

Digging Under the House: Excavating the Roots of Racialized Land Use Systems and Envisioning Anti-Racist Alternatives in Washington State

BY:
Ubax Gardheere-
Equitable Development
Director



Chào mừng *
Bienvenue * 欢迎 *

Maligayang Pagdating*
Karibu * Soo
dhawoow *

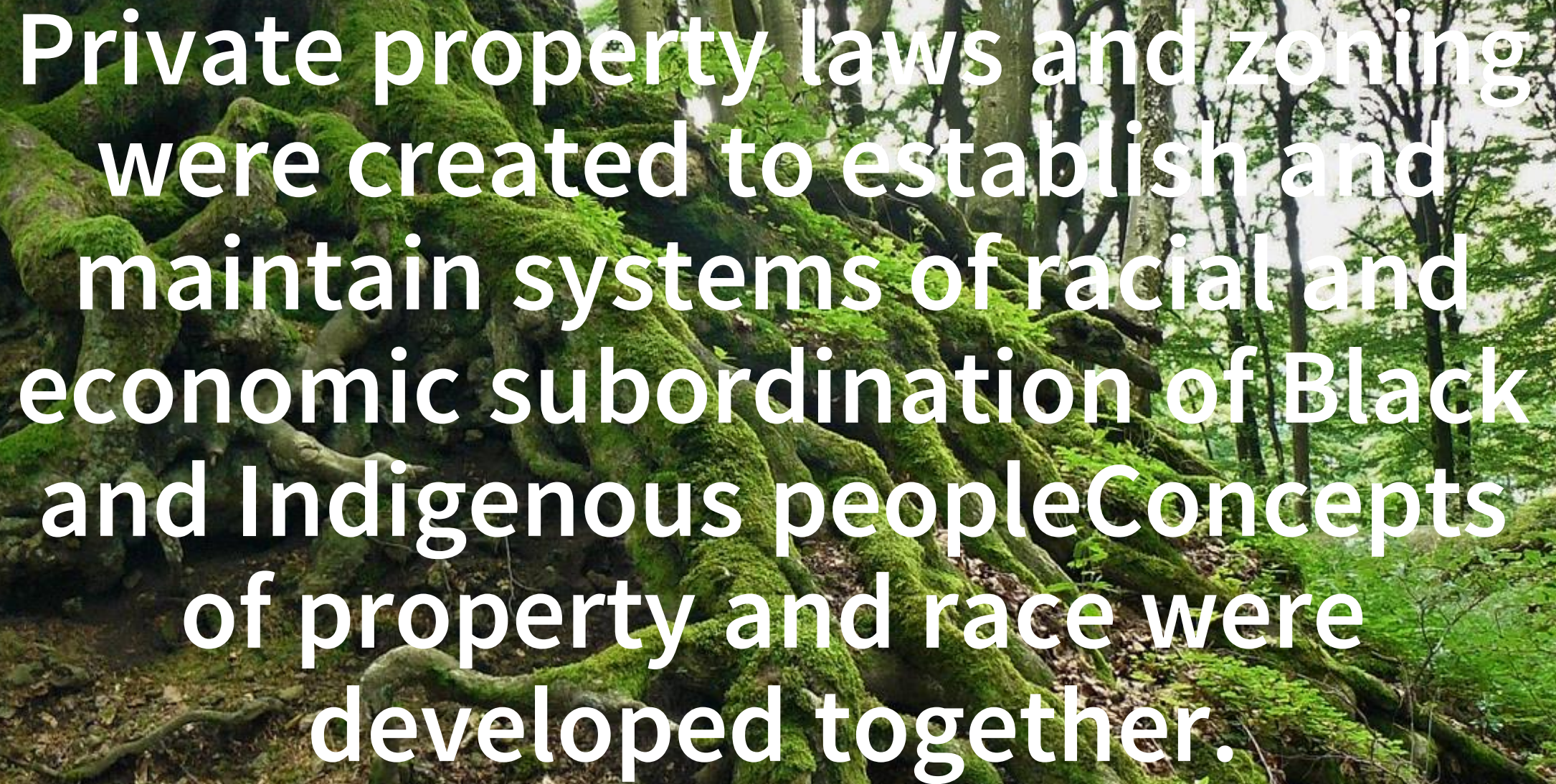
* Aloha * Bienvenidas*
Welcome*
أهلاً وسهلاً





