Seattle 2035

Growth and Equity

Analyzing Impacts on Displacement and Opportunity Related to Seattle's Growth Strategy

May 2016

Seattle
Office of Planning &
Community Development

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above Seattle Department of Neighborhoods

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Introduction

The City of Seattle is in the process of updating its Comprehensive Plan, the document that guides how the City will manage the 70,000 housing units and 115,000 new jobs expected to be added in Seattle over the next 20 years, as well as establish what kind of city we want to be. The City has prepared an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) to evaluate four alternative ways for distributing that amount of growth throughout the city. The EIS informs decisions about selecting a preferred growth pattern and identify methods for addressing undesired impacts. This document is a companion to that EIS, providing analysis of some of the ways that the growth strategies could affect the city's marginalized populations.

Social equity has been one of the core values guiding the Comprehensive Plan since its adoption in 1994. The City's Race and Social Justice Initiative (RSJI) began in 2005. Its mission is to overcome institutional racism by changing City policies and practices. Its vision is a future where:

Social equity has been one of the **core values** *guiding the Comprehensive Plan since its adoption in 1994.*

- Race does not predict how much a person earns or their chance of being homeless or going to prison;
- Every schoolchild, regardless of language and cultural differences, receives a quality education and feels safe and included; and
- African Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans can expect to live as long as white people.

In 2009, the City Council adopted Resolution 31164 directing City departments to focus on achieving racial equity in the community in specific focus areas, including equitable development. In 2014, Mayor Murray issued Executive Order 2014-02 reaffirming the City's commitment to equitable development.

In 2015, the City Council unanimously adopted the Mayor's Resolution 31577 confirming that "the City of Seattle's core value of race and social equity is one of the foundations on which the Comprehensive Plan is built." This resolution advances the goal of reducing racial and social disparities through the City's capital and program investments. The Office of Planning and Community Development (OPCD) and the RSJI Core Team are partnering to implement the resolution's directives by including new policies directly related to achieving equity through growth, developing equity measures of growth, and conducting this equity analysis of the growth alternatives.

The objective of the Growth & Equity Analysis is to inform elected officials and the public about:

- Potential future displacement impacts of the recommended Growth Strategy on marginalized populations; and
- Strategies for mitigating identified impacts and increasing access to opportunity for marginalized populations.

Key Terms

Marginalized populations: Persons and communities of color, immigrants and refugees, English language learners, and those experiencing poverty. These communities are systematically blocked from or denied full access to various rights, opportunities, and resources that are normally available to members of other groups and are fundamental to social integration within that particular group (e.g., housing, employment, healthcare, civic engagement, democratic participation, and due process).

Access to opportunity: Living within walking distance or with transit access to services, employment opportunities, amenities, and other key determinants of social, economic, and physical well-being.

Displacement: The involuntary relocation of current residents or businesses from their current residence. This is a different phenomenon than when property owners voluntarily sell their interests to capture an increase in value. This analysis addresses both physical (direct) and economic (indirect) displacement. Physical displacement is the result of eviction, acquisition, rehabilitation, or demolition of property or the expiration of covenants on rent- or income-restricted housing. Economic displacement occurs when residents and businesses can no longer afford escalating rents or property taxes. Cultural displacement occurs when people choose to move because their neighbors and culturally related businesses have left the area.

Equitable Development: Public and private investments, programs, and policies in neighborhoods taking into account past history and current conditions to meet the needs of marginalized populations and to reduce disparities so that quality of life outcomes such as access to quality education, living wage employment, healthy environment, affordable housing and transportation, are equitably distributed for the people currently living and working here, as well as for new people moving in.

This analysis distinguishes displacement from a related phenomenon, gentrification. Gentrification is a broad pattern of neighborhood change typically characterized by above-average increases in household income, educational attainment, and home values and/or rents. These changes can contribute to displacement, but they can also benefit existing residents. Displacement of existing residents can also occur without gentrification. Displacement and gentrification are the result of a complex set of social, economic, and market forces at both the local and regional scale.

This analysis recognizes that people live multiple and layered identities. All historically marginalized groups — people of color, LGBTQ people, women, people with disabilities, low-income households, to name a few — experience systemic inequity. Many people and communities, such as lesbians of color, live at the intersection of these identities and experience multiple inequities at once. It is important to respond to the intersecting ways that barriers limit opportunities for people to reach their full potential. By focusing on race and racism, the City of Seattle recognizes that we have the ability to impact all communities. This focus is not based on the intent to create a ranking of oppressions (i.e. a belief that racism is "worse" than other forms of oppression). For an equitable society to come into being, government needs to challenge the way racism is used as a divisive issue that keeps communities from coming together to work for change. The institutional and structural approaches to addressing racial inequities can and will be applied for the benefit of other marginalized groups.

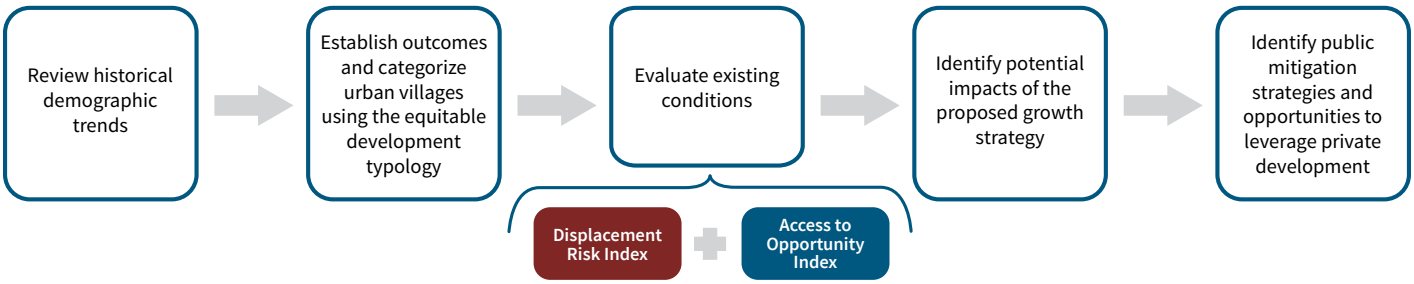
Overarching Analytical Framework

The Growth & Equity Analysis looks at both people and places. It combines a traditional EIS approach of analyzing potential impacts and identifying mitigation with the RSJI Racial Equity Toolkit (RET), which assesses the benefits and burdens of policies, programs, and investments for communities of color. Per the RSJI RET, the analysis includes a thorough description of desired equitable outcomes. In addition to identifying impacts and mitigation associated with the recommended Growth Strategy in the Comprehensive Plan, the Growth & Equity Analysis evaluates the opportunities for equitable development that the Growth Strategy presents or misses.

The analysis seeks to answer the following questions:

- Is the intensity of expected growth in particular urban centers and villages likely to have an impact on displacement of marginalized populations?
- Is the intensity of expected growth in particular urban centers and villages likely to have an impact on marginalized populations' access to key determinants of physical, social, and economic well-being?
- What strategies and levels of investment are necessary to mitigate the impacts of expected growth and to maximize opportunities for equitable outcomes?

Figure 1 Visual representation of the overarching analytical framework



Historical Context

Critical to crafting policy and investment strategies to achieve equity is an understanding of existing disparities and their historical origins.

Throughout Seattle's history, certain populations and neighborhoods prospered at the expense of others. Redlining and racially restrictive covenants limited where racially and culturally distinct communities could live and where banks provided home mortgages. Public subsidies and discriminatory real estate lending and marketing practices gave white households substantial wealth in the form of home equity. Racialized housing patterns and investment practices contributed to the wealth and poverty of households and neighborhoods for multiple generations.

These place-based policies and investments also solidified social structures and cultural identities. Community-based organizations arose to meet the needs of specific cultural groups and neighborhoods. This continues today as immigrants and refugees settle in the city and look to maintain their cultures alongside mainstream American culture.

Both the private and public sectors helped solidify the systemic structure of wealth and poverty in Seattle, and both have roles in influencing growth to achieve equitable outcomes.

Both the private and public sectors helped solidify the systemic structure of wealth and poverty in Seattle, and both have roles in influencing growth to achieve equitable outcomes. The private sector builds most of the housing and builds and operates most of the businesses in Seattle, primarily in response to market demand. The public sector's investments and regulations guide, serve, and control development to achieve a variety of goals including an equitable distribution of the benefits and burdens of growth. Supportive public policy and public investments can create community stability and economic mobility opportunities. Public investments can meet the needs of marginalized populations when the market will not and can help them benefit from future growth.

Demographic Trends

Before evaluating existing conditions and future impacts, it is helpful to take note of some relevant historical trends and at least one example of displacement in Seattle.

DISPLACEMENT OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN SEATTLE'S CENTRAL DISTRICT

Though displacement is difficult to track, demographic changes at the neighborhood level suggest when and where it has occurred. A study of the Central District found that in 1990 "there were nearly three times as many black as white residents in the area, but by 2000, the number of white residents surpassed the number of blacks for the first time in 30 years."[1] Given the net decline of 4,407 black residents in Seattle (2,405 from the Central District alone) and the doubling and quadrupling of the black population in Renton and Kent respectively between 1990-2000, the study concluded that "African Americans are moving southeast into Seattle's Rainier Valley or beyond into Renton and other inner suburbs." White residents in the Central District doubled during this period from 2,508 to 5,191.

1 Henry W. McGee, Jr. Seattle's Central District, 1990-2006: Integration or Displacement. Urban Lawyer, Vol. 39, p. 2, Spring 2007.

Increases in educational attainment and income accompanied this racial demographic inversion. Increases in renter housing cost burden and a dramatic increase in home values were also documented by this report. For example a 1,270 square-foot single family, three bedroom one bathroom home, was assessed by the county at a value of $5,000 in 1960, $190,000 in 2001, $262,000 in 2003, and $355,000 in 2005.

The report does not determine whether this relocation of African Americans was voluntary or involuntary. However, a closer look at racial trends shows that groups least likely to have the financial stability to absorb steep increases in the cost of housing experienced the sharpest declines; specifically black renters, low-income black households, and young black residents. Black renter-occupied households declined by 26% (460 households) while black owner-occupied households declined by 19% (311 households). There were 965 fewer black households reporting less than $25,000 in annual income in 2000 than in 1990. This is in contrast to an almost identical increase of 968 white households reporting more than $75,000 in annual income in 2000 than in 1990. While the white population under 39 years old increased by 2,150, the black population under 39 years of age decreased by 2,070.

Seattle's population is more diverse than in 1990. Decennial Census figures indicate that persons of color increased from about 26 percent of Seattle's population in 1990 to 34 percent in 2010. In King County as a whole, the population of color grew much more dramatically over the same period, from 15 percent to 31 percent.

Seattle has become a more international city. The percentage of Seattle residents born outside the United States increased from roughly 13 percent in 1990 to 18 percent in 2010.

People of color are more likely to live inside an urban center or village. Census data show that since 1990 the population of color has been about 10 percent higher inside urban centers and villages than outside. In 2010, persons of color were 41 percent of the population in urban centers and villages compared to 30 percent of the population outside.

People of color make up a growing share of the population in urban centers and villages as well as in the city as a whole. These increases have been primarily due to growing shares of Asian and Hispanic or Latino populations. While the Black or African American population in urban centers or villages was relatively constant between 1990 (20,048) and 2010 (21,802), it decreased from 14 percent to 11 percent of the total population within urban centers and villages. In Seattle as a whole, the Black/African American population declined in both relative and absolute terms from 51,948 or 10 percent of the population in 1990 to 48,316 or 8 percent in 2010. In King County as a whole, the Black/African American population grew from 5.1 percent to 6.2 percent from 1990 to 2010.

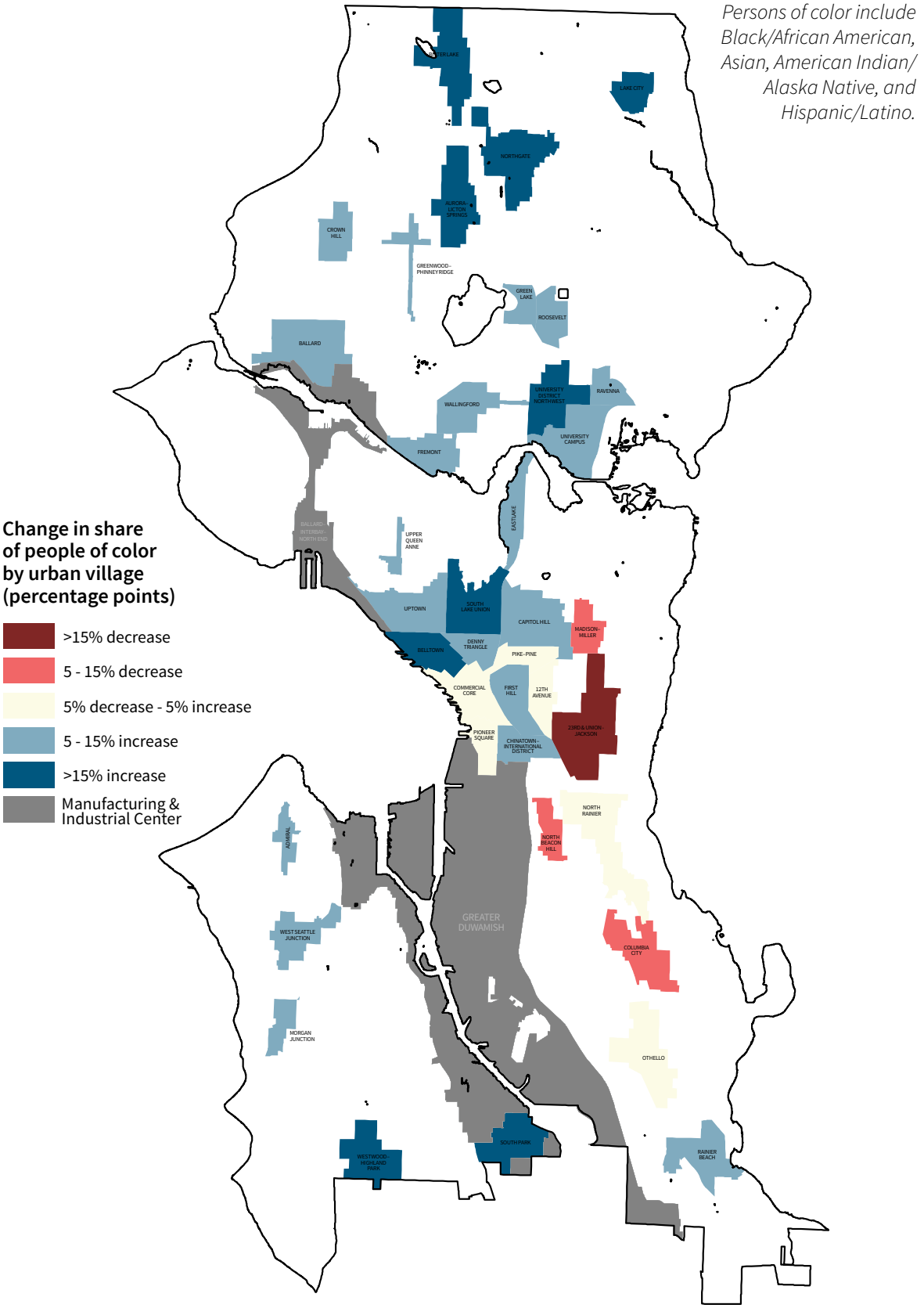
Table 1 Urban centers and villages in Seattle with a decrease in population by race, 1990 to 2010

	White	Black or African American	Asian	American Indian or Alaska Native	Hispanic or Latino
Number of urban centers or villages with an absolute decrease in population (out of 30 total)	3	8	1	26	0

Three urban villages where the Black or African American population decreased substantially both in absolute and relative terms are 23rd & Union-Jackson, Columbia City, and Madison-Miller. In 1990, Black or African American people were between 43 percent and 66 percent of the population in these urban villages; by 2010, their share had fallen to between 16 percent and 31 percent. At the same time, several urban centers and villages experienced significant increases in the share of people of color between 1990 and 2010. These include Northgate (25 percent to 48 percent), Lake City (25 percent to 51 percent), Aurora-Licton Springs (22 percent to 39 percent), South Park (37 percent to 68 percent), and Westwood-Highland Park (40 percent to 61 percent). South Lake Union, where the total population more than tripled over this 20-year period, also saw a large increase in the share of people of color (14 percent to 33 percent).

Attachment A provides population counts by race for each urban center and village in 1990 and 2010. Figure 2 on the following page illustrates the change in the percentage of the population of color between 1990 and 2010 in each urban center and village.

Figure 2 Urban centers and villages in Seattle with a decrease in population by race, 1990 to 2010



An Equitable Development Framework for Growth

This section defines equitable outcomes and introduces a framework for mitigating and leveraging growth to achieve these outcomes.

Defining an Equitable City

Establishing an equitable outcome and strategies to reduce disparities are a critical component of the Racial Equity Toolkit. The following is the vision for an equitable Seattle

> *Equitable growth will be achieved when Seattle is a city with people of diverse cultures, races and incomes and all people are thriving and able to achieve their full potential regardless of race or means. Seattle's neighborhoods will be diverse and will include the community anchors, supports, goods, services, and amenities people need to lead healthy lives and flourish.*[2]

All marginalized people can attain those resources, opportunities, and outcomes that improve their quality of life and enable them to reach their full potential. The city has a collective responsibility to address the history of inequities in existing systems and their ongoing impacts in Seattle communities, leveraging collective resources to create communities of opportunity for everyone, regardless of race or means.

Population and employment growth is a dynamic force that introduces change into the urban environment and can help transform Seattle into a more equitable city. Influencing the locations and types of development can contribute to achieving equitable outcomes.

In an equitable approach to growth, the City views all policy, programs, and investments through a race and social equity lens. This approach would manage growth to minimize displacement of marginalized populations and increase their access to opportunity.

An Equitable Development Framework

A **framework to achieve racial and social equity** *identifies two goals: strong communities and strong people*

A framework to achieve racial and social equity identifies two goals: (1) strong communities and people and (2) great places with equitable access. This means community stability and resilience in the face of displacement pressures and great neighborhoods throughout the city that provide equitable access to all.

In Seattle's current context of rapid growth and escalating cost of living, market forces alone will not be able to produce equitable growth. Displacement risk exists for marginalized populations and will worsen without government action to create the conditions for community stability and economic mobility. A scan of key determinants of social, physical, and economic well-being indicates they are not equitably distributed and that many already do not have the means to access what is necessary to flourish. This limited access to resources for some will persist without government intervention to fill gaps and leverage market strength to create equitable access to all neighborhoods.

2 Excerpt from Resolution 31577.

Achieving equitable growth will require:

- Implementation of programs and investments that are designed to create community stability and economic mobility for current residents in areas where new development could lead to displacement and where marginalized populations currently lack access to opportunity.
- Leveraging private-sector development to increase the supply and variety of housing options to create equitable access to neighborhoods that already have key determinants of well-being.
- A public investment strategy that reflects need rather than a distribution based solely on numbers of people or households.

Mitigation measures described in this analysis were derived from the Puget Sound Regional Equity Network's Principles of Equitable Development. Seattle and other public institutions have some of the tools to operationalize this equitable development framework. However, new tools are necessary to fill gaps. Detailed sub-measures are provided in the Equitable Development Implementation Plan.

The measures are designed to mitigate harm and improve outcomes for marginalized populations. They operationalize many of the City's "goals and policies for capital investments and the provision of public services…to eliminate racial and social disparities."[3] This requires coordinating and targeting City policies and investments first in neighborhoods with the highest displacement risk and/or the lowest access to opportunity.

A mitigation strategy to distribute resources equitably, rather than equally, is necessary to produce equitable outcomes. Though targeted to specific neighborhoods with the greatest need, these measures will benefit all neighborhoods throughout the city. Similarly, some measures should target specific marginalized populations with the greatest disparities, such as unemployment among Black youth. These measures can and will be deployed to also improve outcomes for the benefit of other marginalized populations.

Goal 1: Strong communities and people. Community stability and economic mobility in the face of displacement pressures.

> ***Strategy 1: Advance economic mobility and opportunity.*** Promote economic opportunities for marginalized populations and enhance community cultural anchors. Provide access to quality education, training, and living-wage career path jobs for marginalized populations.
>
> ***Strategy 2: Prevent residential, commercial, and cultural displacement.*** Enact policies and programs that allow marginalized populations, businesses, and community organizations to stay in their neighborhoods.
>
> ***Strategy 3: Build on local cultural assets.*** Respect local community character, cultural diversity, and values. Preserve and strengthen cultural communities and build the capacity of their leaders, organizations, and coalitions to have greater self-determination.

3 Excerpt from Resolution 31577.

Strategy 4: Promote transportation mobility and connectivity. Prioritize investment in effective and affordable transportation that supports transit-dependent communities and provides equitable access to key determinants of well-being.

Goal 2: Great places with equitable access. A city with an equitable distribution of great neighborhoods full of strong amenities that provide equitable access throughout.

Strategy 5: Develop healthy and safe neighborhoods. Create neighborhoods that enhance community health through access to public amenities (schools, parks, open spaces, complete streets, health care and other services), healthy affordable and culturally relevant food, and safe and inviting environments for everyone.

Strategy 6: Equitable access to all neighborhoods. Leverage private redevelopment to expand the supply and variety of housing and employment choices, fill gaps in amenities, and create equitable access to neighborhoods with high access to opportunity.

Existing Conditions

Data and Analytical Framework for Equity Analysis

The Growth & Equity Analysis combines data about demographics, economic conditions, and the built environment. As shown in Figure 3, the analysis integrates these indicators into composite indices of displacement risk and access to opportunity. The displacement risk index identifies areas of Seattle where displacement of marginalized populations is more likely to occur. The access to opportunity index identifies disparities in marginalized populations' access to some key determinants of well-being.

Figure 3 Indicators combined to create a composite index of displacement

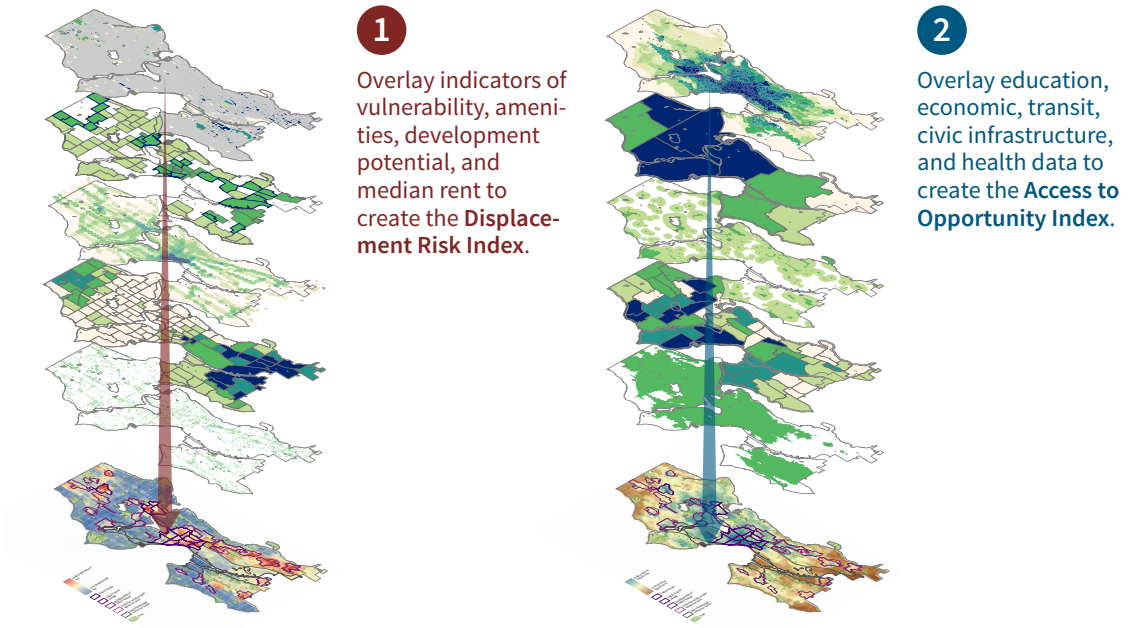


Table 3 and Table 4 describe the data used in this analytical model. The maps that follow illustrate the variation in displacement risk and access to opportunity across the city.

Table 3 Displacement Risk Index indicators

Indicator		Description	Source
1	**People of color**	Percentage of the population that is a race other than non-Hispanic White	2010 Census
2	**Linguistic isolation**	Percentage of households in which no one 14 and over speaks English only or no one 14 and over speaks both a language other than English and English "very well"	2008–2012 American Community Survey
3	**Educational attainment**	Percentage of the population 25 years or older who lack a Bachelor's degree	2008–2012 American Community Survey
4	**Housing tenancy**	Percentage of households that are renters	2010 Census
5	**Housing cost-burdened households**	Percentage of households with income below 80% of area median income (AMI) that are cost burdened (paying > 30% of income on housing)	Consolidated Housing Affordability Strategy (CHAS) (based on 2007–2011 American Community Survey)
	Severely housing cost-burdened households	Percentage of households with income below 80% of area median income (AMI) that are or severely cost burdened (> 50% of income on housing)	
6	**Household income**	Percentage of the population whose income is below 200% of poverty level	2008–2012 American Community Survey
7	**Proximity to transit**	Number of unique transit trips within a quarter-mile walking distance	King County Metro General Transit Feed Specification (GTFS)
8	**Proximity to current or future Link light rail and streetcar**	Location near a current and future light rail stations and streetcar stops, measured by walking distance	Sound Transit
9	**Proximity to core businesses**	Location within a certain distance of supermarket/grocery (0.5 mi), pharmacy (0.25 mi), and restaurant/café/diner (0.25 mi)	City of Seattle
10	**Proximity to civic infrastructure**	Location within a certain distance of a public or private school (0.25 mi), community center (0.25 mi) or park of at least 0.25 acre (distance varies based on park size), or library (0.5 mi)	ReferenceUSA
11	**Proximity to high-income neighborhood**	Census tracts (a) have a median household income < 80% of AMI and (b) abut a tract where median household income is > 120% of AMI	King County GIS
12	**Proximity to job center**	Travel time to designated King County Urban Centers and Manufacturing/Industrial Centers	City of Seattle
13	**Development capacity**	Parcels that allow residential uses identified as likely to redevelop in City development capacity model	2008–2012 American Community Survey
14	**Median rent**	Ratio of rent per net rentable square foot by tract to the Seattle average for rent per net rentable square foot	Dupre + Scott (Spring 2016)

Table 4 Access to Opportunity Index indicators

Indicator		Description	Source
1	**School performance**	Elementary school math and reading proficiency scores by attendance area	Washington Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction (OSPI)
2		Middle school math and reading proficiency scores by attendance area	
3	**Graduation rate**	High school graduation rate by attendance area	
4	**Access to college or university**	Location within 30 minutes of a college or university by transit (bus and/or light rail)	City of Seattle King County Metro GTFS Sound Transit
5	**Proximity to a library**	Location within quarter-mile walking distance to a library	City of Seattle
6	**Proximity to employment**	Number of (by census tract centroid) jobs accessible in 30 minutes by transit	Puget Sound Regional Council 2013 Covered Employment Estimates
7	**Property appreciation**	Change in median home value 2000–2013	2000 Census 2009-2013 American Community Survey
8	**Proximity to transit**	Number of unique transit trips within 0.25-mile walking distance	King County Metro General Transit Feed Specification (GTFS)
9	**Proximity to current or future Link light rail and streetcar**	Location near a current and future light rail stations and streetcar stops, measured by walking distance	Sound Transit City of Seattle
10	**Proximity to a community center**	Location near a City-owned and City-operated community center, measured by walking distance (Proximity determined by the size of the park. Larger parks have larger service areas.)	City of Seattle
11	**Proximity to a park**	Location near a public open space, measured by as-the-crow-flies distance	City of Seattle
12	**Sidewalk completeness**	Percentage of block faces within a quarter mile missing a sidewalk (excluding those SDOT has not identified should be improved)	City of Seattle
13	**Proximity to a health care facility**	Location near a health care facility, measured by walking distance	King County Public Health (2010)
14	**Proximity to a location that sells produce**	Location near a supermarket, produce stand, or farmers market, measured by walking distance	ReferenceUSA Washington State Farmers Market Association

Limitations

The indices and maps in the Growth & Equity Analysis should be used with caution. This is a first attempt to understand equity effects of broad City policies, and results of the analysis depend on the selection and weighting of indicators.

