

Measuring Evictions

Demographic Estimation and Spatial Dynamics of Evicted Households

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What is an eviction?

King County Eviction Rates by Sex & Race

Sex

- Women 2% > Men

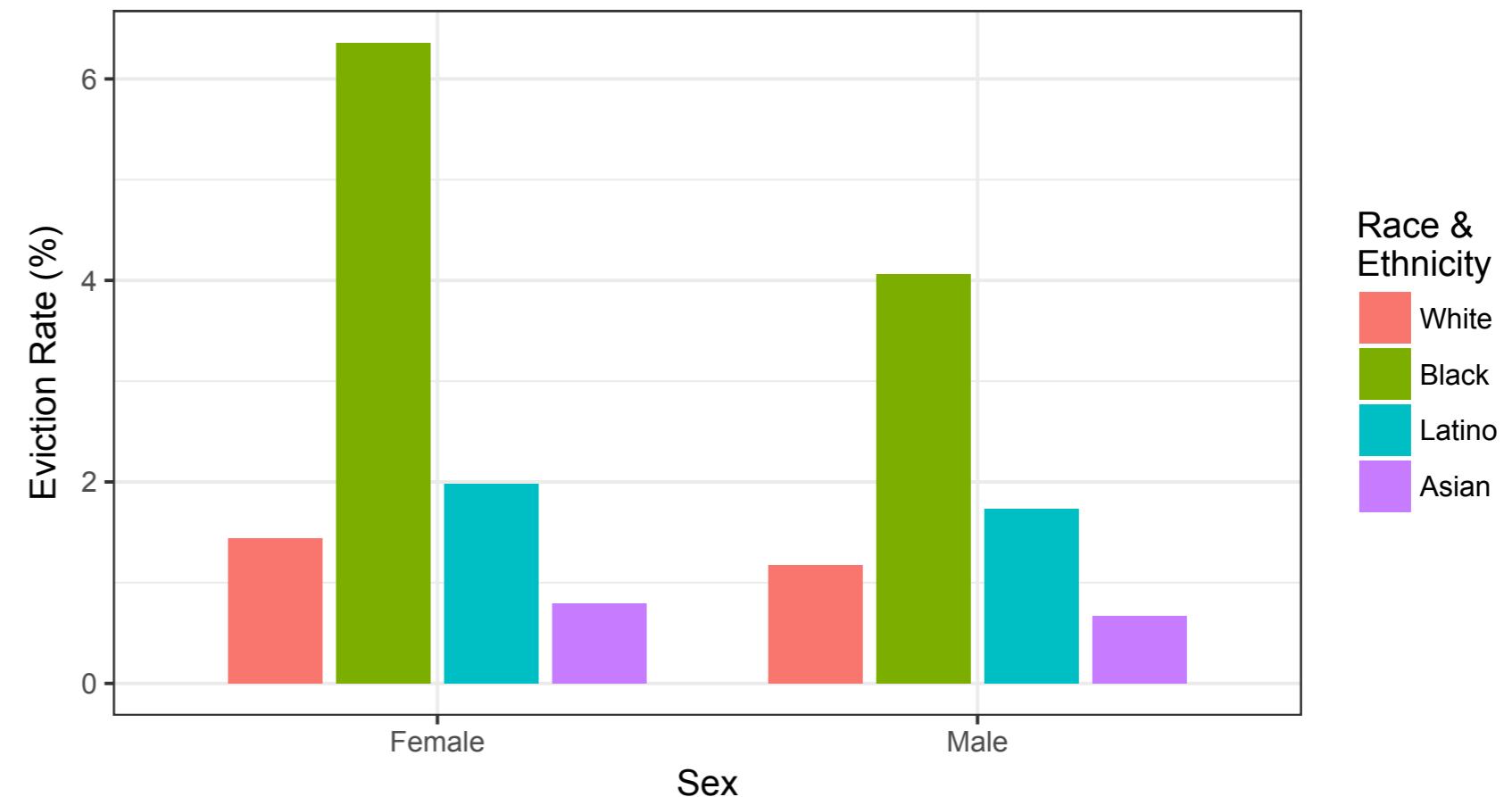
Race

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

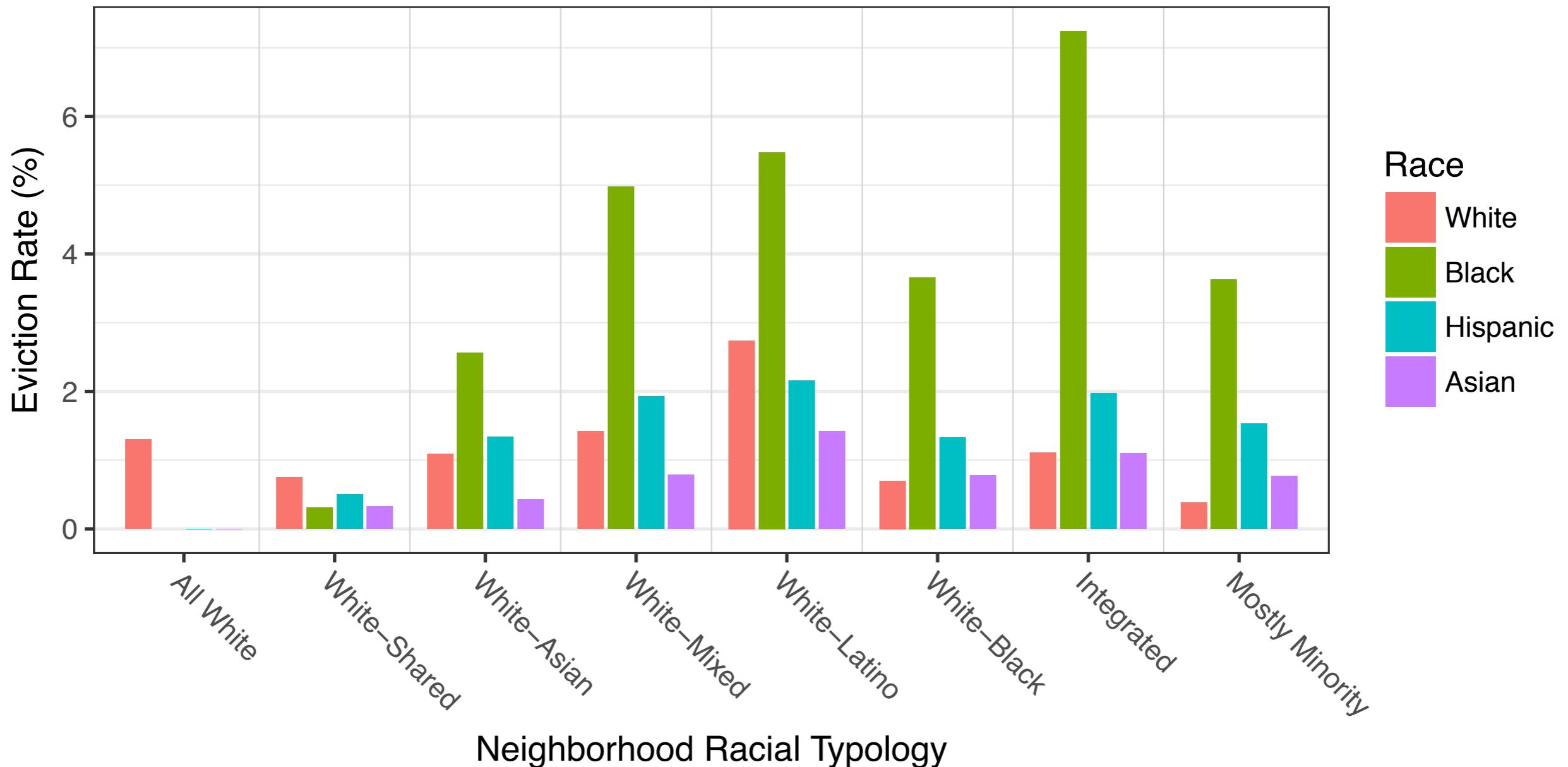
Sex & Race

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

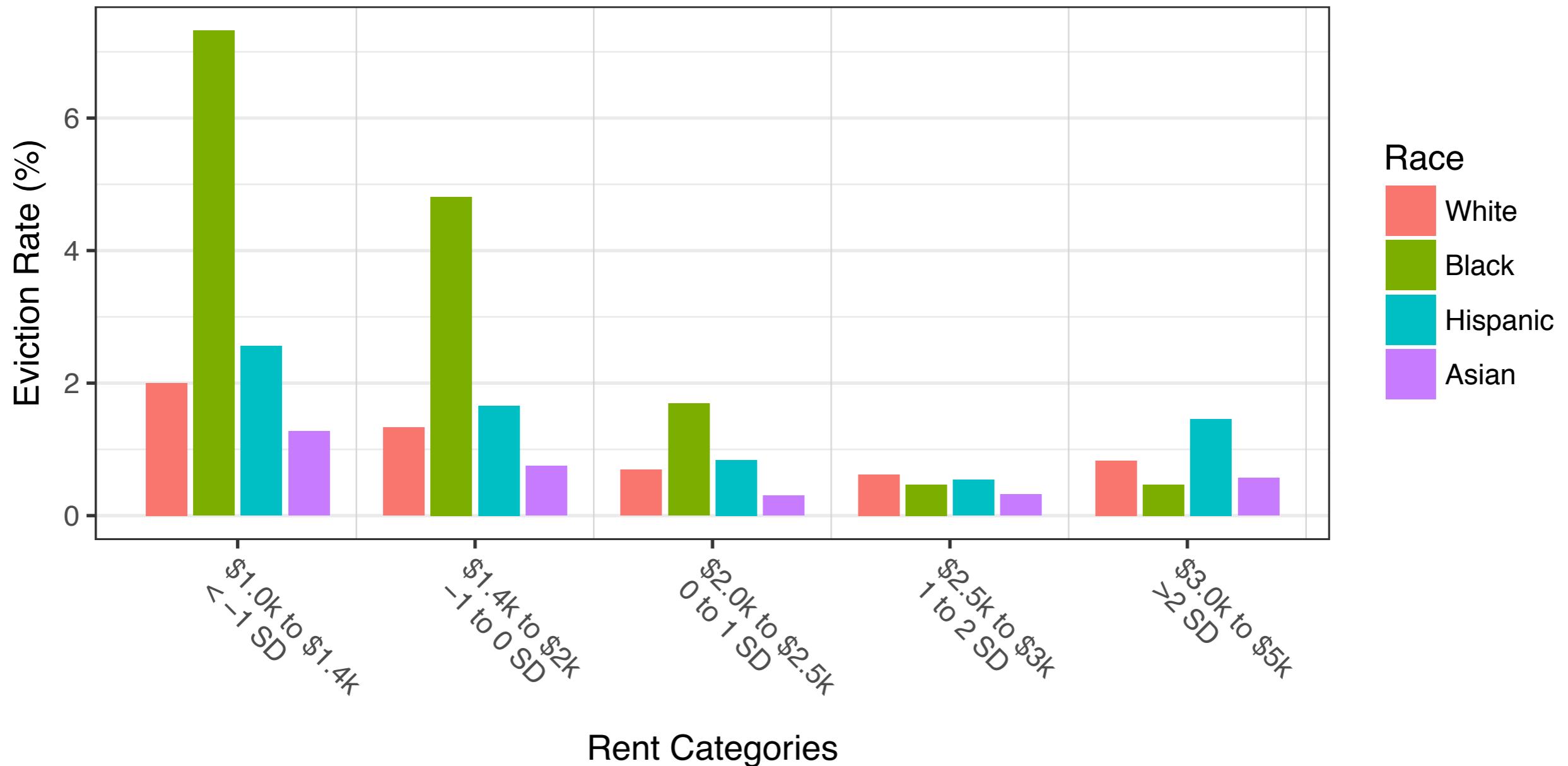
Eviction Rates by Sex & Race



King County Neighborhood Diversity & Eviction Rates



King County Rent & Eviction Rates



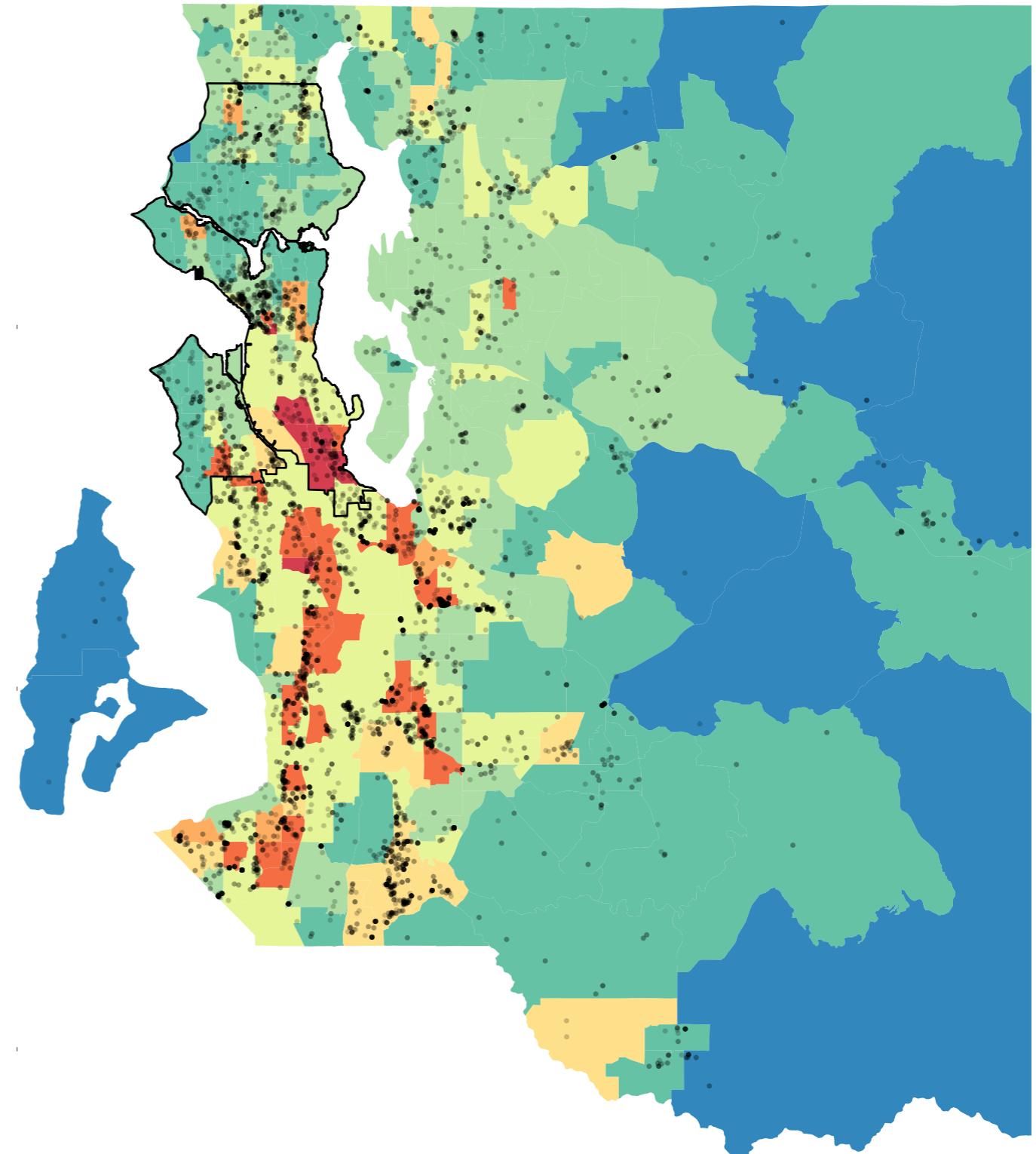
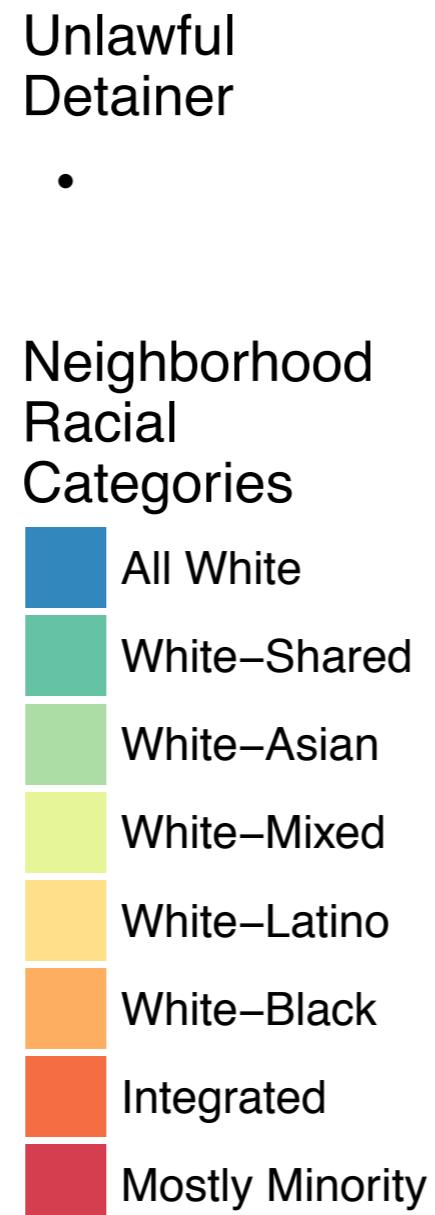
UD Distribution & Neigh. Types

Regional Distribution

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

Neighborhood Types

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



Are evictions a feature of the legacy of racial segregation?

Race & Ethnicity in Seattle

2010



1 Dot = 1 Person

- White
- African American
- Asian
- Latinx

Why Segregation Matters

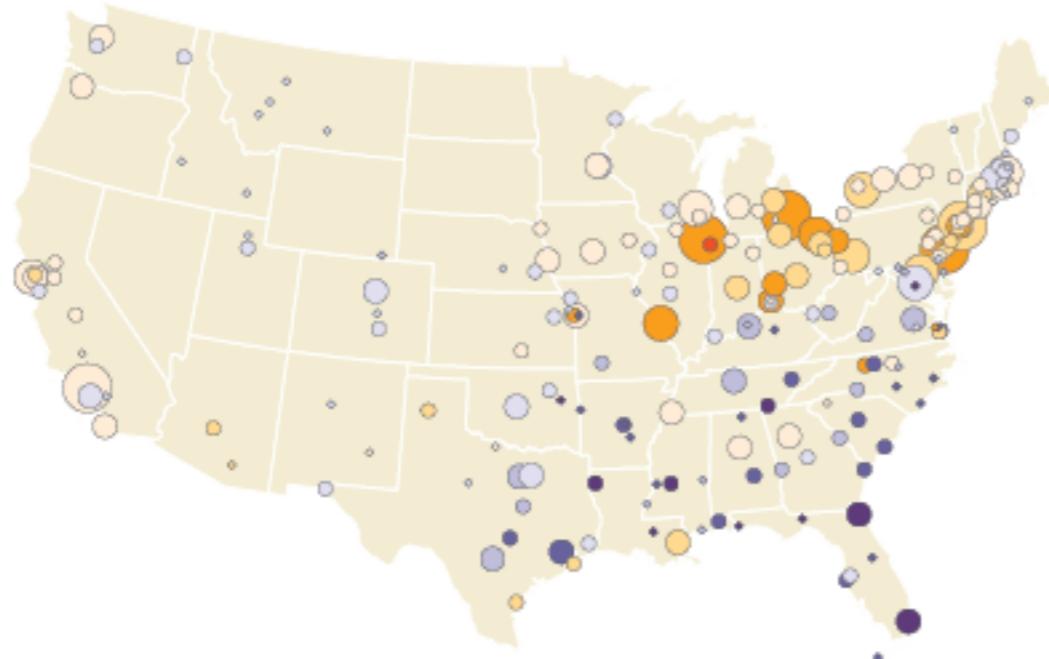
- **Concentrated Poverty** (Crowder and South 2005; Quillian 2012)
- **Crime** (Massey and Denton 1993; Wilson 2006)
 - Violence and Drugs
- **Mass Incarceration** (Pettit 2012; Wacquant 2000)
- **Health Disparities**
 - Exposure to pollution (Crowder and Downey 2010)
 - Stress related disease
- **Teenage 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