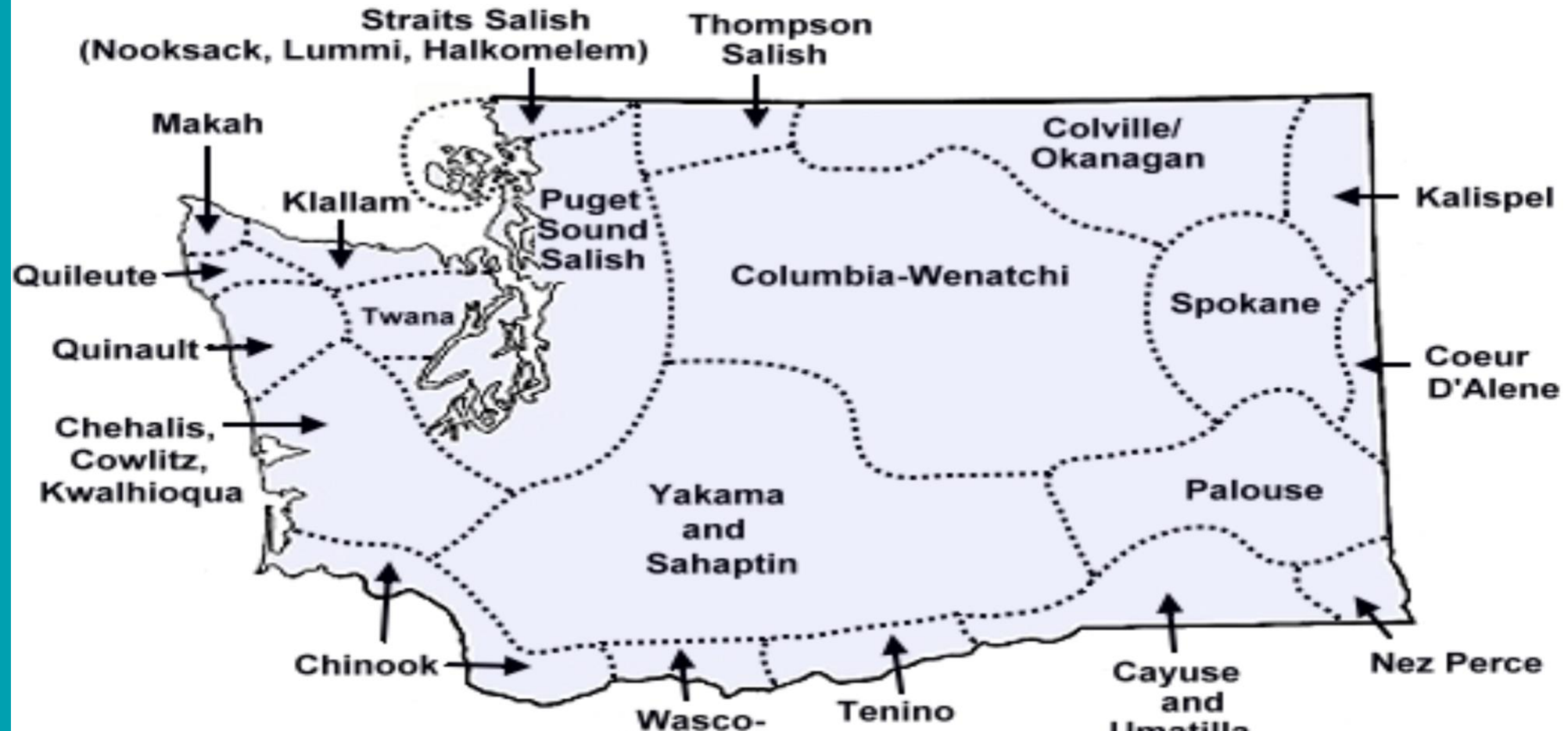
TODAY WE WILL...

- A shared common language on the history of racially exclusionary housing and land use policy in Washington State and how this history connects to current racial disparities in homelessness, housing and other indicators
- A stronger sense of how layers of policies create oppressive systems and disparate impacts for Black, Indigenous, and People of Color residents of Washington State
- A clearer sense of the stake we all have in dismantling these inequities, both personally and as an organization, and robust discussion about your role

A photograph of a large, ancient tree trunk in a forest. The trunk is heavily covered in bright green moss and has a gnarled, textured appearance. The background shows other trees and foliage, creating a dense forest scene. The text is overlaid on the image in a white, sans-serif font.

Private property laws and zoning
were created to establish and
maintain systems of racial and
economic subordination of Black
and Indigenous people. Concepts
of property and race were
developed together.