All data sources have limitations. These indices are high-level assessments that can inform (but should not predetermine) decisions about growth, investment, and policy. Greater historical and qualitative context is needed to avoid simplistic conclusions. Engagement with those most affected by the equity issues evaluated here should complement this analysis and inform policy makers' decisions.

The indices present "snapshots in time" based on the best currently available data and on research indicating relationships between that data and both displacement risk and access to opportunity. It is important to recognize that anomalies exist in both indices. Furthermore, these indicators will change over time. For example, late in 2015 bus service significantly expanded in Seattle, increasing the number of bus trips within walking distance for many locations in the city.

Income, behavior, and physical proximity affect opportunity in complex and nuanced ways. Some neighborhoods that appear at the lower end of the access to opportunity index may in fact have desirable neighborhood amenities such as a walkable business district or other determinants of well-being not measured by this index. Unique neighborhood characteristics can affect the outcomes of the indices; for instance, the large student population in the University District skews census data for that neighborhood, and findings about displacement risk there are less reliable as a result.

Marginalized populations exist across the entire city, including outside neighborhoods identified as high risk on the displacement risk index. These populations are at risk to have to relocate due to rising housing costs, whether these increases are due to limited housing putting upward pressure on prices or due to particular development in their neighborhood.

The displacement risk index is an assessment of susceptibility, not a predictor of future outcomes. Whether displacement occurs depends on several factors, such as the timing and intensity of growth and the public investments that precede or accompany it.

The relationship between growth and potential displacement is not straightforward. Displacement has many interrelated causes that are difficult to quantify. In areas where current rents are below average, the higher price of new market-rate development can exert upward pressure on the rents in the immediate vicinity, even as overall housing supply increases. Yet while new development in certain areas can exacerbate displacement pressures, new development is critical for absorbing the increasing citywide housing demand that leads to displacement. Growth can also reduce transportation costs, attract new customers to local businesses, and bring in infrastructure and service investments.

The displacement risk index does not directly assess displacement risk for businesses or cultural organizations that are also sometimes forced to relocate as a result of market pressures. Many of the same vulnerability and market indicators could make it difficult for an existing business or community organization to remain. Their displacement can also further destabilize communities of marginalized populations. This displacement may occur at a faster rate than housing displacement since more protections exist for affordable housing than for businesses and cultural anchors.

Displacement Risk Index

This analysis focuses on both physical (direct) and economic and cultural (indirect) displacement that affects marginalized populations. By combining data on vulnerability, amenities, development potential, and rents, the displacement risk index identifies areas where displacement of marginalized populations may be more likely.

- **Vulnerability:** Populations less able to withstand housing cost increases and more likely to experience discrimination or other structural barriers to finding new housing.
- **Amenities:** Potential contributors to real estate demand. Some factors include access to transit, proximity to certain core businesses, and adjacency to gentrifying or affluent neighborhoods.
- **Development capacity:** A measure of how much future development could exist parcel by parcel under current zoning. This roughly suggests the potential location and scale of future development, but it is not a reliable predictor of when development will occur in a given place.
- **Median rent:** Comparing a neighborhood's median rent to the citywide average can suggest the extent to which new market-rate development could affect current rents in that neighborhood.

Figure 4 integrates the vulnerability indicators (the first six indicators in Table 3) into a single map. These are just some of the factors that contribute to the level of displacement risk across Seattle, which is shown in Figure 5.

Access to Opportunity Index

The analysis also considers marginalized populations' access to key determinants of social, economic, and physical well-being. Access to economic opportunity depends on not only physical proximity to quality jobs but also the ability to attain the skills and experience needed to acquire such jobs. Shown in Figure 6, the access to opportunity index integrates a broad range of indicators, but it is not an exhaustive assessment of the factors that contribute to well-being and allow individuals to flourish.

The access to opportunity index includes measures related to education, economic opportunity, transit, civic infrastructure, and public health.

Figure 4 Composite vulnerability indicators

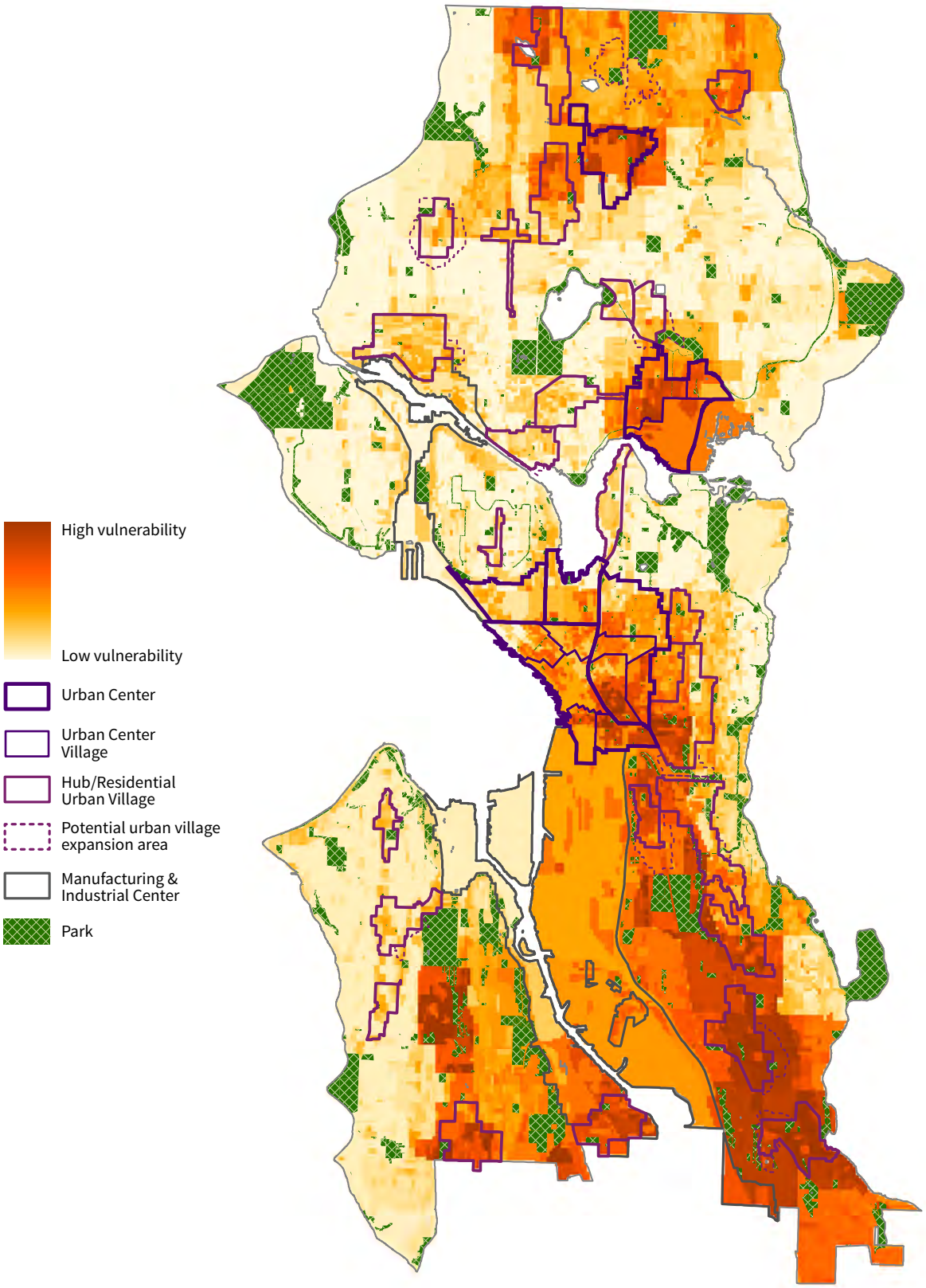


Figure 5 Displacement Risk Index

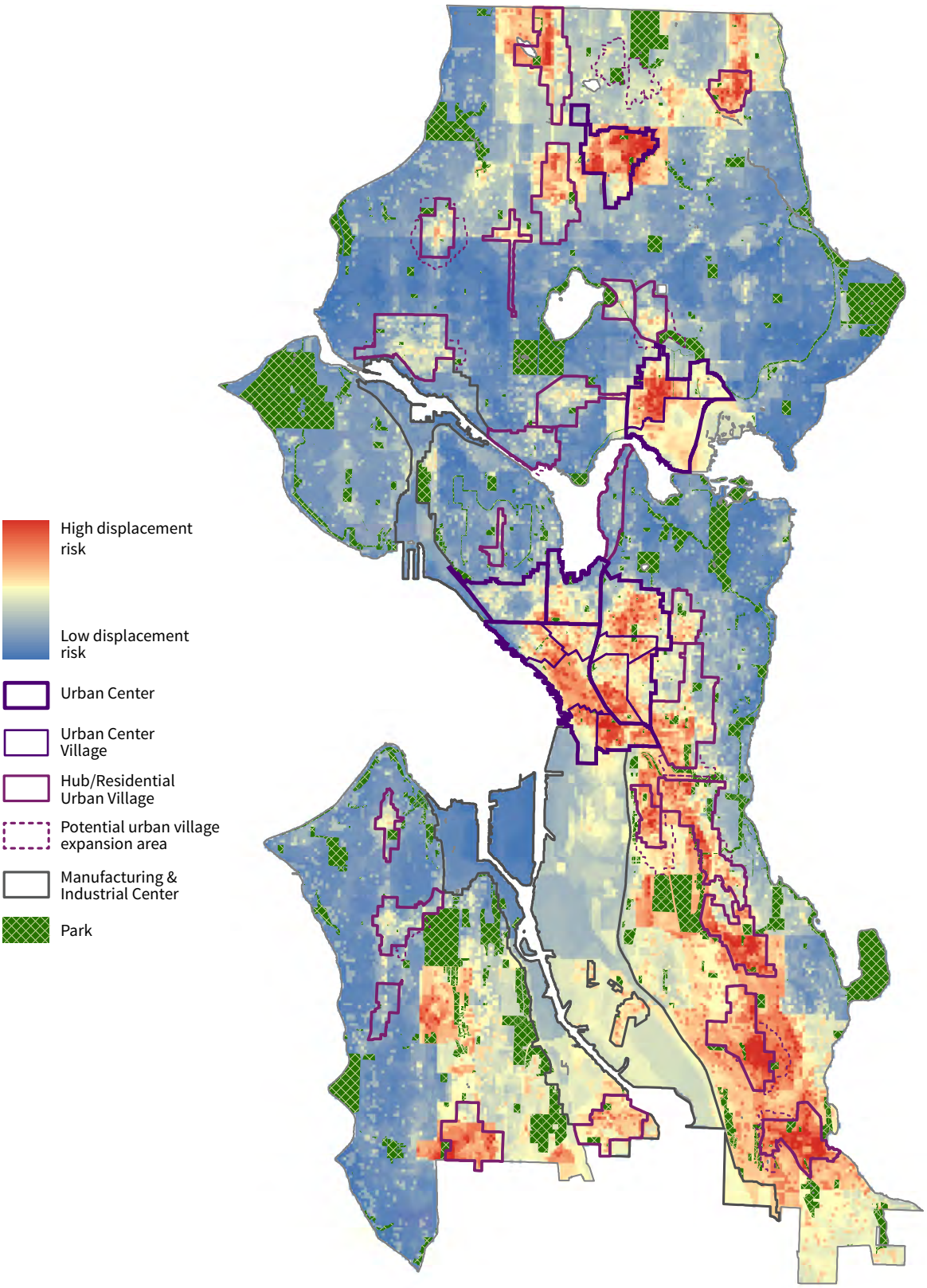
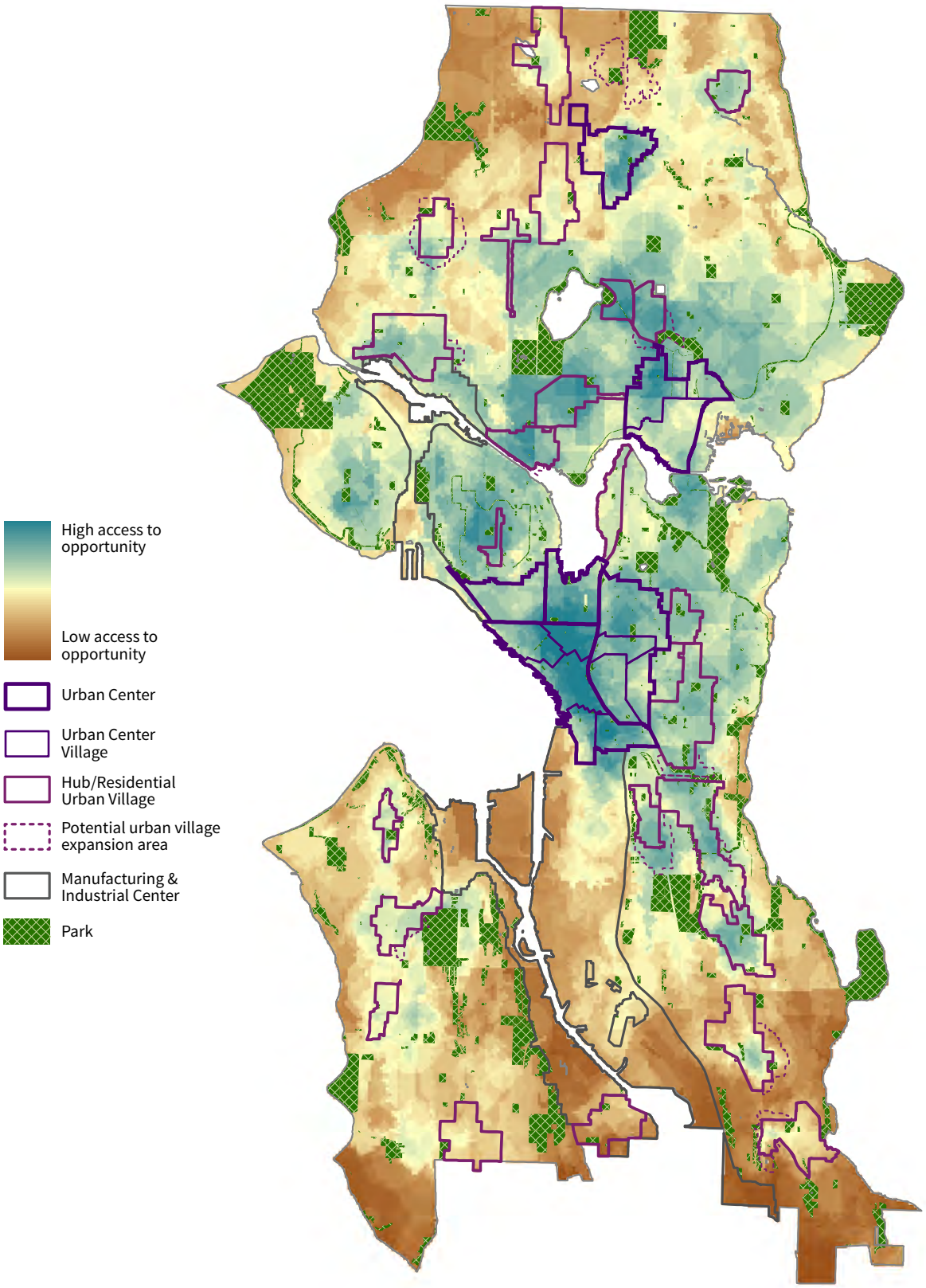


Figure 6 Access to Opportunity Index



Together, the indicators in Table 4 produce an index that assesses access to social, physical, and economic opportunity. The indicators measure access to some of the resources people need to succeed and thrive. Because these resources can attract private development and influence residents' decisions about where to live, communities with more of these resources also have some of Seattle's highest housing costs. Note that some of the access to opportunity indicators are also factors that increase the potential for displacement, such as access to transit and jobs.

In 2010, the Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity released *The Geography of Opportunity*, an opportunity mapping report for King County. While that research has informed our analysis, Kirwan uses a larger set of education, economic opportunity, and housing indicators that includes both determinants (such as proximity to jobs) and outcomes (such as unemployment rate). Other outcome measures in the Kirwan work are crime rate and neighborhood poverty rate. Since this analysis is intended to inform Seattle's long-range growth strategy, it focuses on place-based determinants that could lead to unwanted changes in a neighborhood, rather than on outcomes.

The access to opportunity index also incorporates some of the neighborhood amenities identified in the Seattle Planning Commission's *Seattle Transit Communities* report. The index does not catalog amenities such as locally owned stores that sell culturally appropriate food or cultural organizations.

Methodological Updates

In response to public comments on the Draft Growth & Equity Analysis, these maps of the displacement risk and access to opportunity reflect several minor methodological updates. Table 5 summarizes these changes. Most methodological updates occurred in order to use the most current datasets available. Individual maps for each factor in the displacement risk and access to opportunity models are available in Attachment B.

Introducing a Displacement Risk / Access to Opportunity Typology

The maps of existing conditions show that disparities exist. Displacement risk is greater in some neighborhoods than others, and Seattle's geography of opportunity is uneven. Some neighborhoods, such as southeast Seattle, present a very high level of displacement risk and very low access to opportunity. Key determinants of social, physical, and economic well-being are not equitably distributed, leaving many marginalized populations without access to factors necessary to succeed in life.

Figure 7 illustrates a typology that categorizes each of the city's urban centers and villages according to its relative position on the displacement risk and access to opportunity indices. The typology helps identify the potential impacts of future growth and suggests which mitigation measures could address the differential needs and opportunities present

Table 5 Methodological changes between the Draft and Final Growth & Equity Analysis

Indicator	Change in methodology
Linguistic isolation	Previously this indicator was English-speaking ability. The linguistic isolation indicator captures households where adults do not speak English very well, even if children in that household do speak English very well.
Proximity to transit	This indicator was updated to reflect the most current transit service data available.
Proximity to light rail	This indicator was updated to reflect University Link service, which came online in March 2016.
Proximity to regional job center	This indicator now includes designated Manufacturing and Industrial Centers.
Median rent	This indicator was updated to reflect the most current rent data available. Previously, median rent data was gathered at the census tract level, but for many tracts no data was available for a given unit type. To address this, the updated version incorporates median rent data at the neighborhood scale.
School performance	Previously this indicator reflected elementary and middle school reading and math proficiency scores relative to a citywide average. In the updated model, school performance data is classified according to the percentage of students at grade level. This changes only how the data are visualized; it does not have an effect on the results.
Graduation rate	Previously this indicator reflected high school graduation rates to a citywide average. In the updated model, each high school's graduation rate is classified as an absolute percentage. This changes only how the data are visualized; it does not have an effect on the results.
Access to college or university	This indicator now incorporates University Link service, which increases the area in certain parts of the city that can access a college or university within 30 minutes by transit.
Proximity to employment	This indicator was updated to reflect the most recent employment dataset available. Previously this indicator used as-the-crow-flies distance to assess proximity. In the updated model, it uses access via the transit network.
Sidewalk completeness	This is a new indicator added in response to public comment that sidewalk connectivity influences the level of access to services and amenities.
Proximity to a location that sells produce	The dataset for this indicator has been adjusted. Previously it reflected an outdated and unreliable dataset. The updated model includes supermarkets, produce stands, and farmers markets.

in urban centers and villages. For certain urban villages whose boundaries are proposed to change, their placement on the typology reflects the expanded geography. This analysis builds on the Puget Sound Regional Council's (PSRC) *Growing Transit Communities* work, which also accounts for both the physical and social conditions of communities.

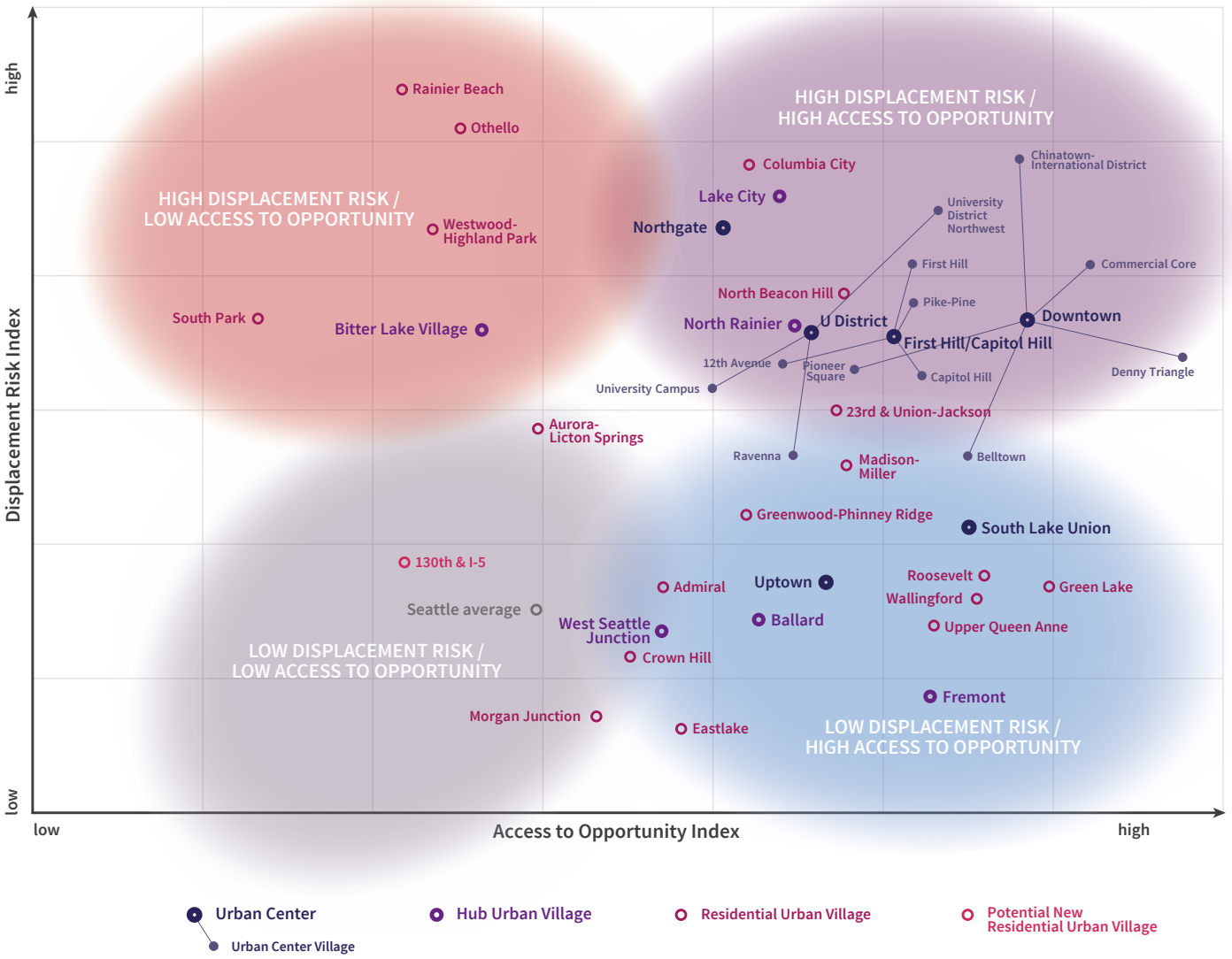
This typology informed the development of the recommended Growth Strategy. Similar to the emphasis on higher relative growth near high capacity transit, slightly lower growth estimates reflect areas with high displacement risk and low access to opportunity. The typology also informs the mitigation strategies appropriate for each type of urban village, as outlined in the Equitable Development Implementation Plan. The methodological changes described in Table 4 did not change the categorization of any urban village, but it slightly refines their relative position on the typology.

The general clustering of urban villages into four distinct categories is a more meaningful pattern than the precise relationship of any single urban village to another. Because many

factors contribute to a neighborhood's position on this diagram, it is critical to examine carefully the underlying data layers before adopting investments or programs to mitigate displacement or increase access to opportunity. Two urban villages may coincide on the typology diagram but for different reasons. For example, because this analysis integrates several inputs into a single result, an urban village with marginalized populations and fewer amenities could occupy a very similar position on the displacement risk axis of the typology as an urban village with inverse characteristics. In this case, a similar result for displacement risk in two urban villages masks their dissimilar socioeconomic conditions that investments and policy decisions must consider.

We can see this phenomenon at work in Seattle's urban centers — six large, populous areas with a varied social and economic landscape. To address this, the typology not only classifies urban centers but also their component urban center villages according to the average

Figure 7 Displacement Risk / Access to Opportunity Typology



level of displacement risk and access to opportunity each presents. This granular level of analysis allows us to distinguish, for example, subareas of the Downtown Urban Center, such as Chinatown-International District, where displacement risk is very high, and Belltown, where it is very low.

Attachment B presents a series of maps that illustrate each of the individual factors used in the displacement risk and access to opportunity indices. These are important resources to consult whenever the typology informs investment or policy decisions because they provide context behind the high-level categorization of an urban village on the typology.

The following discussion explores the characteristics of each type of urban village, their role in an equitable growth strategy, and the strategies and interventions necessary to create an equitable city.

HIGH DISPLACEMENT RISK/LOW ACCESS TO OPPORTUNITY

As they grow, some areas with high displacement risk and low access to opportunity are transitioning to higher levels of desirability. Several have light rail service that is beginning to attract private market investment. However, some still do not have all the amenities and services found elsewhere in Seattle. Urban villages in this category are often adjacent to neighborhoods that have already experienced physical and demographic change.

Growth can benefit these communities because it leads to new services, amenities, and opportunities. Furthermore, at the citywide level, new housing is critical to addressing upward pressure on housing costs due to employment growth and increasing demand for housing. However, in certain areas rapid private-market-led development without mitigation will lead to displacement of marginalized populations. Where displacement risk is higher, mitigation strategies must accompany market-rate housing growth to ensure that new development benefits the neighborhood and limits displacement of existing residents.

Even without growth, these areas need significant assistance to provide more opportunities for current residents. Strategies to address equity in these neighborhoods lead with public investments in physical and social infrastructure and public- and non-profit-led development that serves the needs of the existing community. For example, investments to foster new quality job centers and the new post-secondary education facilities that train local residents to fill those jobs. These interventions are the same as those required to mitigate growth impacts in neighborhoods with high displacement risk. Therefore, early interventions can also serve as mitigation for additional growth allocation.

HIGH DISPLACEMENT RISK/HIGH ACCESS TO OPPORTUNITY

Neighborhoods with high risk of displacement and high levels of access to opportunity are often highly desirable because of the amenities they contain and can have relatively lower housing costs. The desirability of these neighborhoods attracts new development that could displace marginalized populations in these places.

An equitable development strategy for these neighborhoods is to stabilize existing marginalized populations while also providing opportunities for economic mobility. This approach would lead with public and non-profit investment in affordable housing and stabilization of small businesses and cultural organizations to allow market-rate development to occur with minimal displacement.

LOW DISPLACEMENT RISK/HIGH ACCESS TO OPPORTUNITY

Neighborhoods with low risk of displacement and high access to opportunity are desirable and have fewer marginalized populations. These areas generally offer good access to economic and educational opportunities. In these neighborhoods, housing costs tend to be high, housing choices limited, and market-rate housing unaffordable to lower-income households. With relatively few marginalized populations, these areas may also lack the cultural services and community organizations geared to those populations.

An equitable approach to development in these places expands pathways into the neighborhood for people who currently cannot afford to live, work, or operate a business there and leverages market demand to welcome new residents, jobs, and businesses.

This approach calls for allowing the private market to meet the high levels of demand for housing in these neighborhoods by increasing the supply and variety of housing options available. Because they have lower displacement risk and higher access to opportunity, these urban villages can welcome higher levels of growth in order to expand access for marginalized populations without displacement. Incentives for private market housing that serves a range of incomes and household sizes could make it possible for marginalized populations to live and work in these areas and take advantage of the opportunities that exist there. This means allowing and encouraging a denser and broader range of housing types, such as duplexes, triplexes, rowhouses, flats, and other forms appropriate for a range of incomes and household sizes, within and adjacent to these urban villages beyond what current zoning allows.