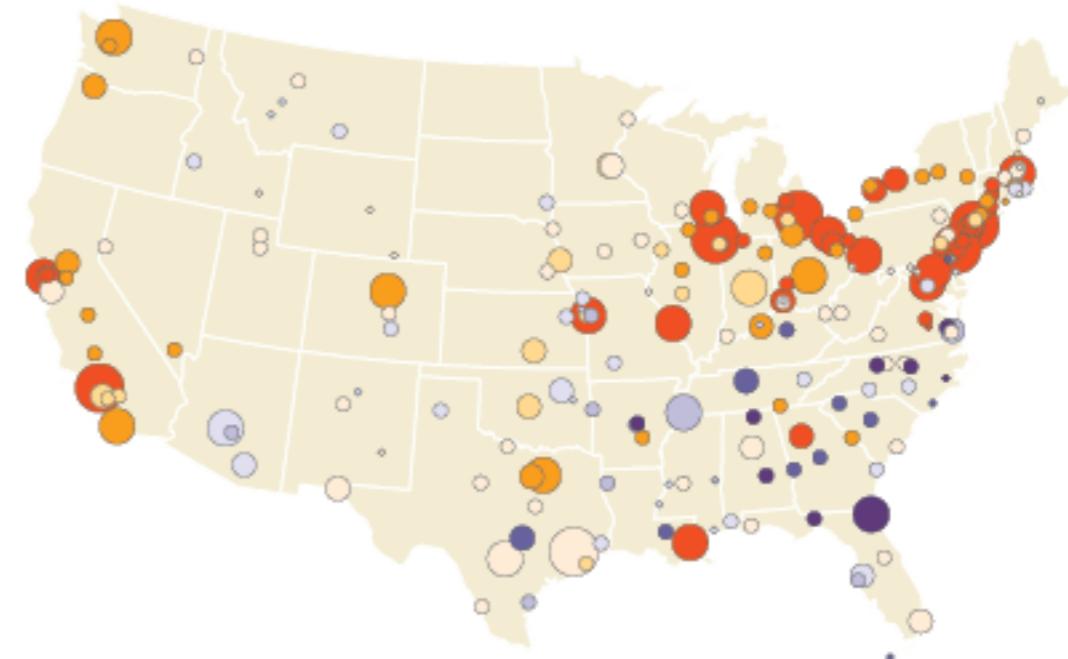
1890 - 1940

The Great Migration: 1910 - 1940

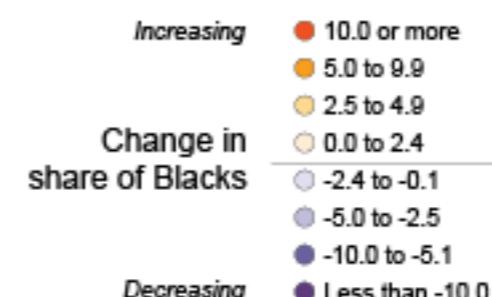
The First Great Migration:
1910-1940



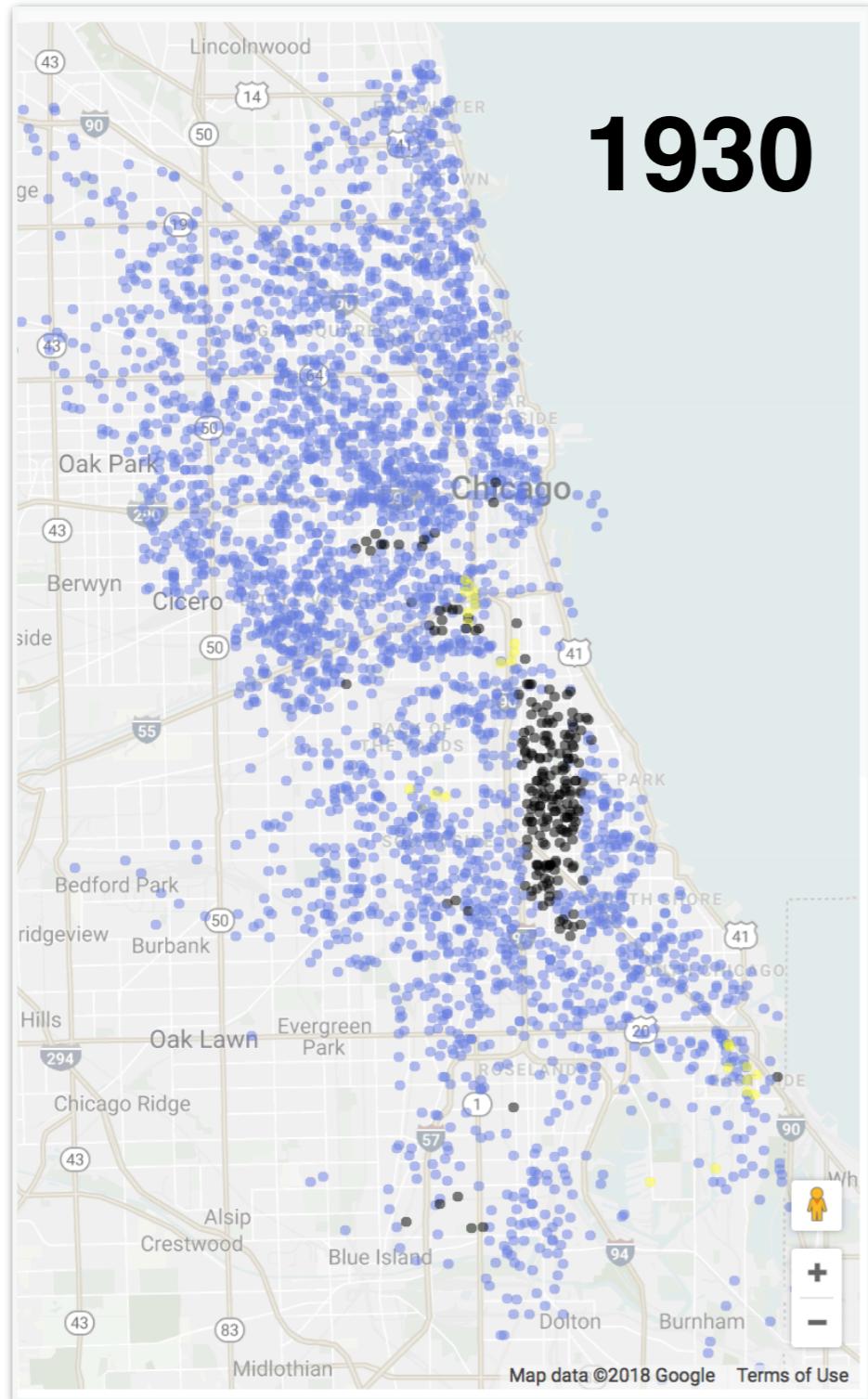
The Second Great Migration:
1940-1970



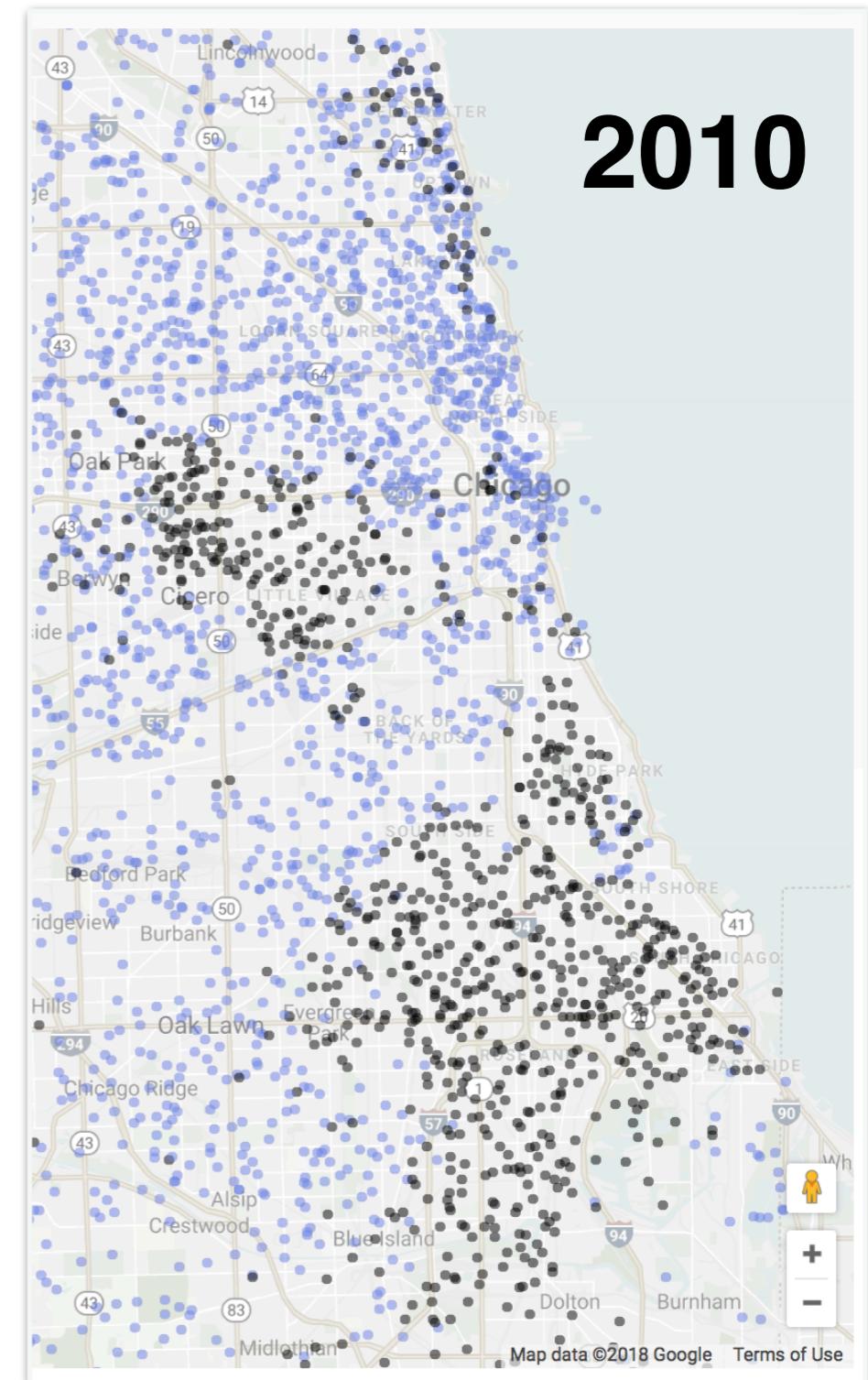
- Post-reformation Jim Crow in the South
 - Residential and educational segregation
 - Policing (e.g., sundown laws)
- Moved to the north for better jobs and opportunities



Chicago



1930



2010

Collective Action Racism

1940 - 1970

Redlining Seattle

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

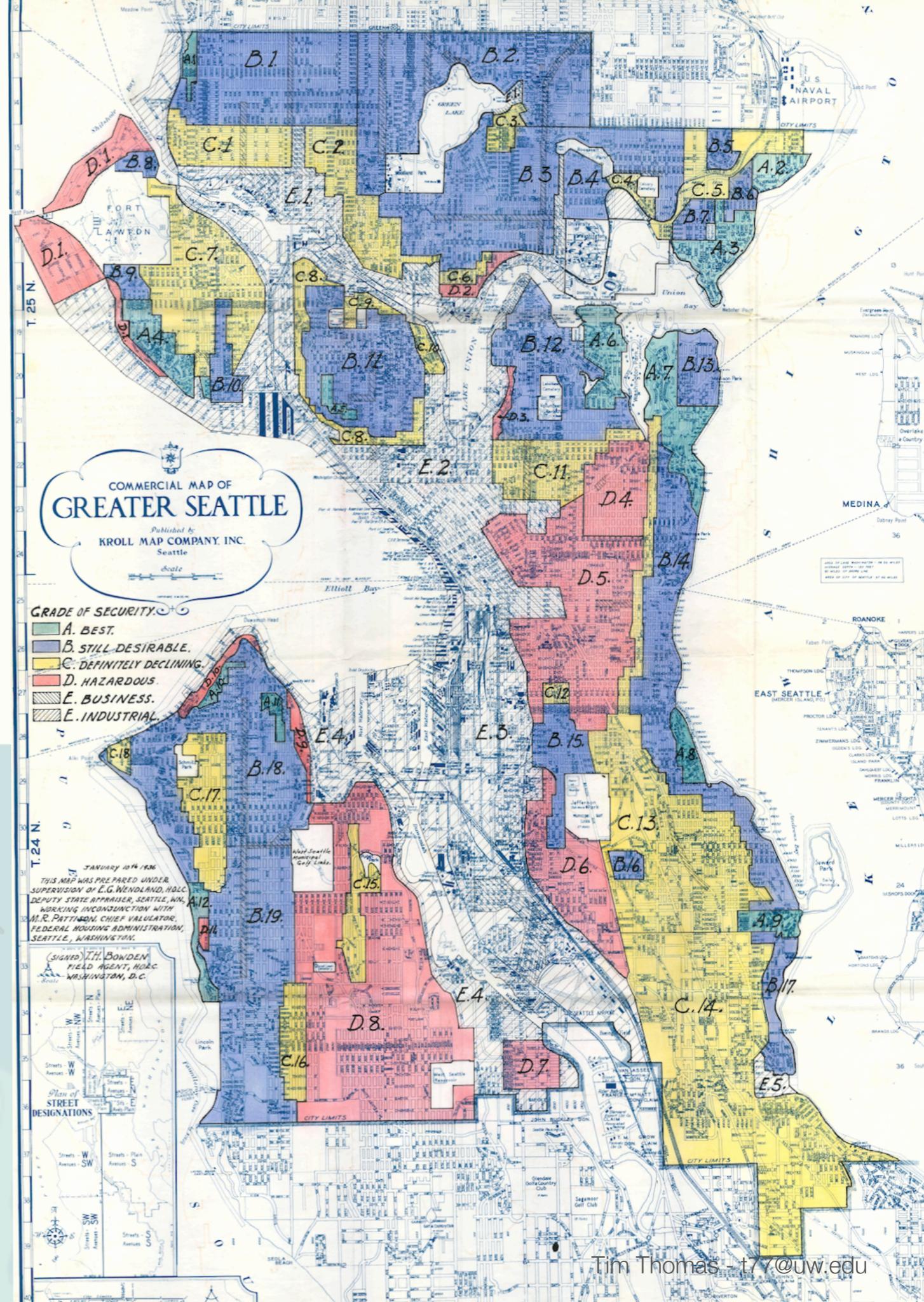
Source: Mapping Inequality <https://dsl.richmond.edu>

A "Best"

B "Still Desirable"

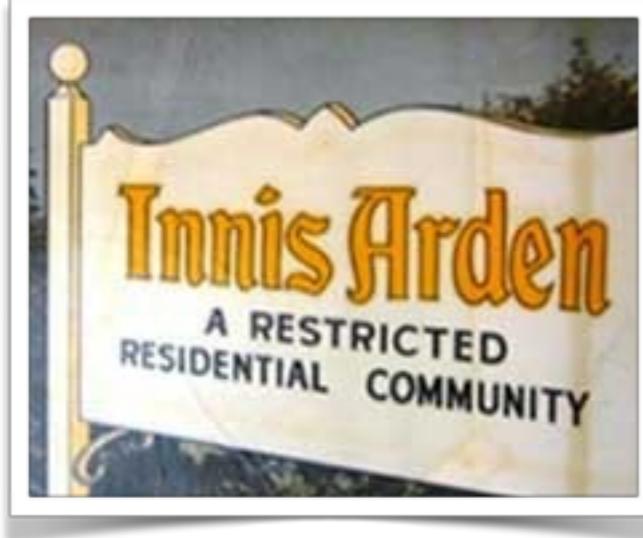
C "Definitely Declining"

D "Hazardous"



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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.

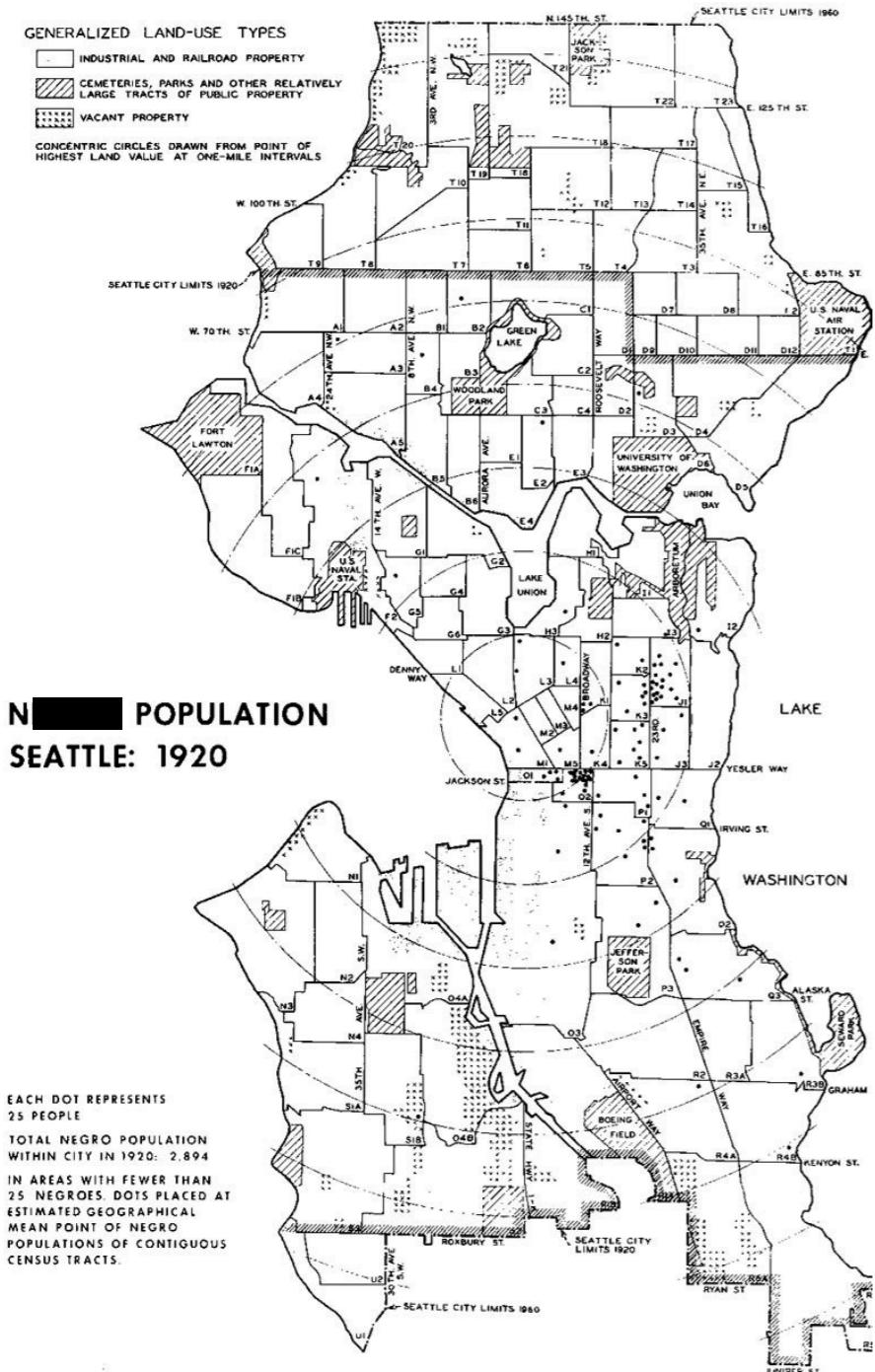
Ballinger (Shoreline)
Briarcrest (Shoreline)
Echo Lake (Shoreline)
Hamlin Park (Shoreline)
Hillwood (Shoreline)
Innis Arden (Shoreline)
Kenmore
Lake Forest Park
North City (Shoreline)
Richmond Beach (Shoreline)
Richmond Highlands (Shoreline)
Ridgecrest (Shoreline)
Westminster Triangle (Shoreline)

South King Co.

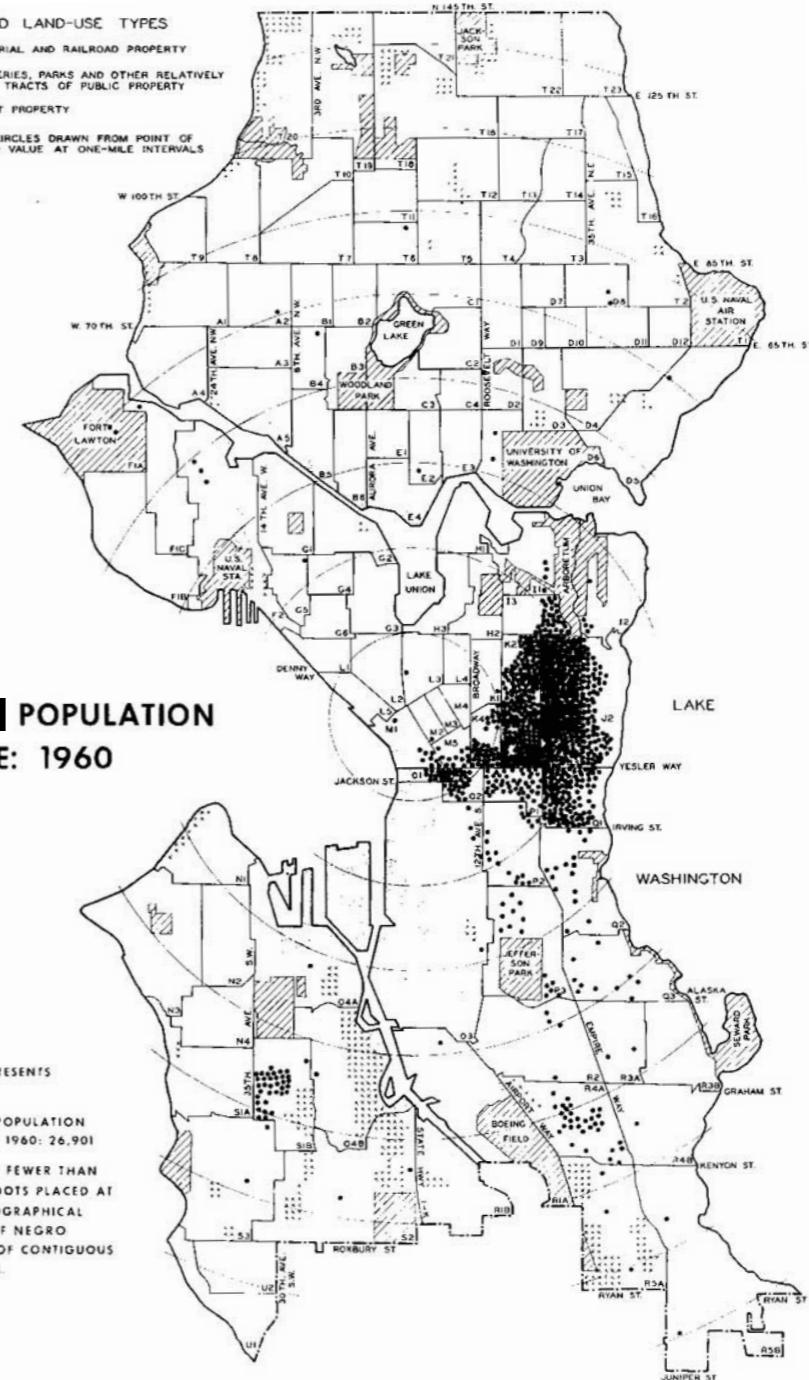
Arbor Heights	Maple Valley
Arroyo Heights	McMicken Heights
Auburn	Normandy Park
White Center	Redondo
Boulevard Park	Renton
Burien	Riverton Heights
Des Moines	SeaTac
Evansville	Shorewood
Kent	Tukwila
Lake Dolloff	

Black Population 1920 - 1960

1920



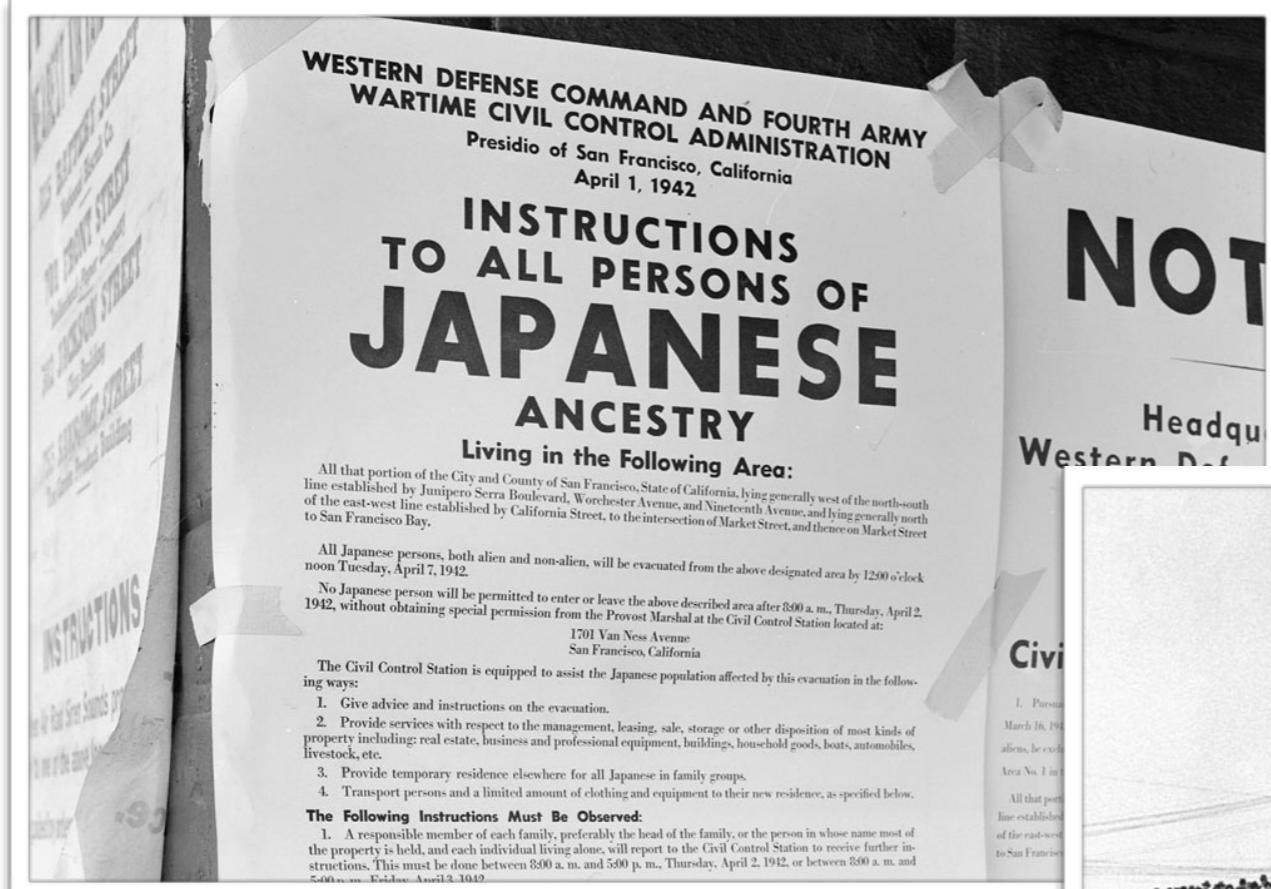
1960



Source: Seattle Civil Rights & Labor History Project

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Japanese Internment 1942

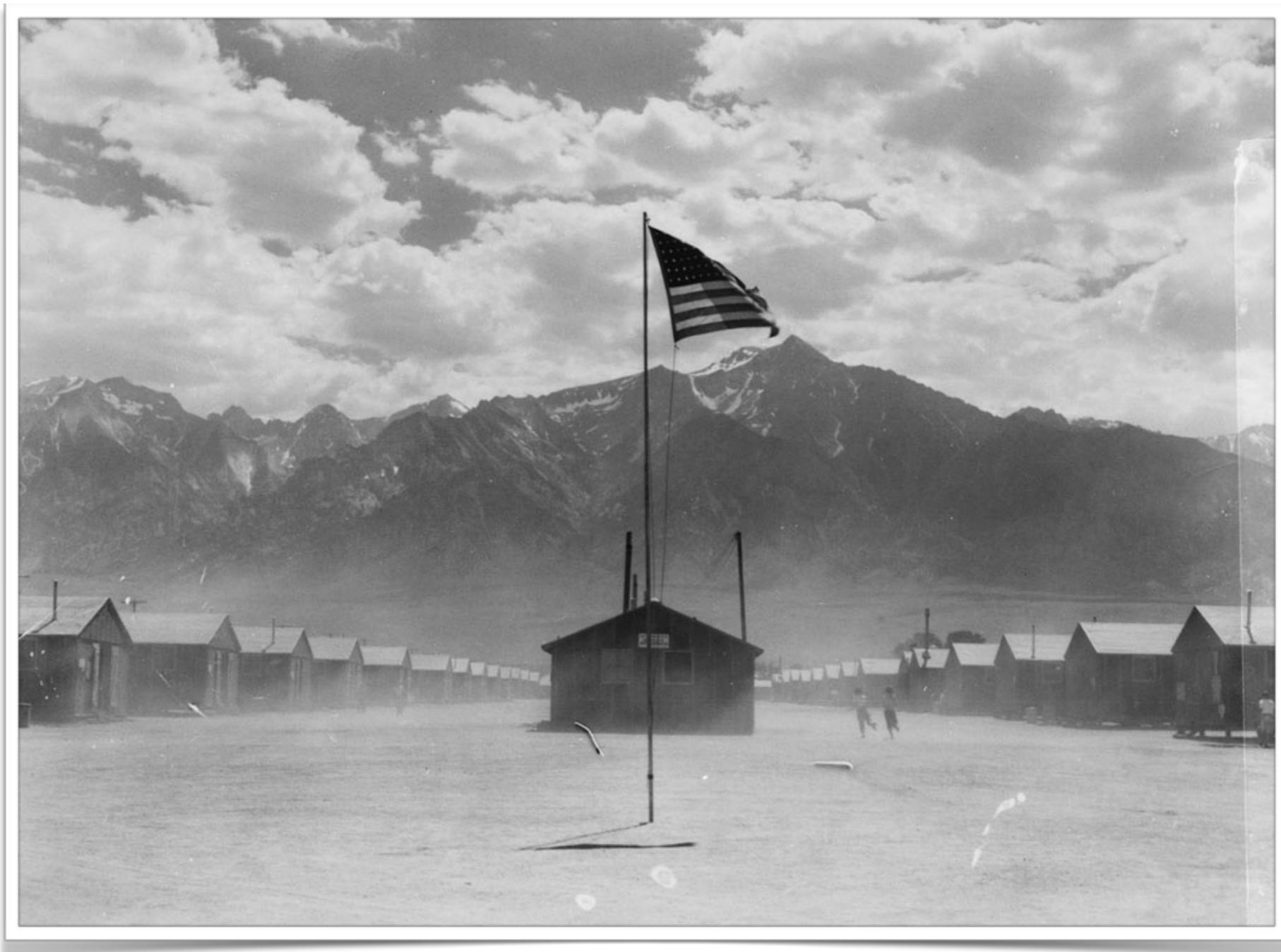


1942 Relocation Notice

Seattle Mass
Evacuation



Japanese Internment 1942



Manzanar Relocation Center
(Photo by: Dorthea Lang)