We are actively recognizing that we are on Indigenous land. These are the original inhabitants of the area that is now Washington. There are 29 federally recognized Indian tribes in Washington today.



☐ Languages ☐ Treaties

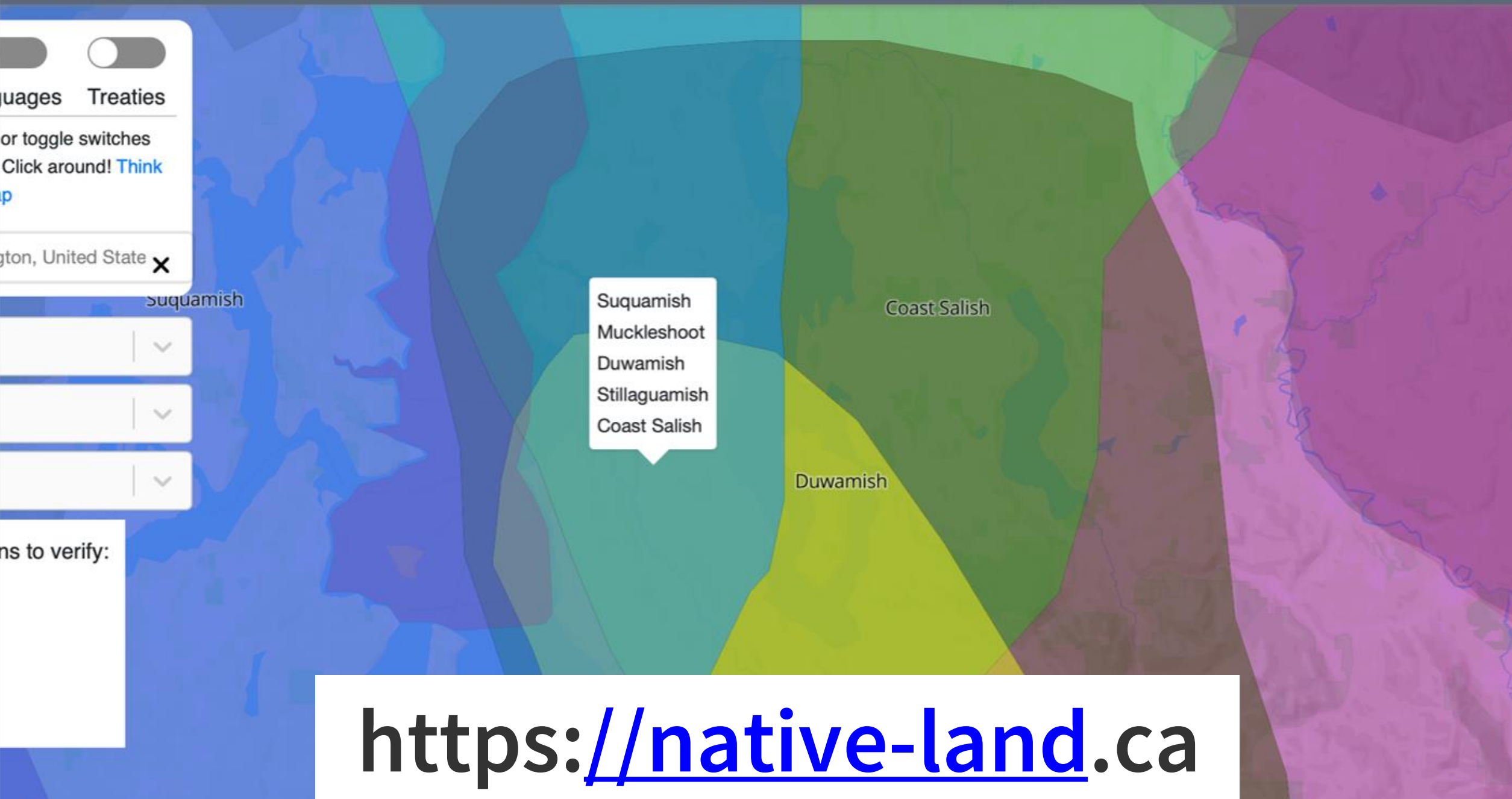
or toggle switches

Click around! [Think](#)

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ington, United State

ns to verify:



<https://native-land.ca>

Beyond Land Acknowledgement to Reparative Action:

Real Rent Duwamish

[HOME](#)[DETERMINE RENT](#)[LEARN MORE](#)[ENDORSEMENTS](#)[PAY RENT](#)