LOW DISPLACEMENT RISK/LOW ACCESS TO OPPORTUNITY

Few urban villages fall in this category. All could absorb growth with minimal displacement risk, but access to opportunity in these places is also limited.

Currently, constrained capacity for growth in these areas limits the possibility for expanded housing supply, new affordable housing, and a greater variety of housing options. Depending on the market, these areas may need public intervention to encourage growth. An equitable development strategy could also make investments to improve access to key determinants of well-being in these areas where there are gaps.

Table 6 broadly outlines approaches to producing more equitable conditions in different village types. The Equitable Development Implementation Plan contains more detailed strategies for each of the general approaches.

Table 6 Equitable development measures for each type of urban center and village

High Displacement Risk/Low Access to Opportunity	High Displacement Risk/High Access to Opportunity
• Advance Economic Mobility and Opportunity • Prevent Residential, Commercial, and Cultural Displacement • Build on Local Cultural Assets • Promote Transportation Mobility and Connectivity • Develop Healthy and Safe Neighborhoods	• Advance Economic Mobility and Opportunity • Prevent Residential, Commercial, and Cultural Displacement • Build on Local Cultural Assets

Low Displacement Risk/Low Access to Opportunity	Low Displacement Risk/High Access to Opportunity
• Develop Healthy and Safe Neighborhoods • Equitable Access to all Neighborhoods	• Advance Economic Mobility and Opportunity • Equitable Access to all Neighborhoods

Analysis of the Recommended Growth Strategy

The City's Comprehensive Plan describes how and where the City plans to accommodate expected growth. Between 2015 and 2035, Seattle expects to add 70,000 housing units and 115,000 jobs. Because Seattle is a fully built city, most new development will occur on sites that already contain some existing residences or businesses. The City's primary approach to accommodating growth is to locate new housing and jobs in the urban villages well served by light rail or bus transit. Table 8 lists the housing and employment growth estimates for urban centers.

Table 7 Expected growth in housing units and jobs for the six urban centers

Urban Center	Expected housing growth	Expected employment growth
Downtown	12,000	35,000
First Hill / Capitol Hill	6,000	3,000
University District	3,500	5,000
Northgate	3,000	8,000
South Lake Union	7,500	12,000
Uptown	3,000	2,000

Table 8 indicates the growth rate for different categories of urban villages, with hub villages expected to have a higher growth rate than residential urban villages. Villages with very good transit service are expected to grow faster than those without. However, recognizing the potential for displacement of marginalized populations and small businesses, the City

proposes a moderate rate of growth in those villages that have both a high risk of displacement and low access to opportunity and aims to make near-term public investments to stabilize and create economic mobility opportunities. The accompanying Equitable Development Implementation Plan details these investments. The map on the following page identifies villages by category and illustrates the growth rates shown below.

Table 8 Proposed growth estimates by urban village types

	Expected housing growth rate*	Expected employment growth rate*
Hub Urban Villages Fremont Lake City	40%	50%
Hub Urban Villages with very good transit service Ballard Mount Baker (North Rainier) West Seattle Junction	60%	50%
Hub Urban Villages with high displacement risk and low access to opportunity, regardless of the level of transit service Bitter Lake Village	40%	50%
Residential Urban Villages Admiral Eastlake Greenwood–Phinney Ridge Madison-Miller Morgan Junction Upper Queen Anne Wallingford	30%	not applicable
Residential Urban Villages with very good transit service 23rd & Union–Jackson Aurora–Licton Springs Columbia City Crown Hill Green Lake North Beacon Hill Roosevelt	50%	not applicable
Residential Urban Villages with high displacement risk and low access to opportunity, regardless of the level of transit service Othello Rainier Beach South Park Westwood-Highland Park	30%	not applicable

* Percentage growth above the actual number of housing units or jobs in 2015, except as limited by zoning capacity.

The recommended Growth Strategy continues the Comprehensive Plan's urban village strategy, with varying rates of growth expected among the city's urban centers and villages to reflect multiple policy goals, such as densifying the city's urban centers, locating more growth near high-capacity transit service, and addressing the risk of displacement for marginalized populations.

Summary of Growth Alternatives Analyzed in the DEIS

The City of Seattle expects to add 70,000 housing units and 115,000 jobs over the next 20 years. In the Draft Environmental Impact Statement, the City analyzed four growth alternatives for distributing the 70,000 housing units and 115,000 jobs expected over the next 20 years. In brief, the Draft Growth & Equity Analysis of the four alternatives made the following conclusions:

Alternative 1 Continue Current Growth Trends (No Action)	Alternative 2 Guide Growth to Urban Centers	Alternative 3 Guide Growth to Urban Villages near Light Rail	Alternative 4 Guide Growth to Urban Villages near Transit
What level of public investment is necessary for marginalized populations to benefit from growth without displacement?			
Required public investment is in the middle compared to other alternatives because growth is more evenly distributed in both high- and low-displacement risk urban villages.	Potentially lower levels of investment needed because less growth is allocated in high-displacement risk areas. However, more growth would be in expensive high-rise construction.	Highest level of growth in high-displacement risk areas like Rainier Beach, Othello, and North Beacon Hill, requiring the greatest degree of anti-displacement mitigation.	Substantial anti-displacement investments required in the southeast Seattle urban villages with light rail stations where displacement risk is high.
How much does the alternative expand access to opportunity for marginalized populations?			
Allocates significant growth to a few urban villages where displacement risk is low and access to opportunity is high.	Does the least to expand access for marginalized populations because less growth is allocated to areas with high opportunity and low displacement risk.	Potential to expand access to opportunity in some, but not most, areas with low displacement risk and high access to opportunity.	Greater potential to grow in areas with high access to opportunity than Alternative 3, but limited potential to expand access it other high-access urban villages.

Each of the growth alternatives studied in the DEIS reflected the same estimates of the new housing units and jobs expected in Seattle over the next 20 years. The alternatives did not address the timing of growth during that period or specify the type of development that could occur. Yet timing and type could determine the impact that new development would have on marginalized populations with respect to displacement and access to opportunity.

Difference between Existing Units and Expected Growth

To understand the potential impacts of the recommended Growth Strategy, the Growth & Equity Analysis focuses on the expected rate of housing growth for an urban village in the context of its current stock of housing units. The analysis then examines this relative growth rate with the degree of displacement risk and access to opportunity for the urban village.

The proportional difference in magnitude between existing units and expected growth is important. 500 new housing units in an urban village that currently has 1,000 housing units, a 50 percent increase over the current housing stock, is likely to have a greater impact on current real estate prices in that submarket than 500 new units in an urban village that already has 5,000 housing units, a 10 percent increase.

Figure 8 illustrates the expected housing growth rates for each urban village as listed in Table 8.

Impacts of the Recommended Growth Strategy on Displacement Risk and Access to Opportunity

This section analyzes how the recommended Growth Strategy affects displacement risk and access to opportunity for marginalized populations and identifies how managed growth and equitable investments can lower the risk of displacement and expand access to opportunity to create an equitable city. This analysis cannot account for many of the factors that contribute to these outcomes, such as market dynamics and the timing of development in individual urban centers and villages. Instead, it assumes that growth will occur evenly over time and distributed to different villages according to the assumptions in the Comprehensive Plan. Numerous policy choices must accompany the recommended Growth Strategy, and additional study is necessary to understand more fully the specific actions to take and their full costs.

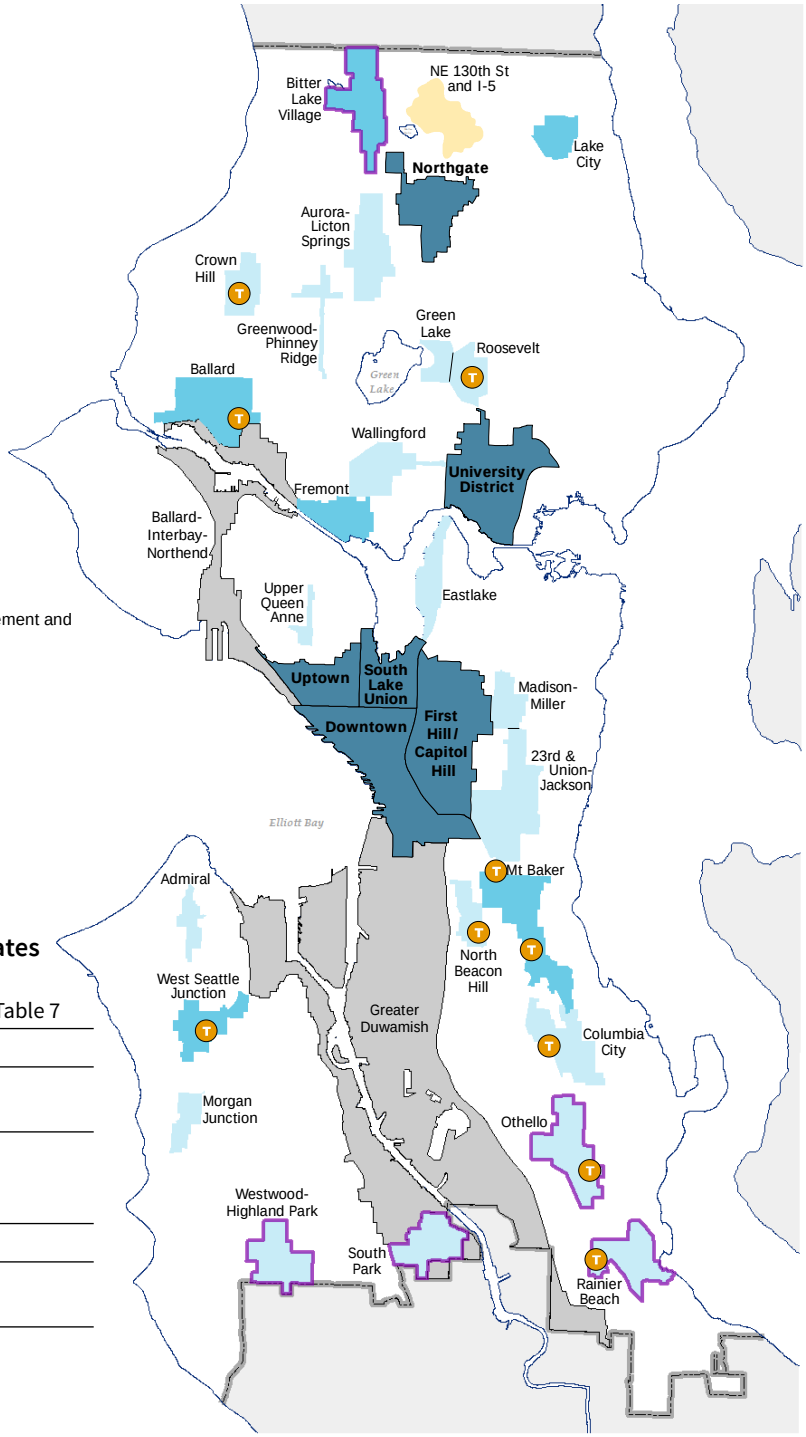
For achieving equity, **how growth unfolds is much more important** *than the amount of growth.*

To achieve equity, how growth unfolds is as important as the amount of growth. The relative growth expected for a particular neighborhood is not the only determinant of whether the neighborhood will develop equitably. The timing and pace of redevelopment can also influence the likelihood of displacement. Rapid changes can be more destabilizing for a neighborhood real estate market and therefore more likely to displace existing residents than a steady rate of growth that allows time for accompanying offsetting investments to be effective.

If unmitigated, rapid market-rate redevelopment in high displacement risk areas is likely to exacerbate displacement pressures. Limited housing choice and supply in areas with low displacement risk and high access to opportunity is likely to continue to inhibit equitable access for marginalized populations.

In the recommended Growth Strategy, the City anticipates a higher rate of growth in urban villages with good transit service and a relatively lower rate of growth in urban villages with

Figure 8 Expected housing growth rates relative to existing housing units



Urban Centers and Villages

Urban Center

Urban Village

- Hub
- Residential
- Village with High Risk of Displacement and Low Access to Opportunity

Very Good Transit

Potential Village

Manufacturing Industrial Centers

Expected housing growth rates

Urban Centers	see Table 7
Hub Urban Villages	40%
with very good transit service	60%
with high displacement risk and low access to opportunity	40%
Residential Urban Villages	30%
with very good transit service	50%
with high displacement risk and low access to opportunity	30%

high displacement risk and low access to opportunity, as shown in Table 8. This addresses the existing conditions reflected in the displacement risk and access to opportunity indices and builds into the Plan a key strategy for mitigating displacement risk. However, in certain areas, displacement is a concern regardless of the level of growth and is likely to have disproportionate impacts on marginalized populations. The Equitable Development Implementation Plan identifies near-term investments in anti-displacement strategies that the City can use to ensure equitable growth in neighborhoods with high displacement risk and low access to opportunity. With sufficient public resources, neighborhoods with the highest risk of displacement could experience significant private-sector housing development without displacement, provided that appropriate public investment in the associated mitigation strategies accompany or, ideally, precede that growth. For neighborhoods identified in the previous section as having low access to opportunity, some intervention is necessary to make them more equitable communities, even without any growth.

A higher rate of growth in areas with frequent transit service can help expand access and housing choices for marginalized populations. Because access to transit can help to offset higher housing costs, substantial investment in affordable housing close to light rail and frequent bus service can increase access to education and employment opportunities and help to stem displacement, especially as expanded transit service attracts new residents to these areas. Without increased access to transit, marginalized populations may experience only the market pressures associated with living in a desirable neighborhood and not the benefits.

Similar to the relatively lower growth rates for areas where displacement risk is high, the recommended Growth Strategy takes a complementary approach for some urban villages with low displacement risk and high access to opportunity where very good transit service is present: Roosevelt, Crown Hill, and Ballard. As previously discussed, urban villages with high access to opportunity and low displacement risk often have higher real estate values, fewer housing choices for lower-incomes households, and fewer marginalized populations. In these areas, higher rates of redevelopment could accommodate more of the city's expected 20-year growth, absorbing citywide housing demand, without increasing displacement risk. Higher rates of growth can also increase options for a broader range of people and households to live and work in these high-opportunity neighborhoods. Leveraging new development to expand access for marginalized populations without displacement beyond the growth estimates in the recommended Growth Strategy would advance the City's goal of equitable development. These policy changes could be considered during future Comprehensive Plan annual amendment cycles.

Roughly half of the 20-year housing growth in the recommended Growth Strategy is expected to occur in the six urban centers. Many of these 35,000 housing units will be in high-rise buildings, which are inherently more expensive to construct than the wood-frame construction typical in, for example, low-rise multifamily zones. Higher construction costs generally yield higher rents. The high access to opportunity found in urban centers can partially offset some of the added cost of housing in these areas. Further, construction of housing tar-

geted for high-income households absorbs demand that otherwise puts upward pressure on housing costs elsewhere in the city. Policies such as the proposed Mandatory Housing Affordability (MHA) program can help to ensure that growth in expensive building types nonetheless contributes to affordability and inclusion.

Urban Village Boundary Changes

The Draft Growth & Equity Analysis considered expanded urban village boundaries for several urban villages, which would affect future use and density levels in areas predominantly zoned for single-family residential use currently. The displacement risk and access to opportunity typology reflects these expanded urban villages, which would include land within a 10-minute walk of frequent transit facilities. These potential boundary changes largely fall into two categories:

LOW DISPLACEMENT RISK/HIGH ACCESS TO OPPORTUNITY URBAN VILLAGES: BALLARD, FREMONT, CROWN HILL, ROOSEVELT, AND FREMONT

Adding development capacity to areas in close proximity to frequent transit is consistent with a strategy to create more multifamily development, expand housing choice and supply, and increase the possibility of having more affordable housing in these neighborhoods.

HIGH DISPLACEMENT RISK URBAN VILLAGES: OTHELLO, COLUMBIA CITY, NORTH RAINIER, NORTH BEACON HILL AND RAINIER BEACH

It is not clear that expanding urban village boundaries supports the equitable development strategies outlined for these villages. New development may put upward pressure on rents before community stabilizing investments take effect. A well-resourced mitigation strategy coupled with expansion of housing choices over time could prove successful, but further community engagement and analysis should be undertaken to determine the feasibility and details of such a strategy.

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Attachment A

Decennial Census Population Estimates by Race and Hispanic/Latino Origin

	TOTAL POPULATION		WHITE				BLACK (1990); BLACK OR AFRICAN AMERICAN (2010)				ASIAN OR PACIFIC ISLANDER (1990); ASIAN (2010)				AMERICAN INDIAN, ESKIMO, OR ALEUT (1990); AMERICAN INDIAN & ALASKA NATIVE (2010)				HISPANIC (1990); HISPANIC OR LATINO (2010)				PERSONS OF COLOR			
	1990	2010	1990		2010		1990		2010		1990		2010		1990		2010		1990		2010		1990 (of a race other than White and/or of Hispanic origin)		2010 (of a race other than White alone and/or of Hispanic/Latino origin)	
King County	**1,507,319**	**1,931,249**	**1,278,532**	**85%**	**1,325,845**	**69%**	**76,289**	**5%**	**119,801**	**6%**	**118,784**	**8%**	**282,075**	**15%**	**17,305**	**1.1%**	**16,147**	**0.8%**	**44,337**	**3%**	**172,378**	**9%**	**273,124**	**18%**	**852,327**	**44%**
City of Seattle	**516,259**	**608,660**	**388,858**	**75%**	**422,870**	**69%**	**51,948**	**10%**	**48,316**	**8%**	**60,819**	**12%**	**84,215**	**14%**	**7,326**	**1.4%**	**4,809**	**0.8%**	**18,349**	**4%**	**40,329**	**7%**	**135,836**	**26%**	**205,082**	**34%**
Outside Urban Centers/ Villages	365,931	399,870	285,003	78%	291,445	73%	31,479	9%	26,270	7%	40,946	11%	33,654	8%	4,226	1.2%	2,589	0.6%	11,333	3%	22,596	6%	86,453	24%	119,730	30%
All Urban Centers/Villages	146,662	206,068	101,313	69%	129,587	63%	20,048	14%	21,802	11%	19,397	13%	50,395	24%	2,979	2.0%	2,138	1.0%	6,724	5%	17,286	8%	48,126	33%	84,300	41%
URBAN CENTERS	**69,857**	**102,883**	**52,805**	**76%**	**68,355**	**66%**	**6,213**	**9%**	**7,684**	**7%**	**8,263**	**12%**	**17,813**	**17%**	**1,381**	**2.0%**	**1,164**	**1.1%**	**3,226**	**5%**	**6,870**	**7%**	**18,565**	**27%**	**38,189**	**37%**
Northgate	**5,136**	**6,369**	**3,942**	**77%**	**3,600**	**57%**	**279**	**5%**	**580**	**9%**	**752**	**15%**	**1,353**	**21%**	**59**	**1.1%**	**89**	**1.4%**	**256**	**5%**	**679**	**11%**	**1,303**	**25%**	**3,063**	**48%**
South Lake Union	**1,116**	**3,774**	**1,001**	**90%**	**2,663**	**71%**	**45**	**4%**	**394**	**10%**	**39**	**3%**	**410**	**11%**	**16**	**1.4%**	**36**	**1.0%**	**57**	**5%**	**235**	**6%**	**156**	**14%**	**1,257**	**33%**
University District Northwest	10,552	13,654	8,206	78%	8,318	61%	273	3%	386	3%	1,852	18%	3,756	28%	106	1.0%	73	0.5%	319	3%	714	5%	2,523	24%	5,705	42%
Ravenna	2,850	3,323	2,171	76%	2,199	66%	117	4%	93	3%	449	16%	754	23%	48	1.7%	11	0.3%	115	4%	194	6%	722	25%	1,219	37%
University Campus	4,598	5,727	3,014	66%	3,282	57%	211	5%	101	2%	1,202	26%	1,784	31%	58	1.3%	25	0.4%	211	5%	291	5%	1,666	36%	2,646	46%
University Community	**18,000**	**22,704**	**13,391**	**74%**	**13,799**	**61%**	**601**	**3%**	**580**	**3%**	**3,503**	**19%**	**6,294**	**28%**	**212**	**1.2%**	**109**	**0.5%**	**645**	**4%**	**1,199**	**5%**	**4,911**	**27%**	**9,570**	**42%**
Uptown	**4,472**	**7,300**	**3,943**	**88%**	**5,824**	**80%**	**186**	**4%**	**258**	**4%**	**206**	**5%**	**720**	**10%**	**61**	**1.4%**	**55**	**0.8%**	**162**	**4%**	**457**	**6%**	**611**	**14%**	**1,739**	**24%**
Belltown	4,116	11,961	3,490	85%	8,404	70%	300	7%	871	7%	168	4%	1,703	14%	105	2.6%	166	1.4%	152	4%	789	7%	691	17%	4,016	34%
Denny Triangle	732	3,248	562	77%	2,240	69%	65	9%	253	8%	43	6%	475	15%	55	7.5%	57	1.8%	32	4%	229	7%	185	25%	1,143	35%
Commercial Core	3,898	5,917	2,613	67%	3,996	68%	979	25%	1,031	17%	135	3%	538	9%	134	3.4%	107	1.8%	182	5%	288	5%	1,361	35%	2,096	35%
Pioneer Square	1,485	2,252	943	64%	1,385	62%	389	26%	464	21%	40	3%	137	6%	74	5.0%	80	3.6%	164	11%	187	8%	637	43%	954	42%
Chinatown-ID	1,962	3,466	728	37%	868	25%	222	11%	351	10%	888	45%	1,977	57%	70	3.6%	64	1.8%	159	8%	177	5%	1,274	65%	2,670	77%
Downtown	**12,193**	**26,844**	**8,336**	**68%**	**16,893**	**63%**	**1,955**	**16%**	**2,970**	**11%**	**1,274**	**10%**	**4,830**	**18%**	**438**	**3.6%**	**474**	**1.8%**	**689**	**6%**	**1,670**	**6%**	**4,148**	**34%**	**10,879**	**41%**
Capitol Hill	16,334	18,279	13,714	84%	14,493	79%	1,294	8%	832	5%	825	5%	1,464	8%	229	1.4%	161	0.9%	699	4%	1,276	7%	2,993	18%	4,532	25%
Pike/Pine	2,624	4,413	1,971	75%	3,261	74%	328	13%	277	6%	193	7%	515	12%	85	3.2%	55	1.2%	123	5%	292	7%	711	27%	1,322	30%
First Hill	7,568	8,681	5,081	67%	5,220	60%	1,050	14%	1,230	14%	1,096	14%	1,396	16%	209	2.8%	124	1.4%	404	5%	682	8%	2,658	35%	3,749	43%
12th Avenue	2,414	4,519	1,426	59%	2,602	58%	475	20%	563	12%	375	16%	831	18%	72	3.0%	61	1.3%	191	8%	380	8%	1,074	44%	2,078	46%
First/Capitol Hill	**28,940**	**35,892**	**22,192**	**77%**	**25,576**	**71%**	**3,147**	**11%**	**2,902**	**8%**	**2,489**	**9%**	**4,206**	**12%**	**595**	**2.1%**	**401**	**1.1%**	**1,417**	**5%**	**2,630**	**7%**	**7,436**	**26%**	**11,681**	**33%**
HUB URBAN VILLAGES	**22,264**	**30,906**	**17,030**	**76%**	**20,912**	**68%**	**1,823**	**8%**	**2,730**	**9%**	**2,612**	**12%**	**4,186**	**14%**	**409**	**1.8%**	**318**	**1.0%**	**825**	**4%**	**2,302**	**7%**	**5,579**	**25%**	**11,006**	**36%**
Ballard	7,311	10,078	6,602	90%	8,551	85%	128	2%	218	2%	294	4%	578	6%	168	2.3%	89	0.9%	263	4%	557	6%	848	12%	1,839	18%
Bitter Lake Village	3,175	4,273	2,711	85%	2,642	62%	96	3%	523	12%	284	9%	626	15%	50	1.6%	49	1.1%	112	4%	290	7%	530	17%	1,754	41%
Fremont	3,153	3,960	2,740	87%	3,249	82%	92	3%	104	3%	193	6%	326	8%	68	2.2%	23	0.6%	107	3%	173	4%	456	14%	800	20%
Lake City	2,111	3,899	1,603	76%	2,108	54%	142	7%	462	12%	288	14%	763	20%	22	1.0%	63	1.6%	88	4%	494	13%	533	25%	1,985	51%

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	TOTAL POPULATION		WHITE				BLACK (1990); BLACK OR AFRICAN AMERICAN (2010)				ASIAN OR PACIFIC ISLANDER (1990); ASIAN (2010)				AMERICAN INDIAN, ESKIMO, OR ALEUT (1990); AMERICAN INDIAN & ALASKA NATIVE (2010)				HISPANIC (1990); HISPANIC OR LATINO (2010)				PERSONS OF COLOR			
	1990	2010	1990		2010		1990		2010		1990		2010		1990		2010		1990		2010		1990 (of a race other than White and/or of Hispanic origin)		2010 (of a race other than White alone and/or of Hispanic/Latino origin)	
North Rainier	3,629	4,908	877	24%	1,371	28%	1,227	34%	1,281	26%	1,404	39%	1,633	33%	59	1.6%	57	1.2%	132	4%	472	10%	2,779	77%	3,686	75%
West Seattle Junction	2,885	3,788	2,497	87%	2,991	79%	138	5%	142	4%	149	5%	260	7%	42	1.5%	37	1.0%	123	4%	316	8%	433	15%	942	25%
HUB URBAN VILLAGES	**22,264**	**30,906**	**17,030**	**76%**	**20,912**	**68%**	**1,823**	**8%**	**2,730**	**9%**	**2,612**	**12%**	**4,186**	**14%**	**409**	**1.80%**	**318**	**1.00%**	**825**	**4%**	**2,302**	**7%**	**5,579**	**25%**	**11,006**	**36%**
23rd & Union-Jackson	6,926	9,468	1,077	16%	4,191	44%	4,407	64%	2,617	28%	1,207	17%	1,429	15%	85	1.2%	74	0.8%	296	4%	962	10%	5,930	86%	5,634	60%
Admiral	1,186	1,528	1,087	92%	1,260	82%	27	2%	56	4%	44	4%	89	6%	21	1.8%	18	1.2%	32	3%	96	6%	120	10%	324	21%
Aurora-Licton Springs	4,709	6,179	3,812	81%	4,065	66%	258	5%	469	8%	460	10%	845	14%	96	2.0%	58	0.9%	218	5%	704	11%	1,013	22%	2,418	39%
Columbia City	3,617	3,937	822	23%	1,271	32%	1,646	46%	1,210	31%	977	27%	1,005	26%	112	3.1%	29	0.7%	146	4%	375	10%	2,819	78%	2,798	71%
Crown Hill	2,109	2,459	1,886	89%	1,934	79%	46	2%	95	4%	99	5%	126	5%	55	2.6%	23	0.9%	56	3%	271	11%	250	12%	641	26%
Eastlake	3,602	5,084	3,286	91%	4,173	82%	93	3%	128	3%	166	5%	459	9%	31	0.9%	22	0.4%	83	2%	249	5%	364	10%	1,040	20%
Green Lake	2,119	2,904	1,951	92%	2,361	81%	33	2%	53	2%	102	5%	292	10%	17	0.8%	15	0.5%	49	2%	126	4%	200	9%	619	21%
Greenwood-Phinney Ridge	2,016	2,927	1,750	87%	2,232	76%	33	2%	180	6%	128	6%	228	8%	38	1.9%	27	0.9%	92	5%	221	8%	297	15%	799	27%
Madison-Miller	2,829	4,066	1,407	50%	2,697	66%	1,228	43%	658	16%	112	4%	326	8%	35	1.2%	16	0.4%	90	3%	295	7%	1,463	52%	1,495	37%
Morgan Junction	1,667	2,046	1,448	87%	1,596	78%	76	5%	122	6%	89	5%	118	6%	32	1.9%	19	0.9%	53	3%	171	8%	242	15%	538	26%
North Beacon Hill	2,531	2,900	534	21%	1,079	37%	324	13%	208	7%	1,450	57%	932	32%	98	3.9%	43	1.5%	224	9%	769	27%	2,028	80%	2,056	71%
Othello	4,570	7,267	643	14%	908	12%	1,953	43%	2,792	38%	1,638	36%	2,932	40%	168	3.7%	35	0.5%	260	6%	390	5%	3,950	86%	6,492	89%
Rainier Beach	2,703	3,583	616	23%	629	18%	1,211	45%	1,618	45%	637	24%	733	20%	133	4.9%	53	1.5%	157	6%	583	16%	2,097	78%	3,127	87%
Roosevelt	2,008	2,384	1,812	90%	1,964	82%	53	3%	51	2%	114	6%	207	9%	10	0.5%	9	0.4%	76	4%	132	6%	245	12%	506	21%
South Park	2,161	3,448	1,470	68%	1,516	44%	156	7%	386	11%	282	13%	596	17%	72	3.3%	62	1.8%	314	15%	1,212	35%	794	37%	2,337	68%
Upper Queen Anne	1,921	2,143	1,745	91%	1,809	84%	58	3%	48	2%	75	4%	147	7%	12	0.6%	10	0.5%	65	3%	98	5%	206	11%	394	18%
Wallingford	4,102	5,350	3,722	91%	4,437	83%	82	2%	152	3%	197	5%	418	8%	42	1.0%	19	0.4%	153	4%	277	5%	468	11%	1,088	20%
Westwood-Highland Park	3,765	4,606	2,410	64%	2,198	48%	328	9%	545	12%	745	20%	773	17%	132	3.5%	124	2.7%	309	8%	1,183	26%	1,496	40%	2,799	61%
MFG./INDUSTRIAL CENTERS	**3,666**	**2,722**	**2,542**	**69%**	**1,838**	**68%**	**421**	**11%**	**244**	**9%**	**476**	**13%**	**166**	**6%**		**0.0%**		**0.0%**	**292**	**8%**	**447**	**16%**	**1,257**	**34%**	**1,052**	**39%**
Ballard-Interbay-Northend	1,316	1,658	1,106	84%	1,214	73%	81	6%	131	8%	66	5%	109	7%	44	3.3%	24	1.4%	86	7%	176	11%	261	20%	526	32%
Greater Duwamish	2,350	1,064	1,436	61%	624	59%	340	14%	113	11%	410	17%	57	5%	77	3.3%	58	5.5%	206	9%	271	25%	996	42%	526	49%

Notes:
Census questionnaire changes limit comparability of 1990 Census estimates on race and ethnicity with later Census estimates. Small differences over time may be due to changes in the questionnaire, but larger differences are more likely to represent actual demographic shifts.
One of the most changes was the option respondents were given, beginning with the 2000 Census questionnaire, to select more than one race.
Population estimates by race are shown for non-Hispanic/Latino individuals in each of the major race categories listed. The Census collects information on Hispanic/Latino ethnicity in a separate question from race.
Persons of color include persons of any race other than white alone (other than white in 1990) as well as persons of any race who are of Hispanic /Latino (Hispanic in 1990) origin.