Japanese Internment 1942



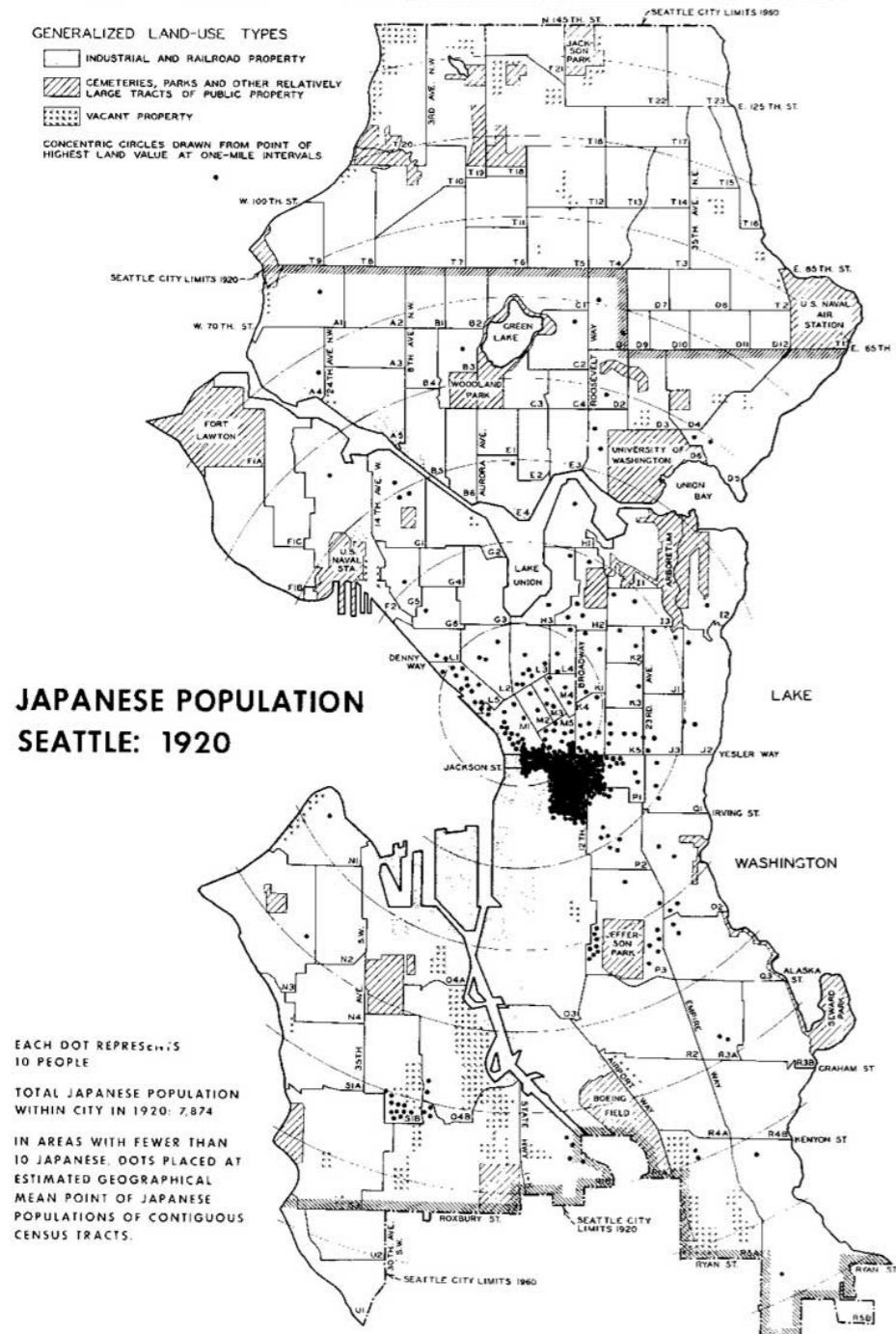
Family Return: Hunt, Idaho (AP Photo)

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

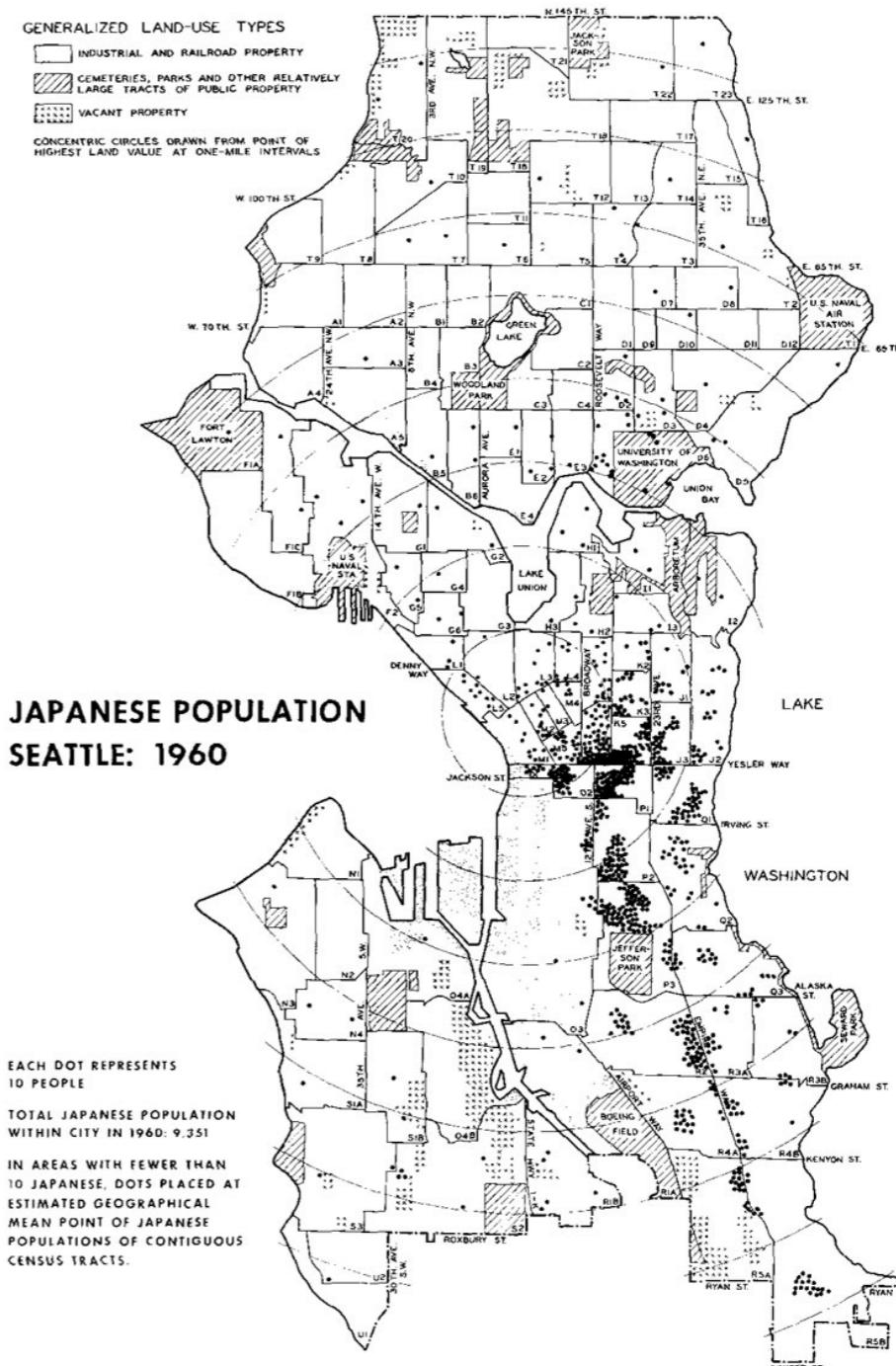
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Japanese Population 1920 - 1960

1920



1960



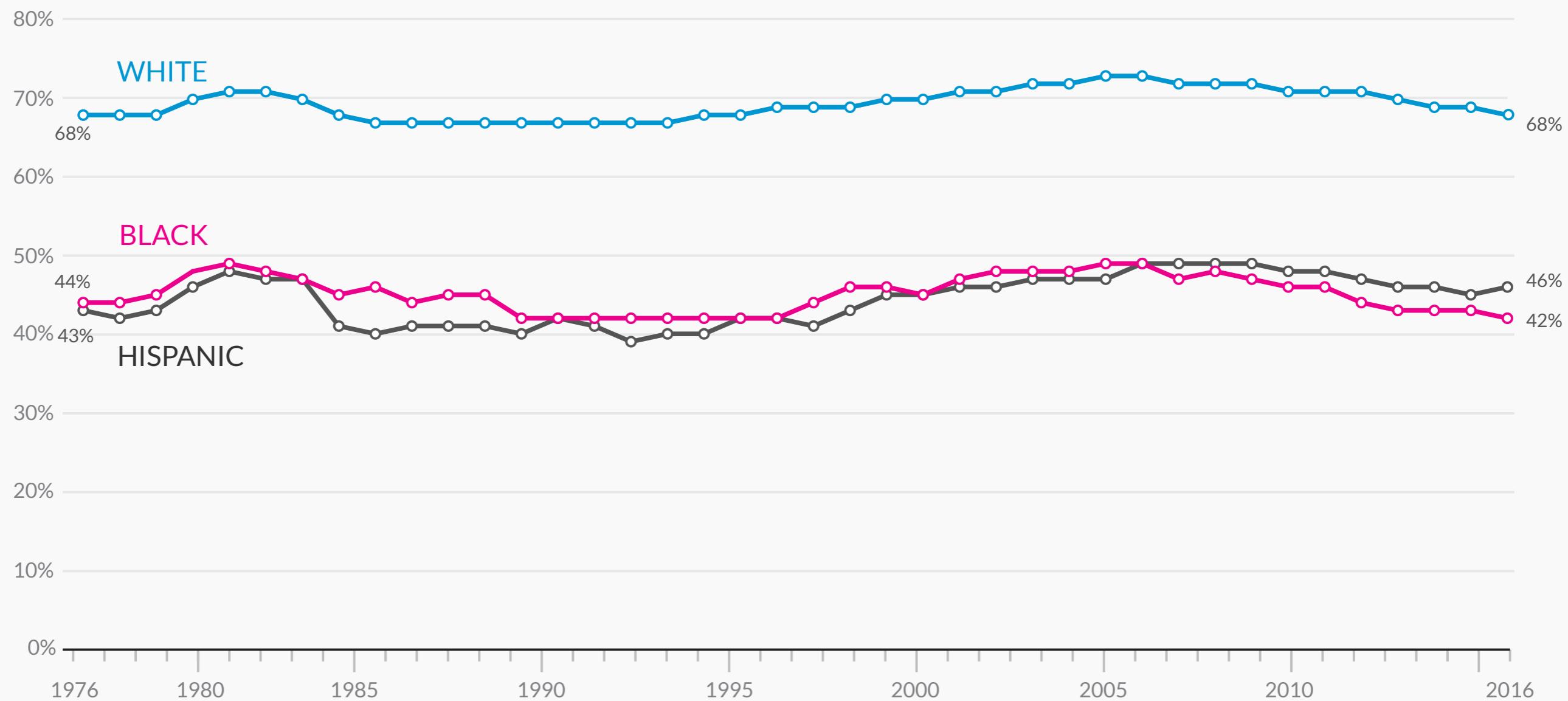
Decentralized Racism

1970 - 1990

Decentralized Racism

- **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



Source: Urban Institute calculations from Current Population Survey 1976–2017. 1976–2014 values from Census Historical Household Surveys, Table HH-5. 2015–16 values from Census Annual Statistics 2016, Table 22.

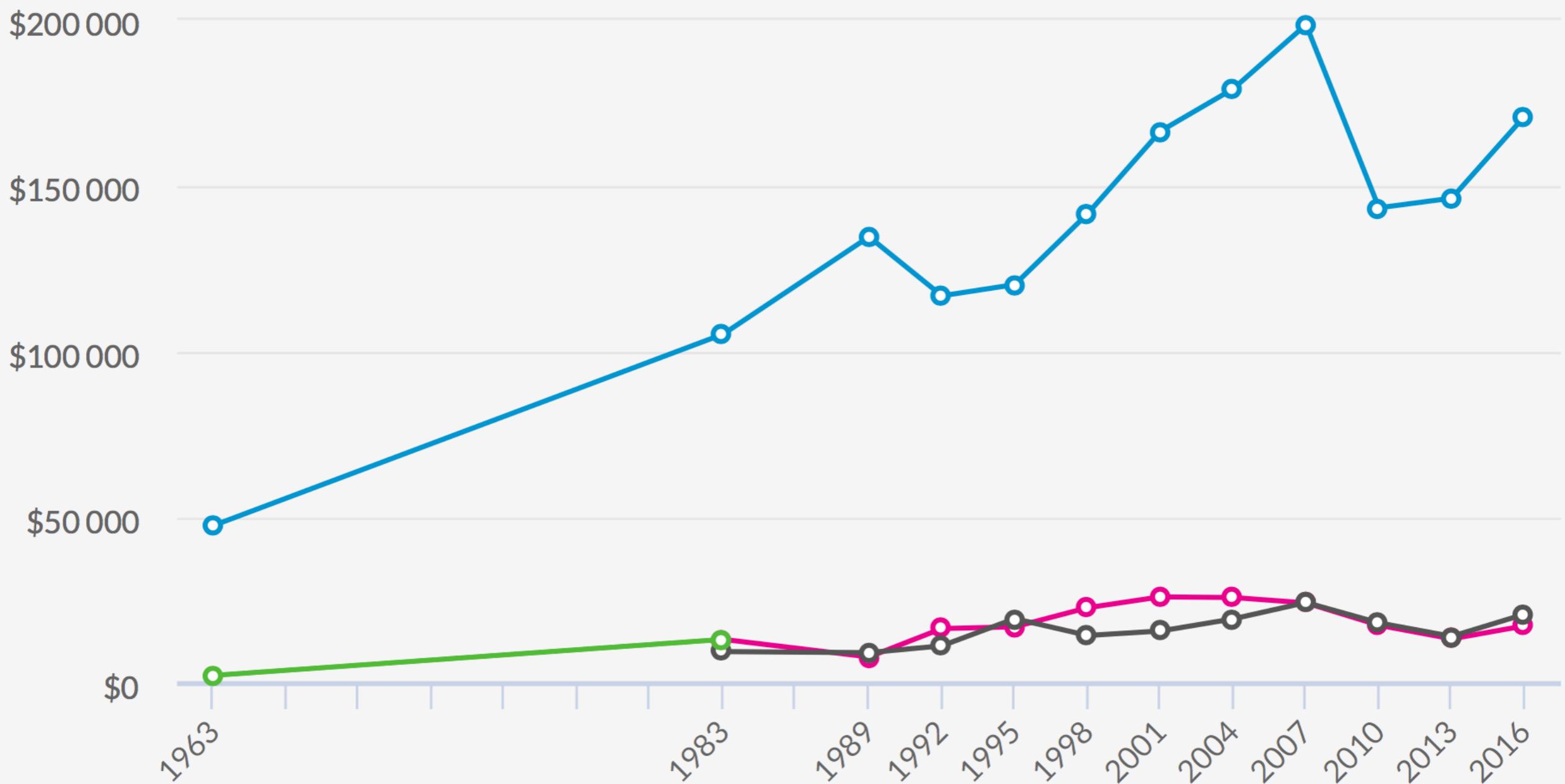
Notes: White homeownership rate includes Hispanic whites. The 2016 homeownership rate for non-Hispanic whites is 72 percent.

URBAN INSTITUTE

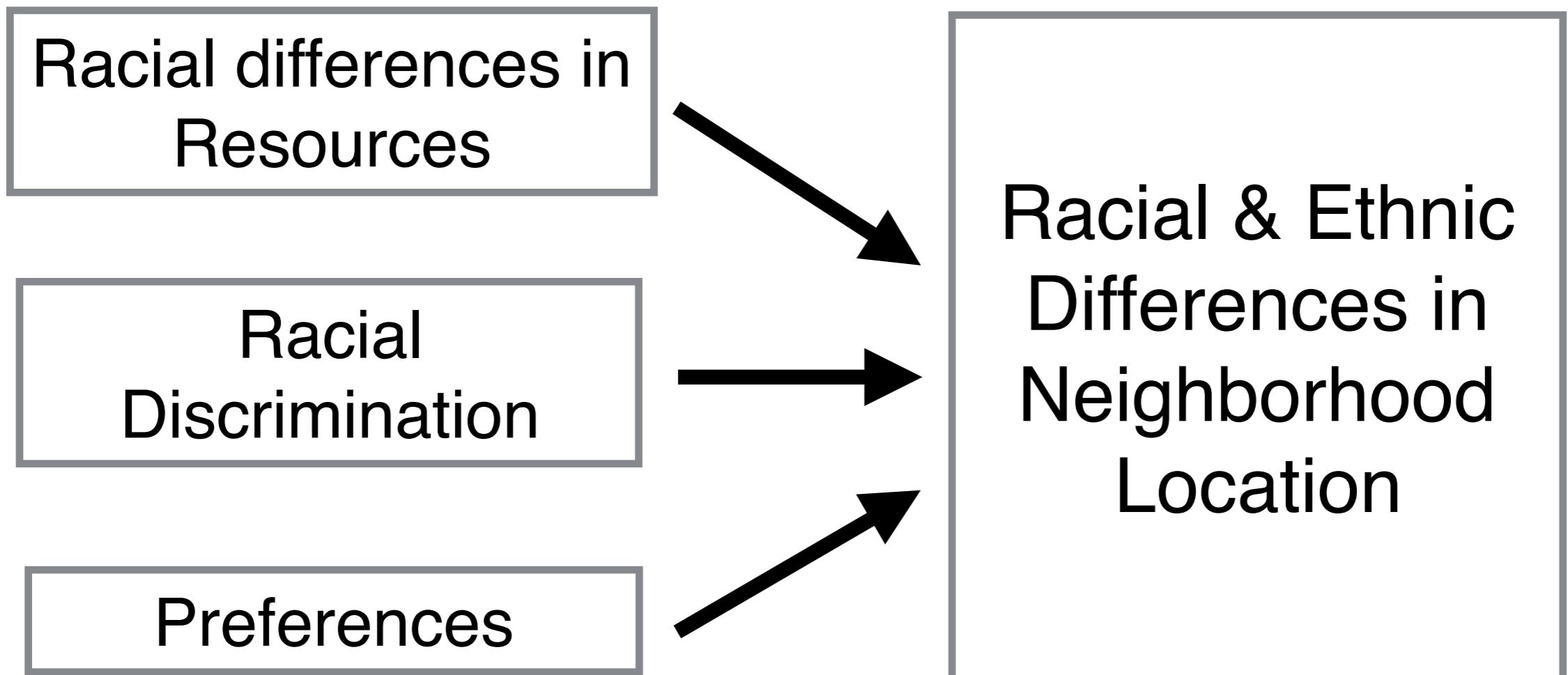
Wealth Gap

Median Family Wealth by Race/Ethnicity, 1963–2016

White Black Hispanic Nonwhite



The Big 3 Theories of Segregation & Migration



Urban Revitalization

1990 - 2018

Urban Revitalization

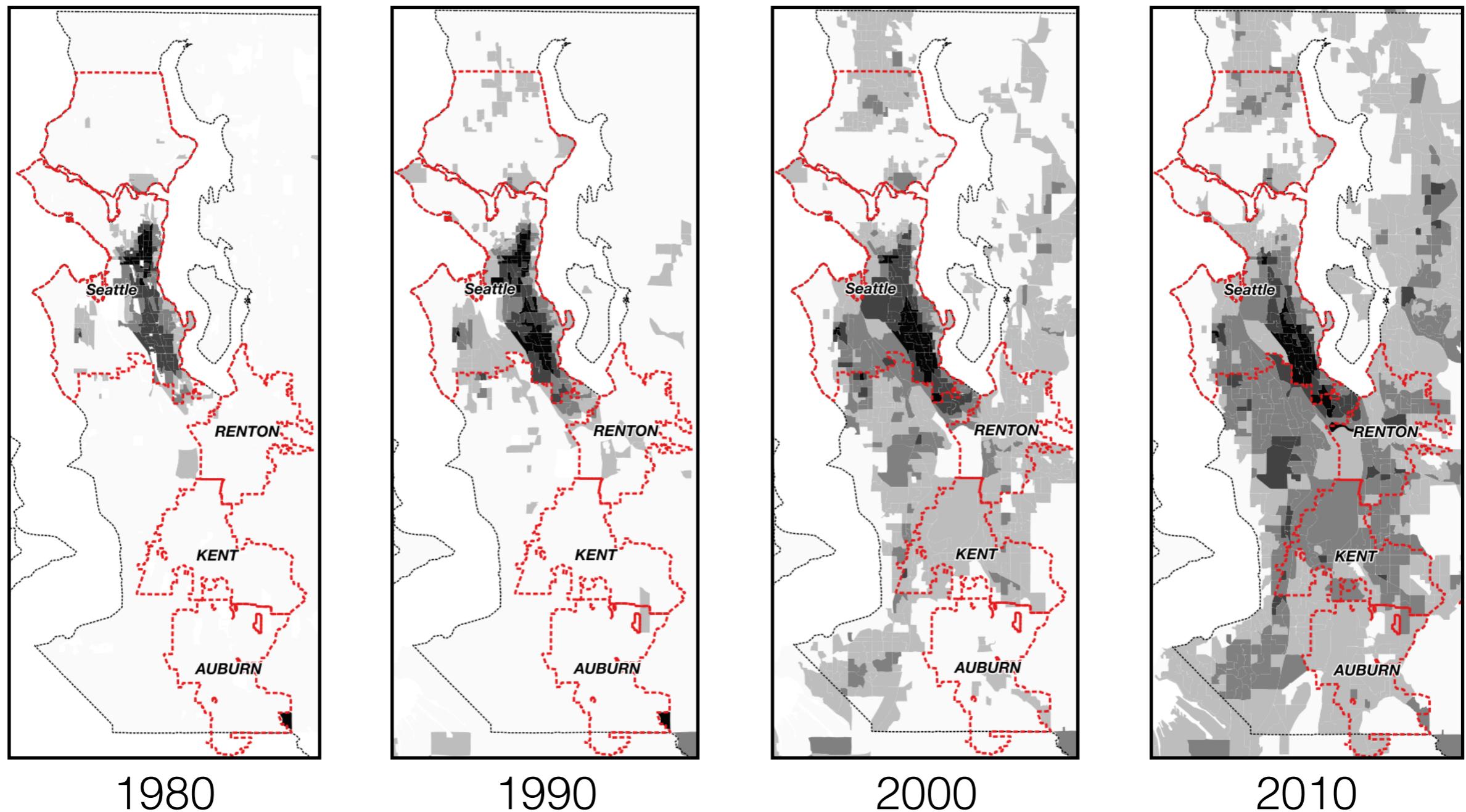
- **Concentrated Poverty in the Urban Core**