**“We sacrificed our land to make the City of Seattle a beautiful reality.
We are still waiting for our justice.”**

- Cecile Hansen, Chairwoman of Duwamish Tribe

ARC: the basic framework Reparations

- Acknowledgement: face the facts of what happened.
- Redress, Remedy, Repair: Make amends for what happened. Not in just symbolic ways. “Pay The Fee”
- Closure: only when those who have been harmed agree the wrongs have been remedied

A scenic landscape photograph showing a calm lake with a boat's bow in the foreground. In the background, there are snow-capped mountains under a blue sky with scattered clouds. A semi-transparent dark rectangle is centered over the lake, containing the text "Part 1" and "Where we've been".

Part 1

Where we've been

TIMELINE



**1492-
Colonization**



**1940-1960
A tale of two cities**



**1990-present
Growth management &
gentrification**



**1870-1940
Industrialization &
urbanization**



**1960-1990
White flight and urban
sprawl**



Colonizing Seattle & the Puget Sound

Coast Salish tribes have lived, and continue to live, in this region for thousands of years.

- 1851 White settlers arrive
- 1855 Point Elliott Treaty
- 1865 Initial Seattle incorporation; Native Americans prohibited from living in Seattle unless employed by white residents
- 1869 Current Seattle government established



1865: Native Exclusion Ordinance

Ordinance No. 5, An Ordinance for the Removal of Indians (Passed by Seattle Board of Trustees, February 7, 1865)

Be it ordained by the Board of Trustees of the Town of Seattle. That **no Indian or Indians shall be permitted to reside**, or locate their residences on any street, highway, lane, or alley or any vacant lot **in the town of Seattle**, from a point known as the South side of Chas. Plummer's ten acre lot to a point known as the South side of Bell's land claim....



Industrialization and urbanization (1870-1940)

- Mass immigration from European and Asian countries
- Cities sites of production and wealth, but also poor living conditions for and exploitation of workers
- Industrialization changed the city physically and socially
- Immigrants help build wealth for white land and business owners
- Planning emerged to manage urban growth and “evils” of city life



African American arrival in Seattle

- 1860 Seattle's first African American residents move here
 - Few business opportunities for non-white residents
 - William Grose provided employment and lodging opportunities
 - He purchased 12 acres of land from Henry Yesler in what is now the Central District
- 



1882-1943: Chinese Exclusion & Alien Land Laws

Washington State Constitution (enacted 1889)

Art. 2 Section 33 OWNERSHIP OF LANDS BY ALIENS, PROHIBITED — Exceptions — The **ownership of lands by aliens ... is prohibited in this state**, except where acquired by inheritance, under mortgage or in good faith in the ordinary course of justice in the collection of debts.... Provided, That the provisions of this section shall not apply to lands containing valuable deposits of minerals, metals, iron, coal, or fire-clay, and the necessary land for mills and machinery to be used in the development thereof and the manufacture of the products therefrom....



BLUE RIDGE
A BEAUTIFUL PLACE TO BUILD AND OWN
YOUR HOME

1920s - 1940s: Racially Restrictive Covenants

Ballard / Sunset Hill: “No part of said property hereby conveyed shall ever be used or occupied by any person of **Ethiopian, Malay, or any Asiatic race...**”

Capitol Hill: “That no part of said premises shall ever be used or occupied by or sold, conveyed, leased, rented, or given to **negroes or any person or persons of negro blood.**”

Eastlake: “Said lot or lots shall not be sold, conveyed, or rented nor leased, in whole or in part, to any person not of the White race; nor shall **any person not of the White race** be permitted to occupy any portion of said lot or lots or of any building thereon, **except a domestic servant** actually employed by a White occupant of such building.”