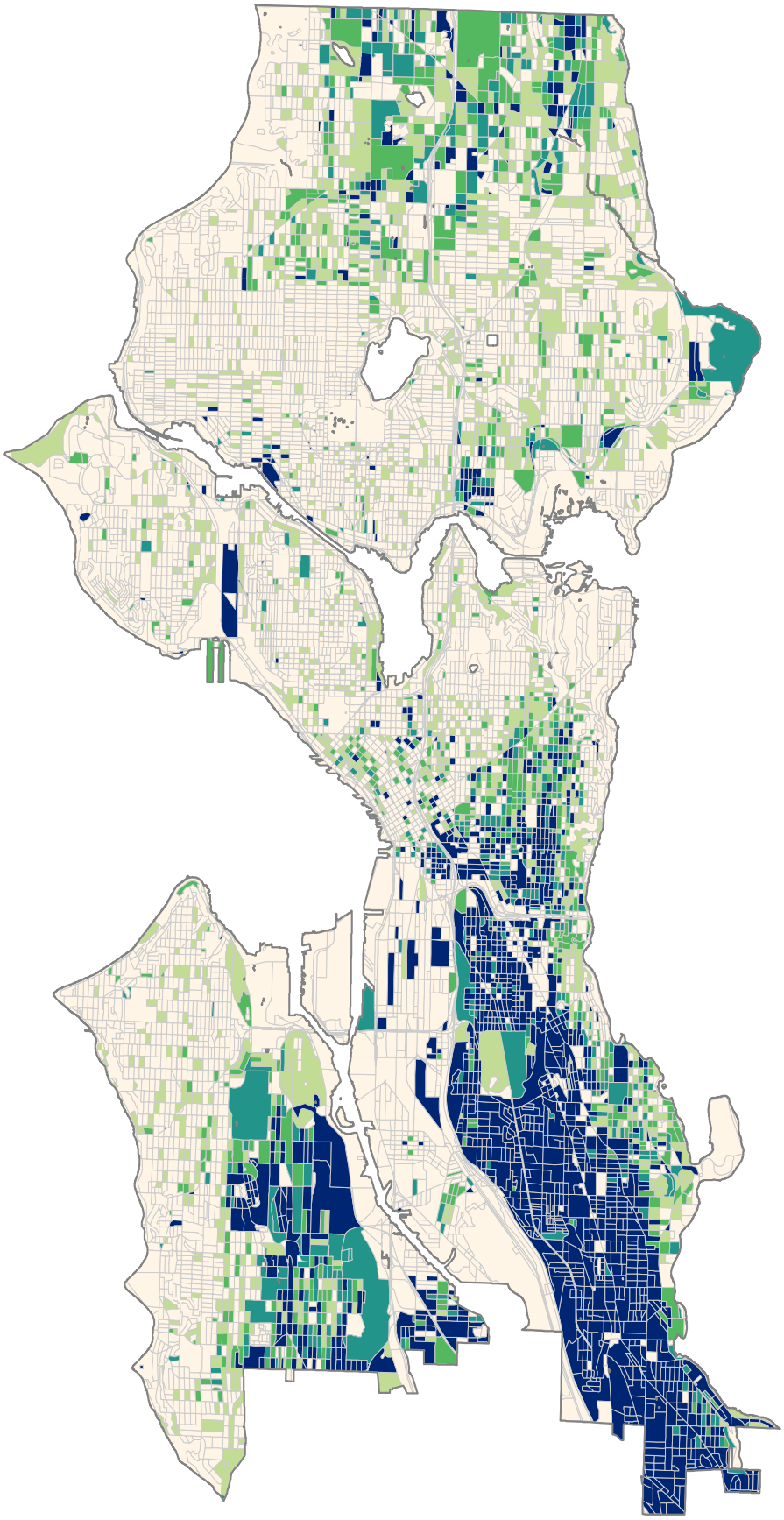
Sources: 1990 and 2000 Decennial Census estimates, (100% count datasets), U.S. Census Bureau.
Estimates for Urban Villages produced by the City of Seattle's Department of Planning and Development based on combinations of census blocks approximating Urban Villages.

Attachment B

Displacement Risk and Access to Opportunity Indicators

Displacement Risk Index

- People of color
- Linguistic isolation
- Educational attainment
- Housing tenancy
- Housing cost-burdened households
- Severely housing cost-burdened households
- Household income
- Proximity to transit
- Proximity to current or future Link light rail and streetcar
- Proximity to core businesses (supermarket/grocery, pharmacy, and restaurant)
- Proximity to civic infrastructure (location within a certain distance of a school, park, community center, or library)
- Proximity to high-income neighborhood
- Proximity to regional job center
- Development capacity
- Median rent



Percentage of population that is a race other than non-Hispanic White (Census block)

- < 20%
- 20% - 30%
- 31% - 40%
- 41% - 50%
- > 50%

Source: 2010 Census

Displacement Risk Index

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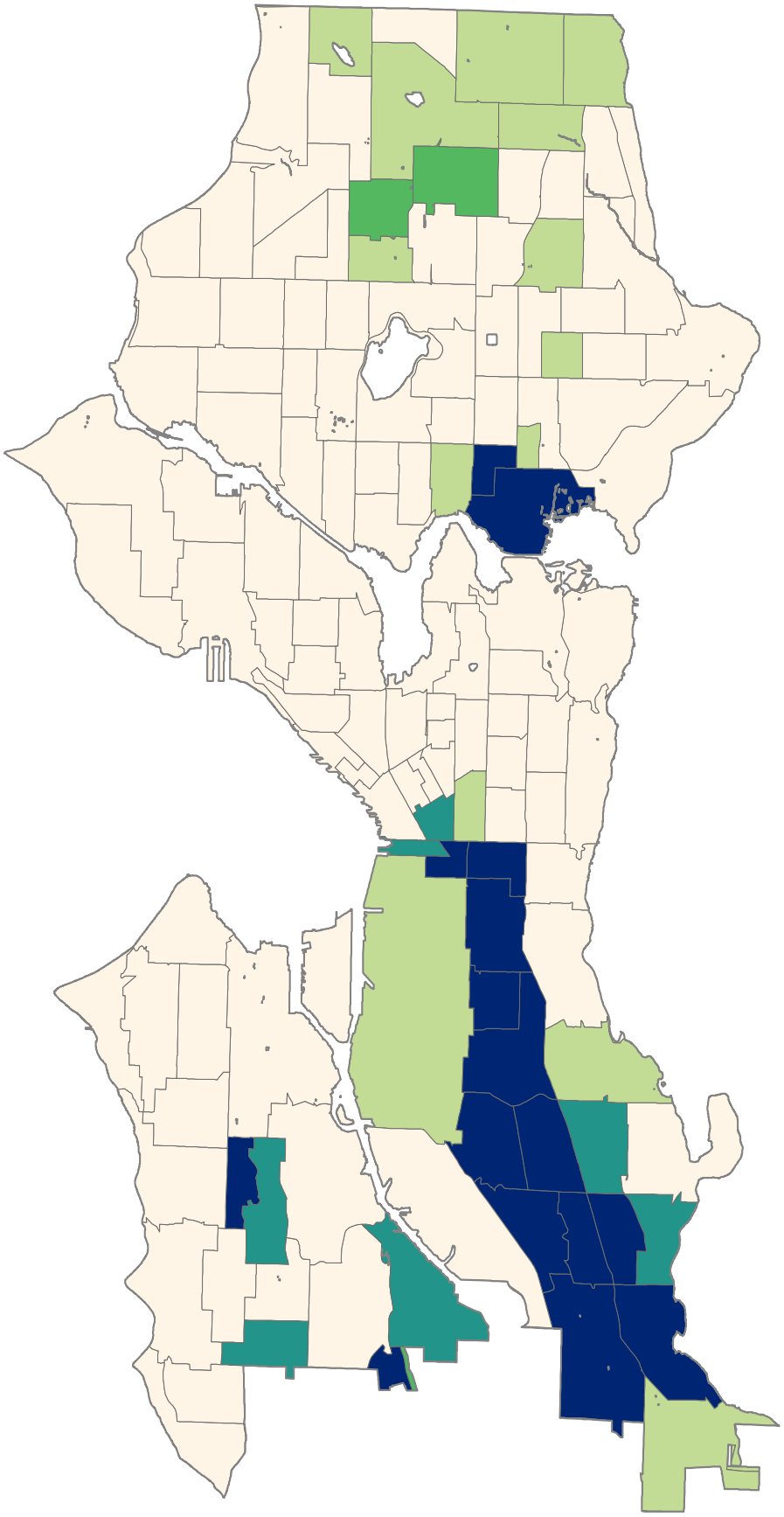
- Median rent



Percentage of households that are linguistically isolated (Census tract)

- < 15%
- 15% - 20%
- 21% - 25%
- 26% - 30%
- > 30%

Source: 2008-2012 American Community Survey

A linguistically isolated household is one in which no one 14 years and older speaks English only or no one 14 years and older speaks both a language other than English and English "very well."

Displacement Risk Index

- People of color
- Linguistic isolation
- Educational attainment
- Housing tenancy
- Housing cost-burdened households
- Severely housing cost-burdened households
- Household income
- Proximity to transit
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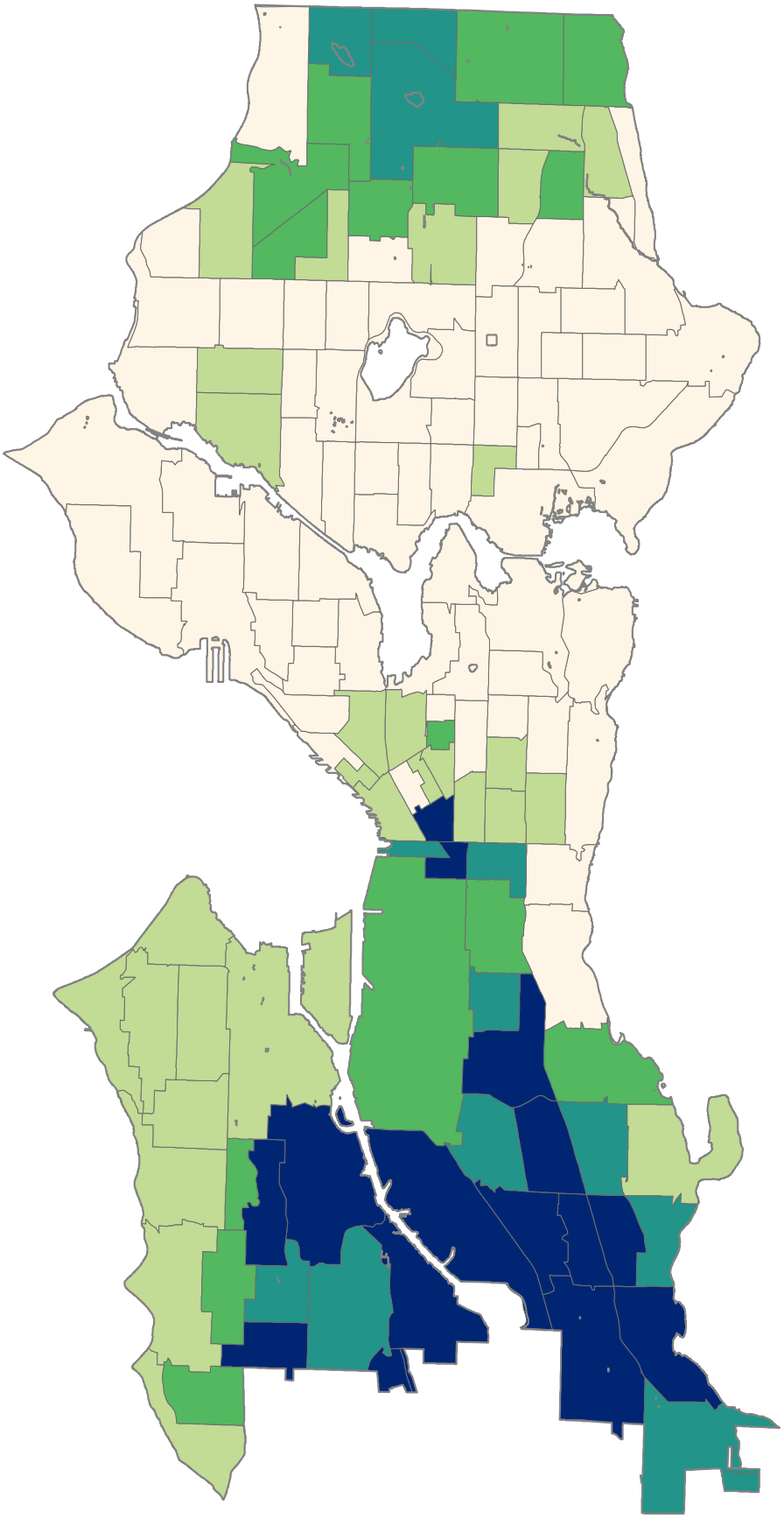
- Median rent



Percentage of population 25 years and older who does not have a Bachelor's degree (Census tract)

- < 40%
- 40% - 50%
- 51% - 60%
- 61% - 70%
- > 70%

Source: 2008-2012 American Community Survey

Displacement Risk Index

- People of color
- Linguistic isolation
- Educational attainment
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- Severely housing cost-burdened households
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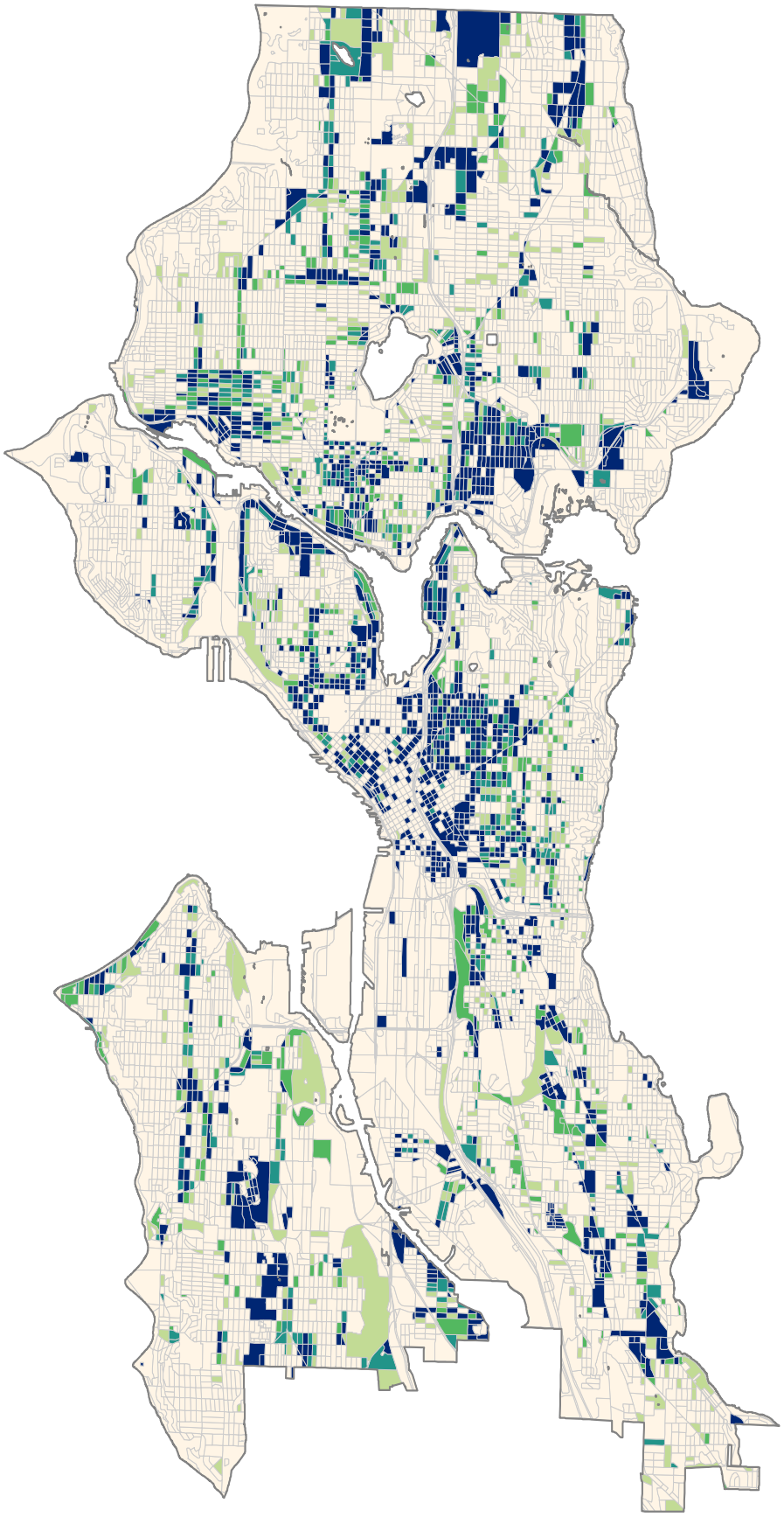

Percentage of population in occupied housing units that are renters (Census block)

- < 40%
- 40% - 50%
- 51% - 60%
- 61% - 70%
- > 70%

Source: 2010 Census

A linguistically isolated household is one in which no one 14 years and older speaks English only or no one 14 years and older speaks both a language other than English and English "very well."

Displacement Risk Index

- People of color
- Linguistic isolation
- Educational attainment
- Housing tenancy
- Housing cost-burdened households
- Severely housing cost-burdened households
- Household income
- Proximity to transit
- Proximity to current or future Link light rail and streetcar
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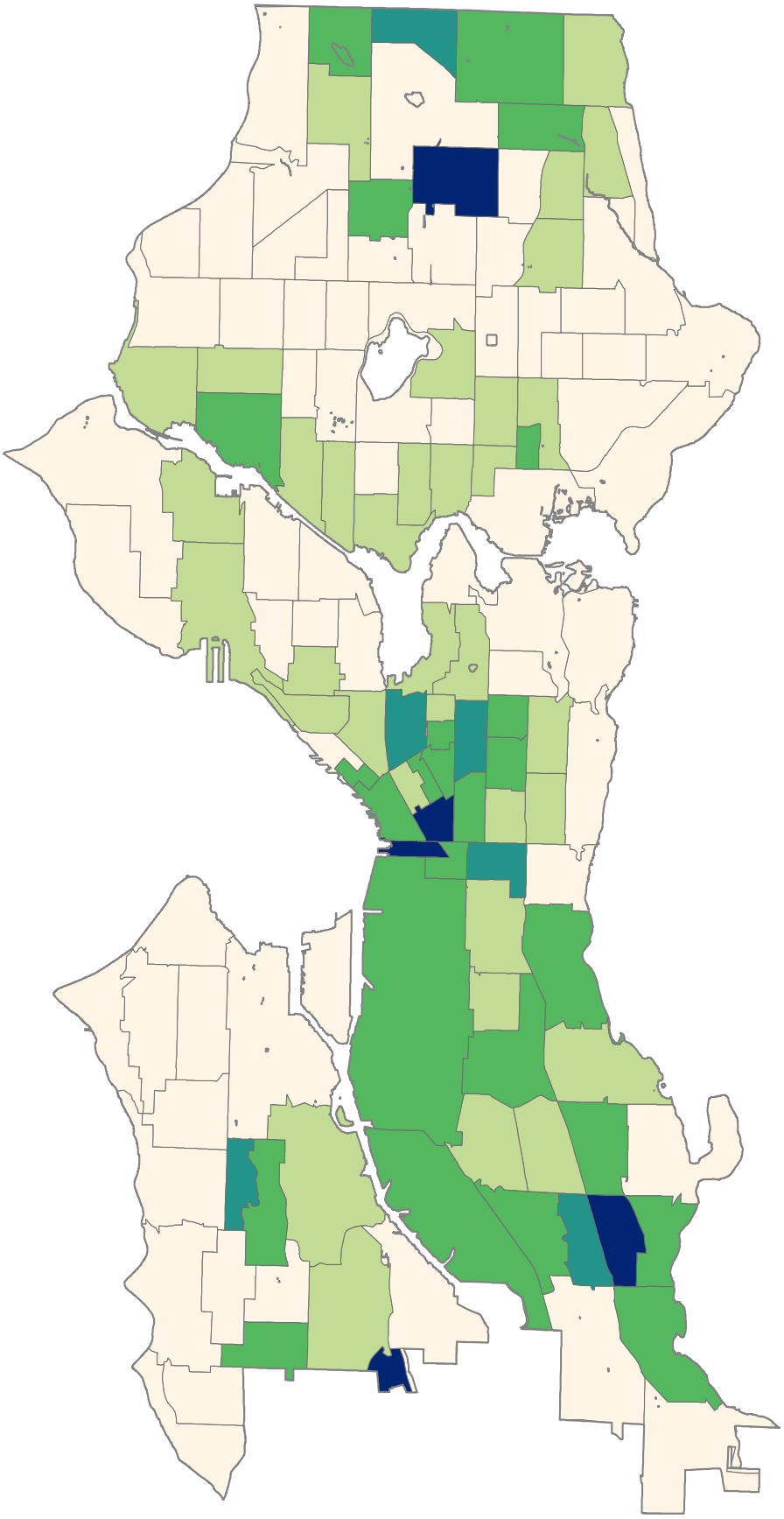
- Proximity to regional job center
- Development capacity
- Median rent



Percentage of households with income below 80% of the Area Median Income that are cost burdened (Census tract)

- < 10%
- 10% - 15%
- 16% - 20%
- 21% - 25%
- > 25%

Source: Comprehensive Housing Affordability Strategy (based on 2007-2011 American Community Survey)

A cost-burdened household is one that pays between 30 and 50 percent of its income on housing costs.

Displacement Risk Index

- People of color
- Linguistic isolation
- Educational attainment
- Housing tenancy
- Housing cost-burdened households
- Severely housing cost-burdened households
- Household income
- Proximity to transit
- Proximity to current or future Link light rail and streetcar
- Proximity to core businesses (supermarket/grocery, pharmacy, and restaurant)
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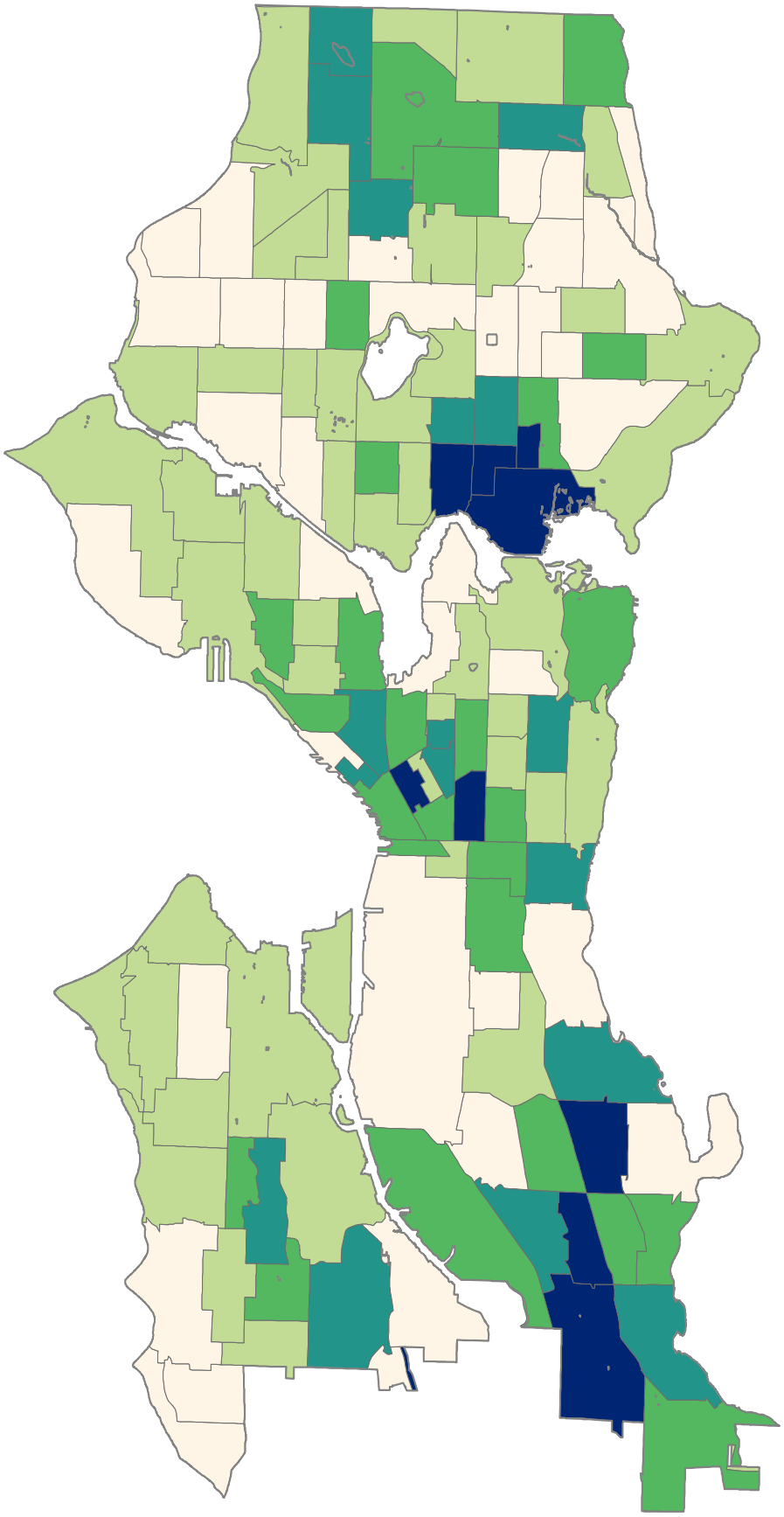

Percentage of households with income below 80% of the Area Median Income that are severely cost burdened (Census tract)

- < 10%
- 10% - 15%
- 16% - 20%
- 21% - 25%
- > 25%

Source: Comprehensive Housing Affordability Strategy (based on 2007-2011 American Community Survey)

A severely cost-burdened household is one that pays more than 50 percent of its income on housing costs.