- 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

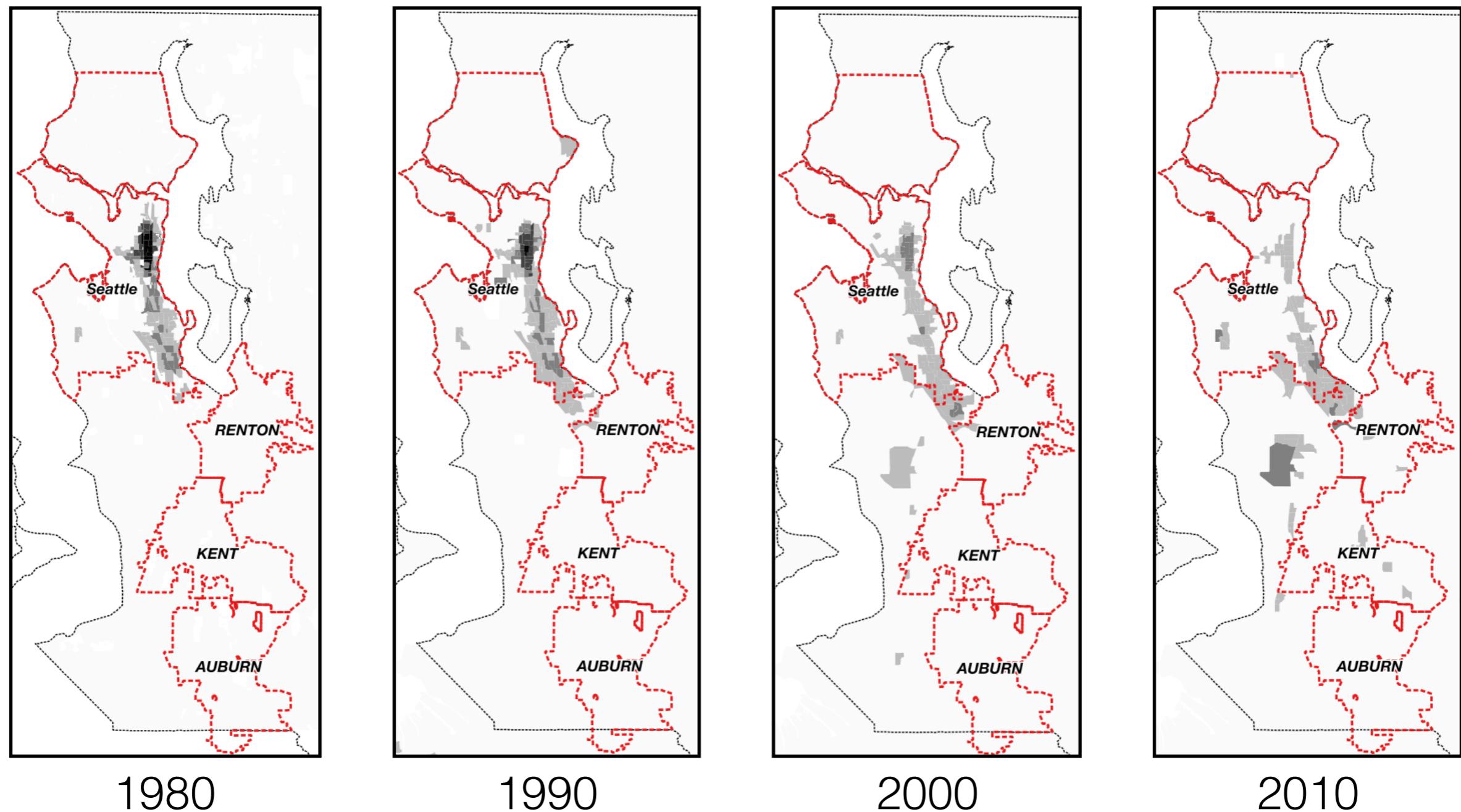


Percent Non-white



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

Black Mobility Over 40 Years



Percent Black



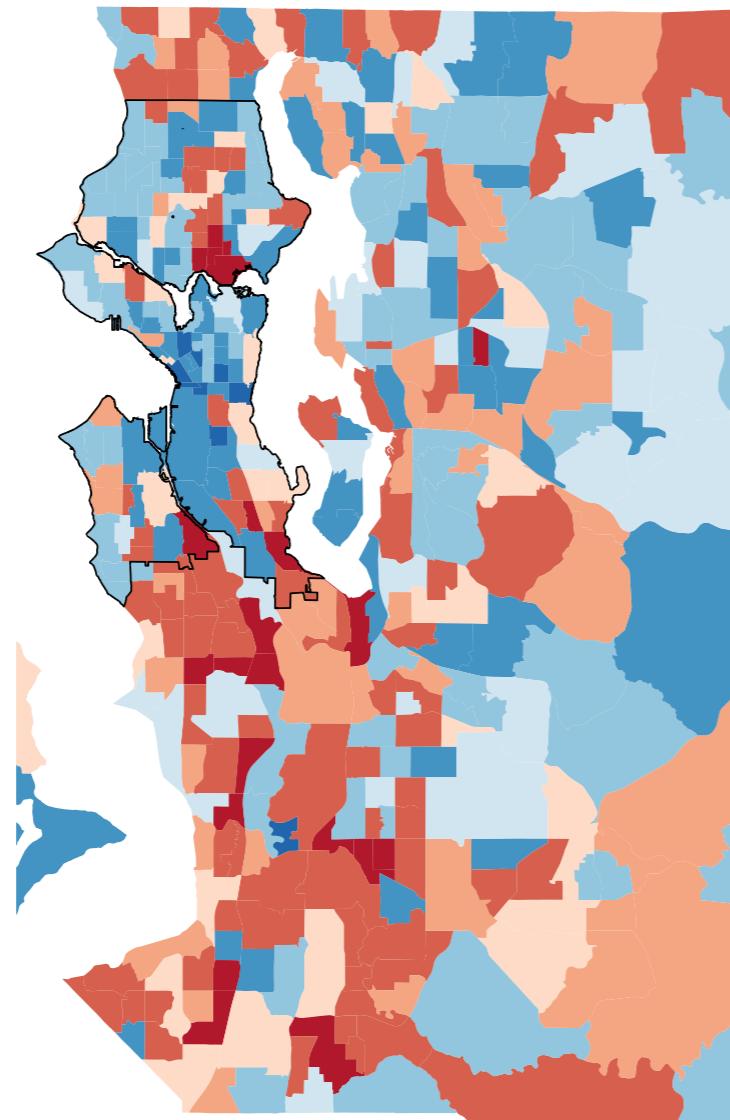
Tim Thomas, Department of Sociology, University of Washington, Source: U.S. Census