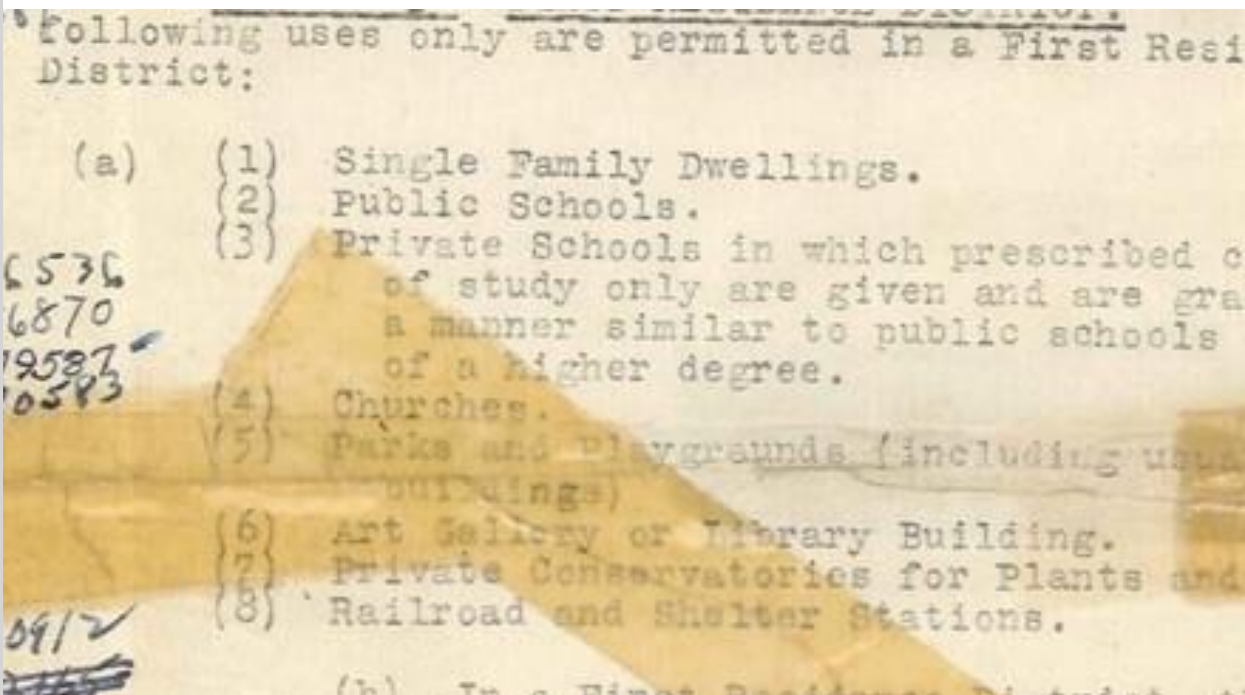
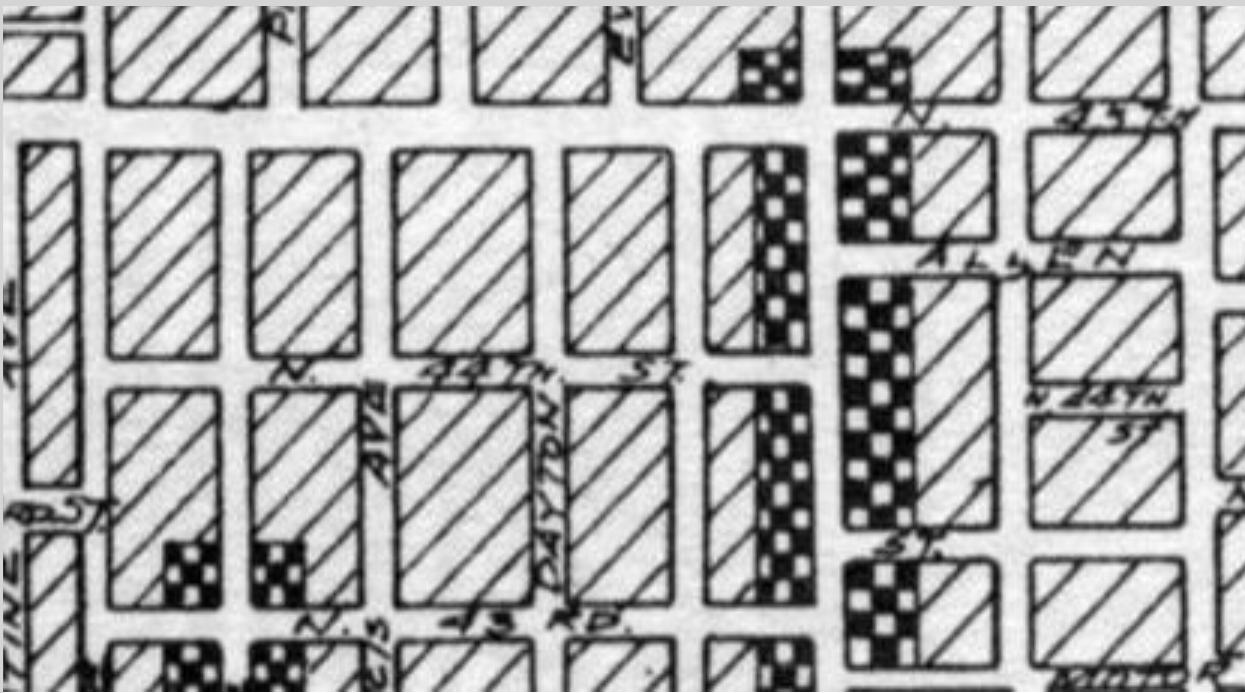
1942-1946: Forced Removal of Japanese Americans