Displacement Risk Index

- People of color
- Linguistic isolation
- Educational attainment
- Housing tenancy
- Housing cost-burdened households
- Severely housing cost-burdened households
- Household income
- Proximity to transit
- Proximity to current or future Link light rail and streetcar
- Proximity to core businesses (supermarket/grocery, pharmacy, and restaurant)
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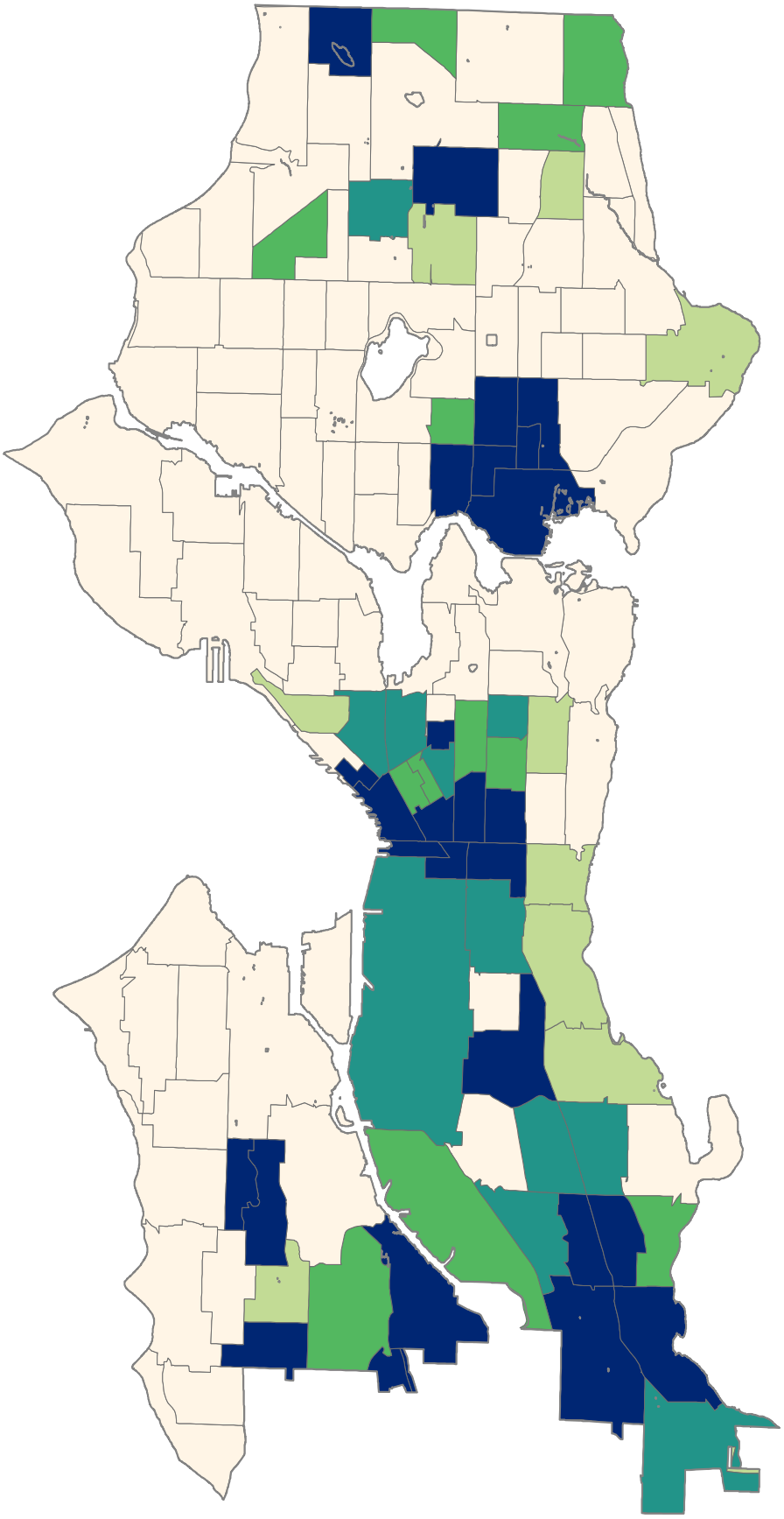
- Proximity to regional job center
- Development capacity
- Median rent



Percentage of the population with income below 200% of the Federal poverty level (Census tract)

- < 25%
- 25% - 30%
- 31% - 35%
- 36% - 40%
- > 40%

Source: 2008-2012 American Community Survey

Displacement Risk Index

- People of color
- Linguistic isolation
- Educational attainment
- Housing tenancy
- Housing cost-burdened households
- Severely housing cost-burdened households
- Household income
- Proximity to transit
- Proximity to current or future Link light rail and streetcar
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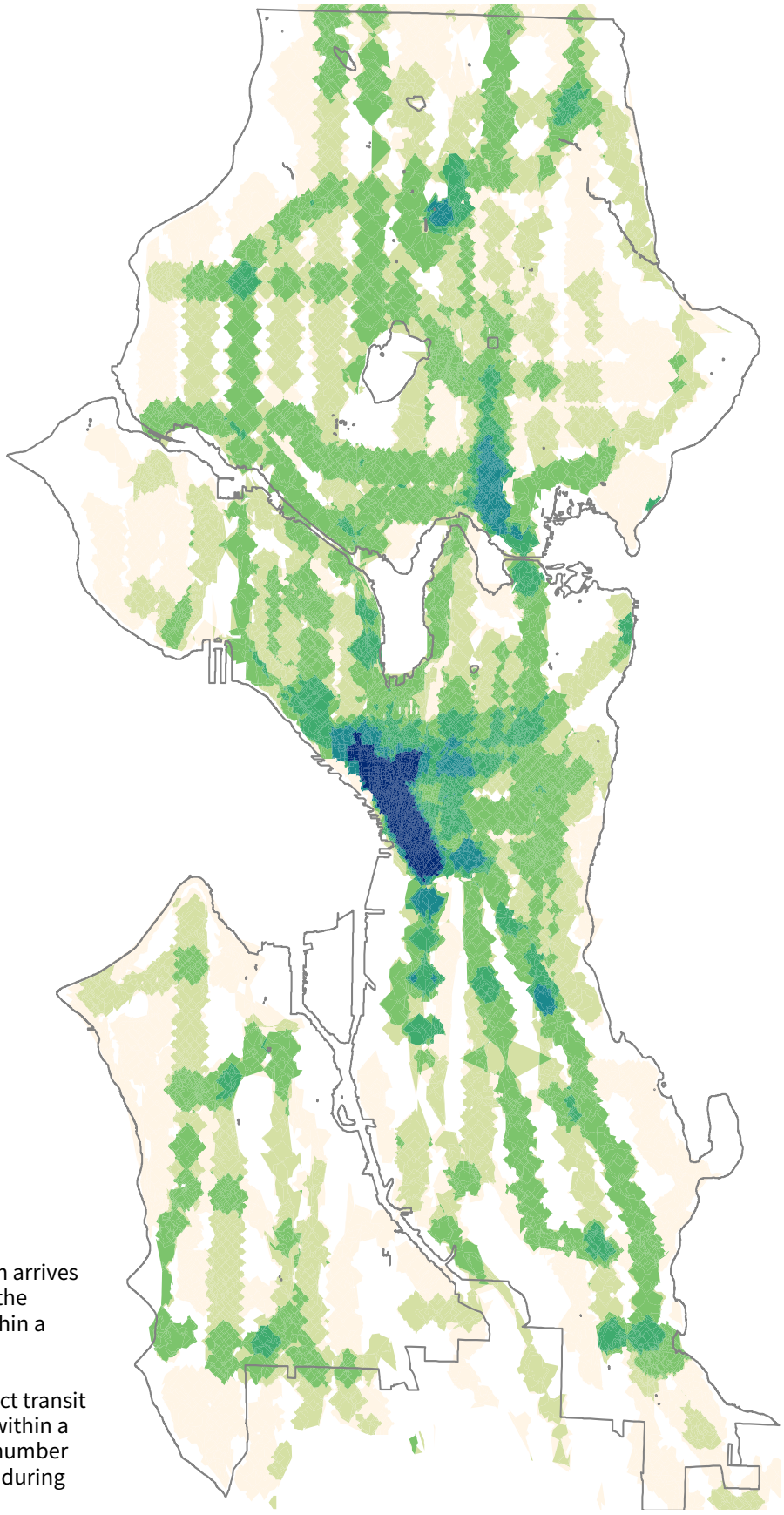
- Development capacity
- Median rent

Number of daily unique transit trips within a quarter-mile walking distance of a location

- 1 - 100
- 101 - 200
- 201 - 500
- 501 - 1000
- 1001 - 2000
- > 2000

Source: King County Metro



A transit "trip" occurs each time a bus or train arrives at and departs from a stop. This map shows the number of unique transit trips that occur within a quarter-mile along the walking network.

It does not double count when the same exact transit vehicle stops at two locations that are both within a quarter-mile walk. Instead, it quantifies the number of unique bus trips that someone can access during an entire weekday.

Displacement Risk Index

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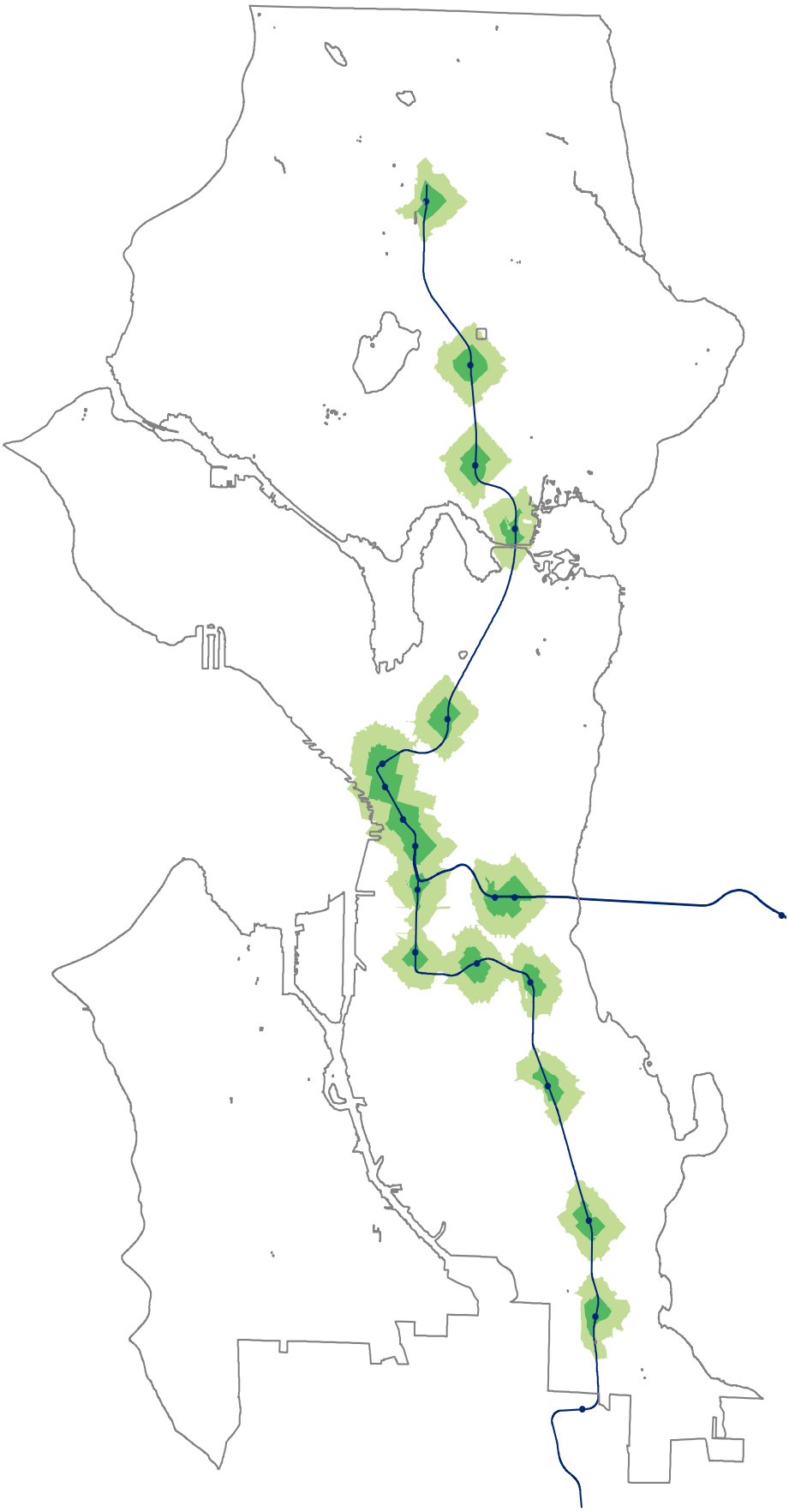

Walking distance to a current or future Link light rail station

- 0.25 mile
- 0.5 mile
- Link light rail

Source: Sound Transit

Displacement Risk Index

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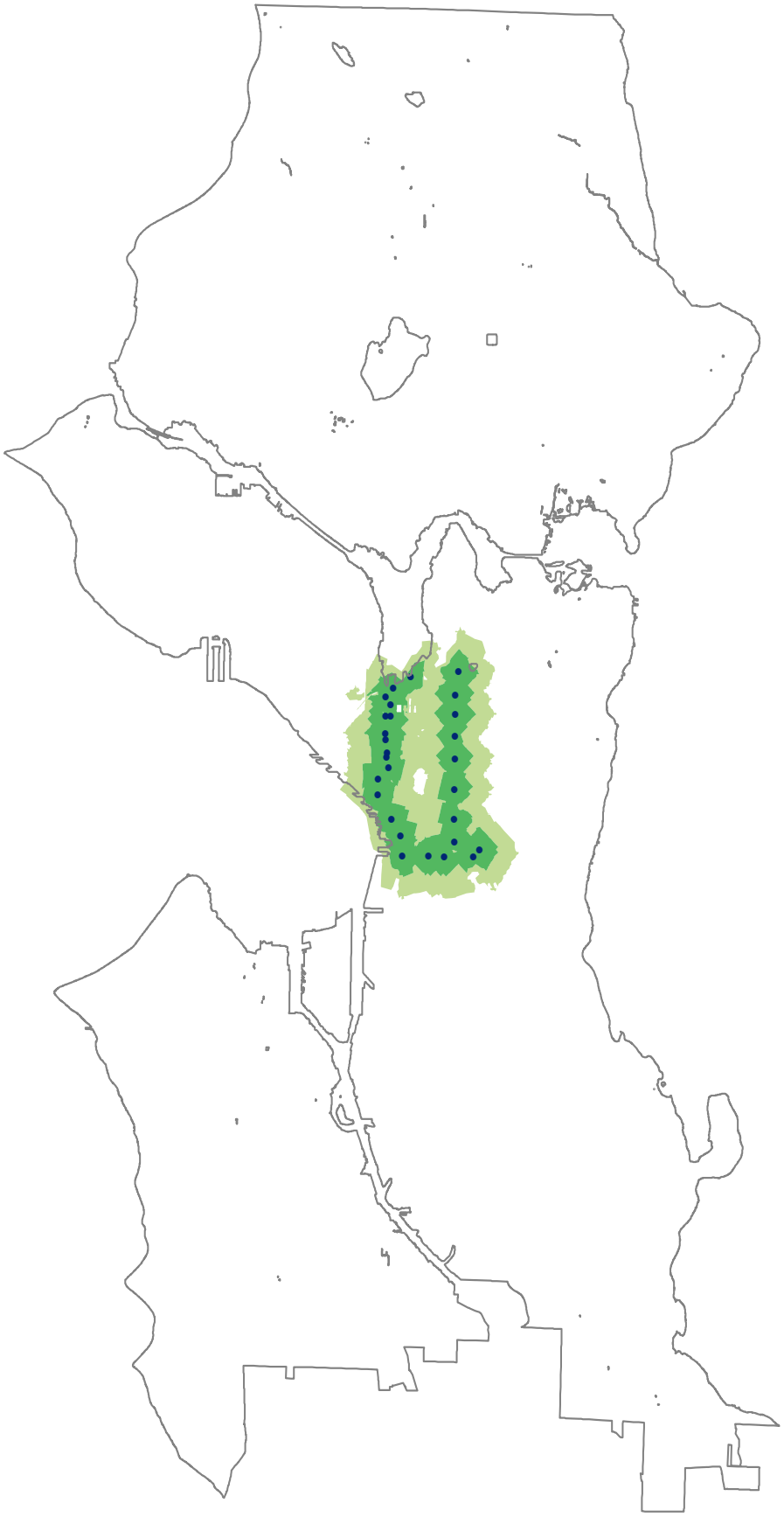

Walking distance to a current or future streetcar stop

- 0.25 mile
- 0.5 mile
- Streetcar stop

Source: Seattle Department of Transportation

Displacement Risk Index

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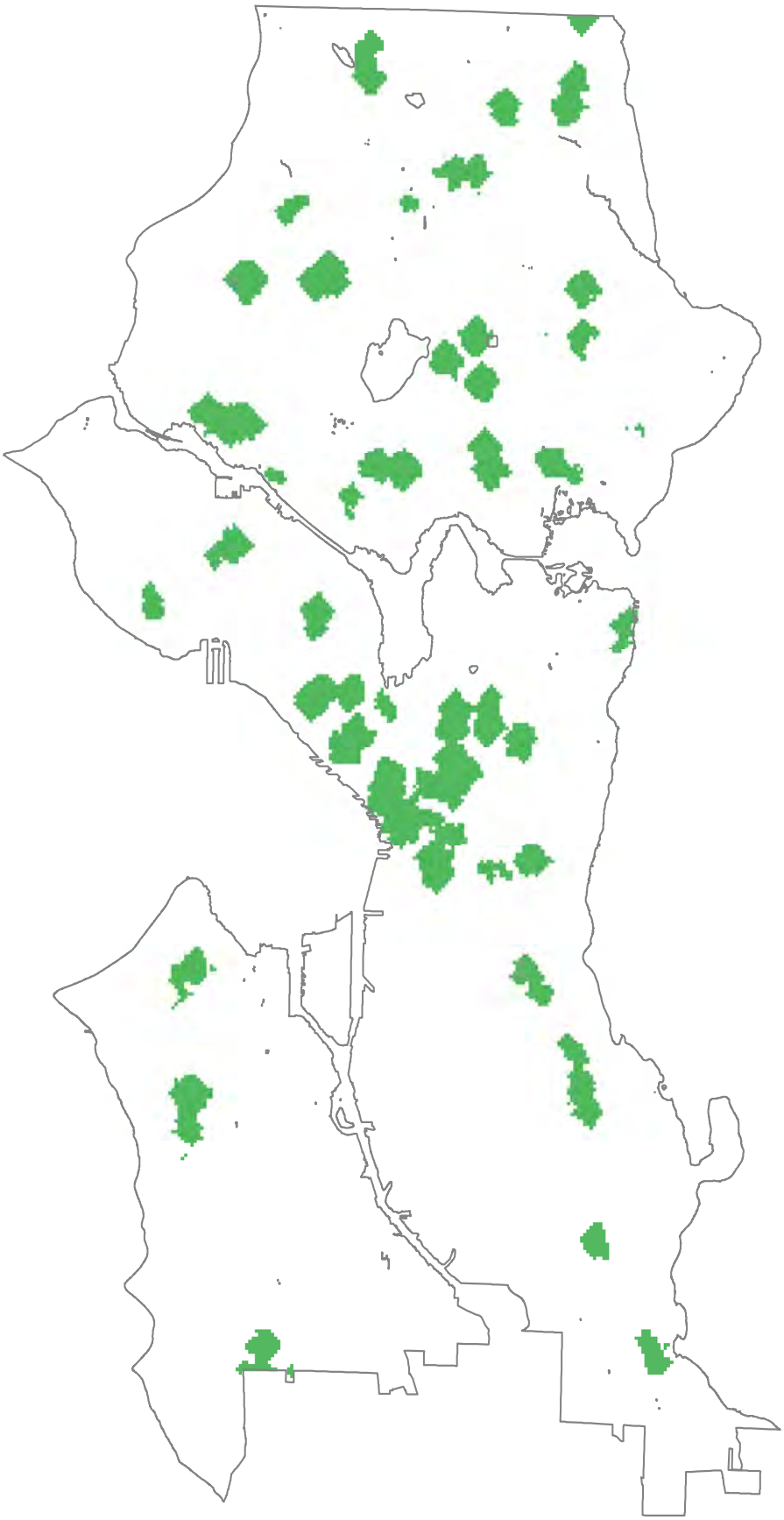

Locations within walking distance of core businesses

Within 0.5 mile of a supermarket/grocery, 0.25 mile of a pharmacy, and 0.25 of a restaurant, cafe, or diner

Source: ReferenceUSA

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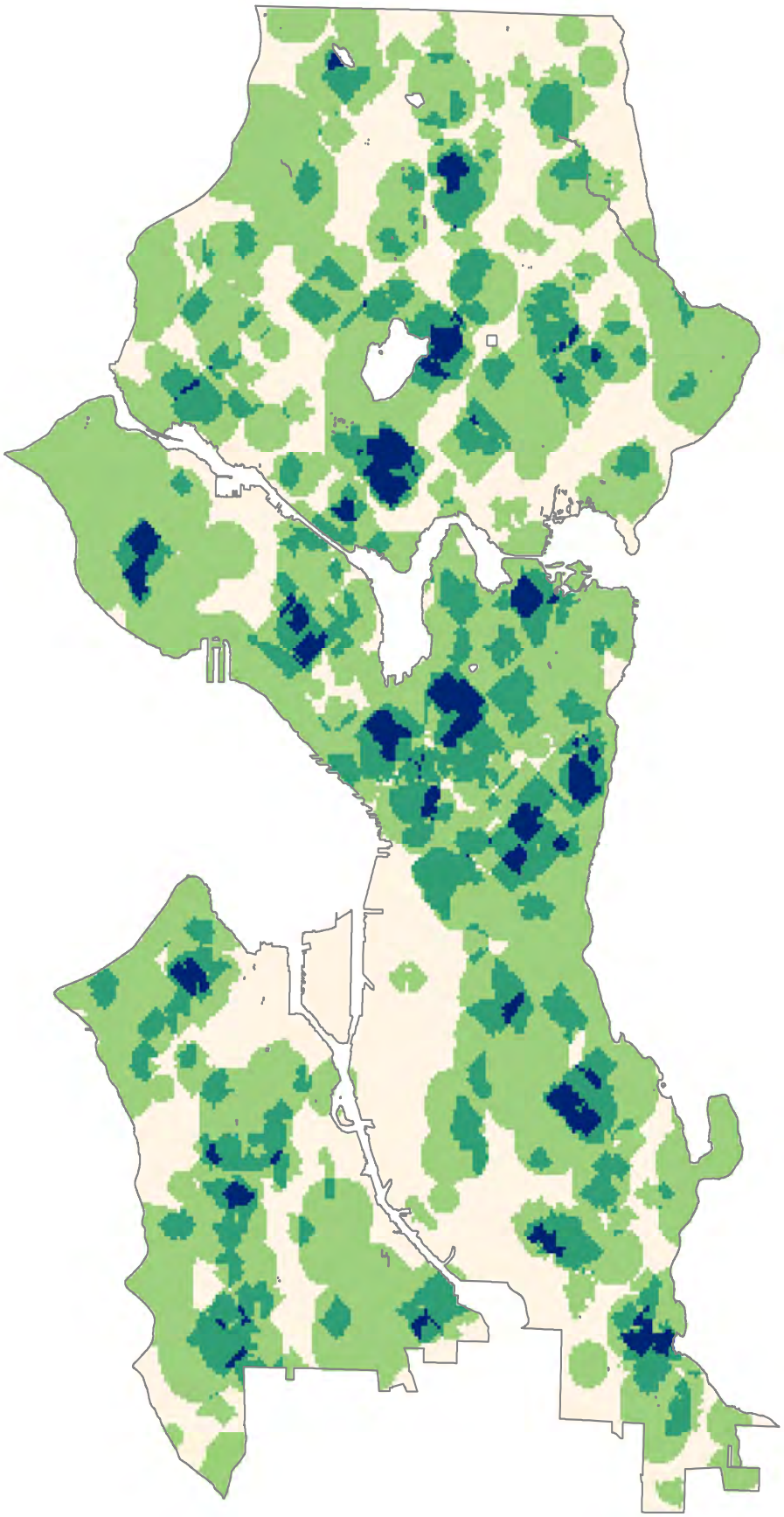
Number of the following locations within the specified distance:
School (0.25 mile)
Community center (0.25)
Library (0.5 mile)
Park (varies by acreage)

0
1
2
3

Source: City of Seattle



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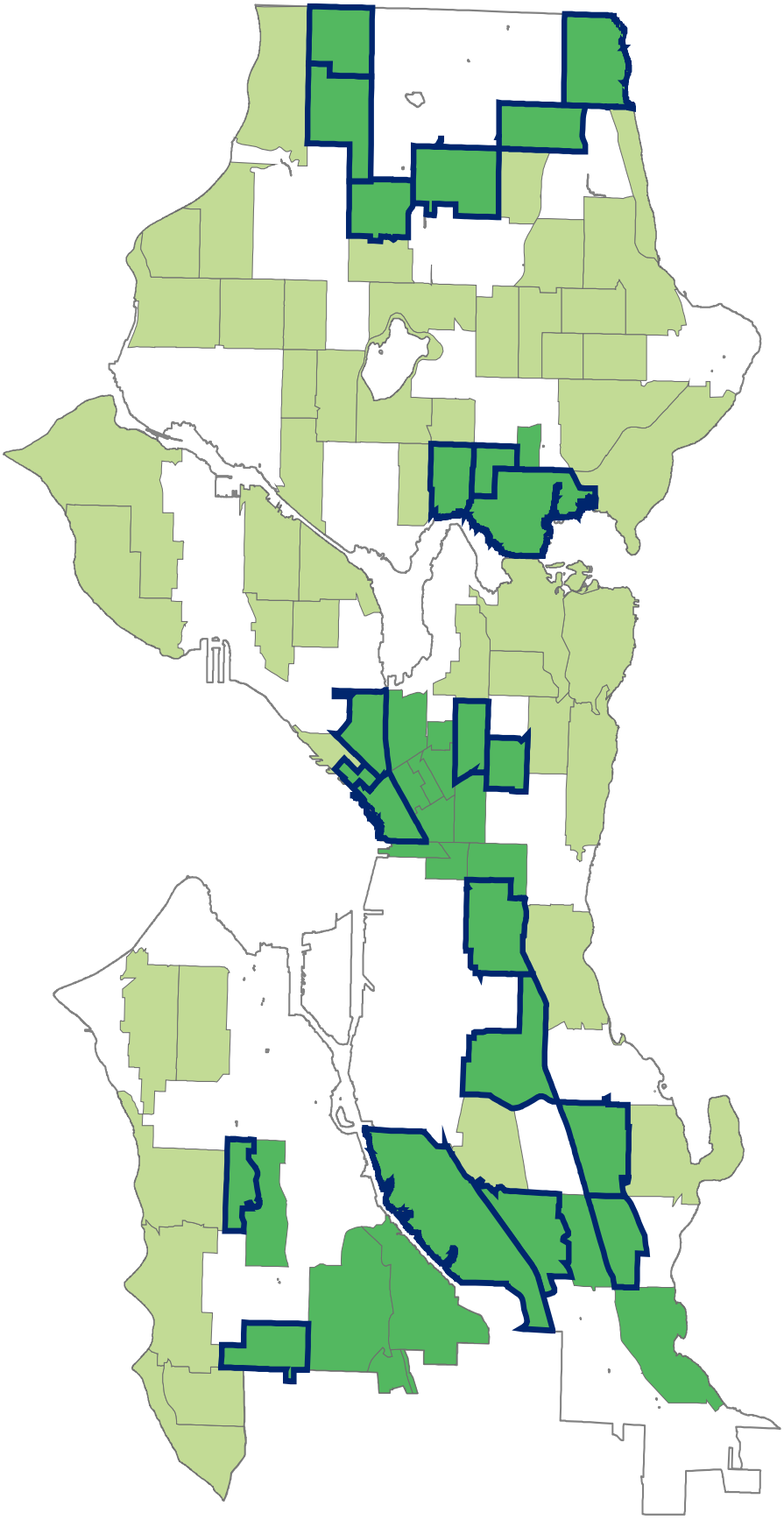

Median household income relative to Area Median Income (AMI) (Census tract)

> 120% of AMI

< 80% of AMI

"Spillover" tract

Source: 2008-2012 American Community Survey

A "spillover" Census tract is one that a) has a median household income under 80% of the Area Median Income and b) abuts a tract where the median household income is above 120% of the Area Median Income.