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%

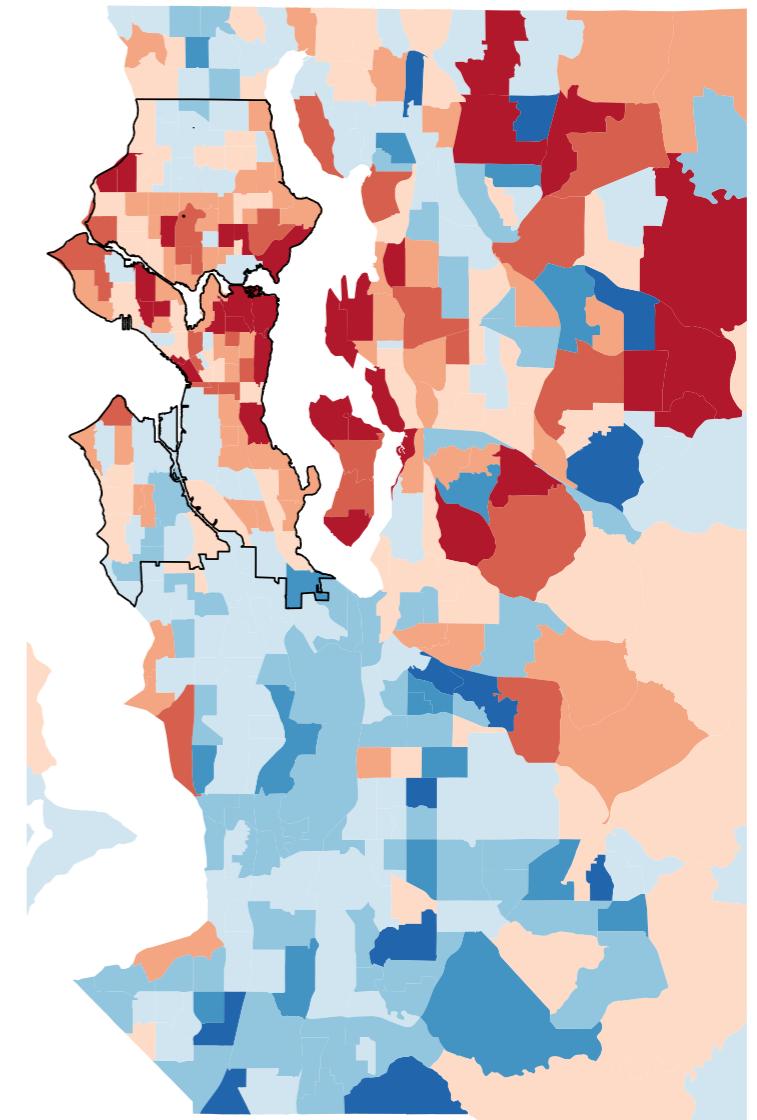


Similar to Black and Latino change

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

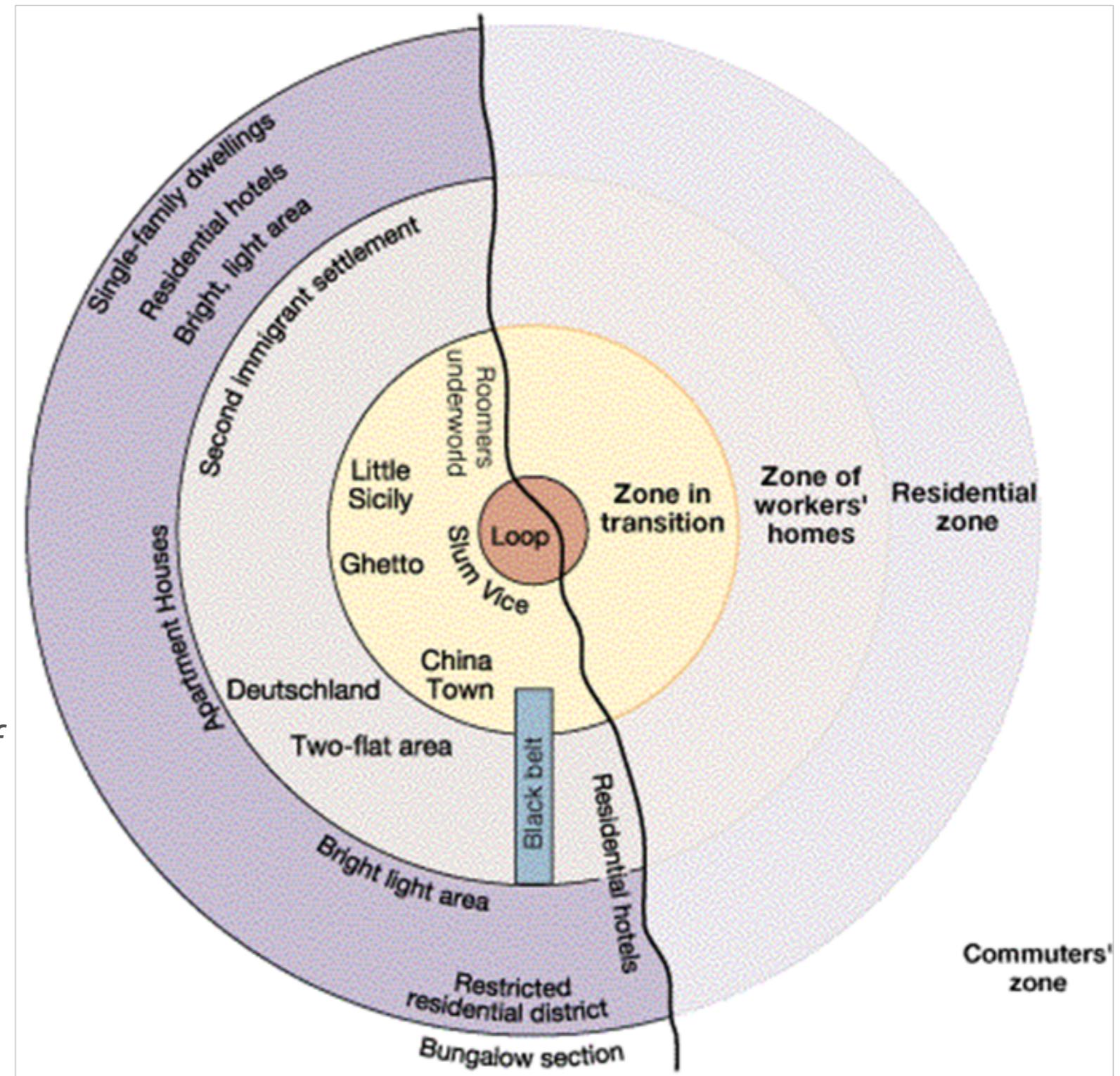
Ecology of the City

Invasion/Succession

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

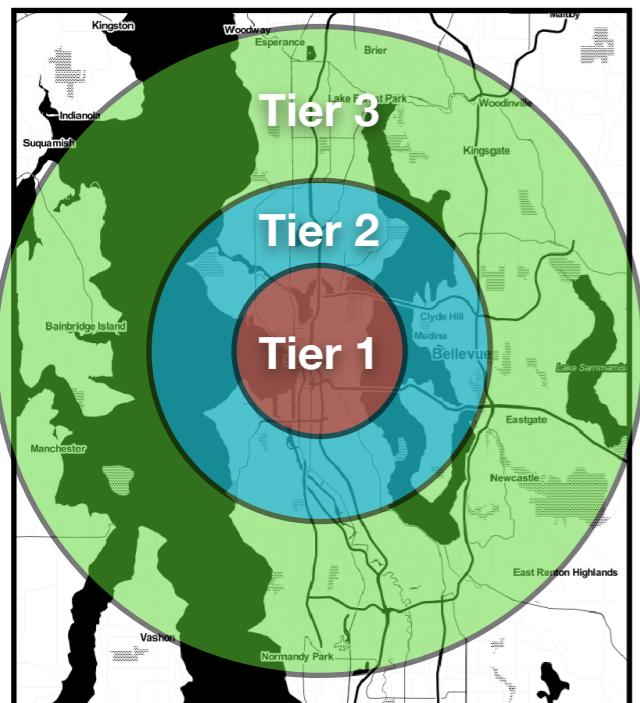
Political Economy

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



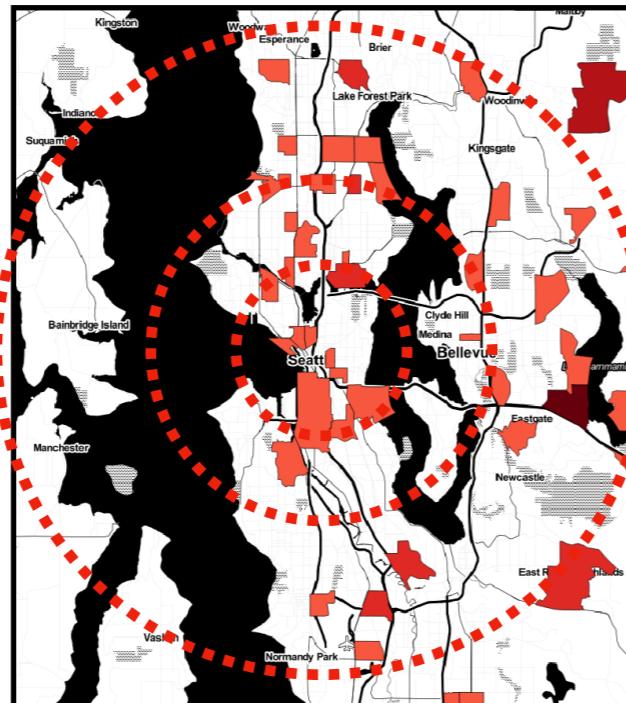
Neighborhood Change & Migration

Tier Theory



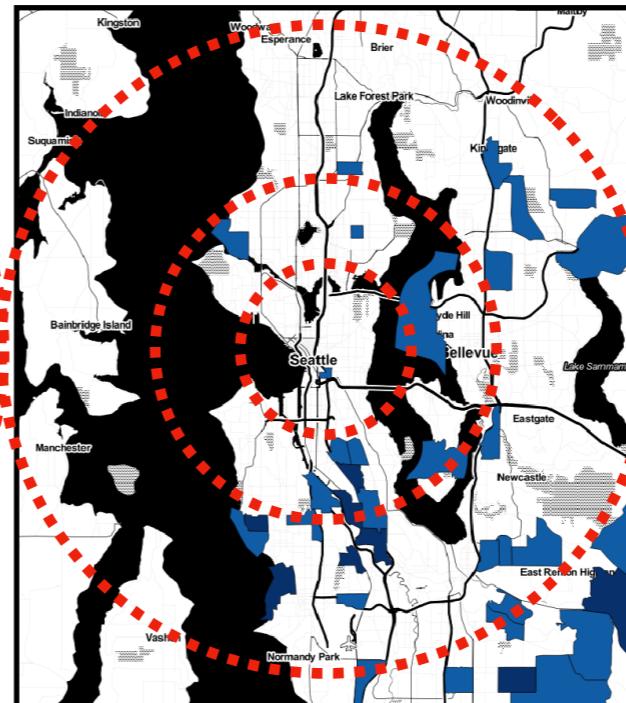
Tier 1

White migrants from
out-of-county



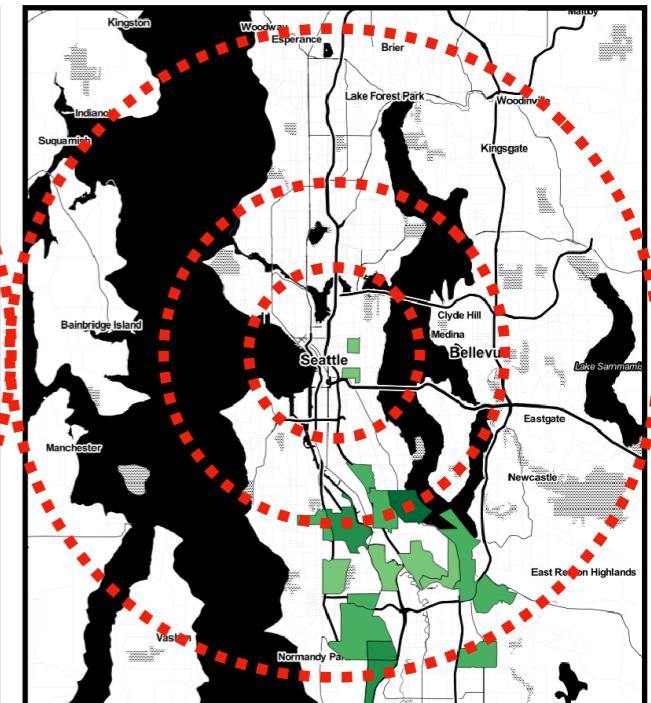
Tier 2

White migrants from
within-county



Tier 3

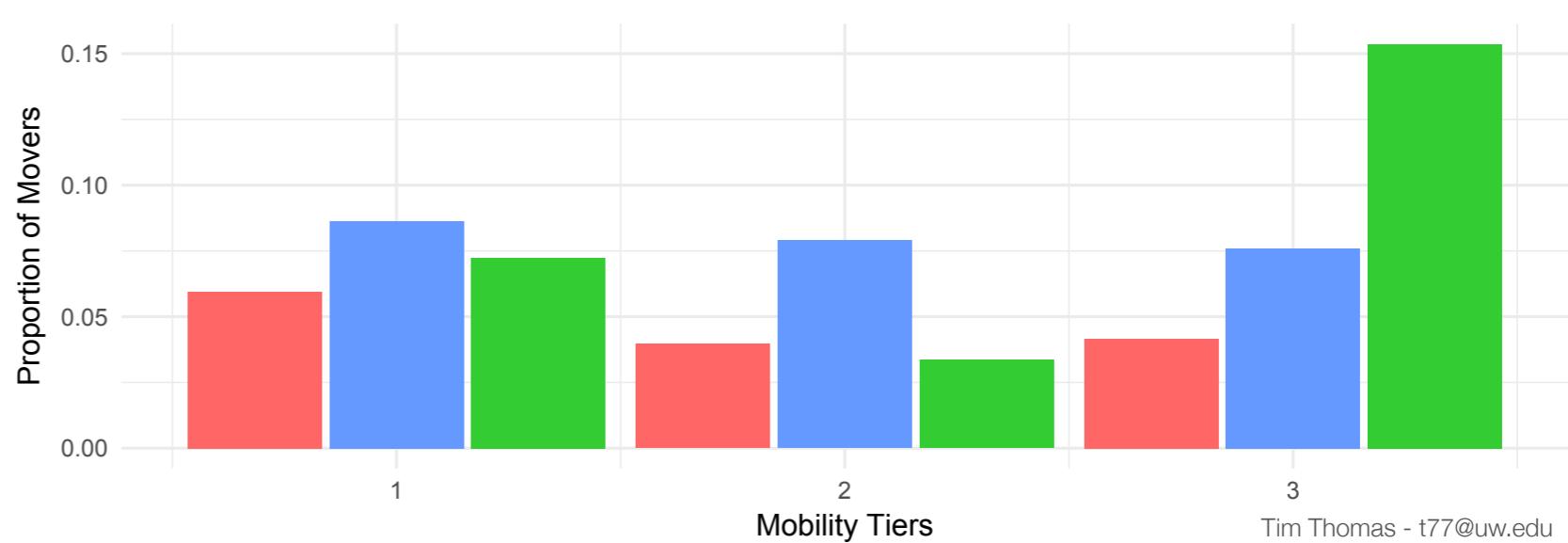
Black migrants from
within-county



2016

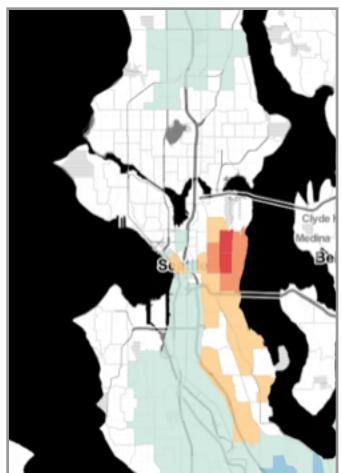
Types of Movers

- White_Movers_Outner_County
- White_Movers_In_County
- Black_Movers_In_County

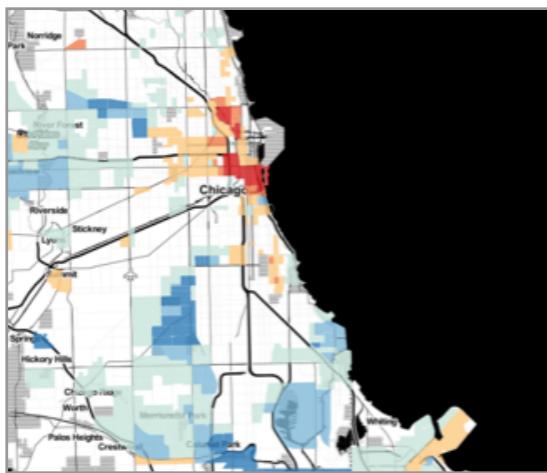


Black Decline in Urban Centers: 1980 - 2010

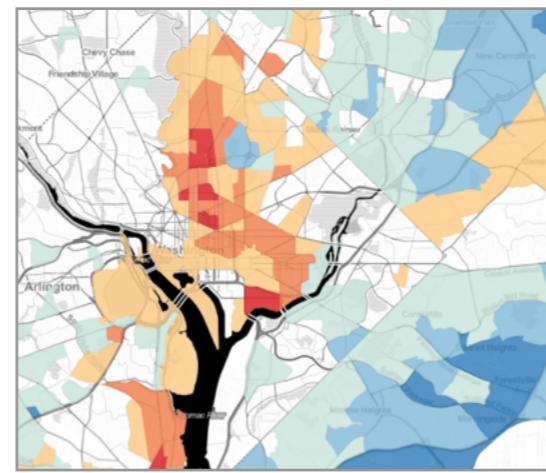
Seattle



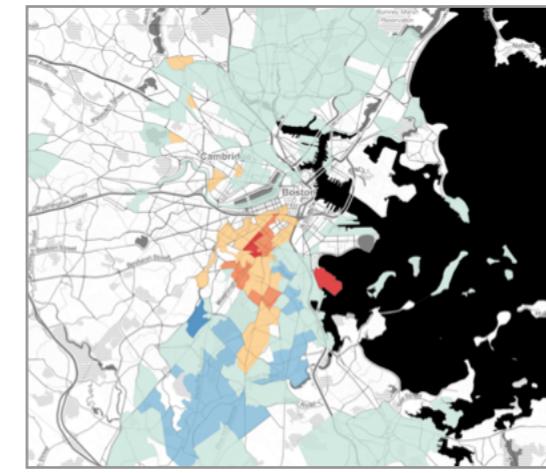
Chicago



Washington DC



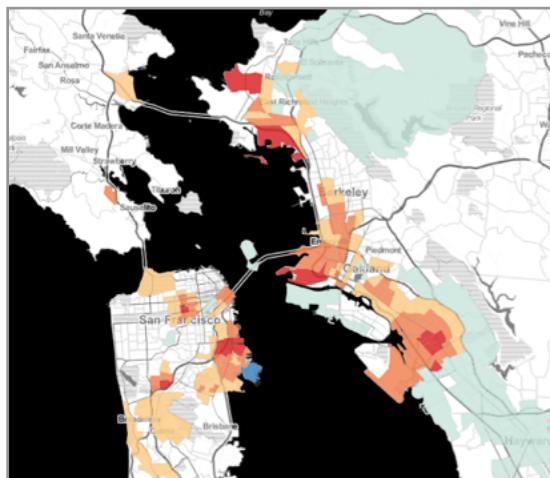
Boston



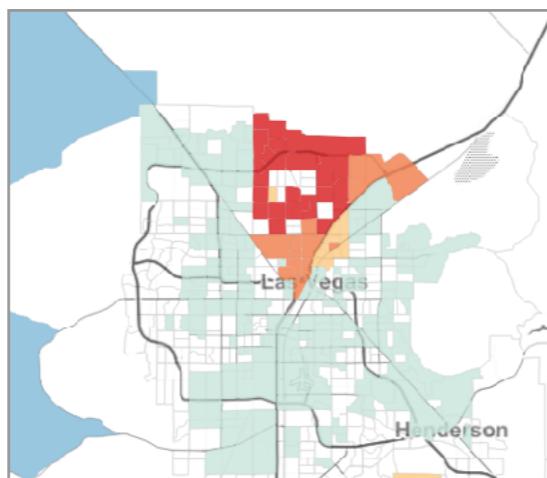
Percent Point
Change in Black

- 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

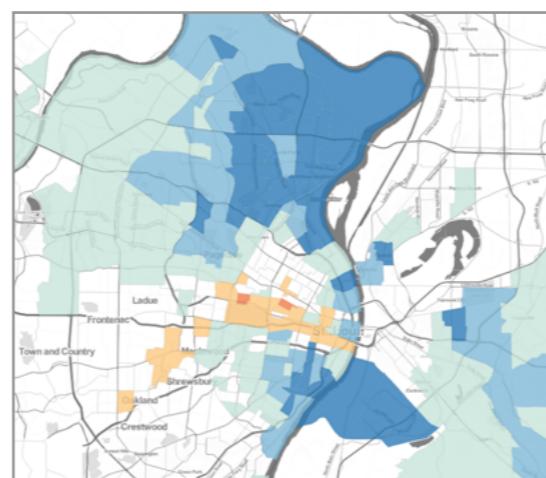
San Francisco



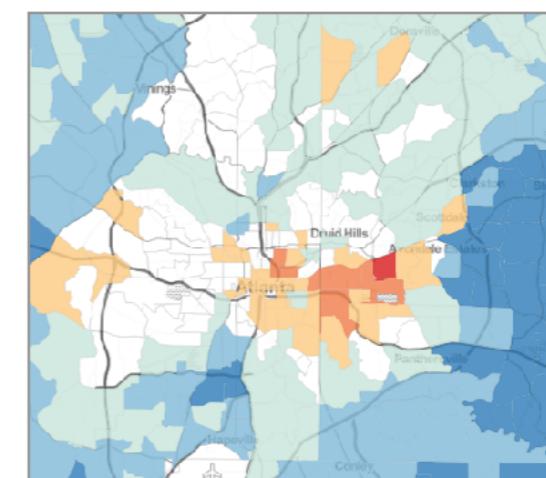
Las Vegas



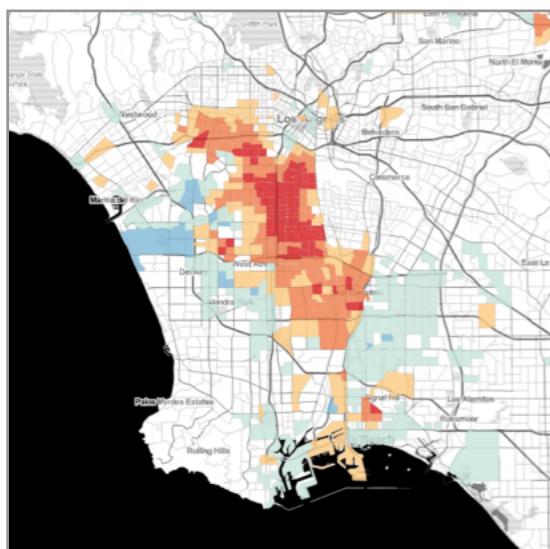
St. Louis



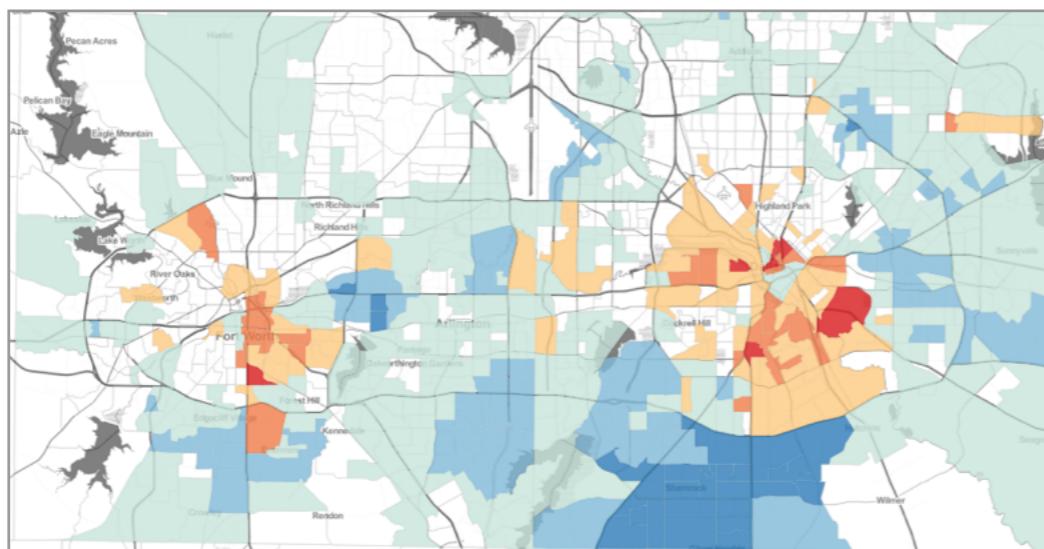
Atlanta



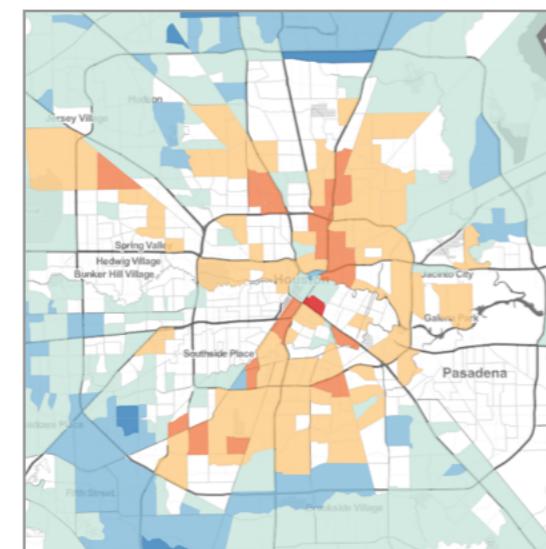
Los Angeles



Dallas / Fort Worth



Houston



Forced Migration: Evictions

Forced Relocation & Residential Instability

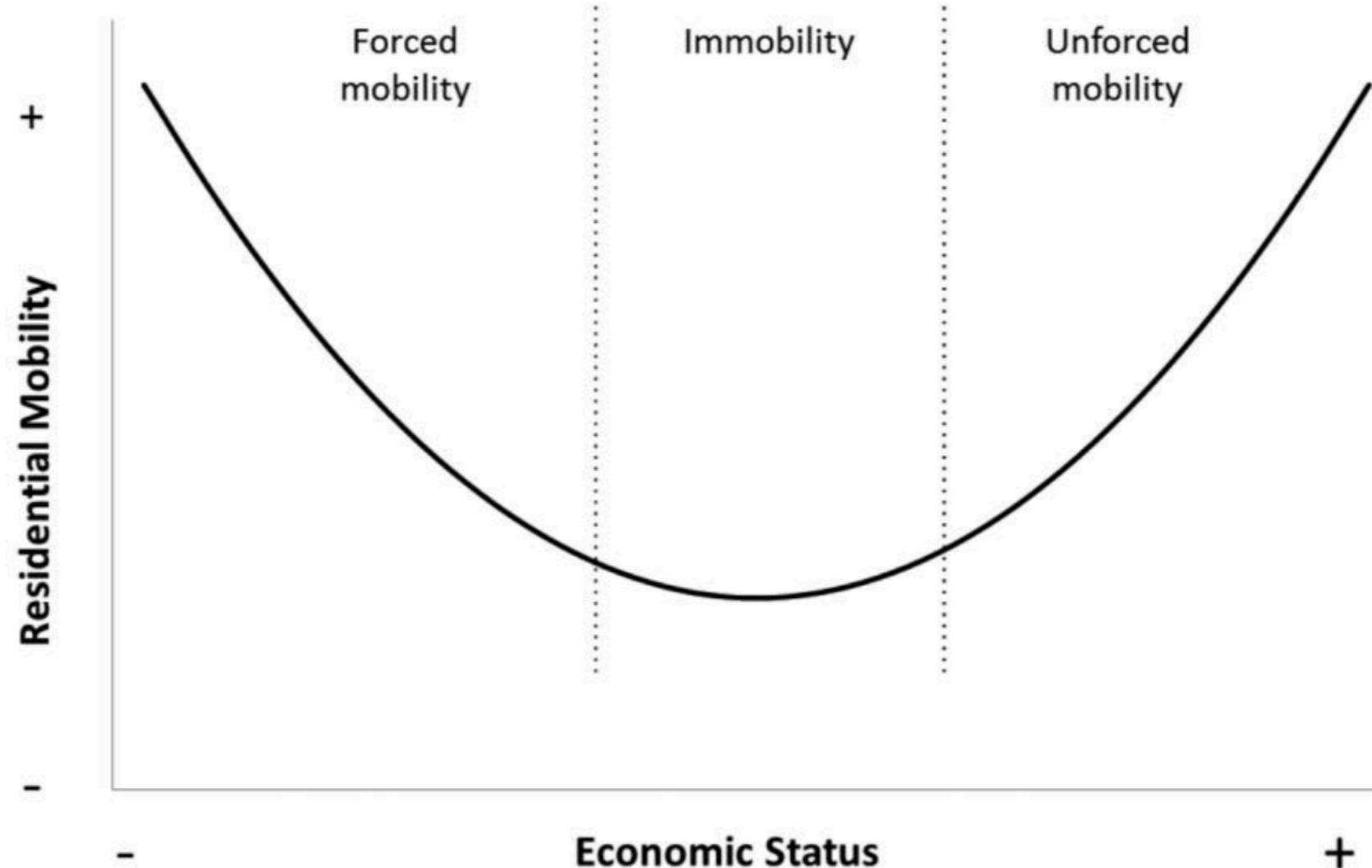


FIGURE 1. Theoretical model of the relationship between residential mobility and economic status among urban renters.

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

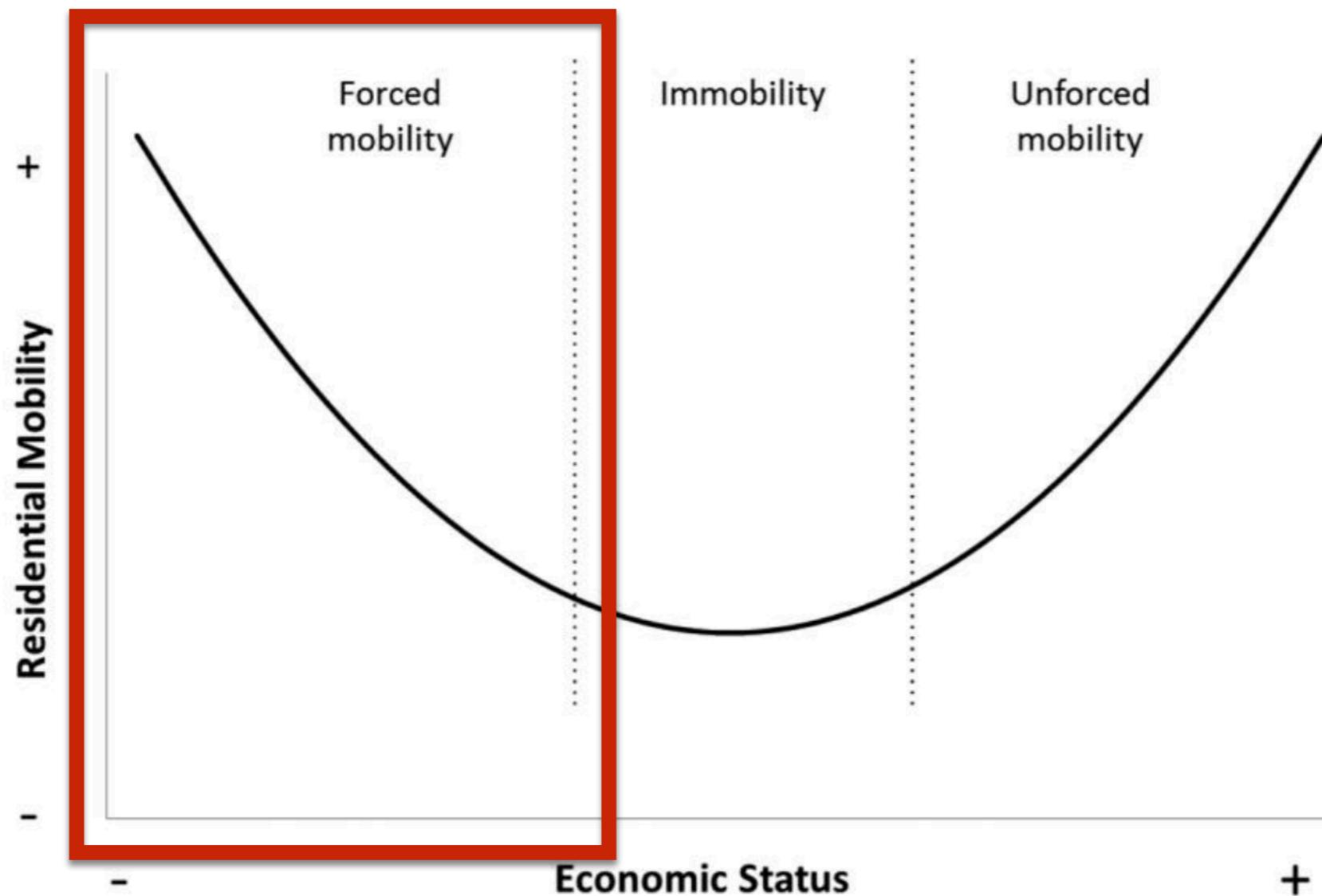
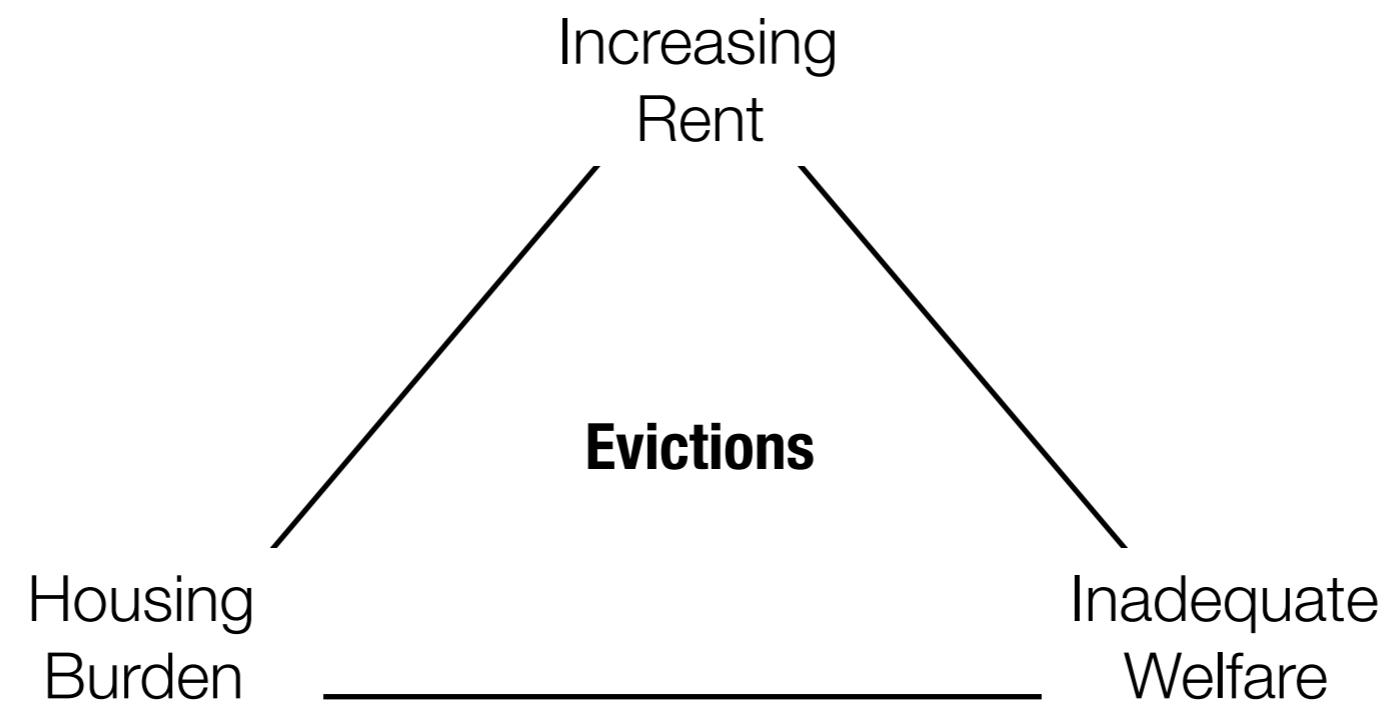


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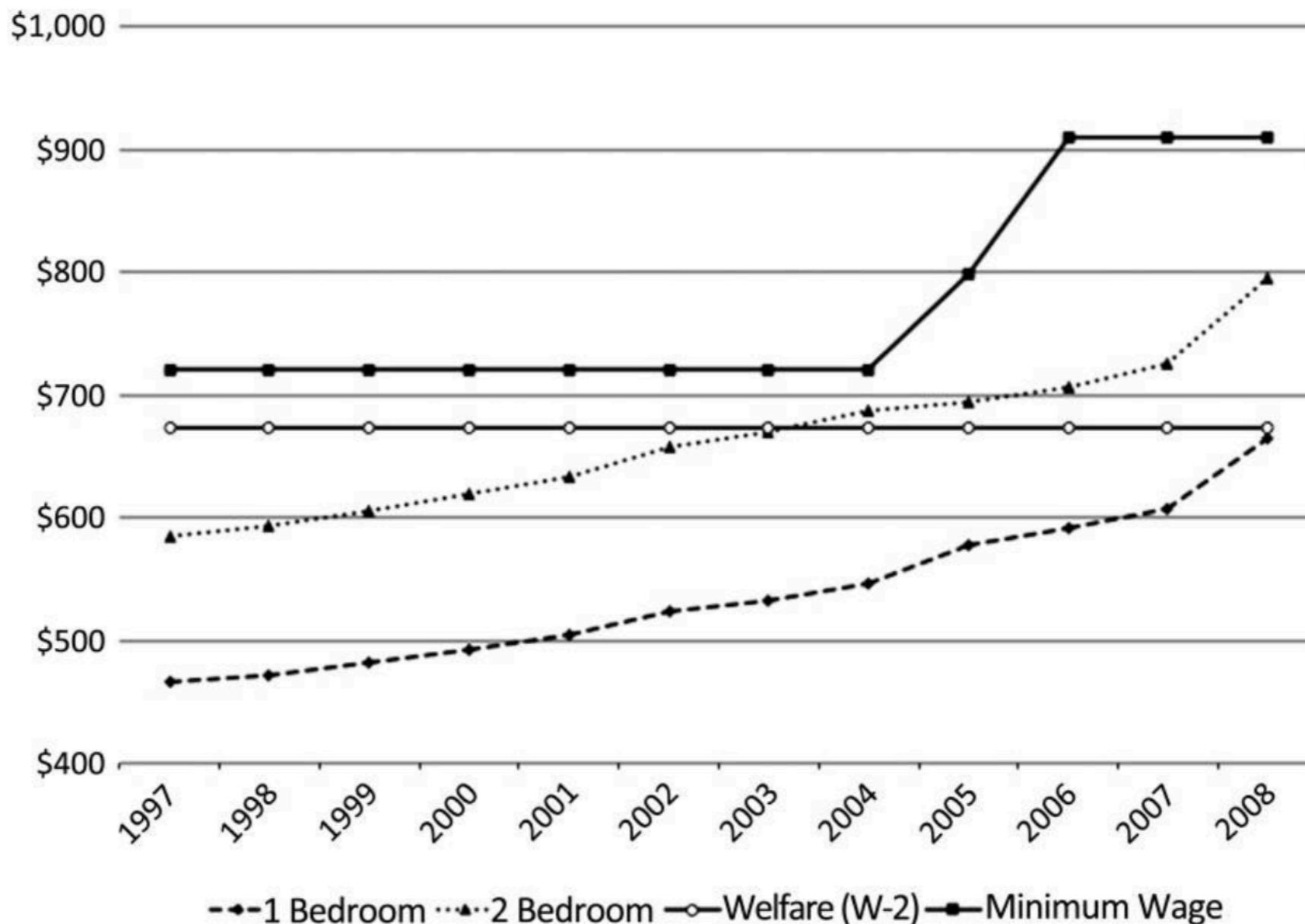
Desmond, Matthew, Carl Gershenson, and Barbara Kiviat. 2015. "Forced Relocation and Residential Instability among Urban Renters." *Social Service Review* 89(2):227–62.



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

Prior Research

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

Demographics

- Women disproportionately overrepresented
- Black evictions are high
- Families & children

Neighborhoods

- Poor & minority
- Latino evicted in white neighborhoods

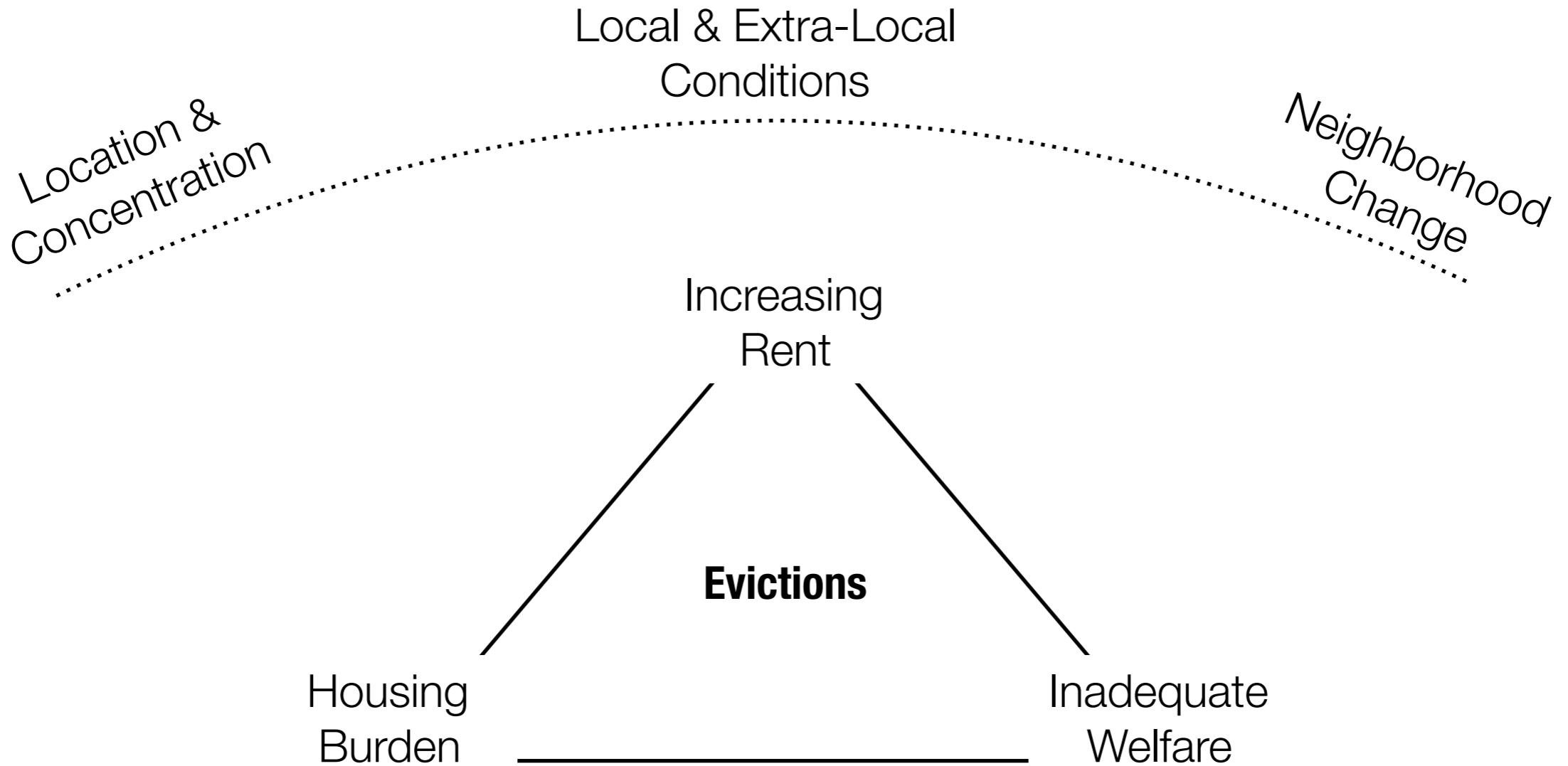
Rent Burden

- 80% - 90% income towards rent

Outcomes

- Worse health
- Layoffs
- Environmental hazards
- Involuntary displacement
- Homelessness
- Crime exposure

Neighborhood-Level Dynamics



Individual-Level Dynamics

Eviction Demographics

Evictions Data

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

Bayes Prediction of Race

$$\frac{\Pr(R_i = r | S_i = s, G_i = g)}{\sum_{r' \in \mathcal{R}} \Pr(G_i = g | R_i = r') \Pr(R_i = r' | S_i = s)} = \frac{\Pr(G_i = g | R_i = r) \Pr(R_i = r | S_i = s)}{\sum_{r' \in \mathcal{R}} \Pr(G_i = g | R_i = r') \Pr(R_i = r' | S_i = s)},$$

Probability that person i belongs to:

- race group r
- given surname s
- and geolocation g

(Imai & Khanna, 2016)
(Elliott et al. 2008, 2009)

Bayes Prediction of Race

probability of race

$$\Pr(R_i = r | S_i = s, G_i = g) = \frac{\Pr(G_i = g | R_i = r) \Pr(R_i = r | S_i = s)}{\sum_{r' \in \mathcal{R}} \Pr(G_i = g | R_i = r') \Pr(R_i = r' | S_i = s)},$$

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(Imai & Khanna, 2016)

(Elliott et al. 2008, 2009)

Bayes Prediction of Race

**likelihood of being
race in tract**

probability of race

$$\Pr(R_i = r | S_i = s, G_i = g) = \frac{\Pr(G_i = g | R_i = r) \Pr(R_i = r | S_i = s)}{\sum_{r' \in \mathcal{R}} \Pr(G_i = g | R_i = r') \Pr(R_i = r' | S_i = s)},$$

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Bayes Prediction of Race

likelihood of being race in tract \times *prior race | surname*

probability of race

$$\Pr(R_i = r|S_i = s, G_i = g) = \frac{\Pr(G_i = g|R_i = r)\Pr(R_i = r|S_i = s)}{\sum_{r' \in \mathcal{R}} \Pr(G_i = g|R_i = r')\Pr(R_i = r'|S_i = s)},$$

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probability of race

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data's evidence

Probability that person i belongs to:

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- and geolocation g

(Imai & Khanna, 2016)
(Elliott et al. 2008, 2009)

Demographic Estimation

Names & Case Numbers

- Public King County Courts request

Case Number	First Name	Last Name
13-2-0058	SALLY	MILLER
13-2-0058	ROBERT	WILSON
13-2-0070	TOMMIE	WILKERSON
13-2-0074	STEVEN	KELLY
13-2-0074	ITZEL	AVILA