Executive Order 9066-Japanese - American Internment

- 2,000 people removed from Seattle to “Camp Harmony” in Puyallup
- Significant loss of property and community ties





The origins of zoning

1910 Baltimore zoning ordinance **prohibited Black people from buying homes** on majority-white blocks, using public health as justification

1917 Buchanan v Warley decision overturned **Louisville, KY, racial zoning** ordinance

Zoning based on, e.g., **lot size** sustained and reinforced racial segregation; upheld in **1918 Euclid** decision

1923 Seattle's first zoning ordinance, assisted by Harland Bartholomew, who thought zoning could “preserve the more desirable residential neighborhoods” and to **prevent movement into “finer residential districts ... by colored people.”**

Zoning in Seattle

Excerpt from “A Zoning Program for Seattle.” Record Series 1651-02 Box 1, Folder 1. Seattle Municipal Archives.

The City Zoning Commission has been engaged for the past two months in placing before the people of Seattle their tentative zoning plan, which is the result of their work and deliberations of the past year and a half. Public meetings, or

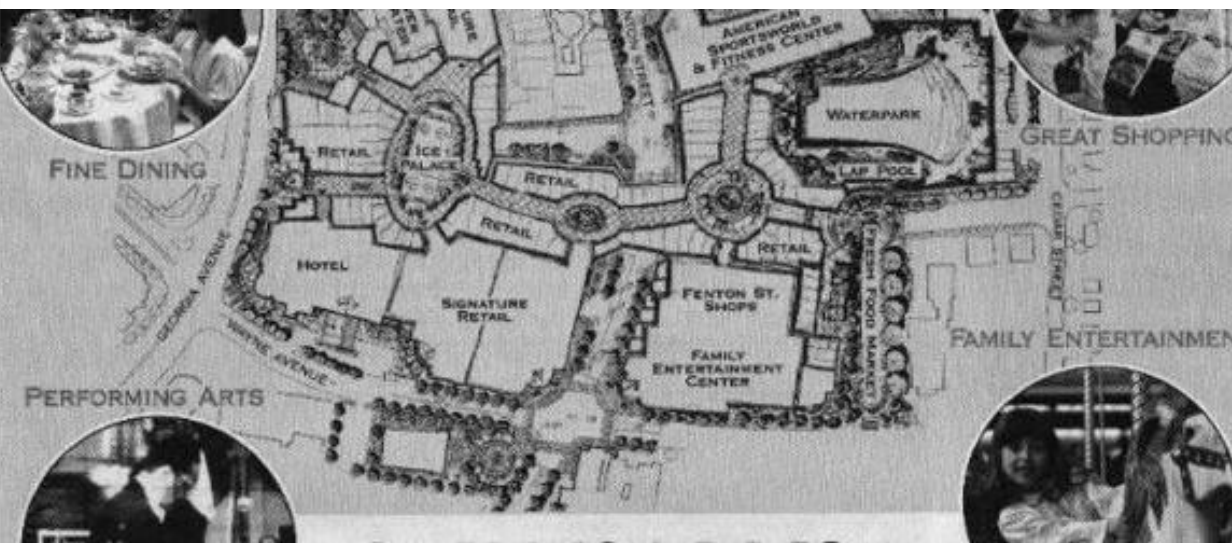
regulations are designed to prevent such uses or such structures in any locality as are unsuitable for that place or are injurious to adjacent property. Our own city has not yet suffered seriously from overcrowding and its consequent ill effects in the lowering of the standard of racial strength and virility, and in the increase of