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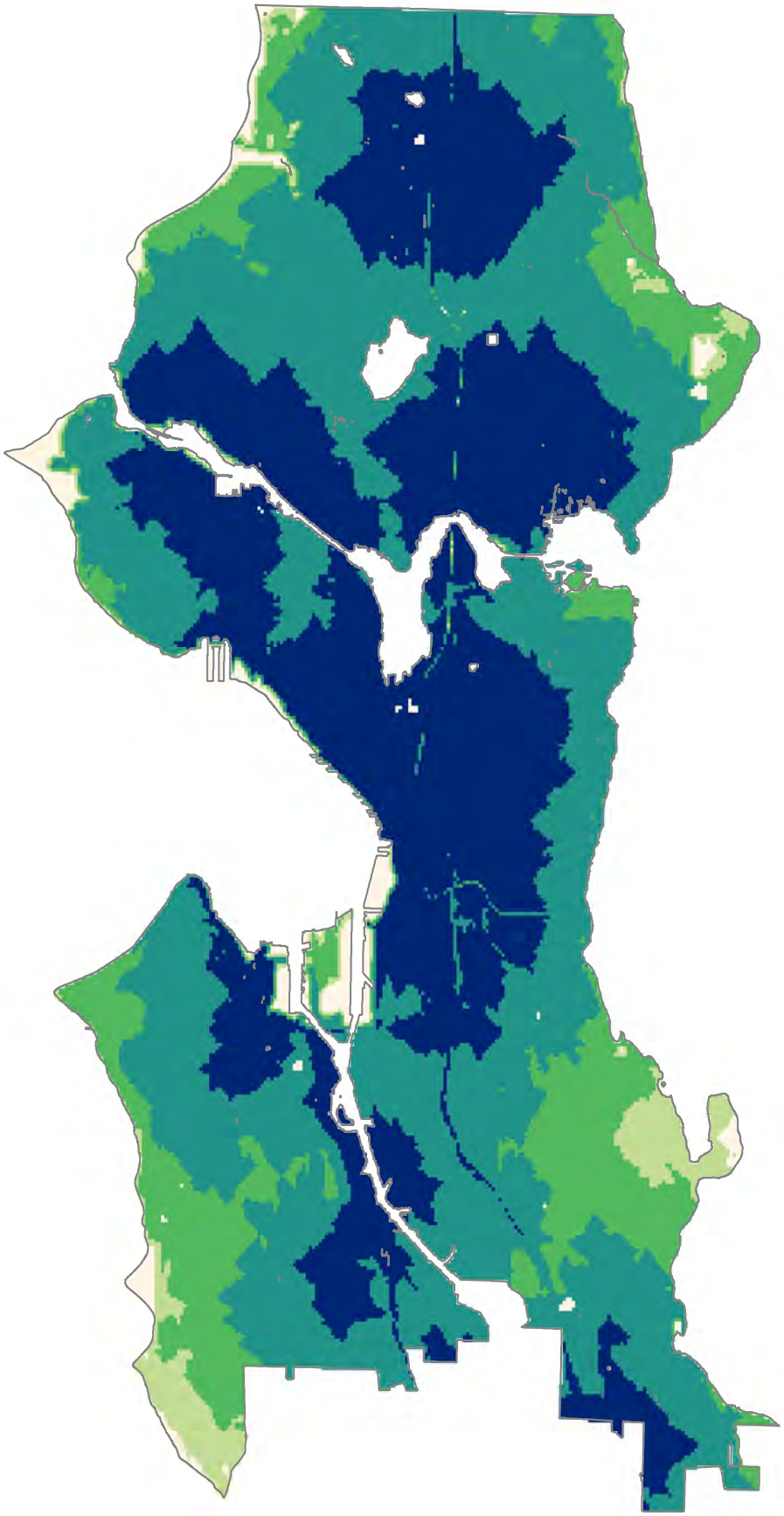
- Development capacity
- Median rent



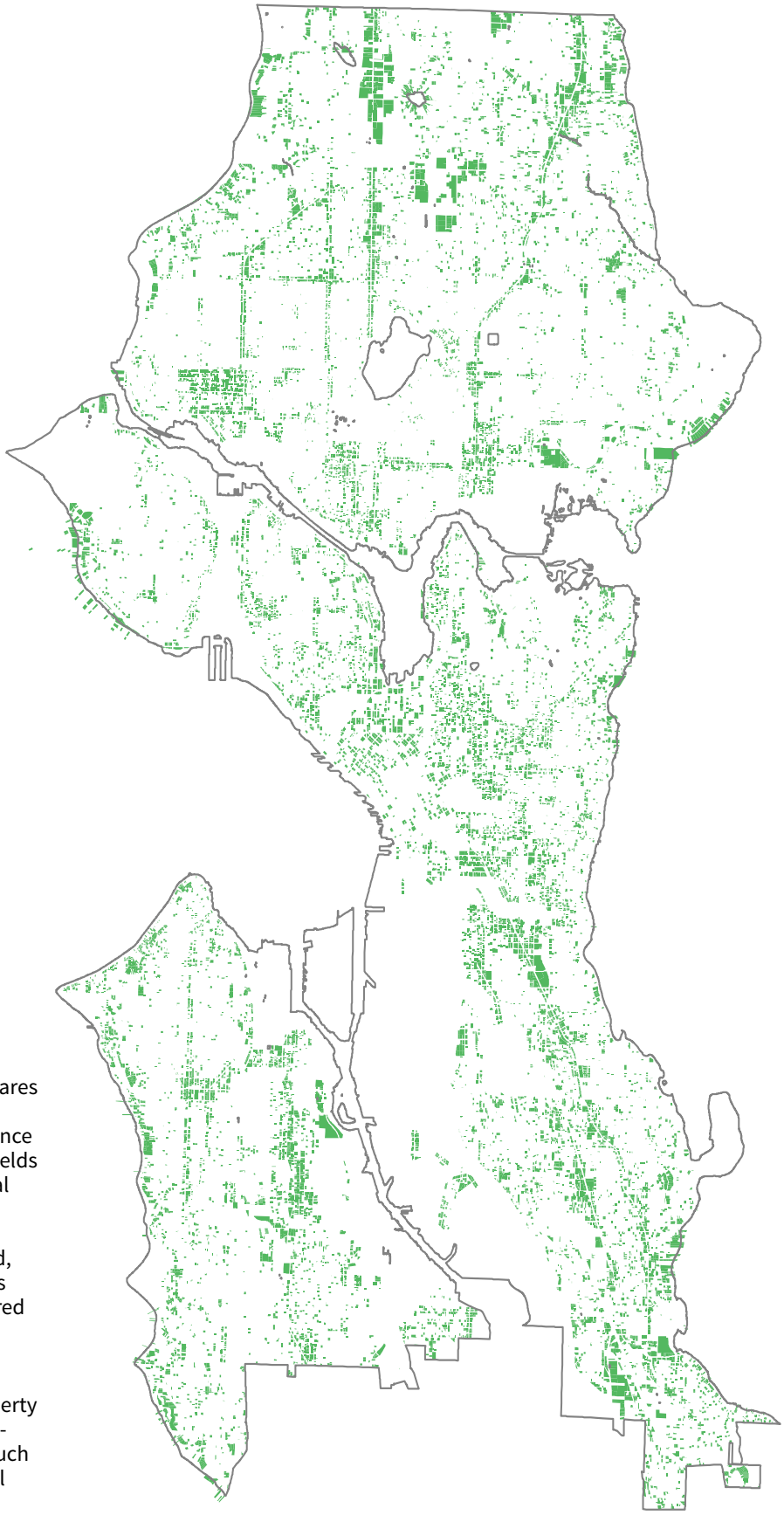
Travel time to designated King County Urban Centers and Manufacturing & Industrial Centers (minutes)

- < 5
- 5 - 10
- 11 - 15
- 16 - 20
- > 20

Source: King County

Displacement Risk Index

- People of color
- Linguistic isolation
- Educational attainment
- Housing tenancy
- Housing cost-burdened households
- Severely housing cost-burdened households
- Household income
- Proximity to transit
- Proximity to current or future Link light rail and streetcar
- Proximity to core businesses (supermarket/grocery, pharmacy, and restaurant)
- Proximity to civic infrastructure (location within a certain distance of a school, park, community center, or library)
- Proximity to high-income neighborhood
- Proximity to regional job center
- Development capacity
- Median rent



Parcels that allow residential uses identified as likely to redevelop in City development capacity model

Source: City of Seattle

The City maintains a capacity model that compares existing development to an estimate for what could be built under current zoning. The difference between existing and potential development yields the capacity for new residential and commercial development.

Certain parcels unlikely to develop are excluded, such as public facilities, cemeteries, and parcels that contain landmarked structures or transferred development rights.

The model does not predict market trends or suggest when redevelopment will occur. A property owner's decision to demolish and replace an existing building involves many considerations, such as whether the land is owned outright, financial feasibility, and current revenue.

Displacement Risk Index

- People of color
- Linguistic isolation
- Educational attainment
- Housing tenancy
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- Severely housing cost-burdened households
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- Proximity to transit
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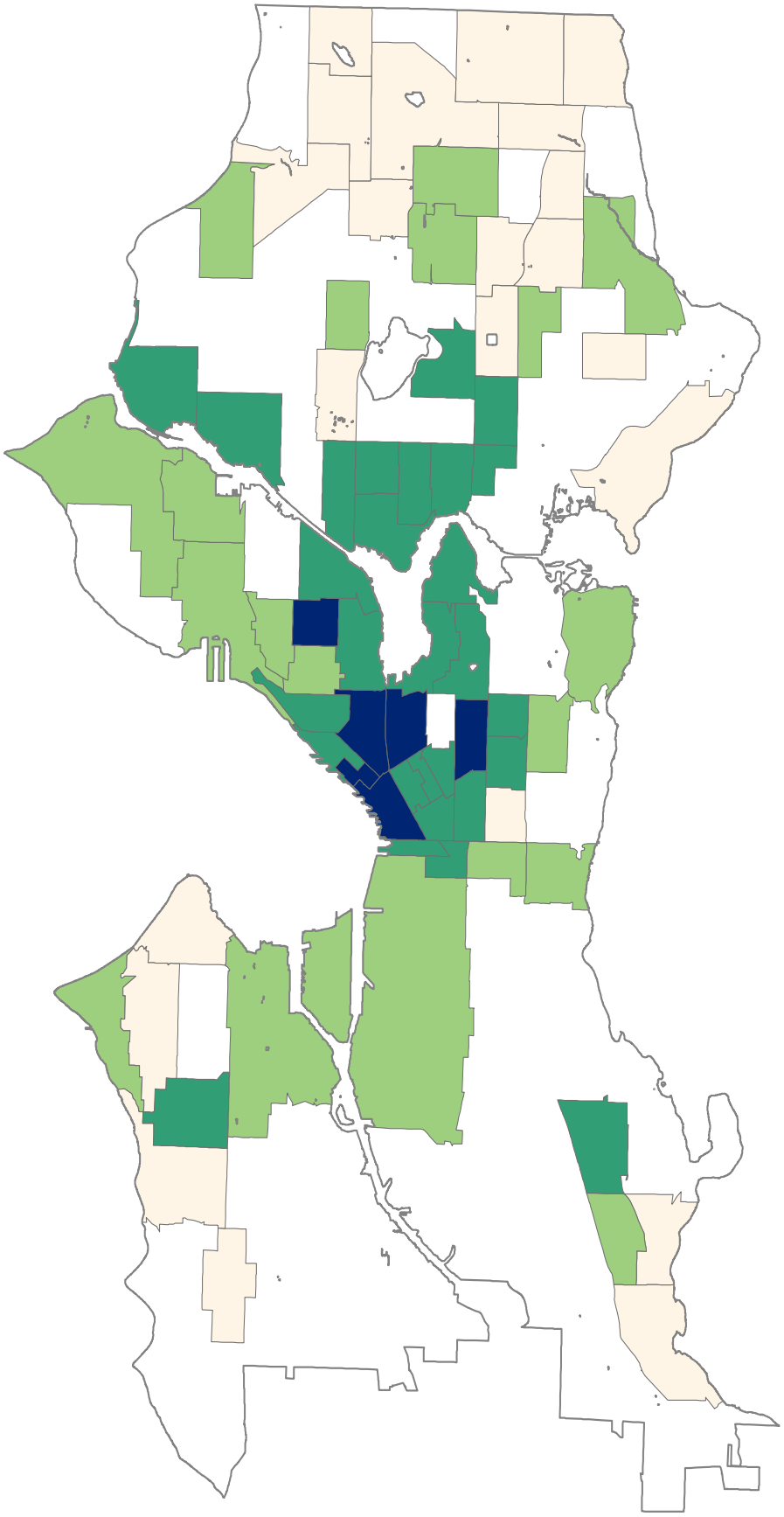
- Development capacity
- Median rent



Ratio of average rent per census tract to Seattle average

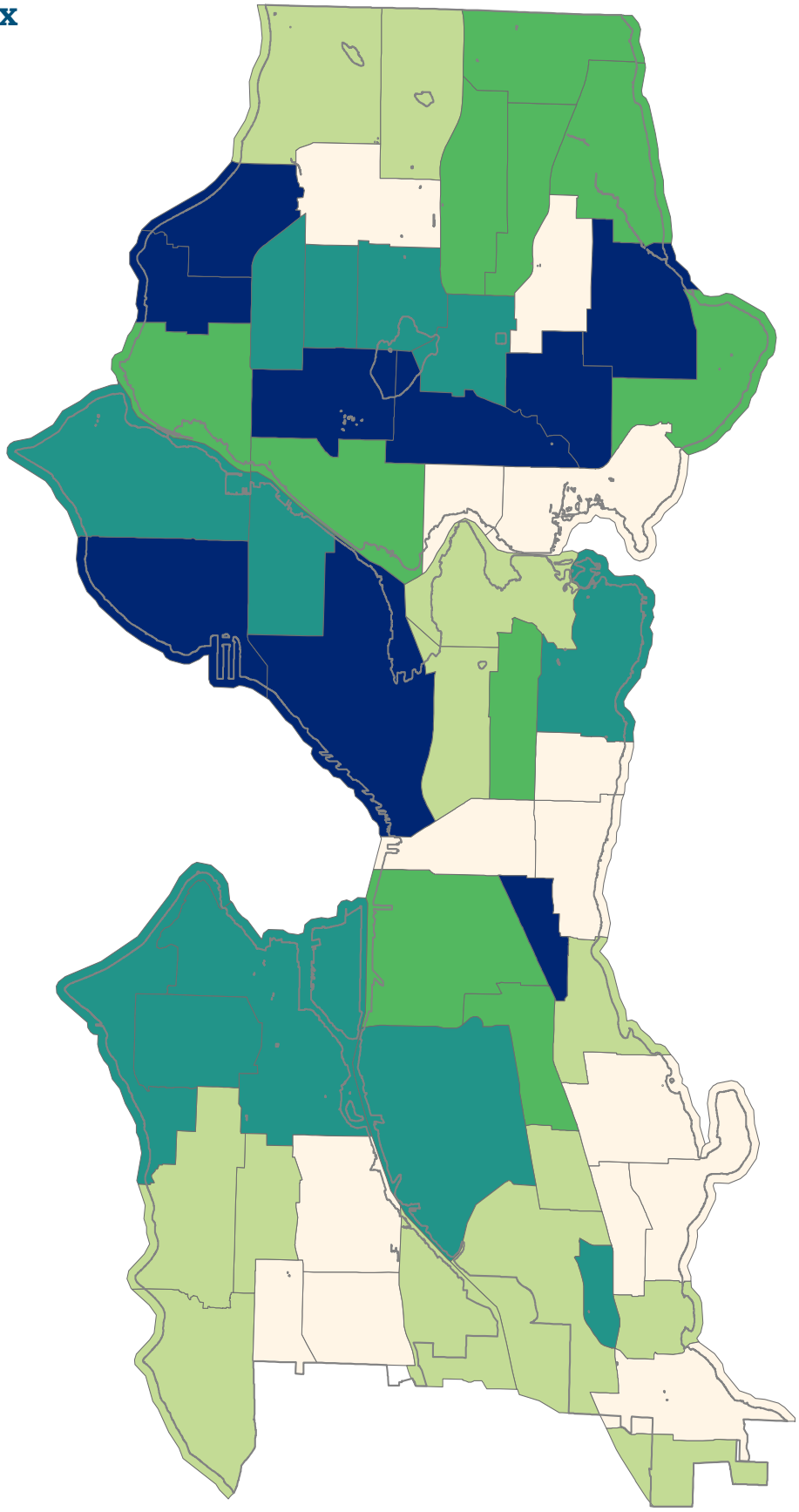
- < 75%
- 75 - 90%
- 91 - 110%
- > 110%

Source: Dupre + Scott (Spring 2016)

Based on multifamily buildings with 20 or more units, for all unit sizes, in dollars per net rentable square feet.

Access to Opportunity Index

- School performance
- Graduation rate
- Access to college or university
- Proximity to a library
- Proximity to employment
- Property appreciation
- Proximity to transit
- Proximity to current or future Link light rail and streetcar
- Proximity to a community center
- Proximity to a park
- Sidewalk completeness
- Proximity to a health care facility
- Proximity to a location that sells produce



Percentage of elementary school students performing at grade level in math (attendance area)

- < 55%
- 55 -65%
- 66 - 75%
- 76 - 85%
- > 85%

Source: Washington Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction (2012-2013 school year)

Access to Opportunity Index

- School performance
- Graduation rate
- Access to college or university
- Proximity to a library
- Proximity to employment
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- Proximity to transit
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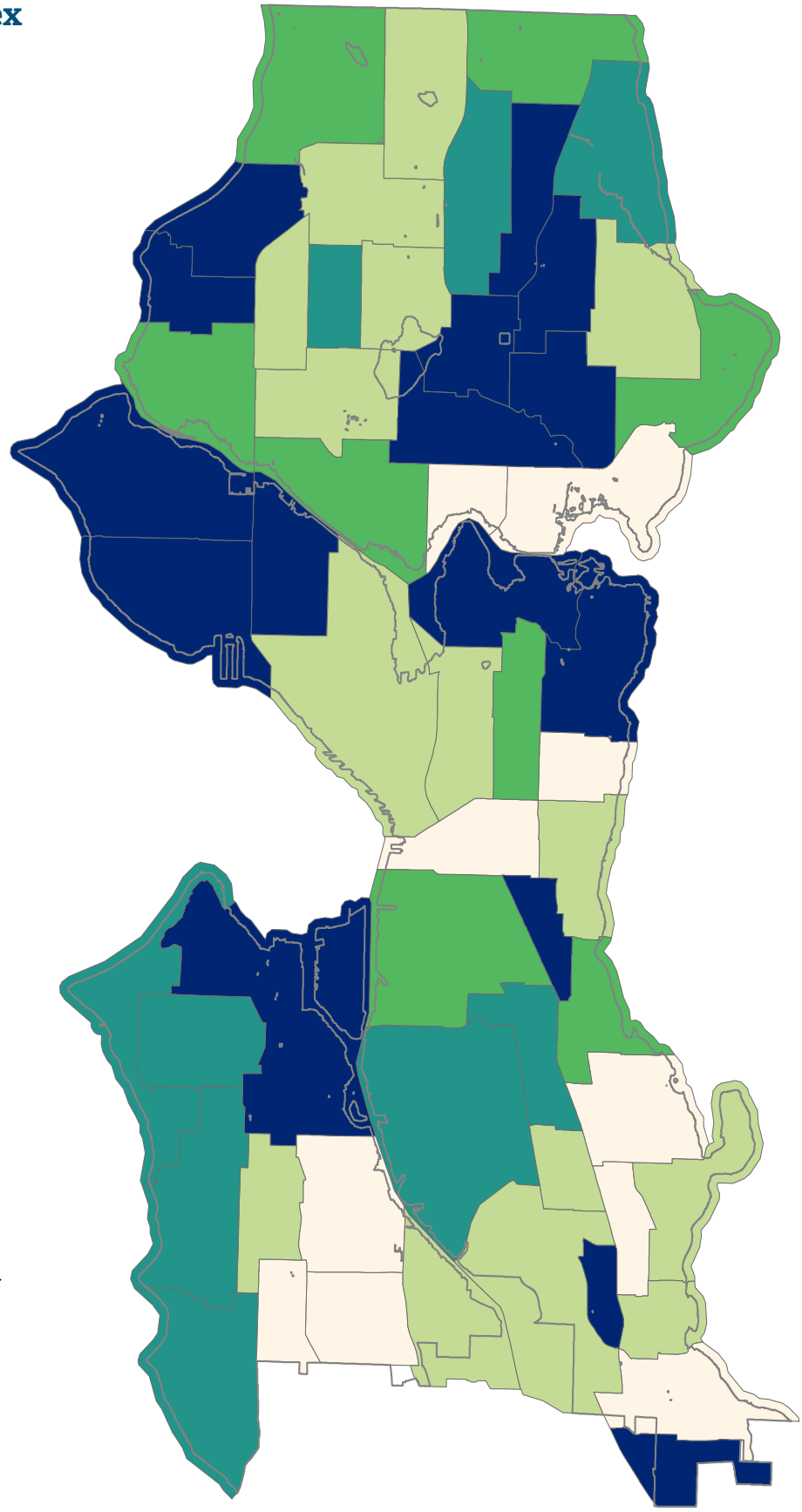

Percentage of elementary school students performing at grade level in reading (attendance area)

- < 55%
- 55 -65%
- 66 - 75%
- 76 - 85%
- > 85%

Source: Washington Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction (2012-2013 school year)

Access to Opportunity Index

- School performance
- Graduation rate
- Access to college or university
- Proximity to a library
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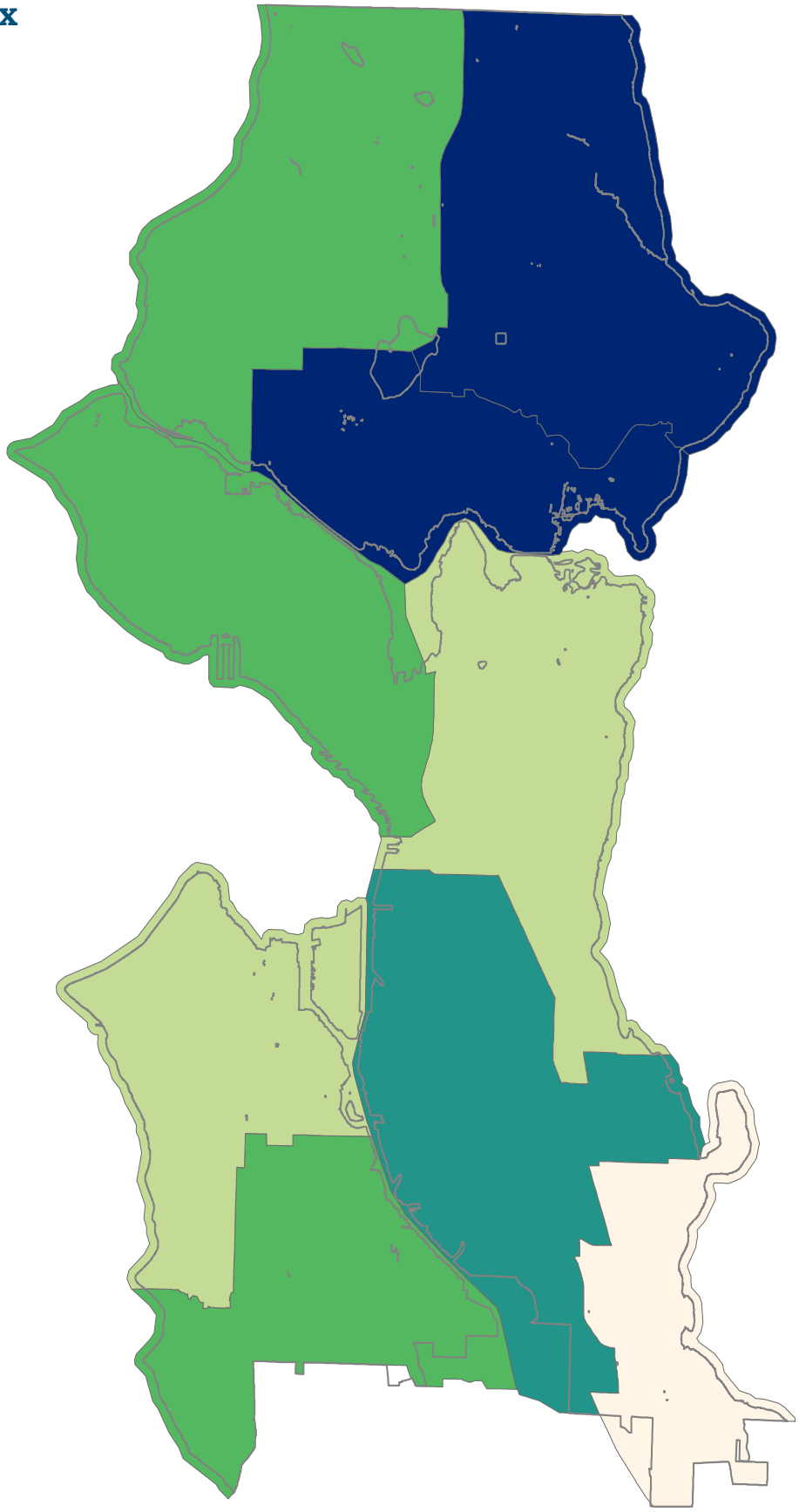

Percentage of middle school students performing at grade level in math (attendance area)

- < 65%
- 65 - 70%
- 71 - 75%
- 76 - 80%
- > 80%

Source: Washington Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction (2012-2013 school year)