Demographic Estimation

Names & Case Numbers

- Public King County Courts request

Addresses

- Collected at King County Courts & geocoded

Case Number	First Name	Last Name	Address
13-2-0058	SALLY	MILLER	3200 East 5th St, Seattle, Washington
13-2-0058	ROBERT	WILSON	3200 East 5th St, Seattle, Washington
13-2-0070	TOMMIE	WILKERSON	113 K Street Southeast, Auburn, Washington
13-2-0074	STEVEN	KELLY	4121 SW 65th Ave, Federal Way, Washington
13-2-0074	ITZEL	AVILA	4121 SW 65th Ave, Federal Way, Washington

Demographic Estimation

Names & Case Numbers

- Public King County Courts request

Sex

- Cross-referenced SSNR, Census, & Facebook

Addresses

- Collected at King County Courts & geocoded

Case Number	First Name	Last Name	Address	Sex
13-2-0058	SALLY	MILLER	3200 East 5th St, Seattle, Washington	female
13-2-0058	ROBERT	WILSON	3200 East 5th St, Seattle, Washington	male
13-2-0070	TOMMIE	WILKERSON	113 K Street Southeast, Auburn, Washington	male
13-2-0074	STEVEN	KELLY	4121 SW 65th Ave, Federal Way, Washington	male
13-2-0074	ITZEL	AVILA	4121 SW 65th Ave, Federal Way, Washington	female

Demographic Estimation

Names & Case Numbers

- Public King County Courts request

Addresses

- Collected at King County Courts & geocoded

Sex

- Cross-referenced SSNR, Census, & Facebook

Race

- Bayesian model using surname & neighborhood race

Case Number	First Name	Last Name	Address	Sex	Race
13-2-0058	SALLY	MILLER	3200 East 5th St, Seattle, Washington	female	white
13-2-0058	ROBERT	WILSON	3200 East 5th St, Seattle, Washington	male	white
13-2-0070	TOMMIE	WILKERSON	113 K Street Southeast, Auburn, Washington	male	black
13-2-0074	STEVEN	KELLY	4121 SW 65th Ave, Federal Way, Washington	male	white
13-2-0074	ITZEL	AVILA	4121 SW 65th Ave, Federal Way, Washington	female	Latina

King County Eviction Rates by Sex & Race

Sex

- Women 2% > Men

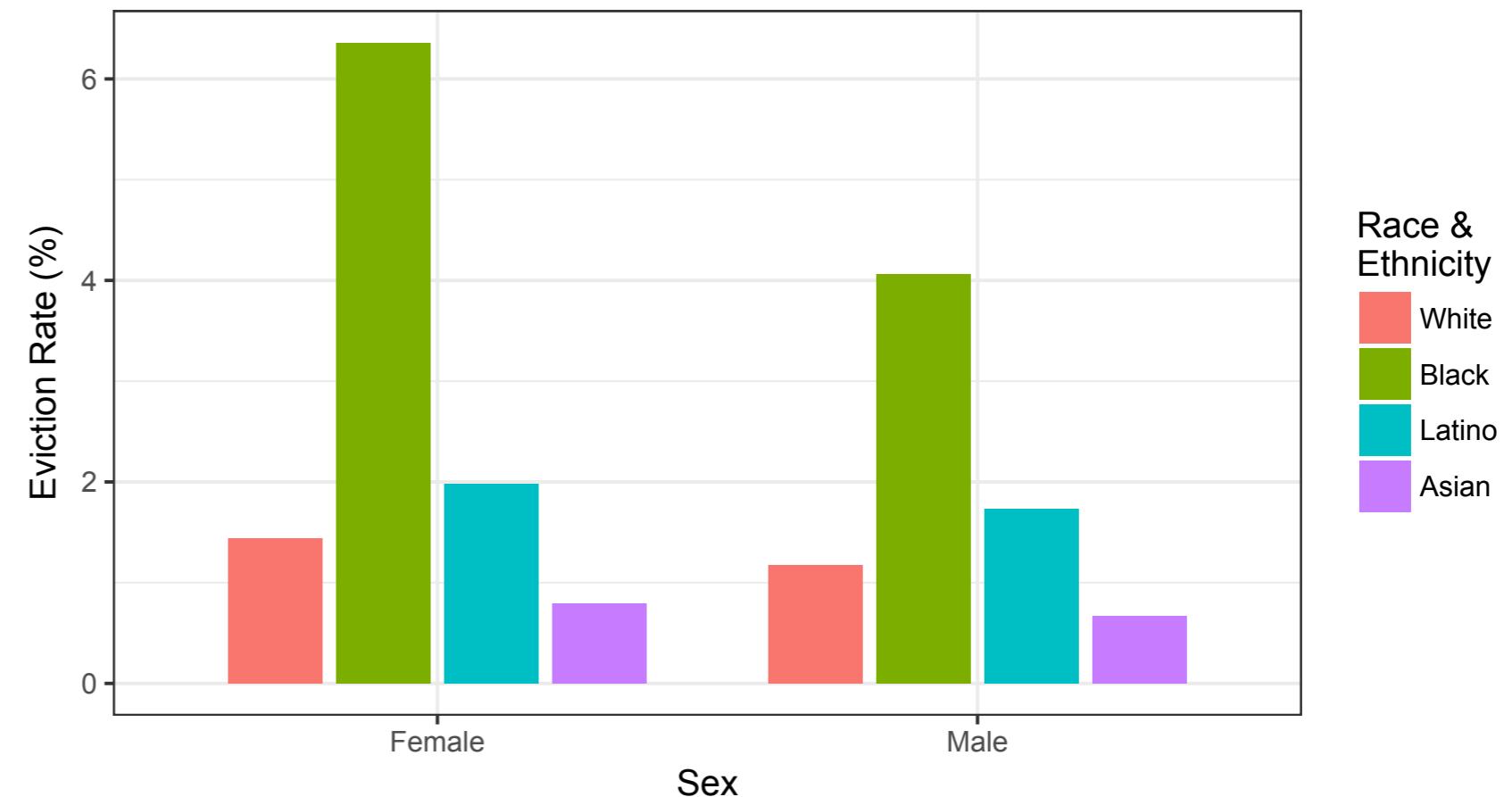
Race

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

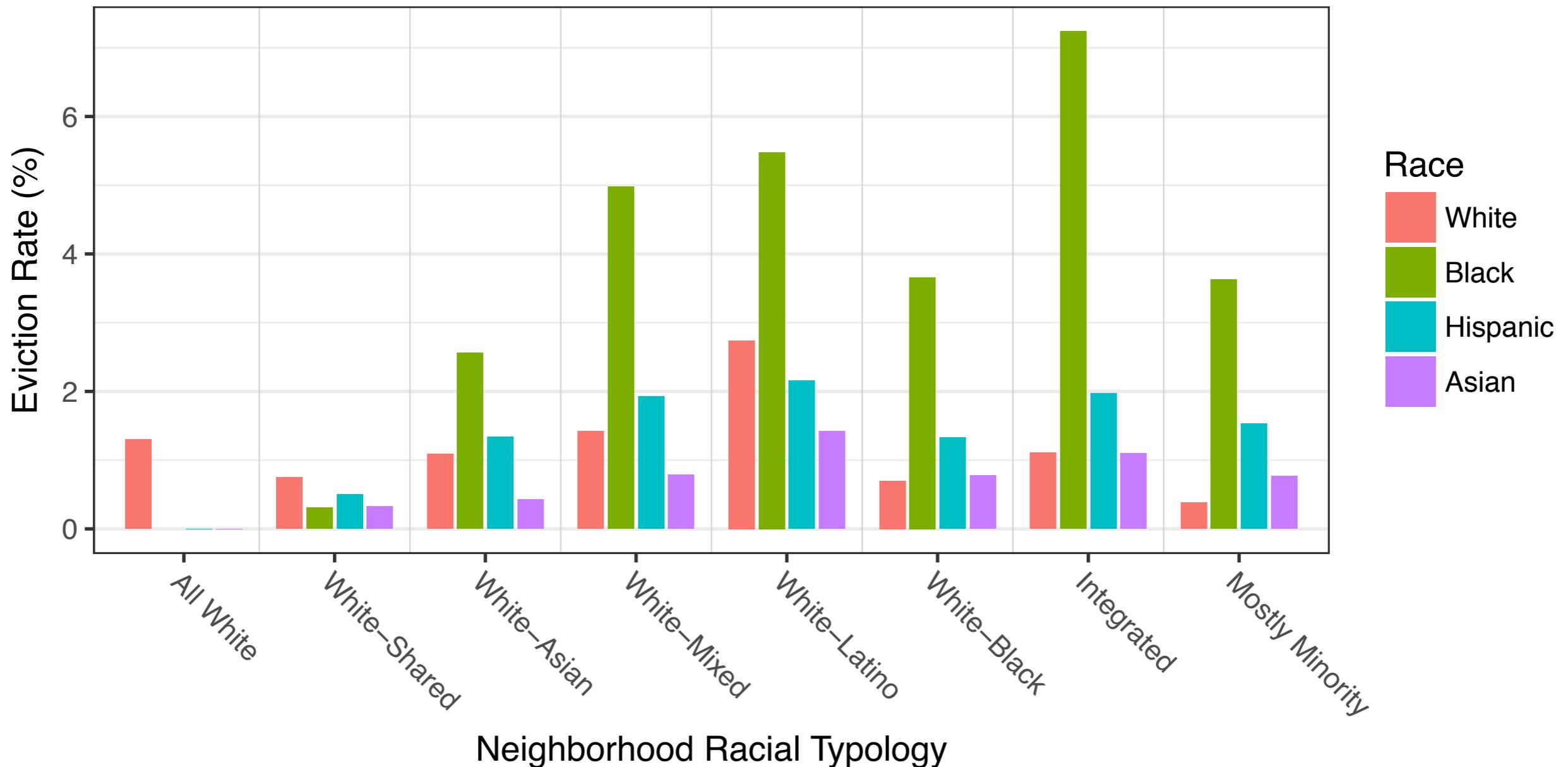
Sex & Race

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

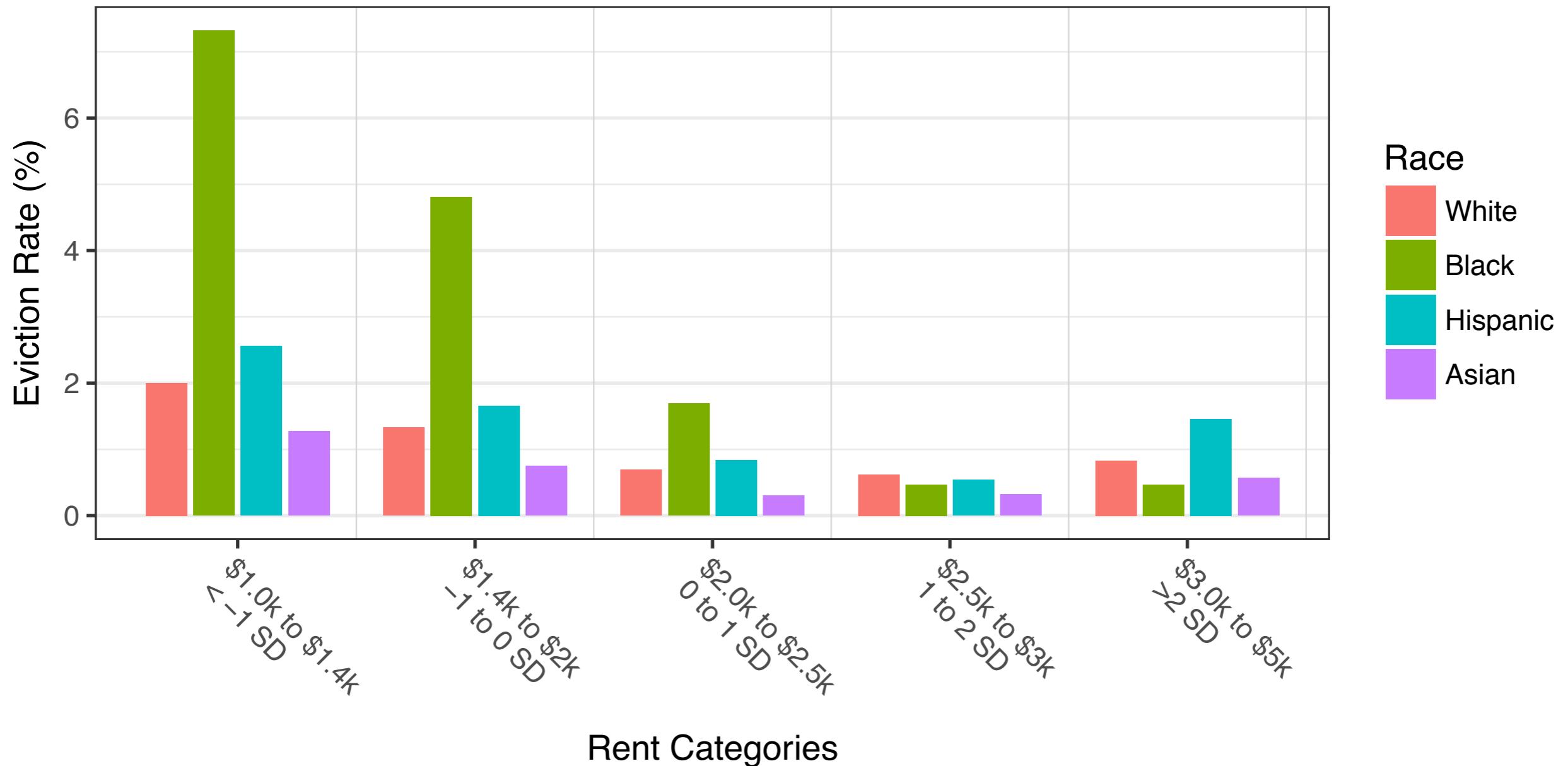
Eviction Rates by Sex & Race



King County Neighborhood Diversity & Eviction Rates



King County Rent & Eviction Rates



Eviction Ecology

Theoretical Frameworks

1. Neighborhood Housing Market Framework

- *Evictions are related to the relative **cost** of a neighborhood*
 - Rent = demand for an area
 - Affordable neighborhoods are scarce
 - Largely poor households at risk (e.g. falling behind on rent)

2. Neighborhood Racial Stratification Framework

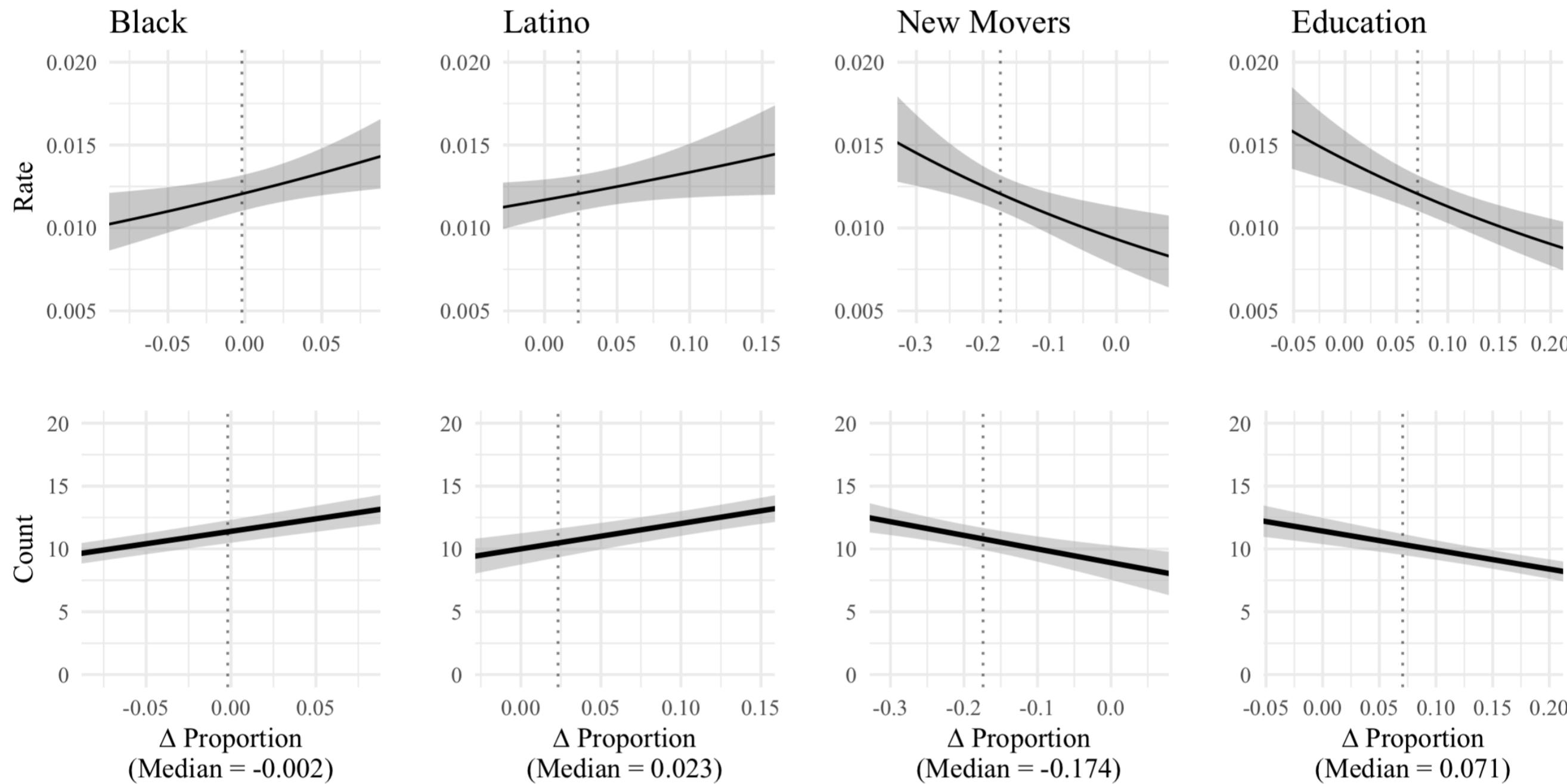
- *Evictions are a **racialized artifact***
 - High risk: Black and Latinx households rent 2x more than whites
 - Legacy of segregation (denied wealth)
 - Legacy of homeownership (denied stability)
 - Institutional subjugation: policing, policies, criminal & housing records

3. Contested Spaces Framework

- *Housing competition forecasted by **nearby** markets and socio-economics*
 - Replace low-income tenants with higher-earning ones
 - Diversity may be a sign of gentrification rather than integration

Neighborhood Change

Figure 4.2: Predicted Probability of Evictions & Change in Black, Latino, New Movers, & Education for the Full Negative Binomial Model 5



Models: Rent, Poverty, Race, & Extra-Local

Table 2: Negative Binomial Regression Analysis for the Overall Rate of Unlawful Detainers in 2013

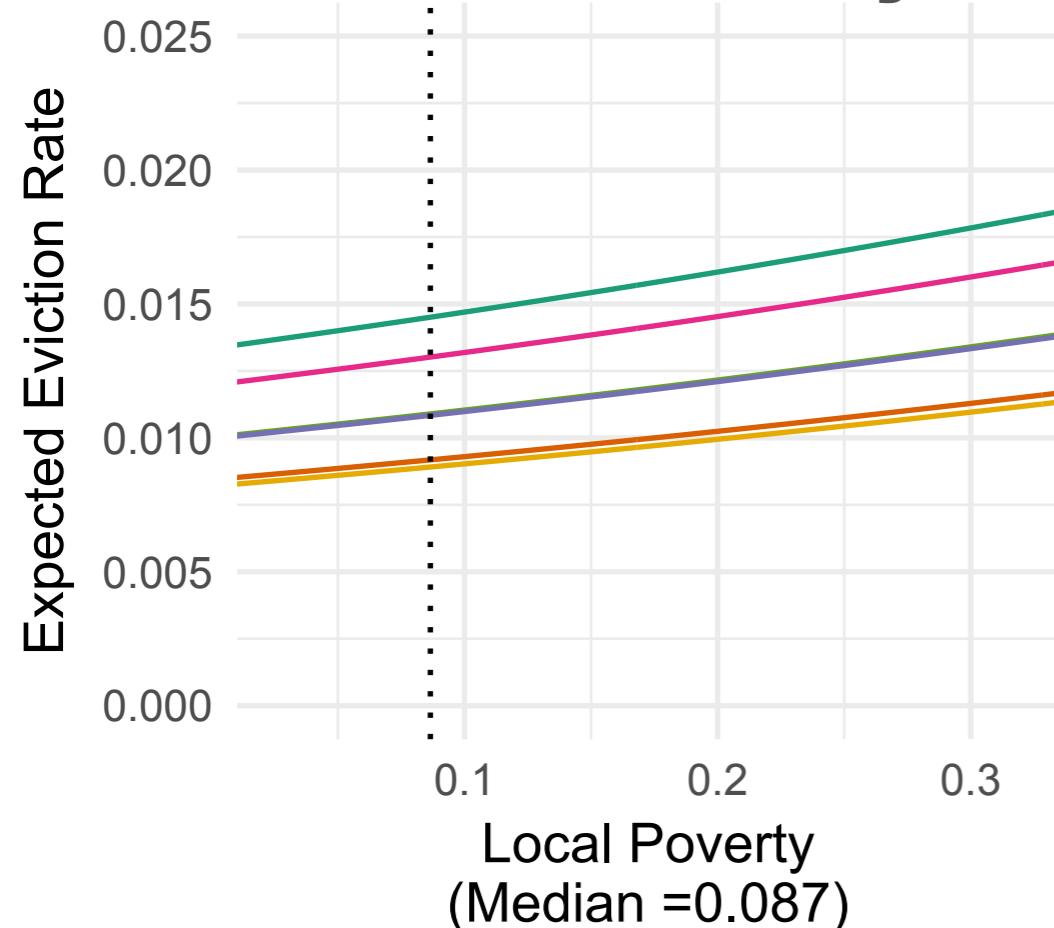
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
(Intercept)	-4.21 (0.04)***	-4.26 (0.04)***	-4.51 (0.08)***	-4.72 (0.08)***
Poverty	0.13 (0.44)	-0.67 (0.47)	-1.17 (0.48)*	0.97 (0.48)*
Rent	-1.05 (0.11)***	-1.07 (0.11)***	-0.77 (0.12)***	-0.06 (0.12)
Rent × Poverty		-5.14 (1.32)***	-3.56 (1.33)**	0.50 (1.18)
Mostly White			—	—
White-Asian			0.08 (0.10)	0.03 (0.11)
White-Latino			0.77 (0.16)***	0.38 (0.14)**
White-Black			0.31 (0.29)	0.49 (0.24)*
White-Mixed			0.45 (0.11)***	0.20 (0.11) [†]
Integrated			0.61 (0.15)***	0.20 (0.15)
Extra-Local Poverty				-5.21 (1.17)***
Extra-Local Rent				-0.76 (0.16)***
Extra-Local White-Asian				0.61 (0.27)*
Extra-Local White-Latino				2.40 (0.41)***
Extra-Local White-Black				-1.75 (1.33)
Extra-Local White-Mixed				1.93 (0.27)***
Extra-Local Integrated				1.30 (0.37)***
AIC	2526.28	2512.15	2490.48	2560.79
BIC	2542.22	2532.07	2530.32	2428.52
Log Likelihood	-1259.14	-1251.07	-1235.24	-1163.40
Deviance	443.92	438.24	440.79	441.83
Num. obs.	397	397	397	397

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, [†] $p < 0.1$

Data source: ACS 2011-2015, Zillow tract-level rent data, & King County Courthouse Unlawful Detainer Cases for 2013

Local & Nearby Neighborhood Characteristics

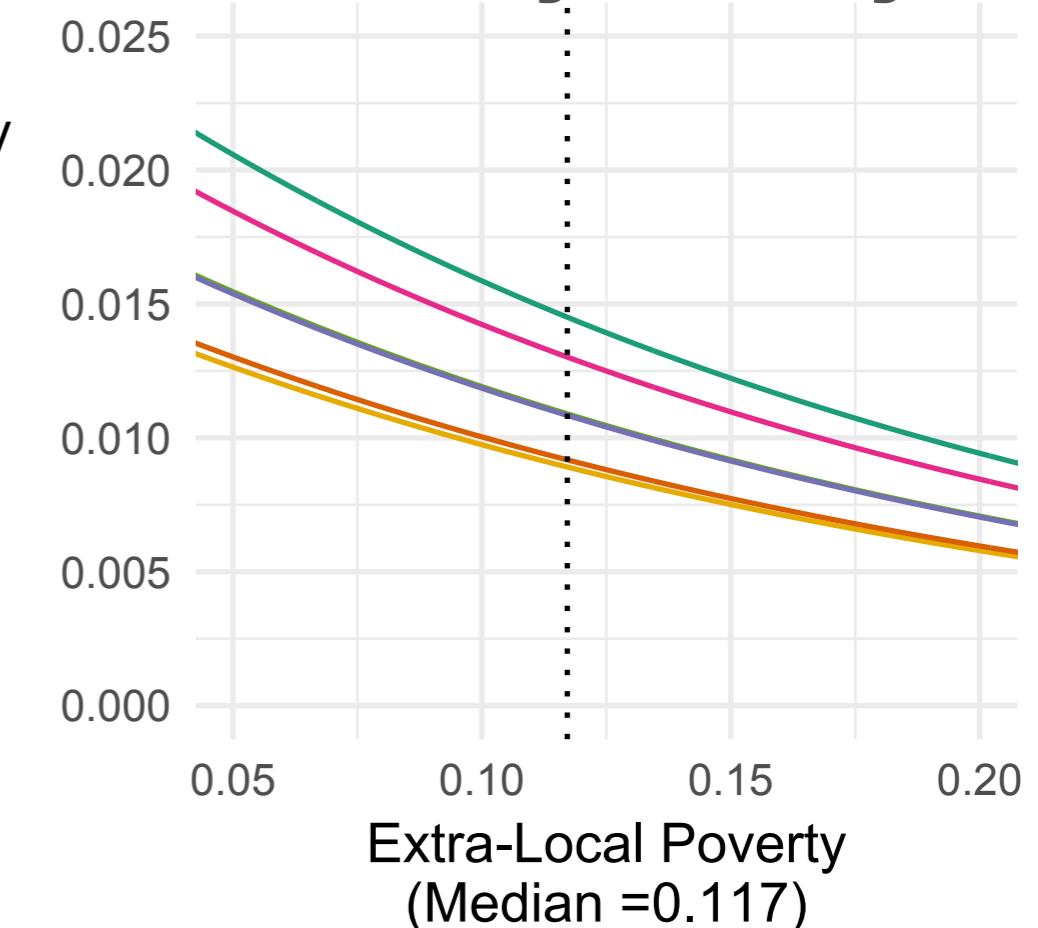
Local Poverty



Neighborhood Racial Typology

- White-Black
- White-Latino
- Integrated
- White-Mixed
- White-Asian
- White-Shared