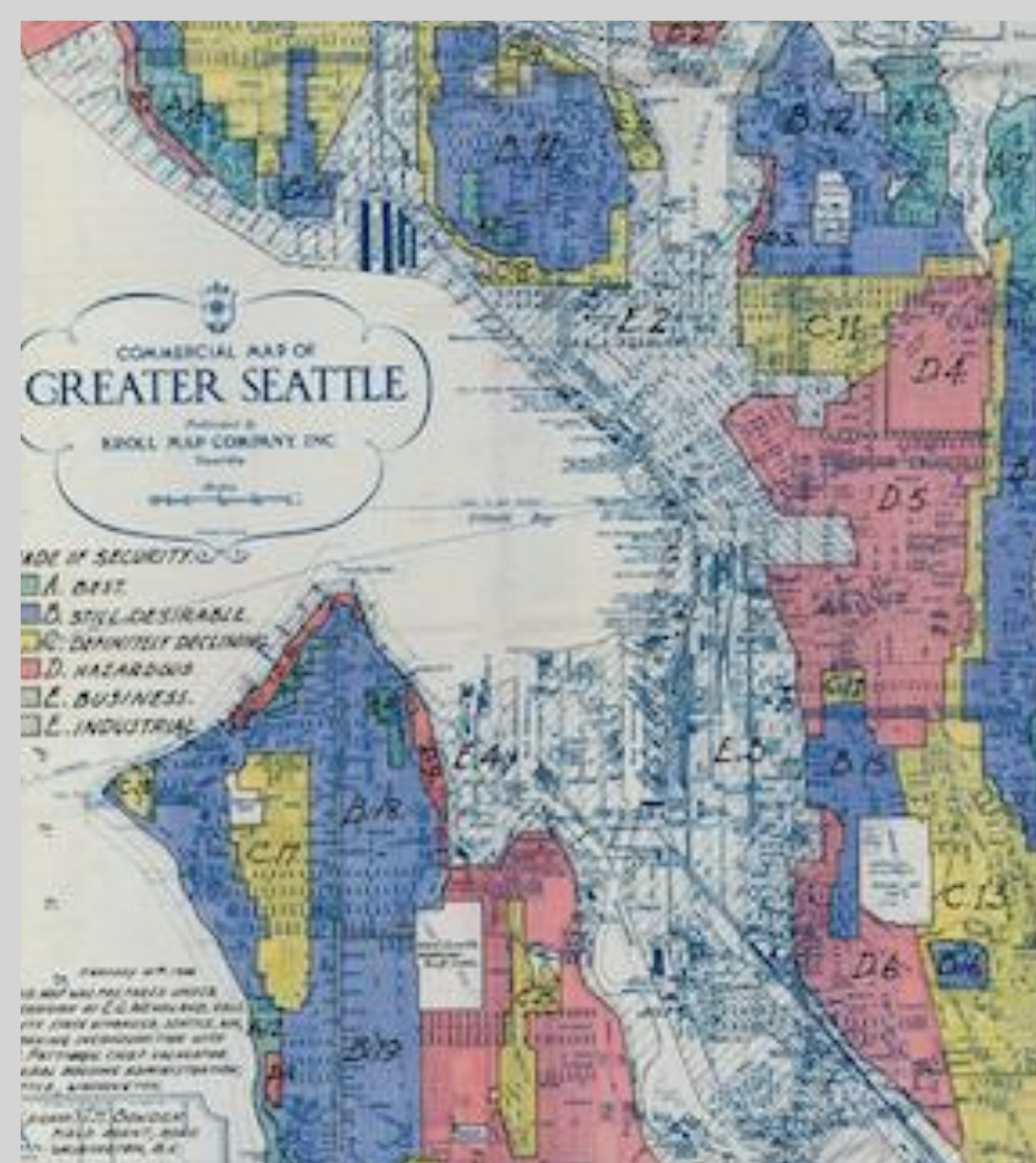
Industrialization & Urbanization (1870-1940)



Rise of the streetcar and automobile

- Started in 1880s; by 1892 Seattle had 50 miles of streetcar track
- When cars appeared after WWI, streetcars could no longer operate efficiently due to congestion





1936-1976: Redlining

“Redlining and disinvestment begin as a decision by bankers that a neighborhood is dying. Lending institutions believe that they can make more money by investing their money elsewhere, especially in the suburbs. Rather than saving our long-standing communities, they invest our savings money in suburbs and highrises.... By doing this, bankers create **a self-fulfilling prophecy of decline** — and make money doing it!” —Central Seattle Community Council Federation, 1975

FHA

Remodel for Veterans

LOW COST.. LONG TERM

PAY OUT OF INCOME

REMODEL FOR VETERANS ON THE EHA

- **“Great Migration”:**
African Americans moving to northern cities
- **Racialized federal policies facilitated white families moving into suburbs**



