy and command lower rates of rent than the Type 3 and 4 landlords, who control a larger portion.

A few landlords own a large number of properties

One potential inroad to improving Detroit's housing stock is through the Type 4 landlords, those who own more than five properties. A third of the rental housing stock is controlled by a small number of landlords. This group is also the most connected with the rental housing system, with more than half having at least one unit registered on the City's rental registry. Working with this group of landlords, a group already connected to the formal rental system, could provide an opportunity to improve rental housing in the city.

Lots of local landlords

Within the rental housing system in Detroit, 64% of properties are owned by those with a Detroit address. With such a large share of landlords within the city, this is an opportunity to further economic equity in Detroit. The local ownership and control of rental housing in the city allows Detroit residents to build wealth in the community through renting and improving the city's housing stock.

Though there are many paths to increase compliance within the rental housing system, given the large number of local owners, the City should look for ways to work with small local landlords to be able to assist them in improving the quality of their housing and better serve their tenants.

A better understanding of the city's Type 2 landlords could also help build equity in the housing system. These landlords own a small number of rental properties but also show signs of professionalization. This is a group of landlords that should be better understood, and the challenges that they face can be used to better assist other small landlords as they expand and professionalize.

Limited connections to the formal rental housing system

Among the landlords in the city, there is limited connection to the city's rental housing system, with the largest group that owns rental property in the city–Type 1–having only 2% of landlords with a registered property. Connecting this group of landlords to the formal rental housing system should be a key step to improving the condition of housing in the city and reducing exposure to lead.

With the current state of regulation in the city being a substantial challenge for many landlords, there should be an approach that seeks to understand the challenges they face and how that limits their willingness to engage in the formal rental housing system in the city. This greater understanding can lead to the development of a system of regulation that takes into account the challenges landlords are facing and supports them, contingent on their engagement with the City's formal housing rental housing system. The result can be a system that is better for landlords and tenants alike.

DATA CHALLENGES

Though the data environment in Detroit has improved greatly over the last decade, there are still many data challenges. These include challenges with ownership information, such as lagging updates, conflicting information on ownership, misspellings of owner names, and unreliable information on the Principal Residence Exemption.

There is also a lack of information on the current condition of housing in the city, with the latest citywide survey on property condition having been conducted in 2014, and even then, it examined only the exteriors of buildings. There is a need for quality, public data on rental rates and a standard measure of the condition of neighborhoods in the city. This leads to an opportunity to improve data on housing conditions and begin to further understand the scope of the challenges, not only in the rental market, but in the city in general. Clear, accurate and timely data is a necessary step to build a better system of housing supports that will improve the quality of the city's housing stock and the quality of life for Detroiters, while reducing the risk of lead poisoning in children.

CONCLUSION

This report takes a deep look into rental housing in Detroit and begins to identify the number and basic characteristics of landlords in the city. It is a first step to beginning to improve housing quality for renters and reducing the exposure of the city's children to lead. Given the many data challenges that exist, this report sets a foundation that can be used to inform policies that can better serve and regulate rental housing in the city. This is a first step and can be used to influence a regulatory approach to helping landlords strengthen the rental system; to inform project design and the creation of programs and financial products that can better serve landlords; and to affect change that leads to safer housing options for Detroit's renters.

The data in this report offer the clearest look so far at the city's 42,191 landlords. Although this report does not provide all the answers necessary to create better housing options for the city's renters, it does provide the foundational data necessary to craft better regulations and supports that can build a stronger system to better serve both landlords and residents.

APPENDIX 1: DATASETS USED IN ANALYSIS

- Blight tickets (2009-21)
- Valassis VNEF PLUS (Q2 2021)
- DLBA demolitions (2014-21)
- SEMCOG building footprints (2019)
- BSEED rental certificates (2019-21)
- BSEED certificates of occupancy (2019-21)¹²
- BSEED certificates of compliance (2019-21)
- BSEED lead clearance reports (2019-21)
- Property Praxis (2015-20)
- Evictions filed in 36th District Court (2019-21)



1¹² This is the dataset that was misidentified as part of the rental universe and pulled in 198 nonresidential properties.

APPENDIX 2: CHARACTERISTICS OF LANDLORDS IN DETROIT

Figure 9: Latent class analysis indicators

INDICATOR	RENTAL	JNIVERSE			
Parcel Count	82,235				
ASSESSED VALUE ¹³ (2021)					
Property assessed > \$25,000	7,728	9%			
Property assessed \$25,000 - \$15,000	25,968	32%			
Property assessed \$15,000 - S10,000	26,802	33%			
Property assessed under \$10,000	21,756	27%			
CORPORATE OWNER ¹⁴ (2021)					
Has LLC or Inc.	20,718	25%			
BIGHT TICKETS ¹⁵ (2018-2021)					
0 Blight tickets	60,017	73%			
1-2 Blight tickets	9,848	12%			
3-5 Blight tickets	9,646	12%			
More than 5 blight tickets	2,724	3%			
TAXPAYER LOCATION ¹⁶ (2021)					
Taxpayer city is Detroit	48,044	58%			
Taxpayer address in Michigan	70,183	85%			
PROPERTY ACQUISITIONS (2019-2021)					
Property acquisitions in 2019	9,980	12%			
Property acquisitions in 2020	4,090	5%			
Property acquisitions in 2021	184	0.2%			
Property with multiple acquisitions (from 2019-21)	6,114	7%			
NUMBER OF UNITS (2021 Q2)					
Number of properties with 1-2 units	79,896	97%			
Number of properties with 3-4 units	947	1%			
Number of properties with 5-20 units	784	1%			
Number of properties with 20+ units	610	0.7%			

¹³ The assessed value of a property is half its market value.

¹⁴ Income properties are often held by corporate entities for ownership and legal protections.

¹⁵ City of Detroit tickets on rental properties for non-compliance and other environmental/nuisance issues.

¹⁶ Indication if the rental property is owned by a city resident.

LANDLORDS WITH AT LEAST 1 PROPERTY	TYPE 1	TYPE 2	TYPE 3	TYPE 4
Assessed under \$10,000	9,198	1,463	1,644	1,615
	31%	20%	50%	71%
With code violation in 3 years	3,721	3,824	1,637	1,799
	13%	53%	50%	79%
On rental registry	550	3,309	907	1,168
	2%	46%	28%	51%
With eviction in past 2 years	1,765	2,095	931	1,398
	6%	29%	28%	62%
Taxpayer outside of Detroit	8,117	4,126	1,537	1,505
	28%	57%	47%	66%
Property transaction in 3 years	733	526	224	303
	3%	7%	7%	13%

Figure 10: Characteristics of landlord properties by type

Figure 11: Property counts by landlord type

LANDLORDS WITH	TYPE 1	TYPE 2	TYPE 3	TYPE 4
Only single-family homes	24,757	5,536	2,205	1,187
	84%	77%	67%	52%
Corporate ownership	131	4,609	988	1,199
	0%	64%	30%	53%

Figure 12: Property ownership: Owns only single family vs single and multi-family

LANDLORD OWNS	TYPE 1	TYPE 2	TYPE 3	TYPE 4
Only single-family properties	24,757	5,536	2,205	1,187
	84%	77%	67%	52%
Single- and multi-family	4,653	1,692	1,075	1,086
	16%	23%	33%	48%



2990 W. Grand Blvd. #2 Detroit, MI 48202 www.detroitfuturecity.com