Access to Opportunity Index

- School performance
- Graduation rate
- Access to college or university
- Proximity to a library
- Proximity to employment
- Property appreciation
- Proximity to transit
- Proximity to current or future Link light rail and streetcar
- Proximity to a community center
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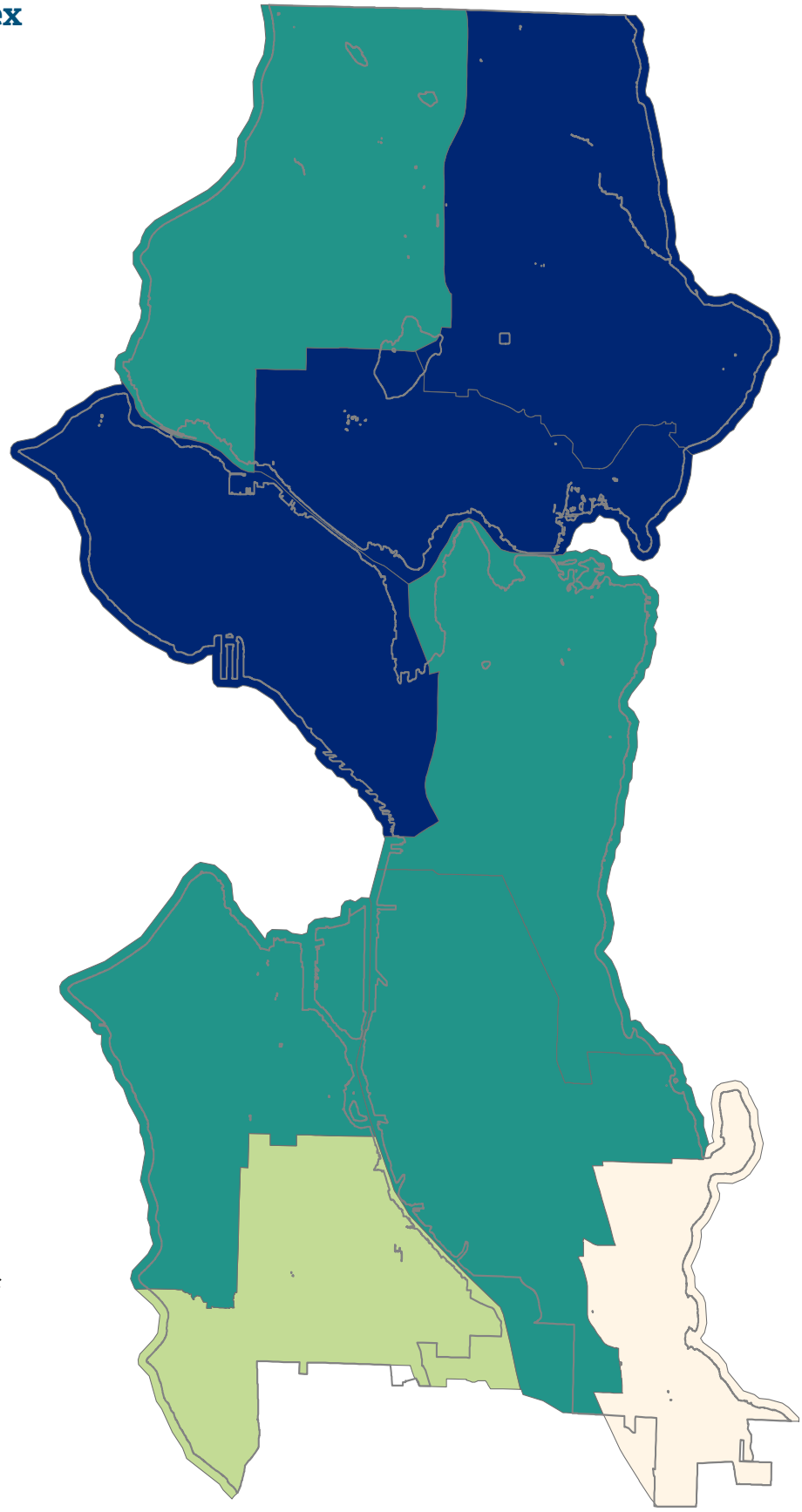

Percentage of middle school students performing at grade level in reading (attendance area)

- < 65%
- 65 - 70%
- 71 - 75%
- 76 - 80%
- > 80%

Source: Washington Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction (2012-2013 school year)

Access to Opportunity Index

- School performance
- Graduation rate
- Access to college or university
- Proximity to a library
- Proximity to employment
- Property appreciation
- Proximity to transit
- Proximity to current or future Link light rail and streetcar
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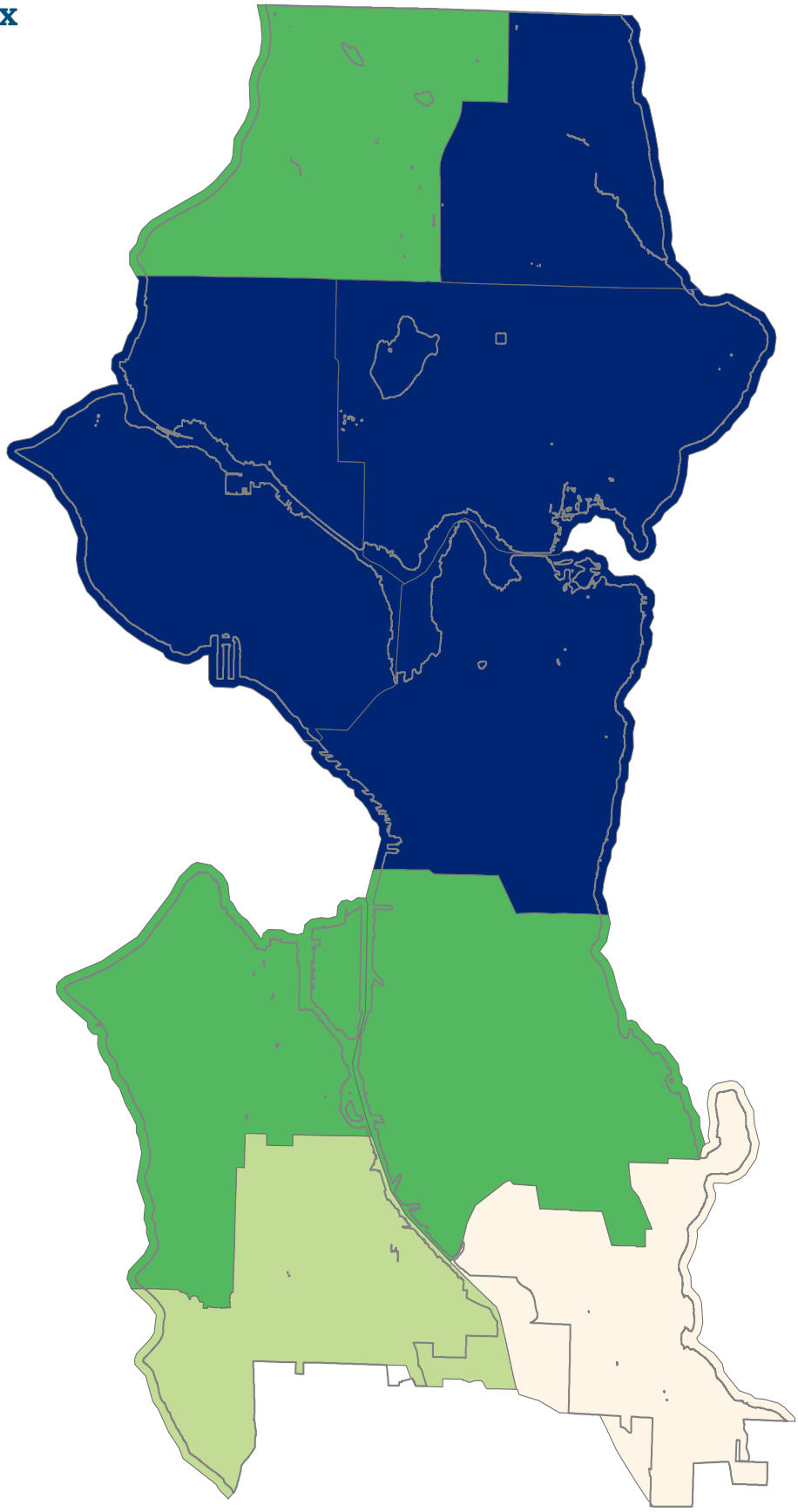

Four-year cohort high school graduation rate (attendence area)

- < 75%
- 75 - 80%
- 81 - 85%
- 86 - 90%
- > 90%

Source: Washington Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction (2012-2013 school year)

Access to Opportunity Index

- School performance
- Graduation rate
- Access to college or university
- Proximity to a library
- Proximity to employment
- Property appreciation
- Proximity to transit
- Proximity to current or future Link light rail and streetcar
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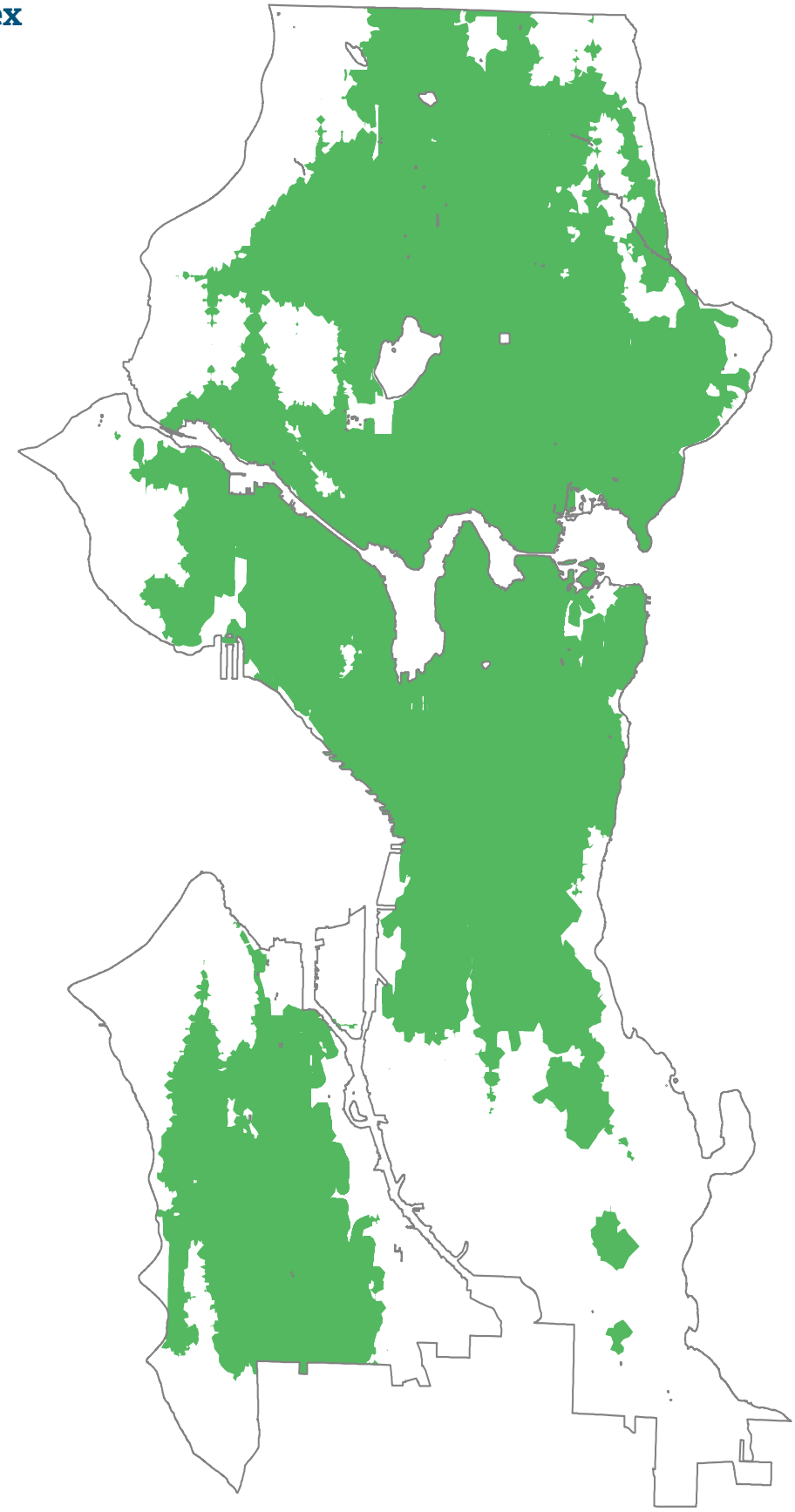

Within 30 minutes of a college or university by transit (bus and/or light rail)

Source: King County Metro, Sound Transit

Access to Opportunity Index

- School performance
- Graduation rate
- Access to college or university
- Proximity to a library
- Proximity to employment
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- Proximity to transit
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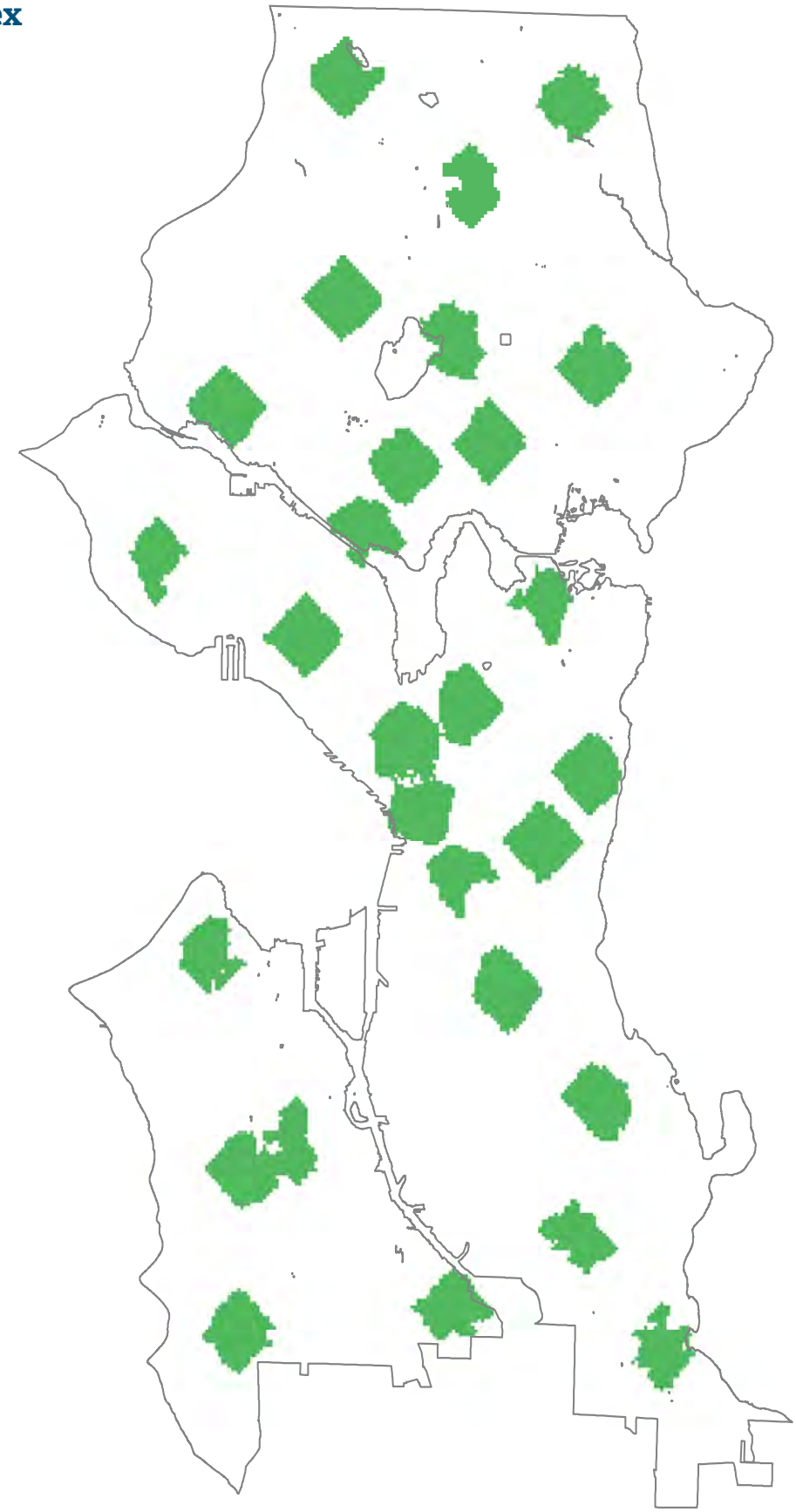

Within 0.5 mile of a library

Source: City of Seattle

Access to Opportunity Index

- School performance
- Graduation rate
- Access to college or university
- Proximity to a library
- Proximity to employment
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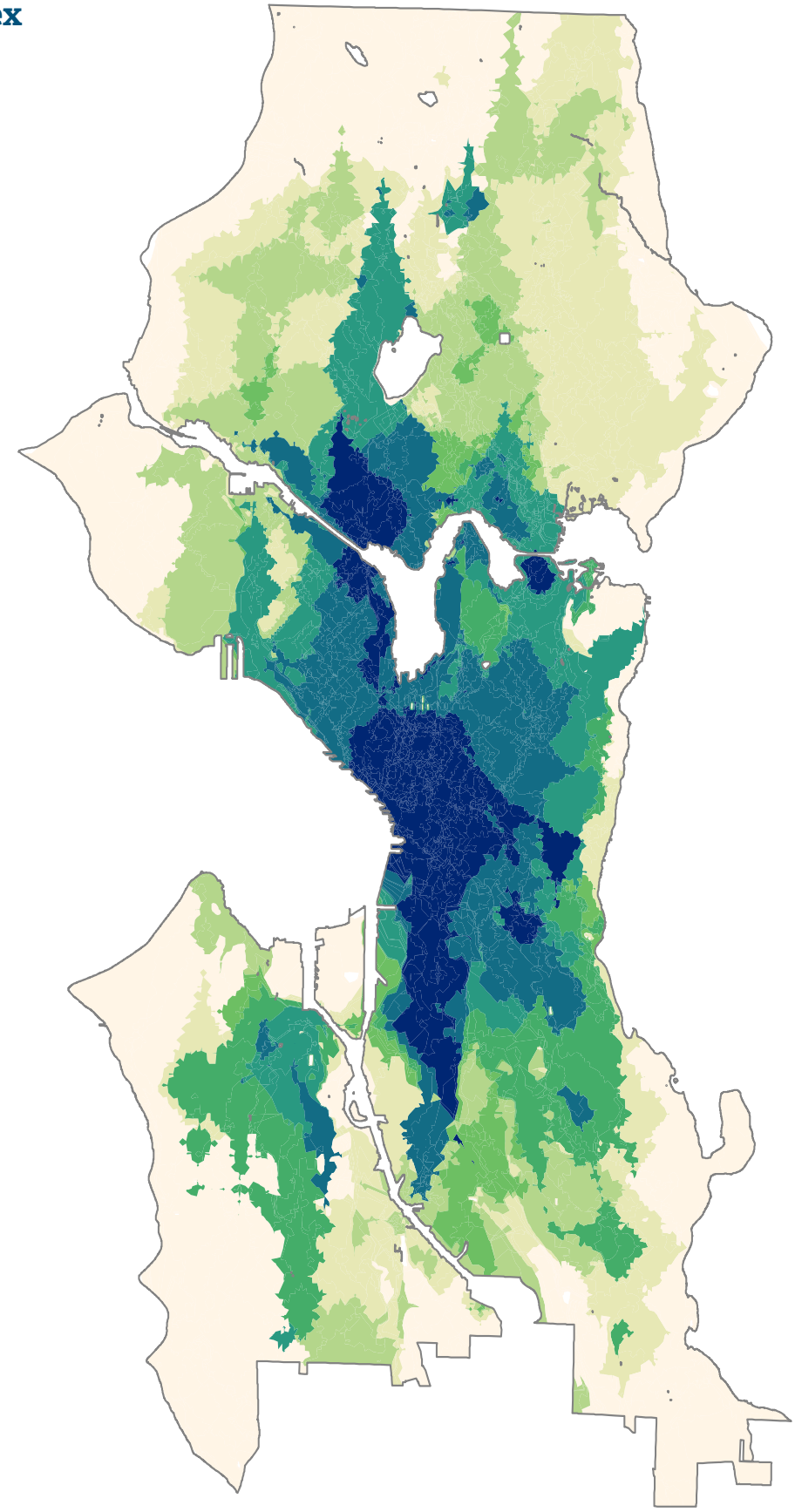

Number of jobs accessible in 30 minutes by transit

- < 50,000
- 50,001 - 75,000
- 75,001 - 100,000
- 100,001 - 150,000
- 150,001 - 200,000
- 200,001 - 250,000
- 250,001 - 300,000
- > 300,000

Source: Puget Sound Regional Council 2014 Covered Employment Estimates by Census tract

Access to Opportunity Index

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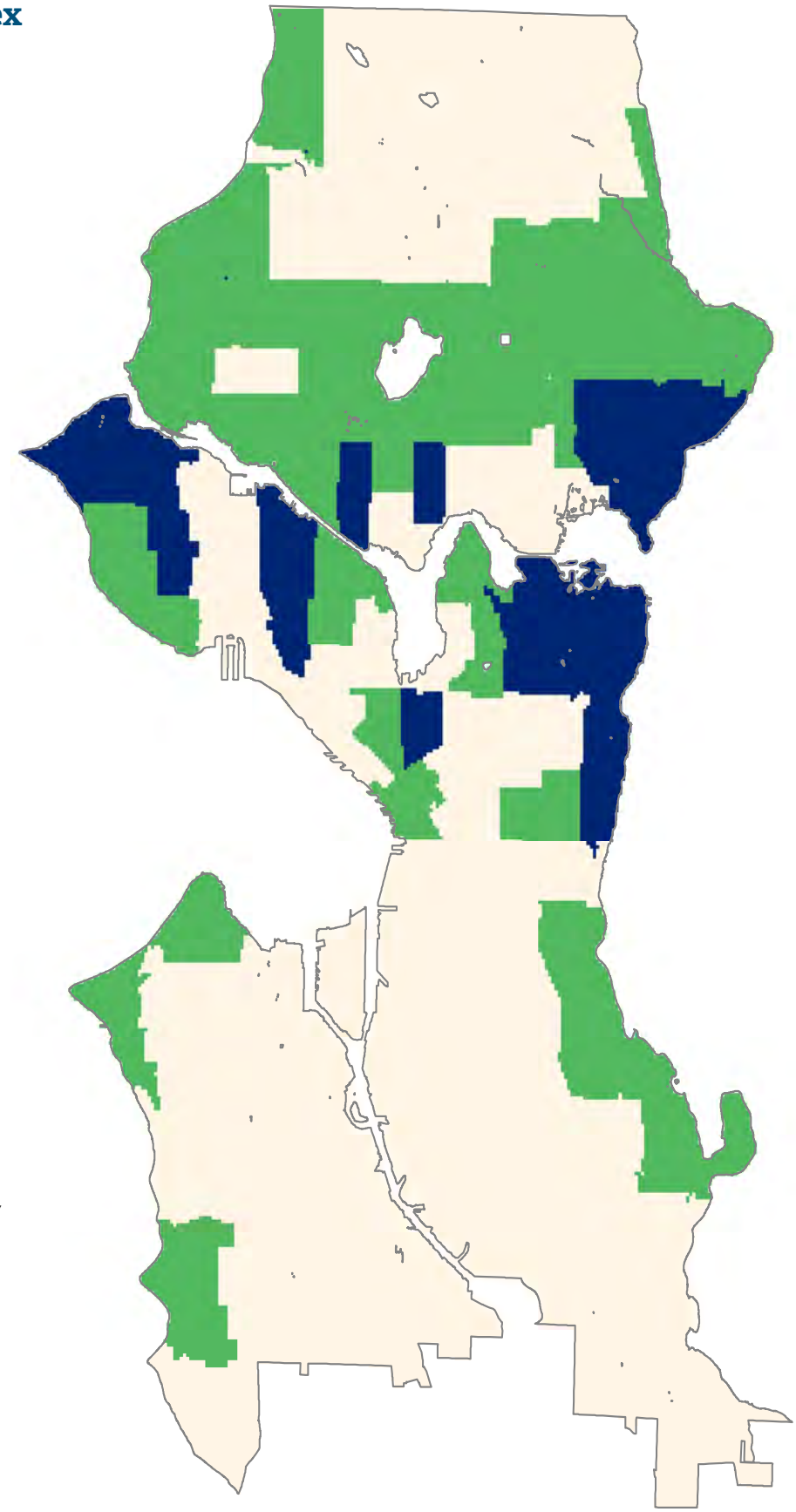

Change in median home value 2000-2013 (Census tract)

- Below city average
- 100 - 150% of city average
- > 150% of city average

Source: 2000 Census, 2009-2013 American Community Survey

Access to Opportunity Index

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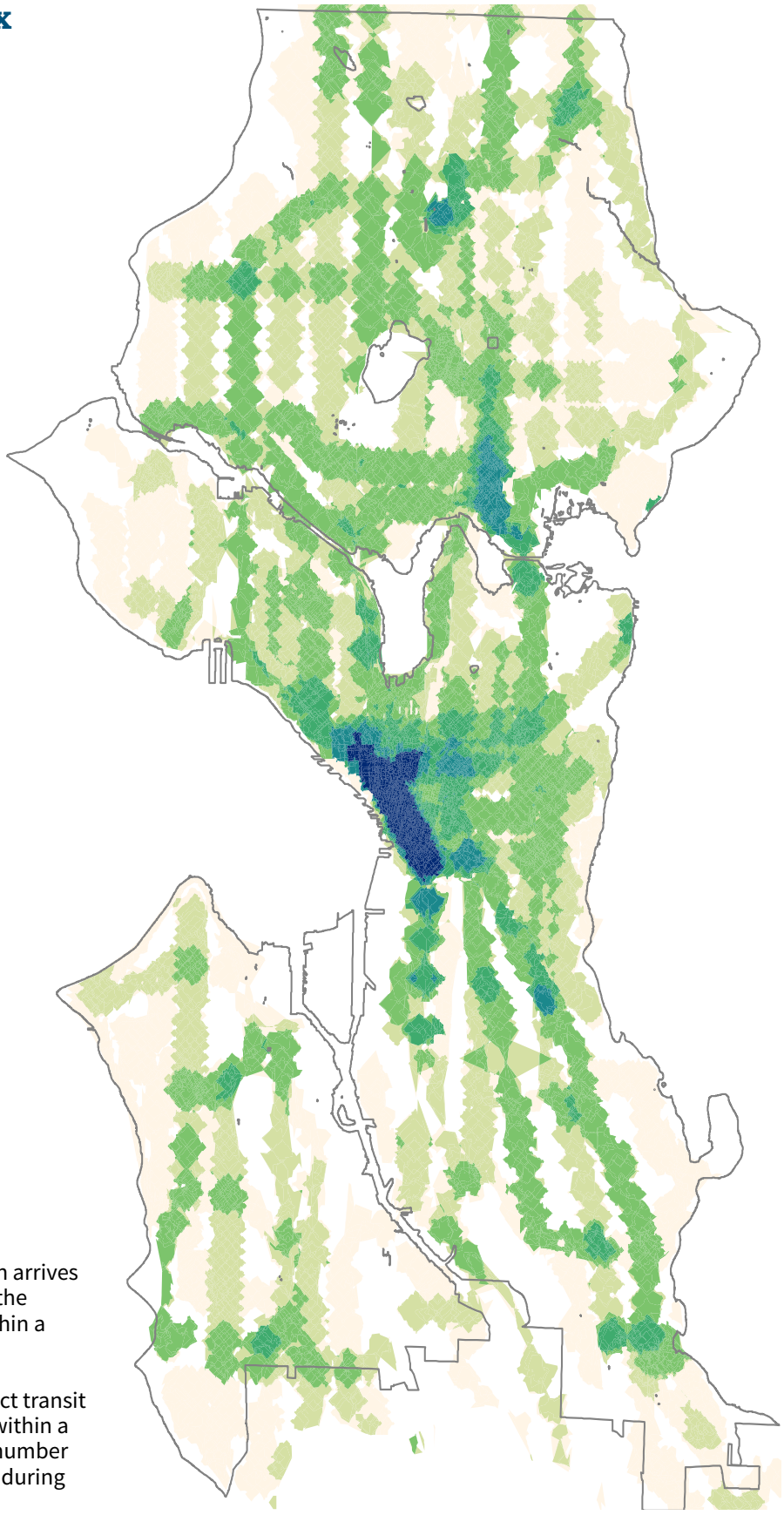

Number of daily unique transit trips within a quarter-mile walking distance of a location

- 1 - 100
- 101 - 200
- 201 - 500
- 501 - 1000
- 1001 - 2000
- > 2000

Source: King County Metro

A transit "trip" occurs each time a bus or train arrives at and departs from a stop. This map shows the number of unique transit trips that occur within a quarter-mile along the walking network.

It does not double count when the same exact transit vehicle stops at two locations that are both within a quarter-mile walk. Instead, it quantifies the number of unique bus trips that someone can access during an entire weekday.