Nearby Poverty



Local Contexts

- Local poverty and diversity matter most, net of local rent

Extra-Local Contexts

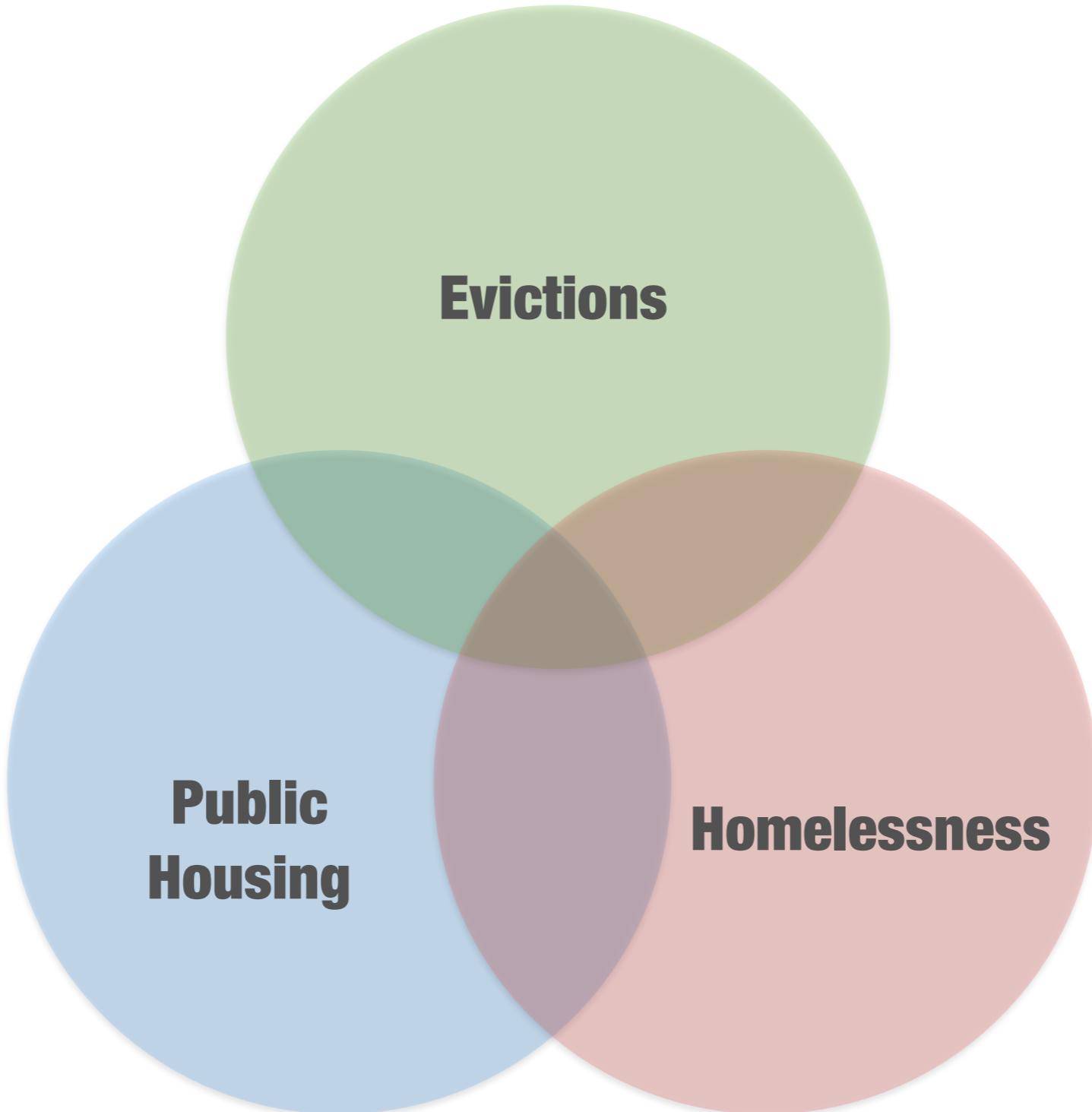
- Extremely strong effect!
- Nearby poverty (-), rent (-), and diversity (+)

Next Steps

Washington Evictions Project

<p>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26</p> <p>FILED 13 DEC 17 AM 10:28 KING COUNTY SUPERIOR COURT CLERK E-FILED CASE NUMBER: 13-2-41882-7 SEA IN THE SUPERIOR COURT OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON IN AND FOR THE COUNTY OF KING-SEA ENDOLYNE APARTMENTS, LLC Plaintiff, vs. [REDACTED] Defendant(s). # 60355.0002 THIS IS NOTICE OF A LAWSUIT TO EVICT YOU. PLEASE READ IT CAREFULLY. THE DEADLINE FOR YOUR WRITTEN RESPONSE IS: 5:00 P.M., on December 16, 2013 TO THE DEFENDANT(S): [REDACTED] ENDOLYNE APARTMENTS (LIMITED ACCESS) 9212 45TH AVENUE SW #7 SEATTLE, Washington 98136</p>	<p>FILED 13 DEC 17AM 10:28 KINGCOUNTY SUPERIOR COURT CLERK E-FILED CASE NUMBER: 13-2-41882-7. SEA IN THE SUPERIOR COURT OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON IN AND FOR THE COUNTY OF KING'SEA ENDOLYNE APARTMENTS, LLC Plaintiff, No. vs. EVICTION SUMMONS (Residential) [REDACTED] Defendant(s). # 60355.0002 THIS IS NOTICE OF A LAWSUIT TO EVICT YOU. PLEASE READ IT CAREFULLY. THE DEADLINE FOR YOUR WRITTEN RESPONSE IS: 5:00 P.M., on December 16, 2013 TO THE DEFENDANT(S): [REDACTED] ENDOLYNE APARTMENTS (LIMITED ACCESS) 9212 45TH AVENUE SW #7 SEATTLE, Washington 98136 THIS IS NOTICE OF A LAWSUIT TO EVICT YOU FROM THE PROPERTY WHICH YOU ARE RENTING. YOUR LANDLORD IS ASKING THE COURT TO TERMINATE YOUR TENANCY, DIRECT THE SHERIFF TO REMOVE YOU AND YOUR BELONGINGS FROM THE PROPERTY, ENTER A MONEY JUDGMENT AGAINST YOU FOR UNPAID RENT AND/OR DAMAGES FOR YOUR USE OF THE PROPERTY, AND FOR COURT COSTS AND ATTORNEYS' FEES. IF YOU WANT TO DEFEND YOURSELF IN THIS LAWSUIT, YOU MUST RESPOND TO THE EVICTION COMPLAINT IN WRITING ON OR BEFORE THE DEADLINE STATED ABOVE. YOU MUST RESPOND IN WRITING EVEN IF NO CASE NUMBER HAS BEEN ASSIGNED BY THE COURT YET. YOU CAN RESPOND TO THE COMPLAINT IN WRITING BY DELIVERING A COPY OF A NOTICE OF APPEARANCE OR ANSWER TO YOUR LANDLORD'S ATTORNEY (OR YOUR LANDLORD IF THERE IS NO ATTORNEY) BY PERSONAL DELIVERY, MAILING OR FACSIMILE TO THE ADDRESS OR FACSIMILE NUMBER STATED BELOW TO BE RECEIVED NO LATER THAN THE DEADLINE STATED ABOVE.</p>
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Administrative Data Merge



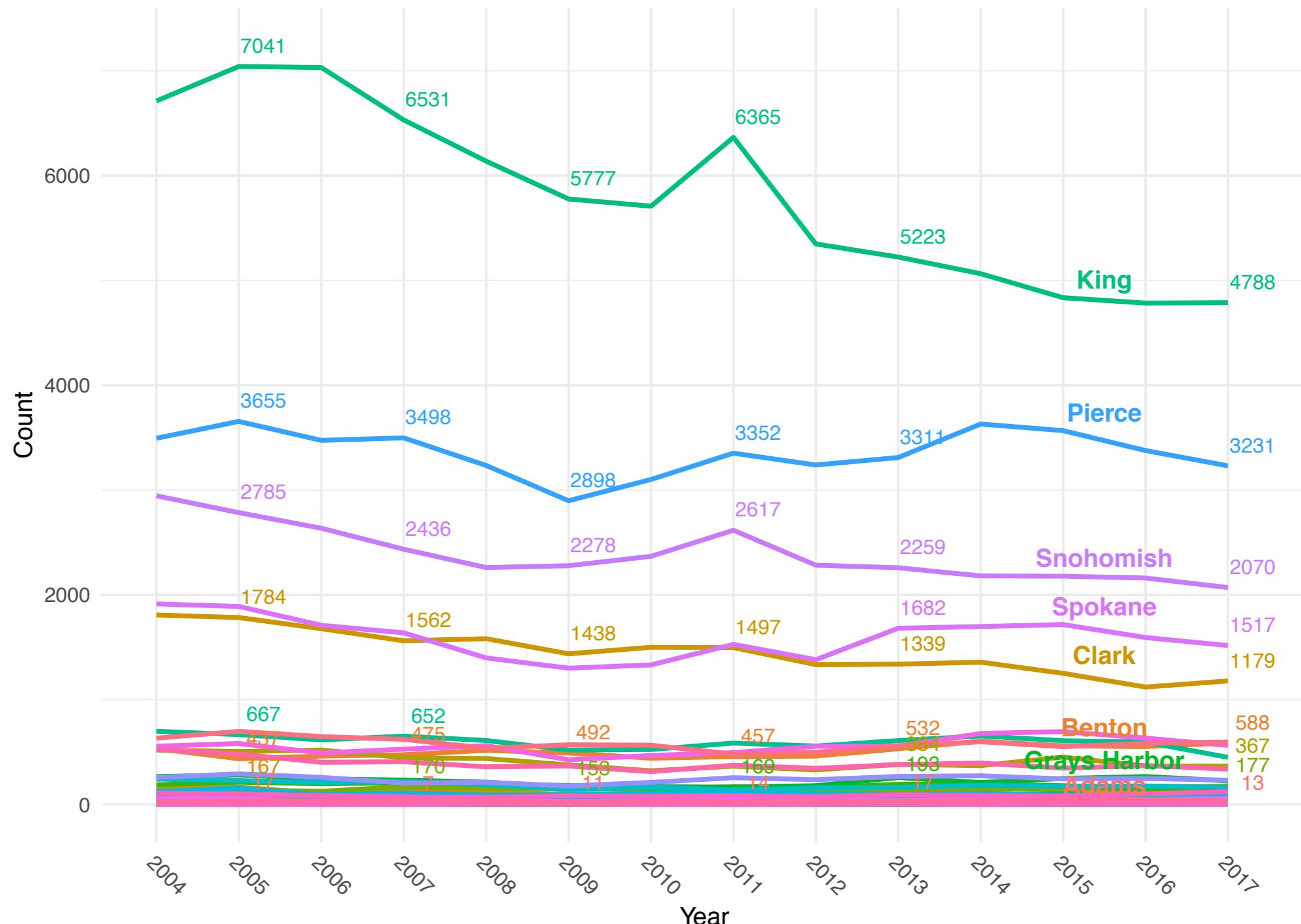
Measuring Evictions

Demographic Estimation and Spatial Dynamics of Evicted Households

Tim Thomas, Ph.D
Postdoctoral Fellow
University of Washington
eScience Institute & Sociology
t77@uw.edu

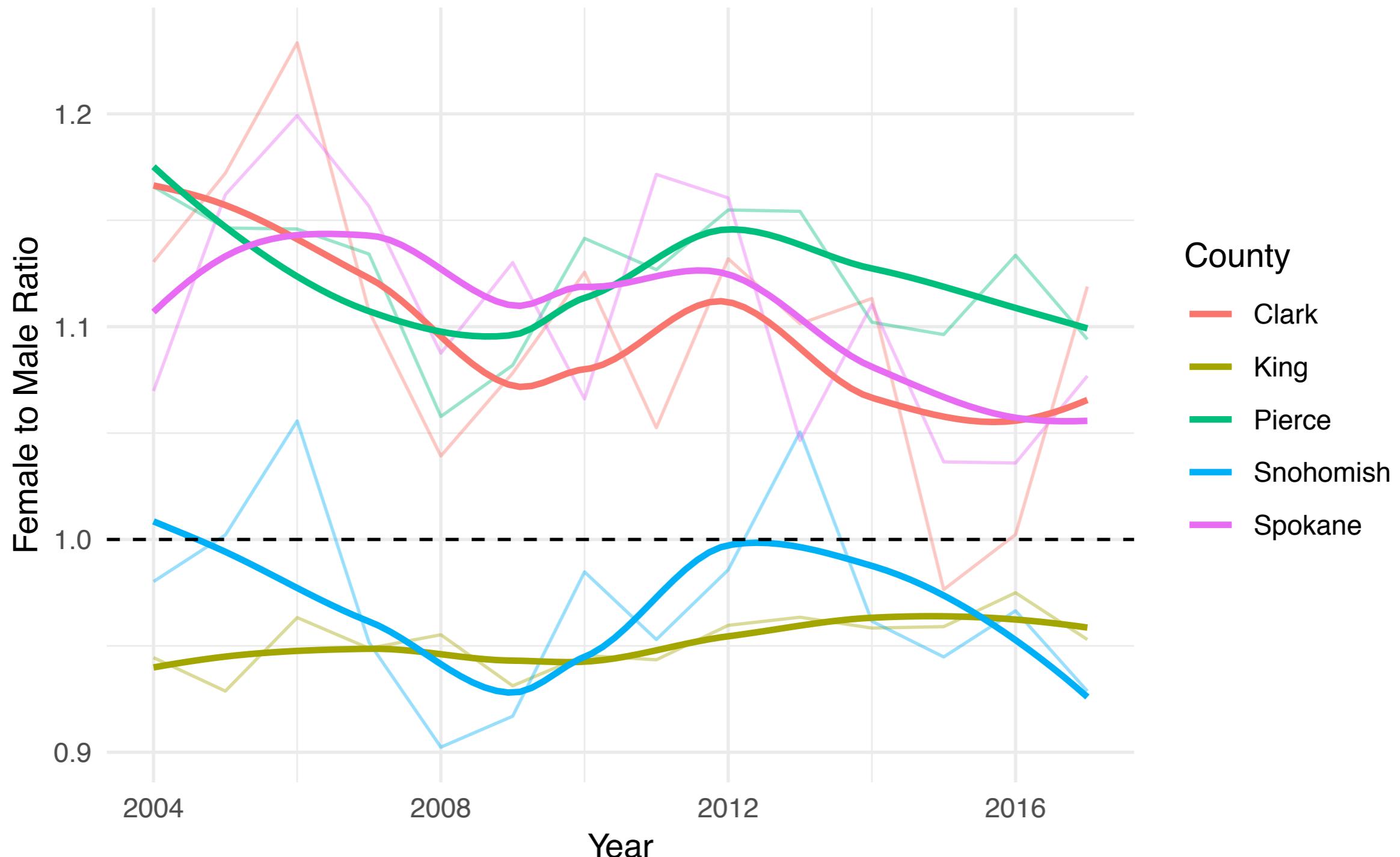
Washington State Evictions

Unlawful Detainer Cases by Washington County



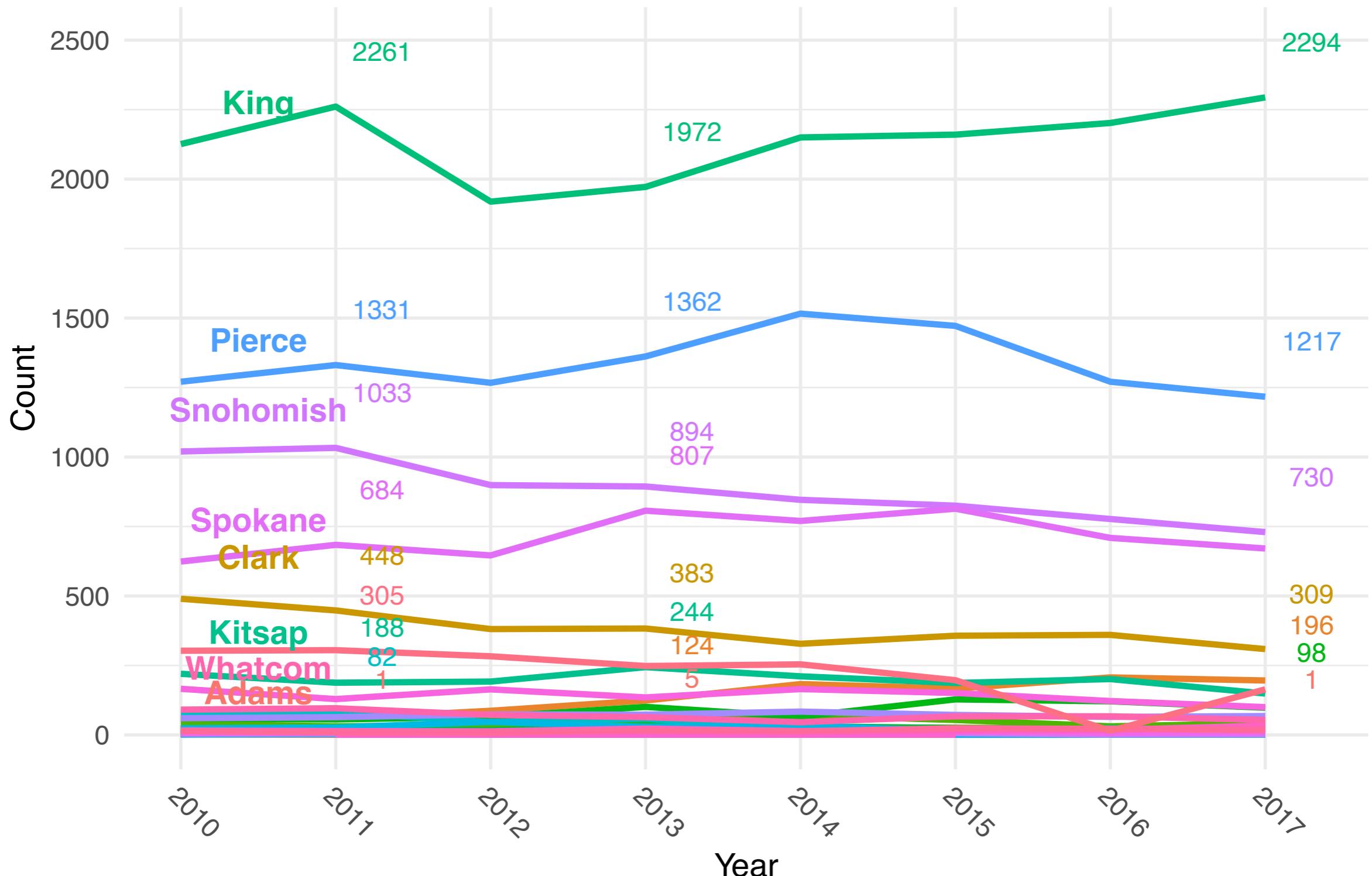
Female to Male Ratio of UDs

Female to Male Eviction Ratios for Clark, King, Pierce, Snohomish, & Spokane Counties