Access to Opportunity Index

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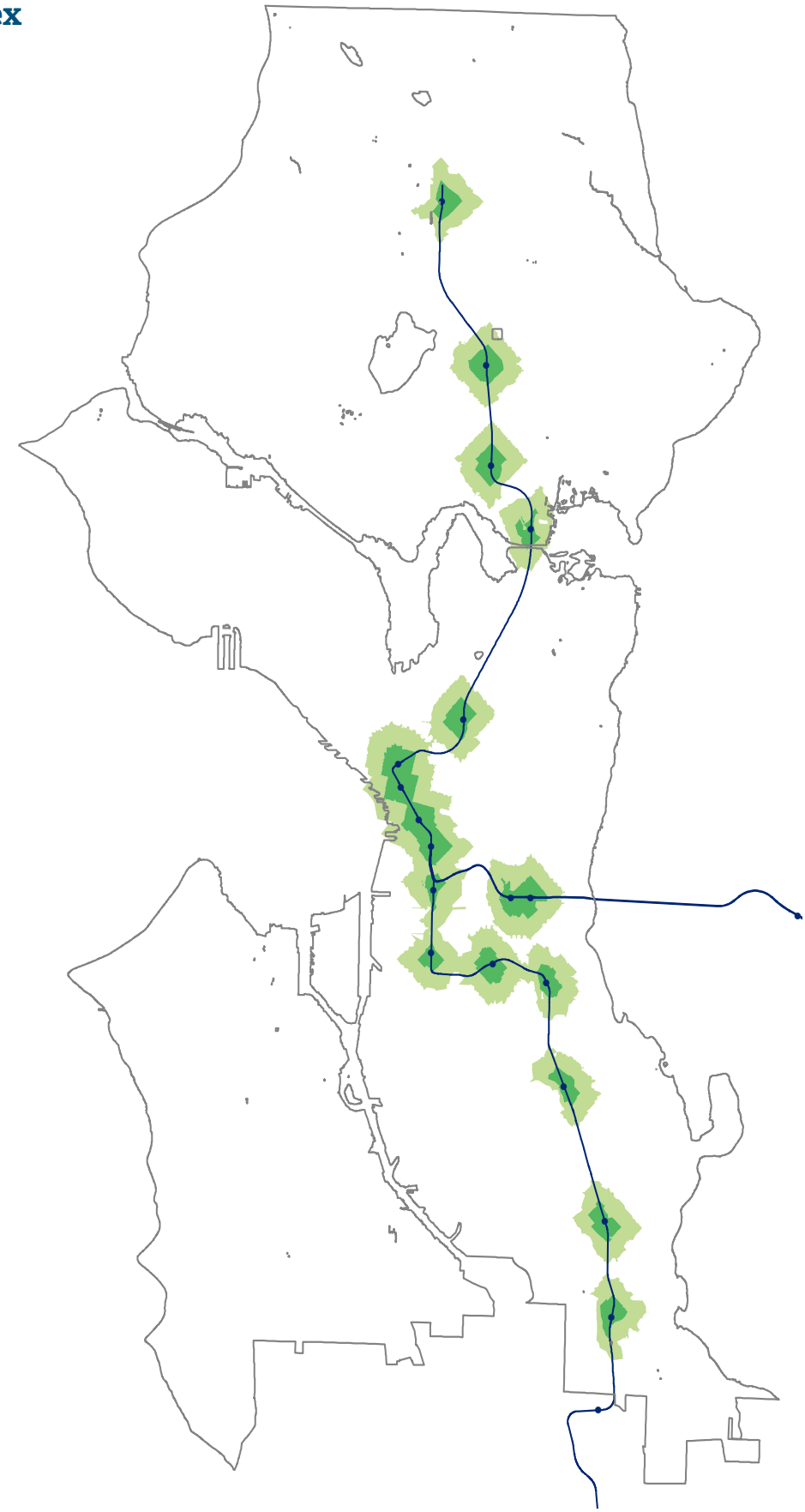

Walking distance to a current or future Link light rail station

- 0.25 mile
- 0.5 mile
- Link light rail

Source: Sound Transit

Access to Opportunity Index

- School performance
- Graduation rate
- Access to college or university
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- Proximity to employment
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- Proximity to transit
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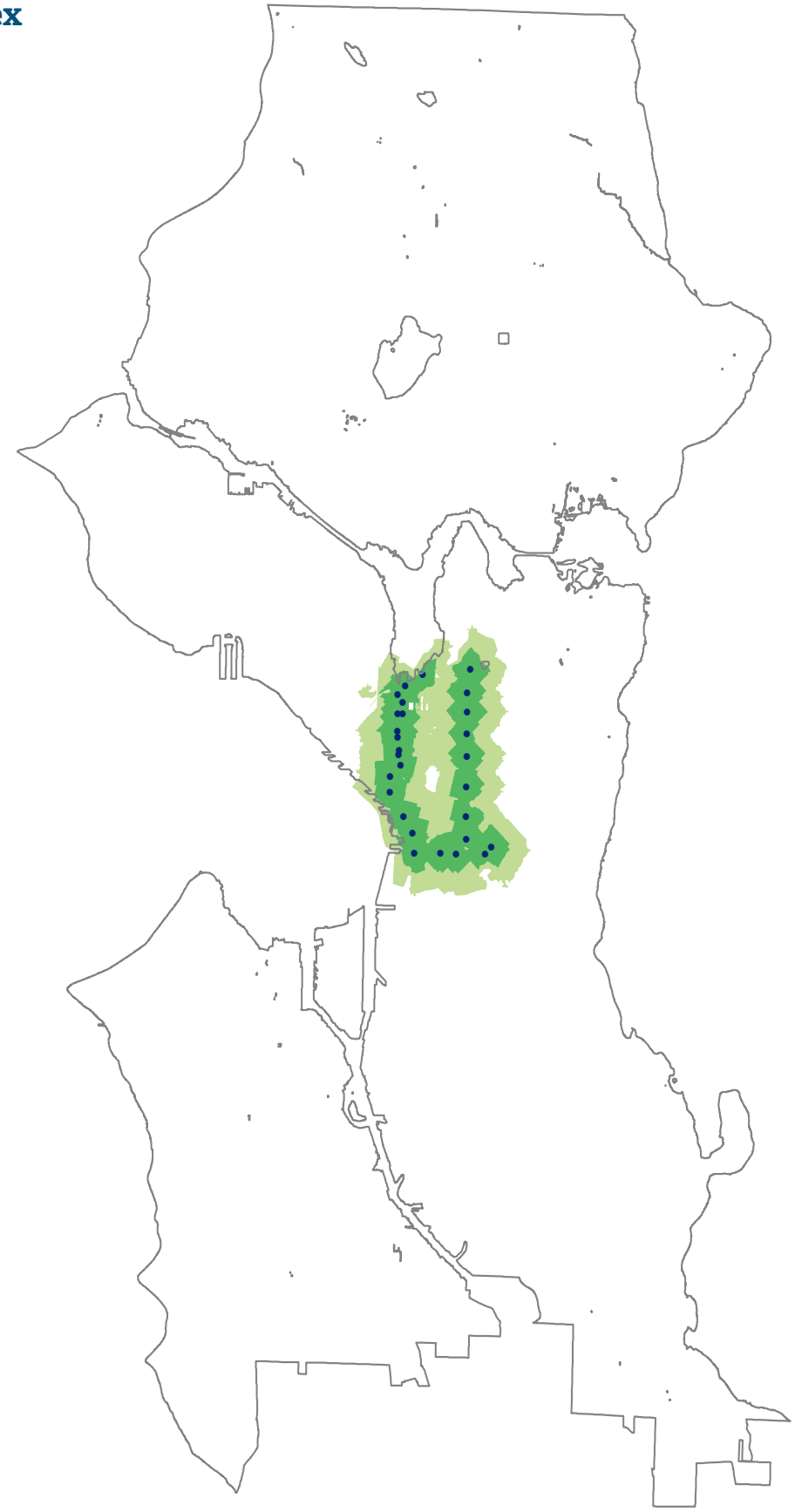

Walking distance to a current or future streetcar stop

- 0.25 mile
- 0.5 mile
- Streetcar stop

Source: Seattle Department of Transportation

Access to Opportunity Index

- School performance
- Graduation rate
- Access to college or university
- Proximity to a library
- Proximity to employment
- Property appreciation
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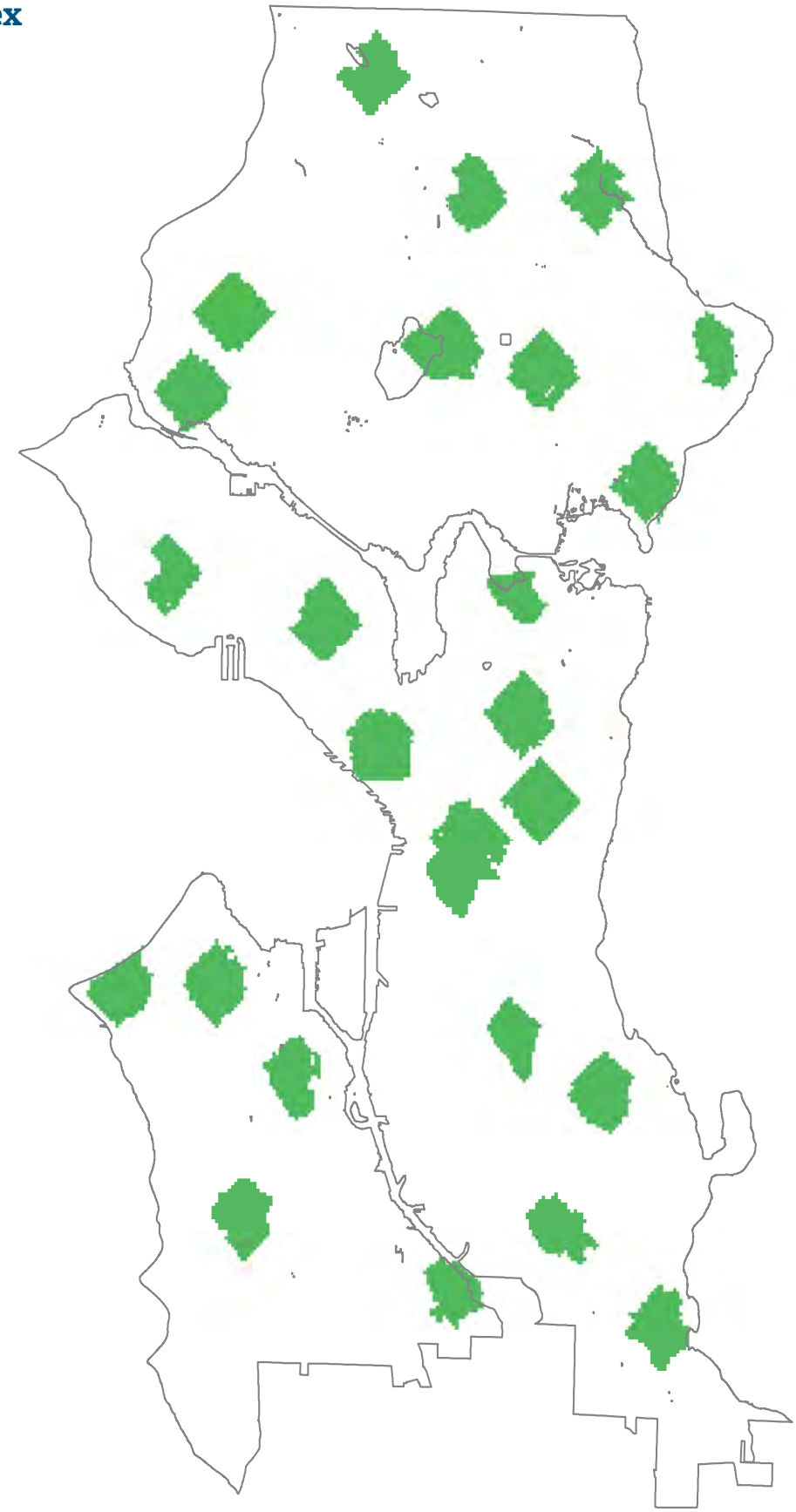

Within a 0.5 mile walk of a City-owned and City-operated community center

Source: City of Seattle

Access to Opportunity Index

- School performance
- Graduation rate
- Access to college or university
- Proximity to a library
- Proximity to employment
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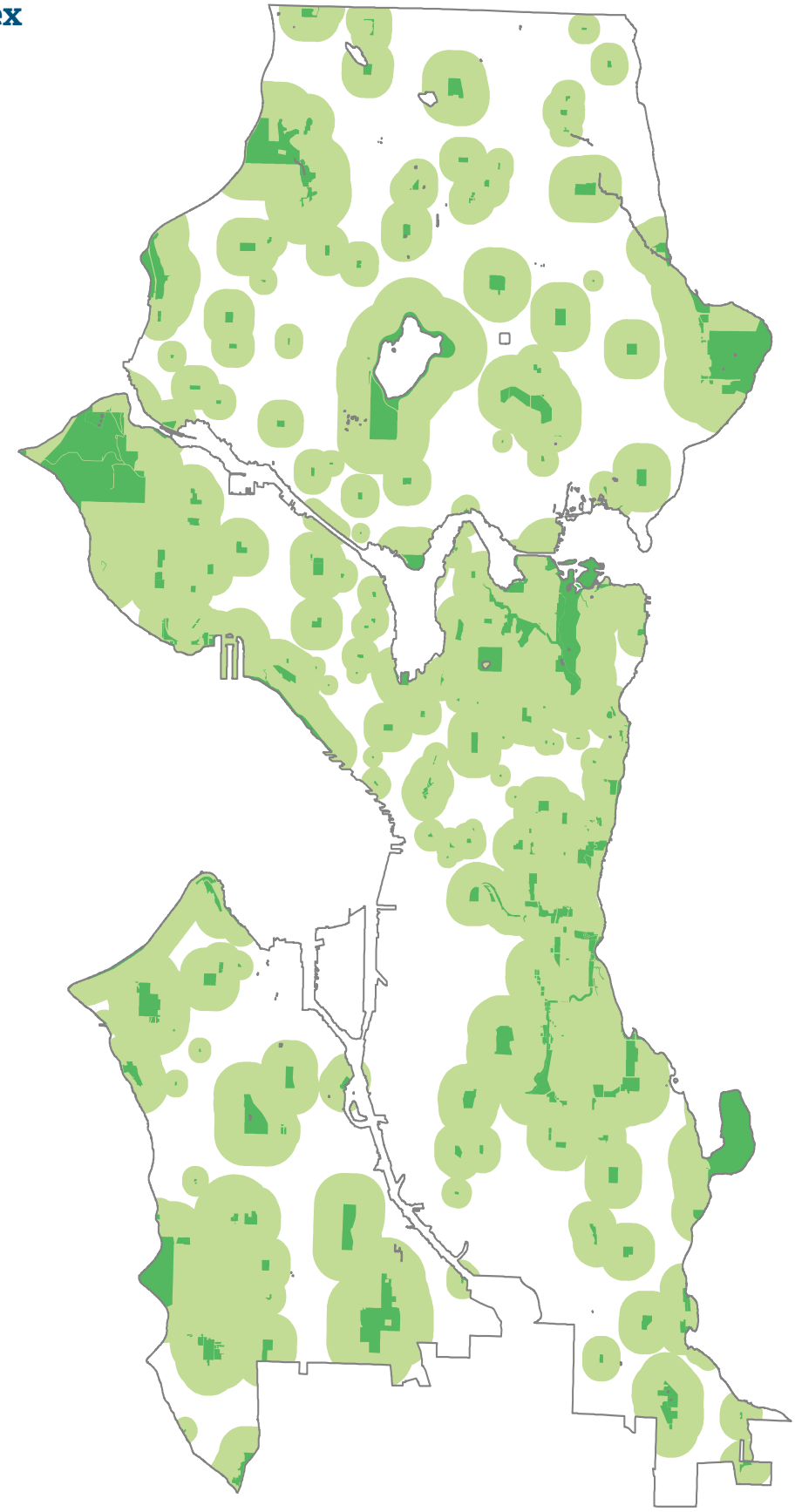

Locations near a public open space, measured by as-the-crow-flies distance

Park

Park buffer

Source: City of Seattle

The size of the service area "buffer" around each park varies according to the area of the park.

Access to Opportunity Index

- School performance
- Graduation rate
- Access to college or university
- Proximity to a library
- Proximity to employment
- Property appreciation
- Proximity to transit
- Proximity to current or future Link light rail and streetcar
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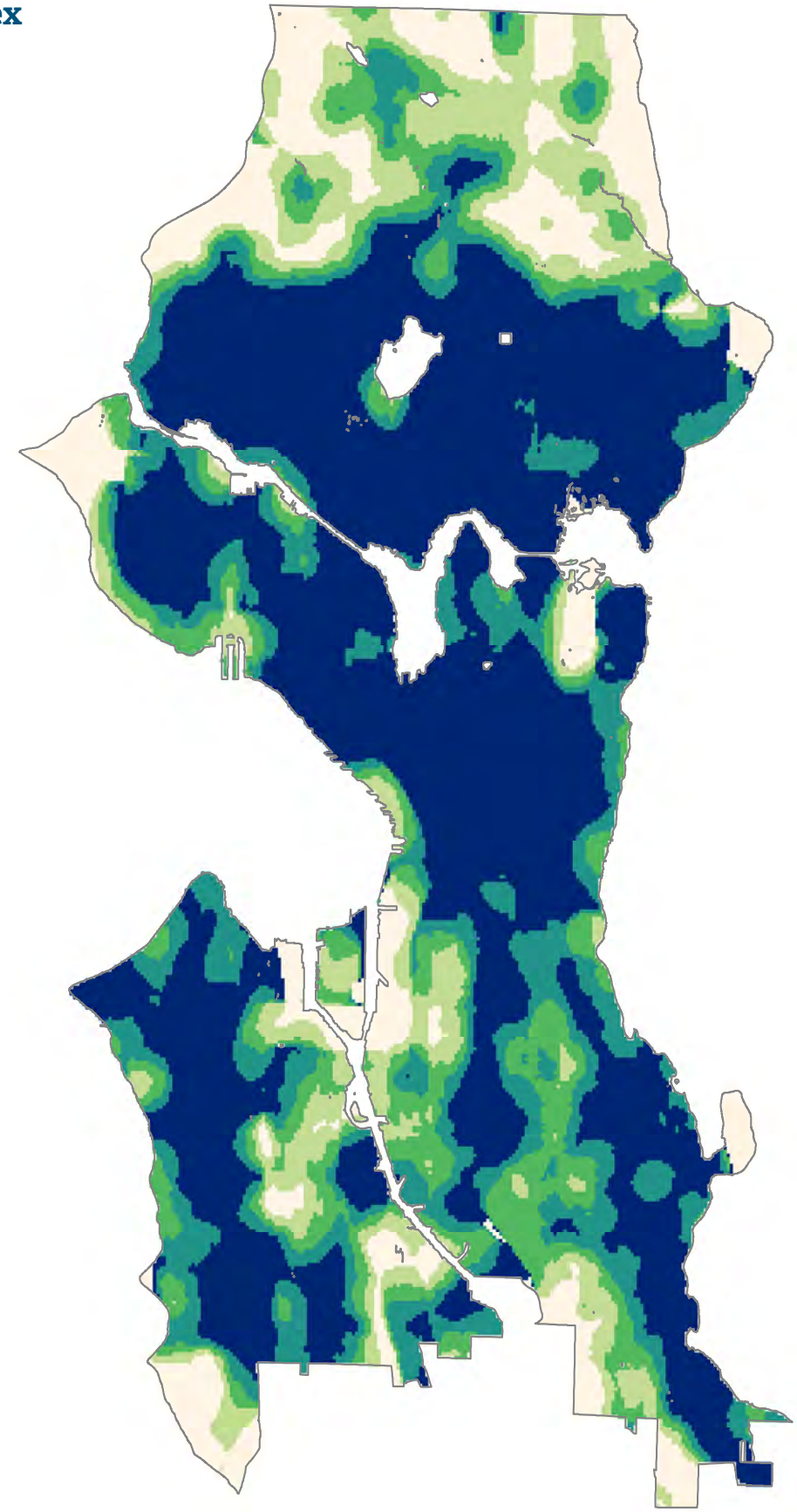

Percentage of block faces within a quarter mile missing a sidewalk

- < 20%
- 20 - 40%
- 40 - 60%
- 60 - 80%
- > 80%

Source: City of Seattle

Access to Opportunity Index

- School performance
- Graduation rate
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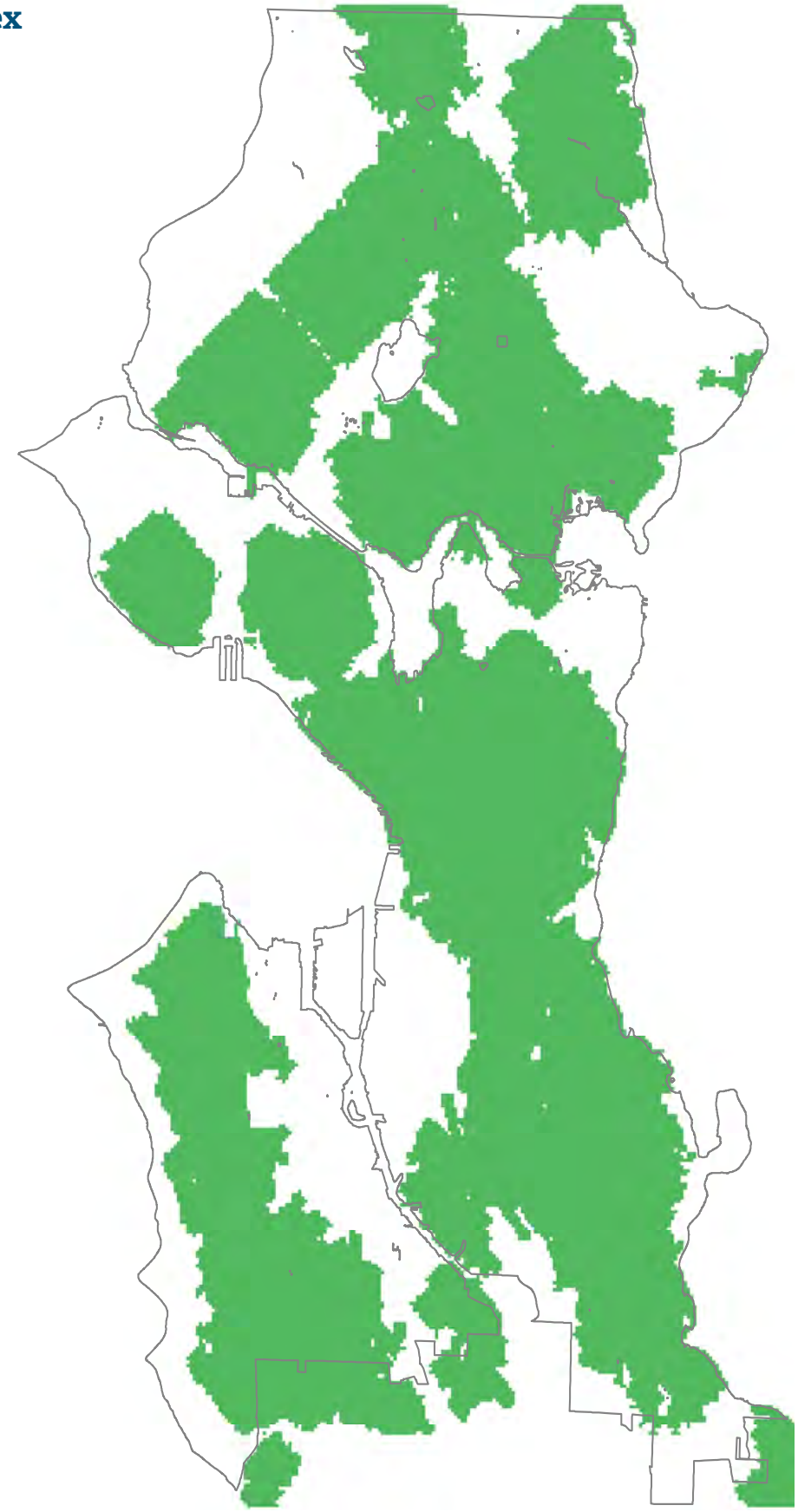

Within one mile of a healthcare facility (measured by walking distance)

Source: King County Public Health (2010)

Access to Opportunity Index

- School performance
- Graduation rate
- Access to college or university
- Proximity to a library
- Proximity to employment
- Property appreciation
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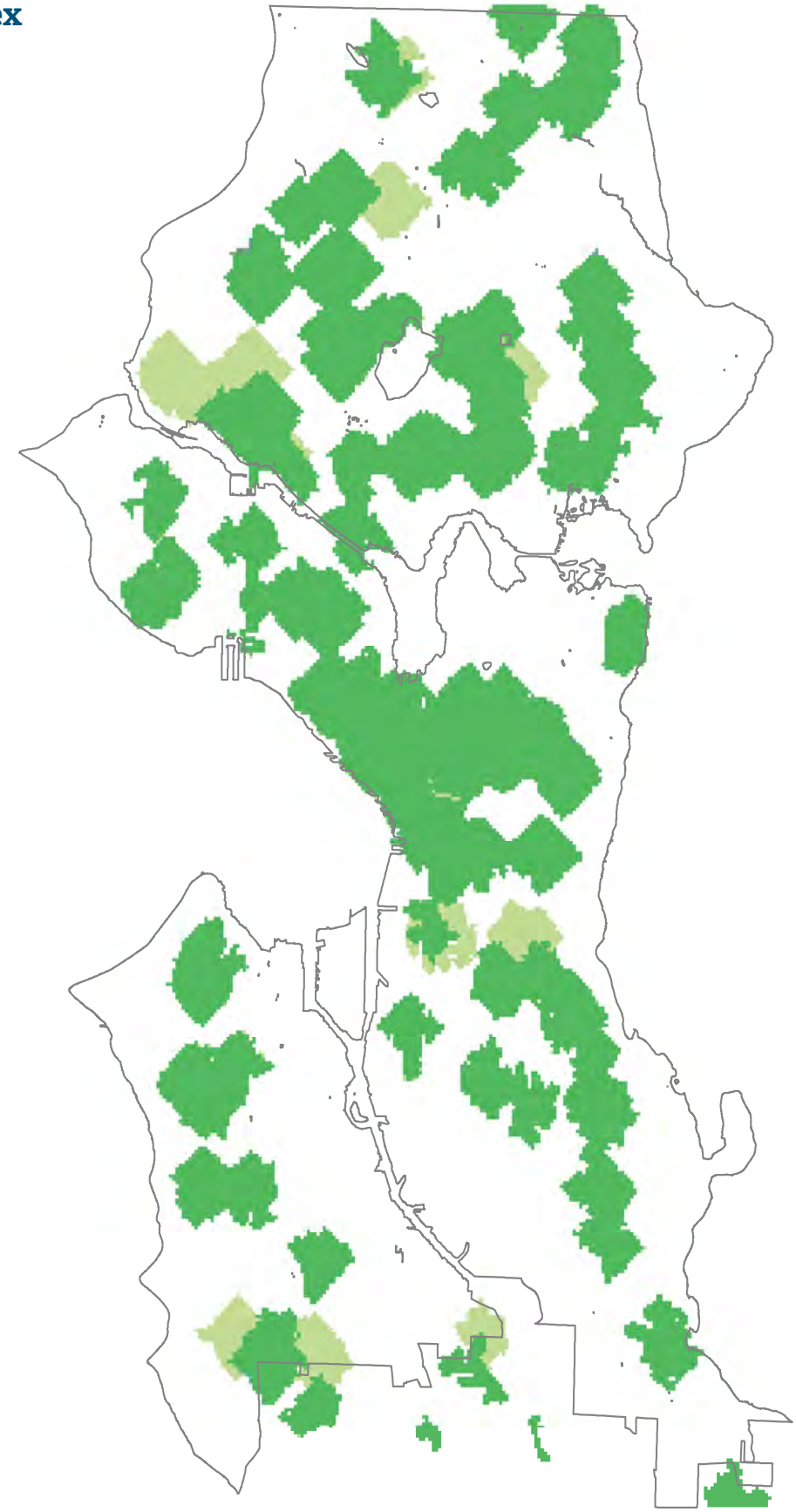

Walking distance to a supermarket, produce stand, or farmers market

within 0.5 mile and accepts SNAP

within 0.5 mile

Source: ReferenceUSA, Washington State Farmers Market Association