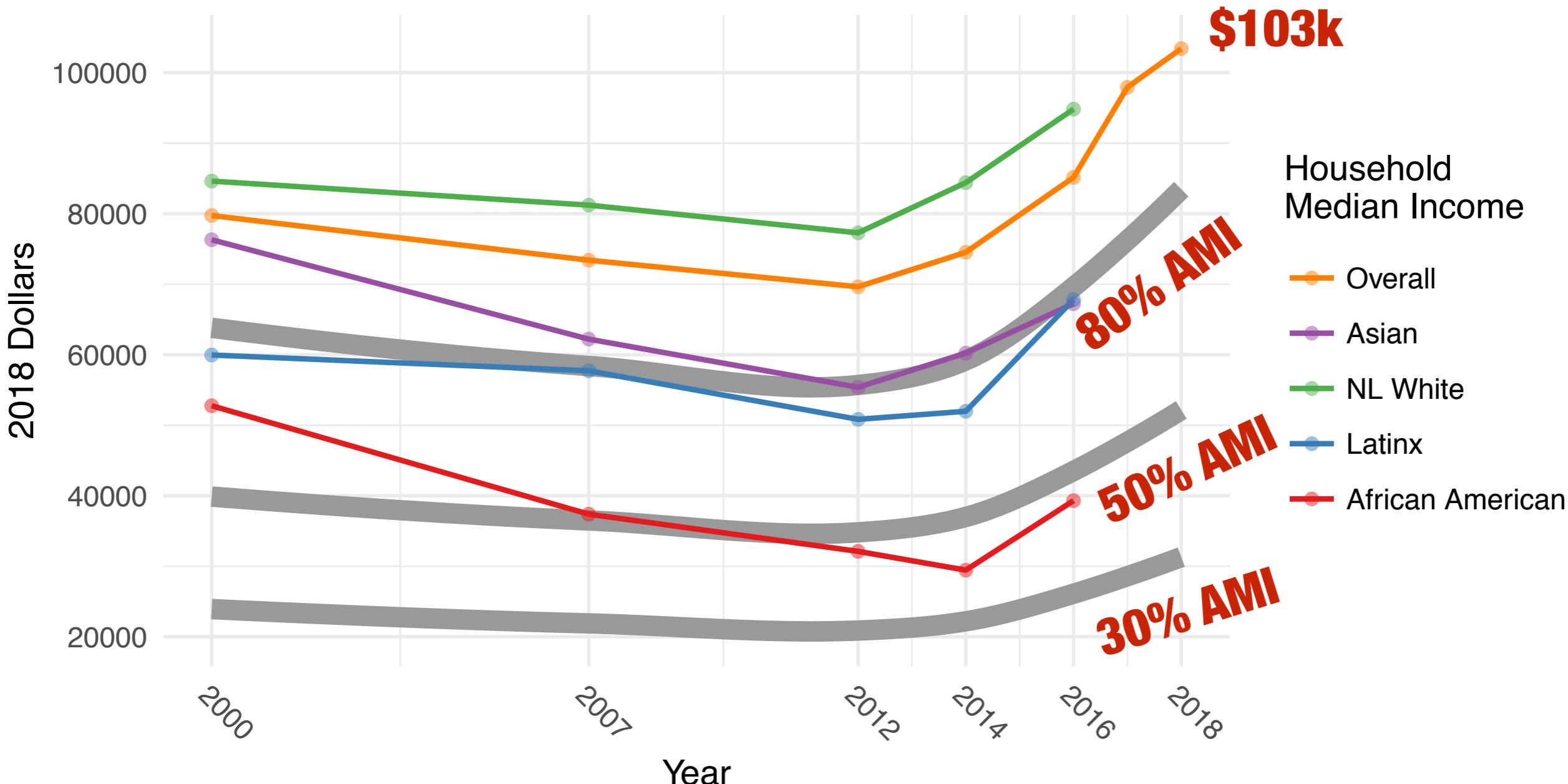
Default Judgements

Default Judgment Counts by Washington County



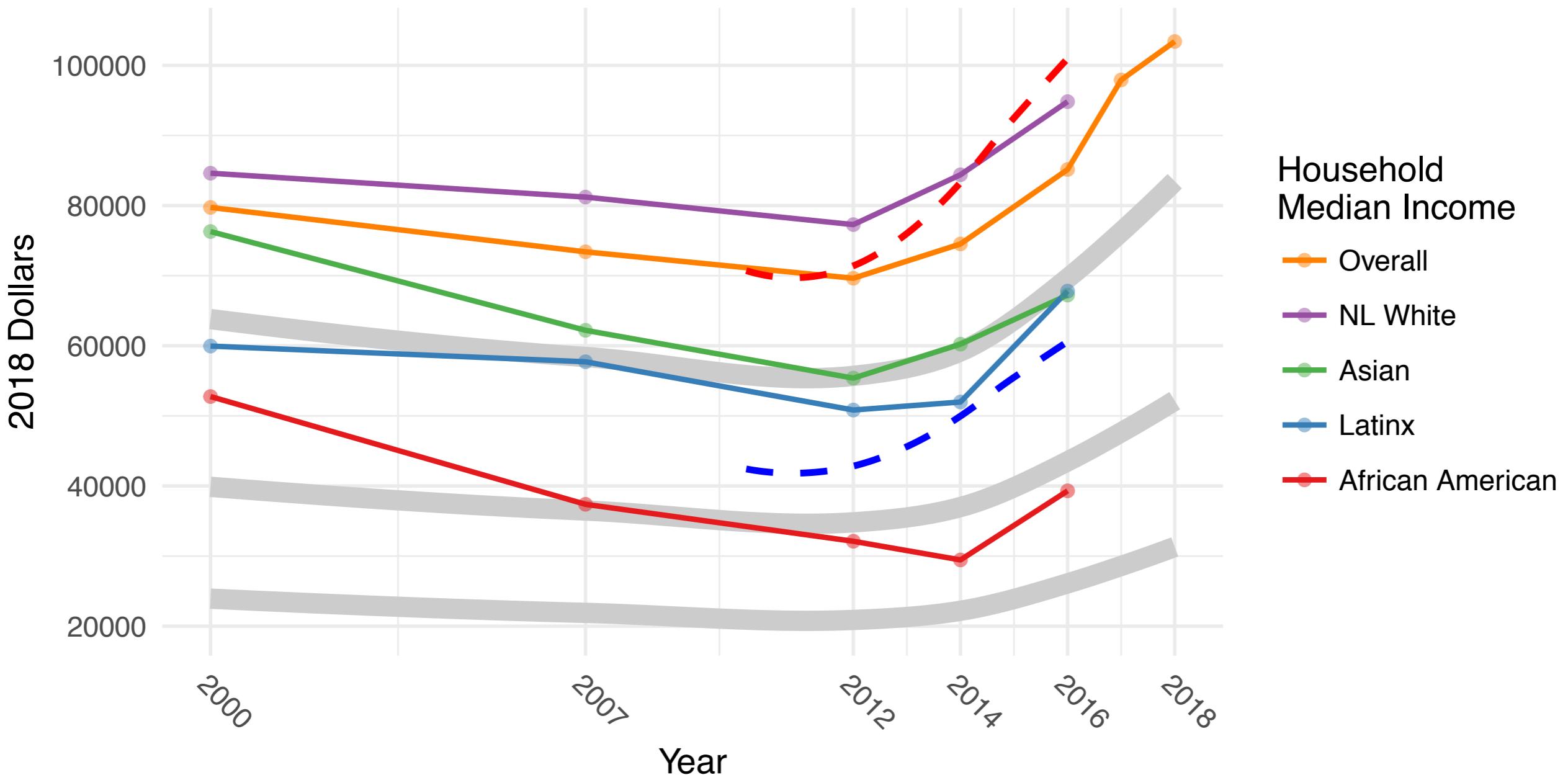
Economic Differences

Seattle Median Household Income by Race



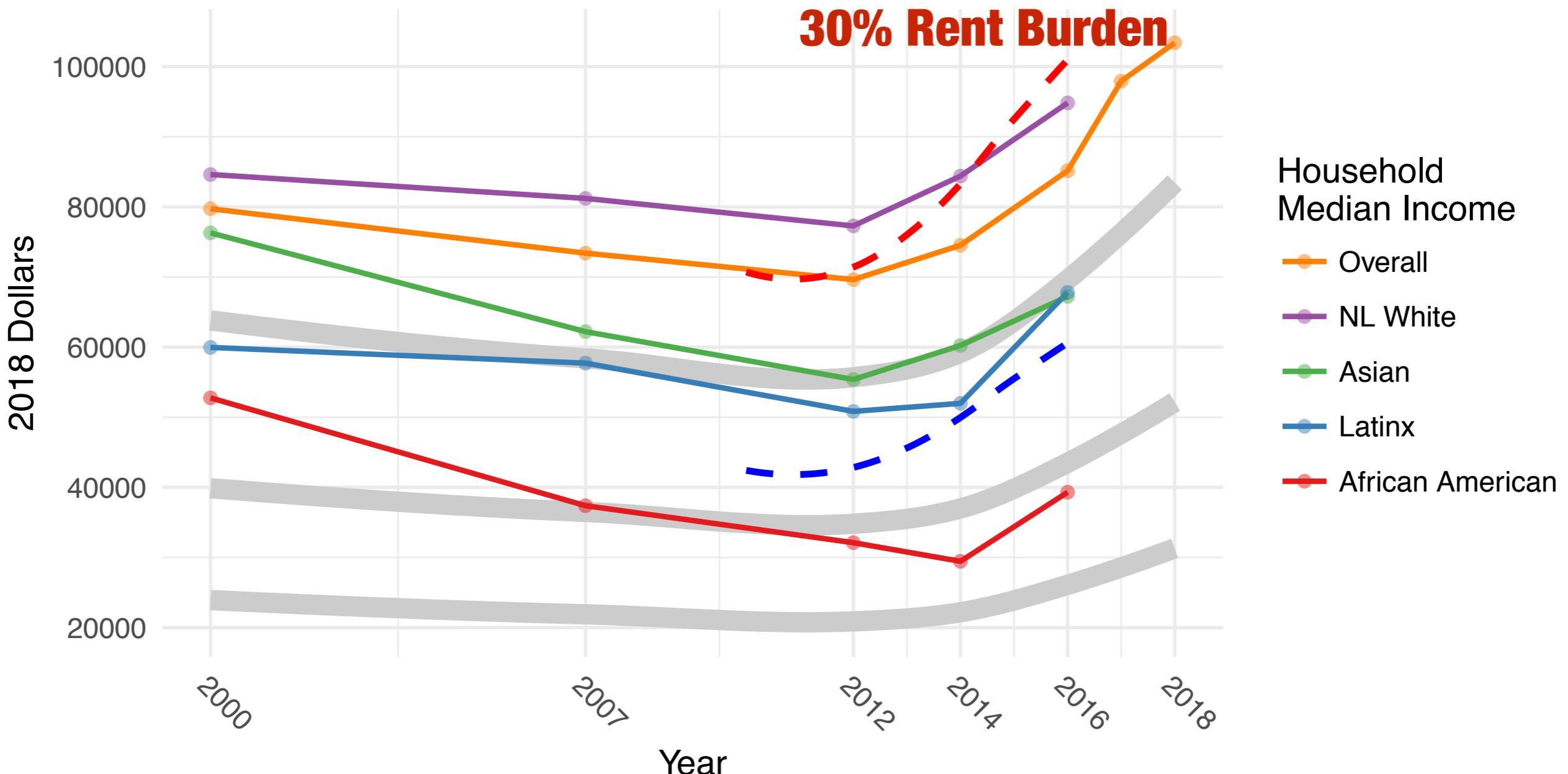
Economic Differences

Seattle Median Household Income by Race



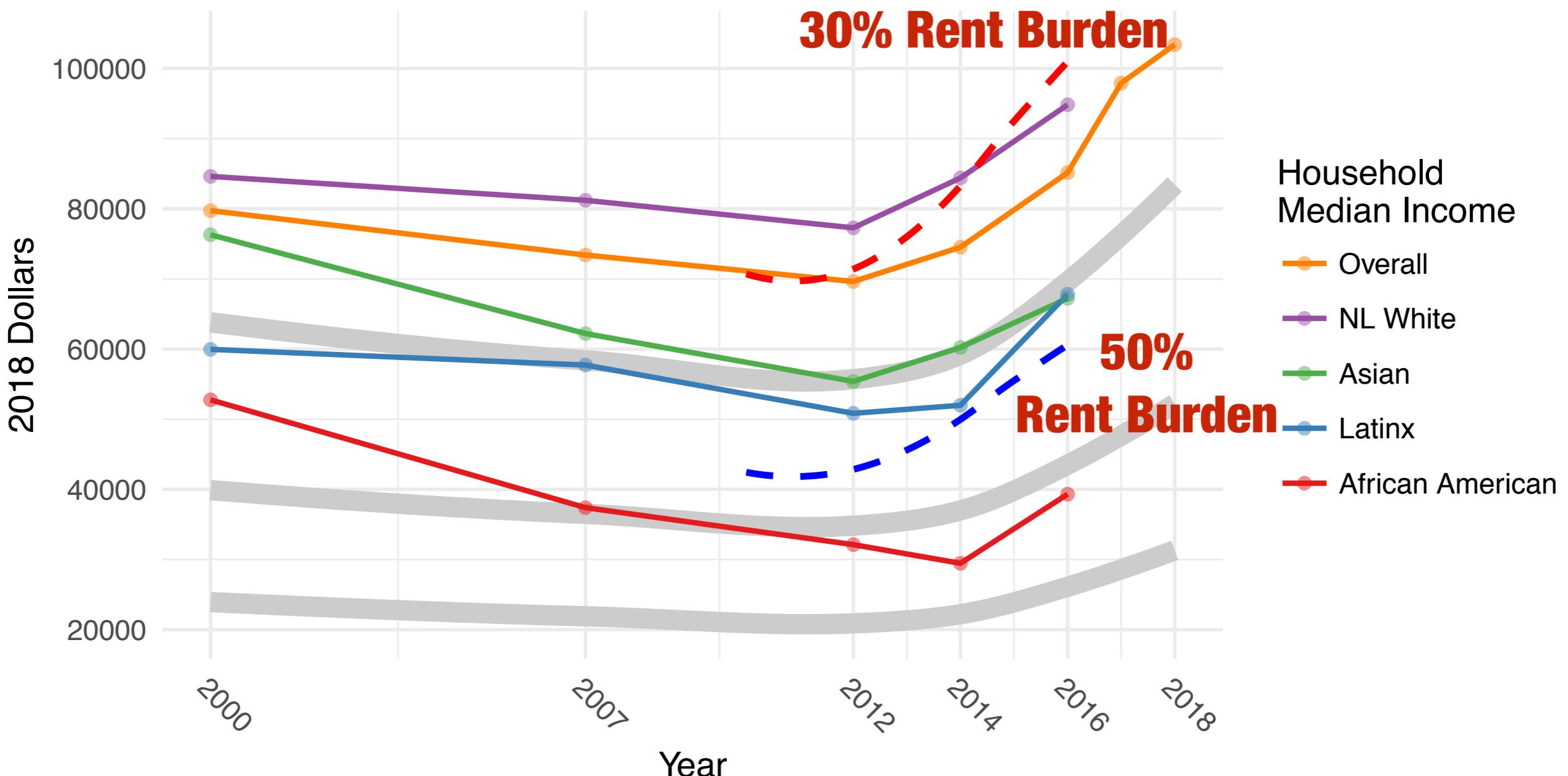
Economic Differences

Seattle Median Household Income by Race



Economic Differences

Seattle Median Household Income by Race

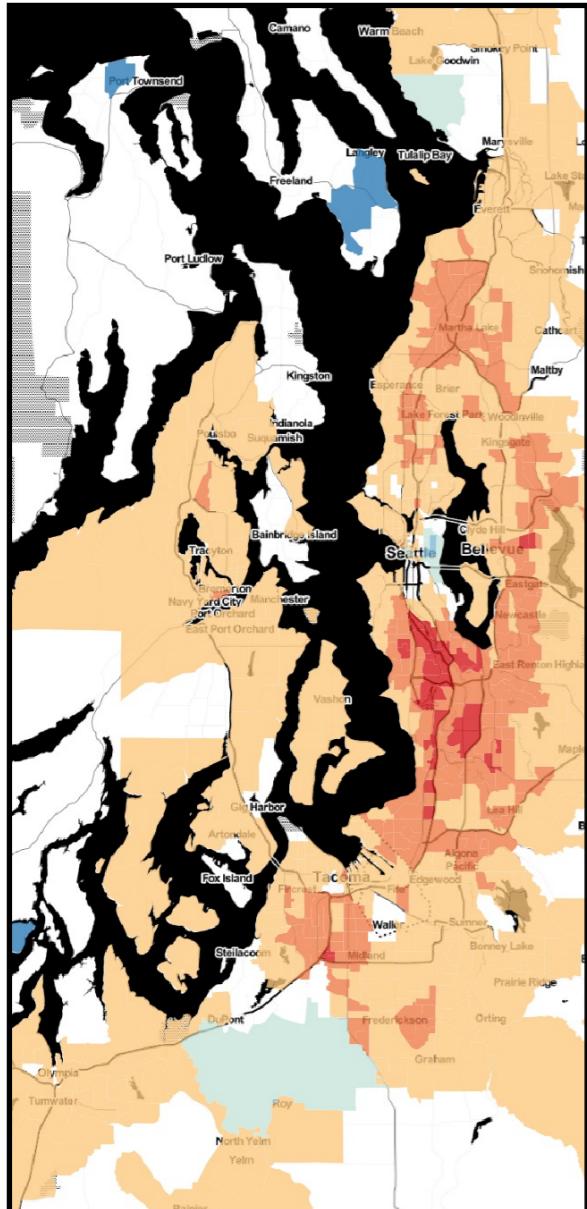


Puget Sound Change in Racial Composition 1980 - 2010

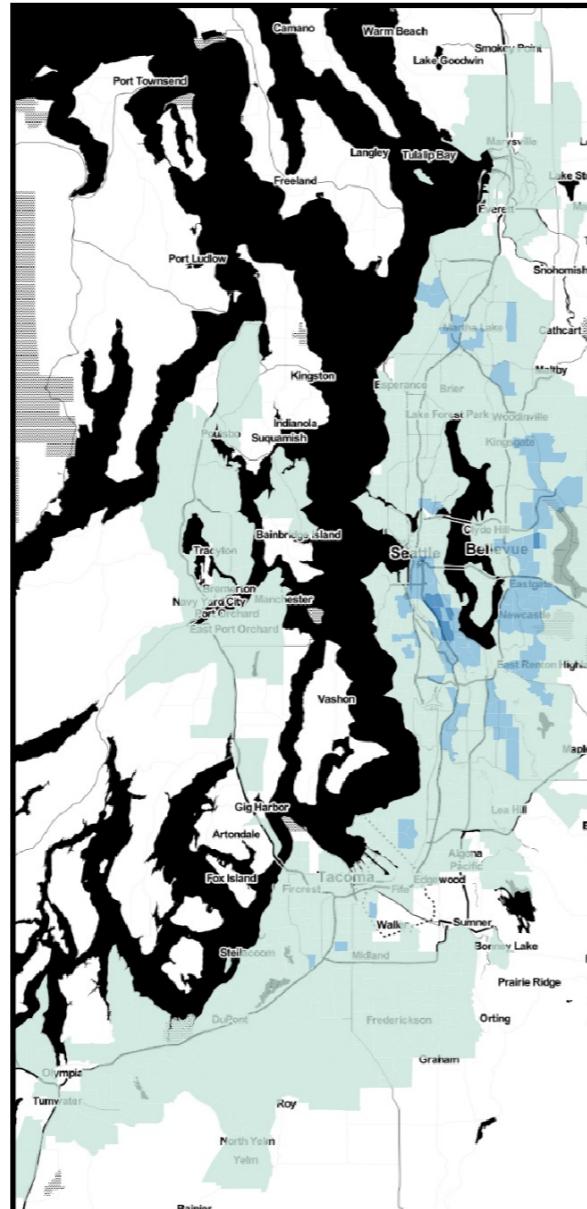
Percent Point Change

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

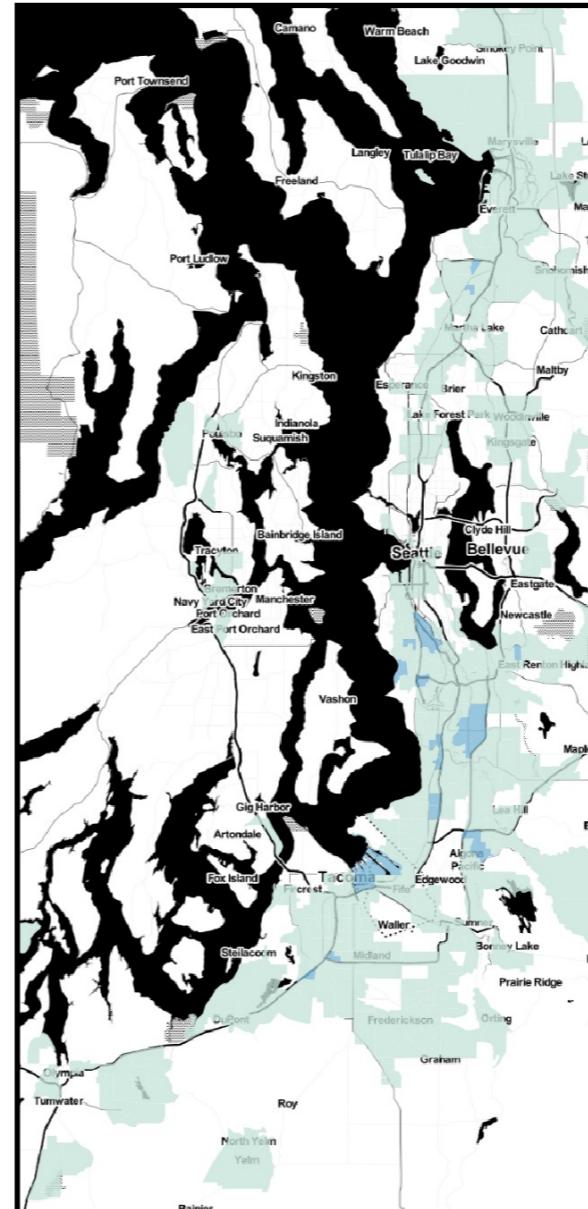
White



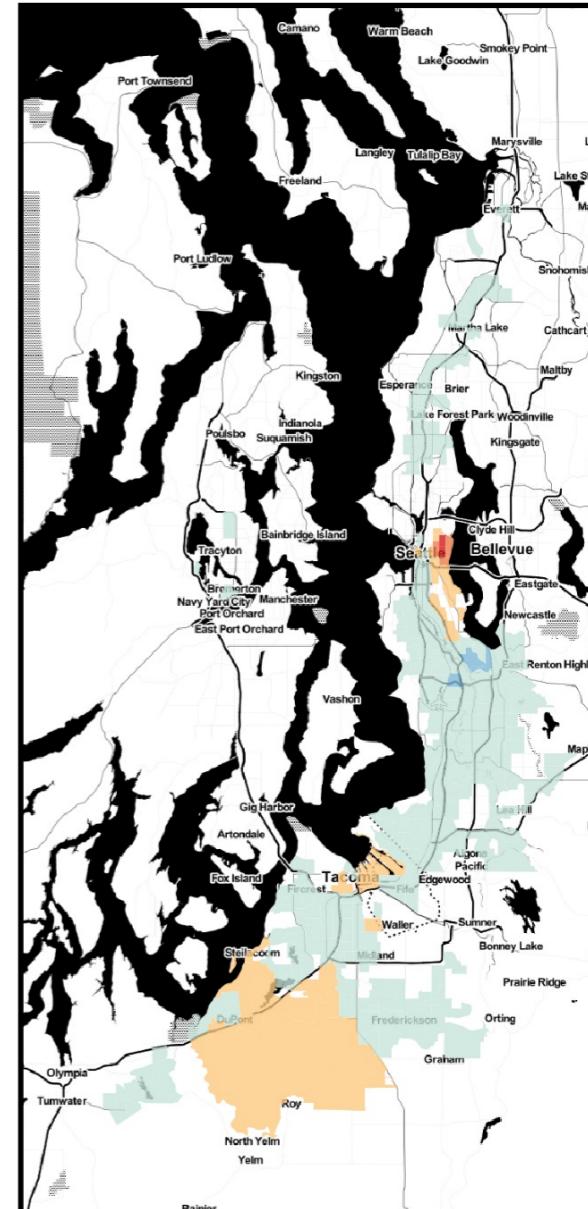
Asian



Latinx



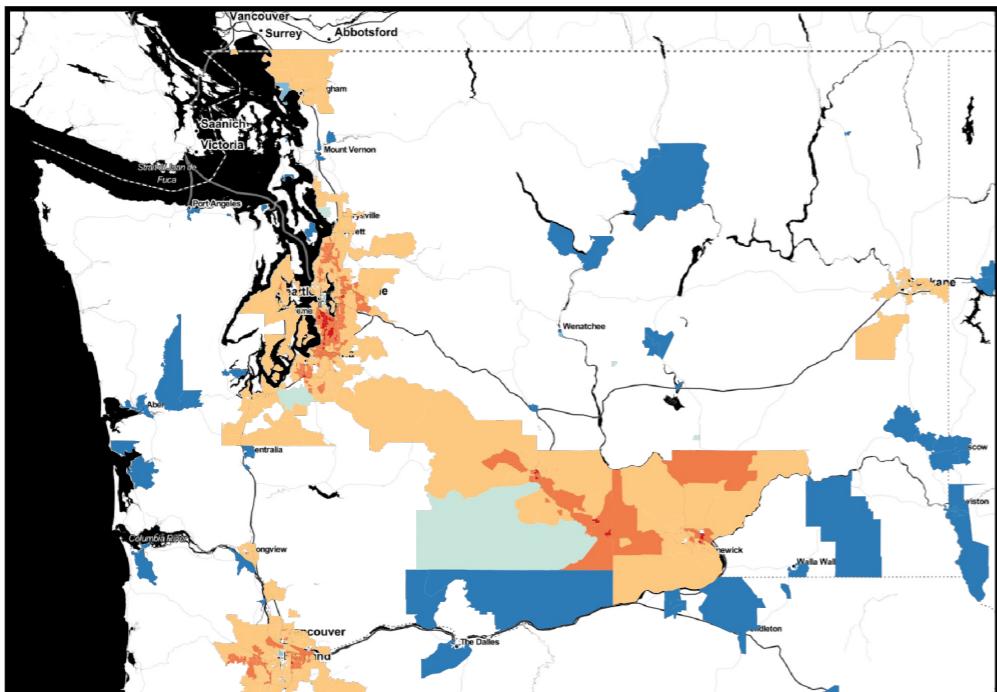
Black



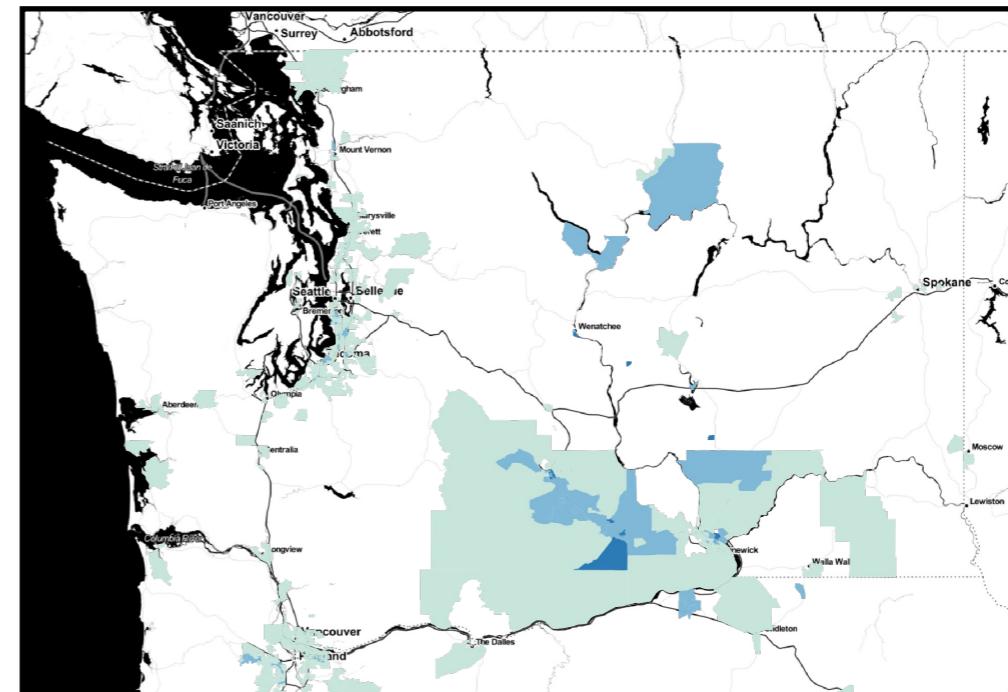
Washington State Change in Racial Composition 1980 - 2010

Percent Point Change
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

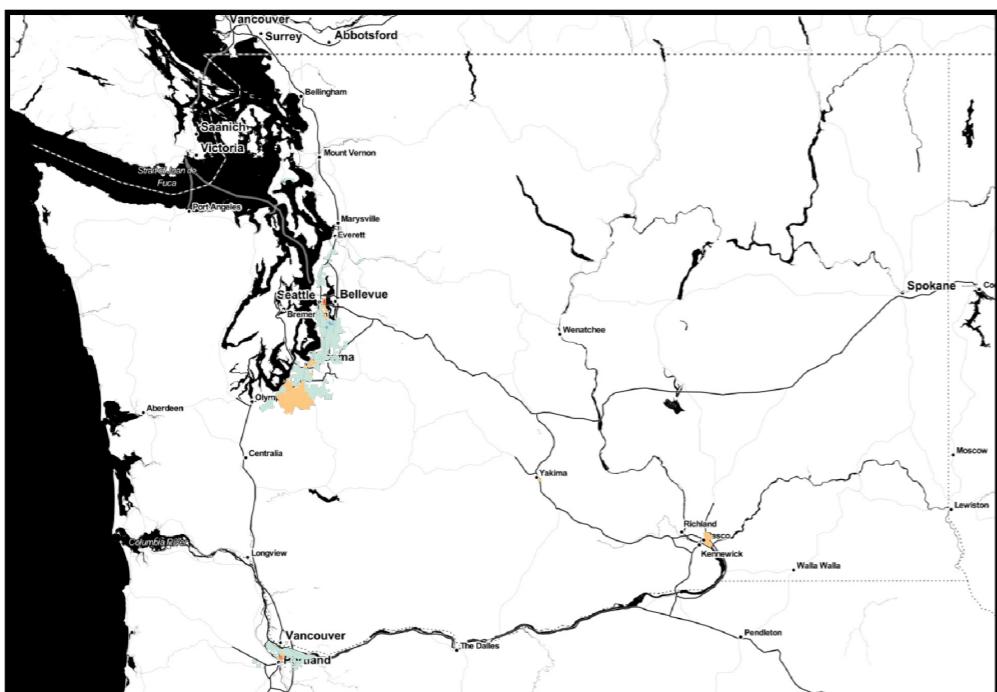
White



Latinx



Black



Asian