1940s - 1960s: Renewal and Removal

- “Slum clearance”:
Neighborhoods of color
declared blighted
- “Separate but equal”
- 1969: I-5 demolishes and
fragments Asian
American and African
American communities

**DON'T LET THEM
KICK AWAY YOUR RIGHTS**



1960s - 1990s: Two Seattles

- **Open Housing Ordinance**
1964: Seattle residents vote 2:1 against banning discrimination in housing
1968: Council approves without public vote
- **Freeway Revolt**
- **Segregated schools**
- **Historic preservation**
- **Light Rail rejected**

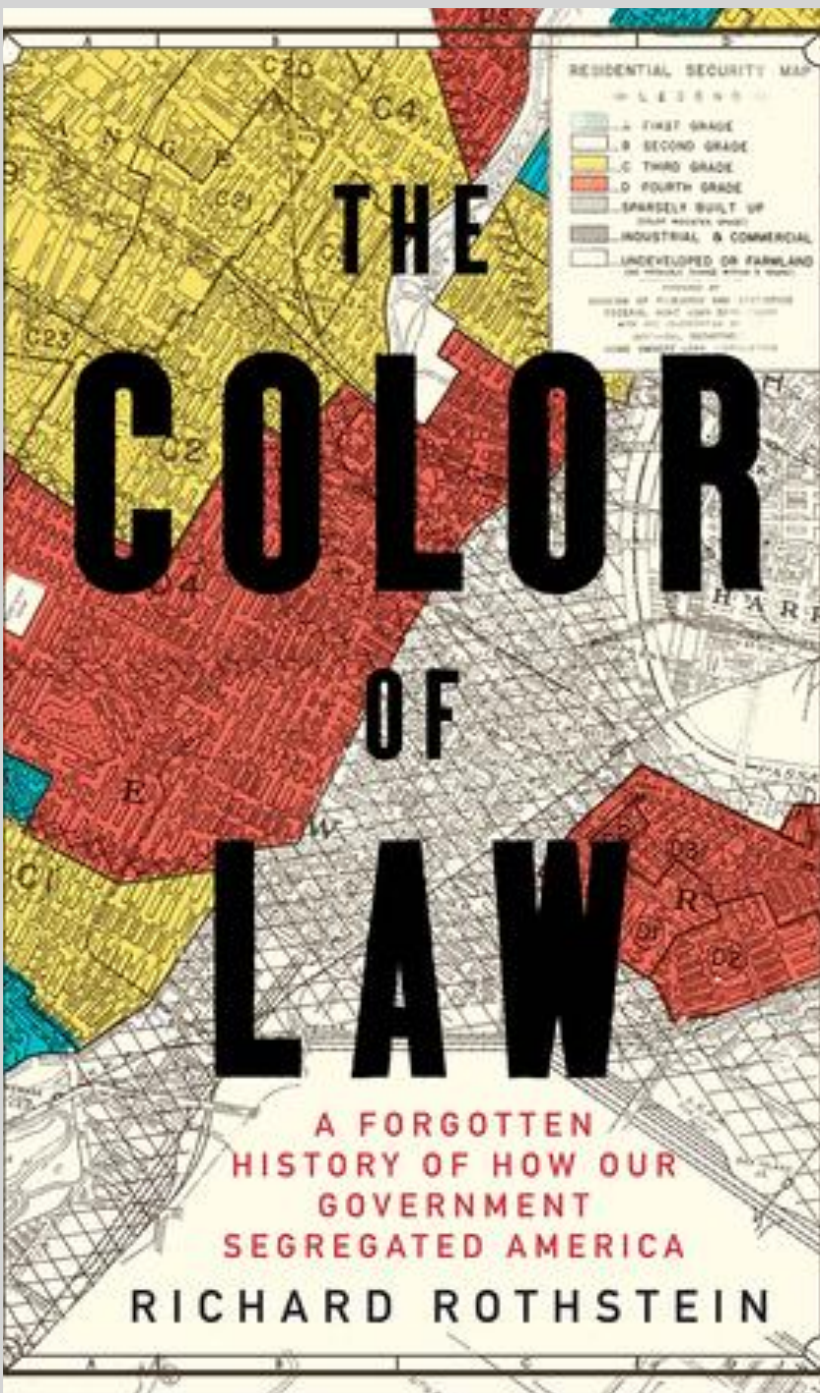


Fair Housing
Act of 1968
Protection
against
discrimination
for protected
classes

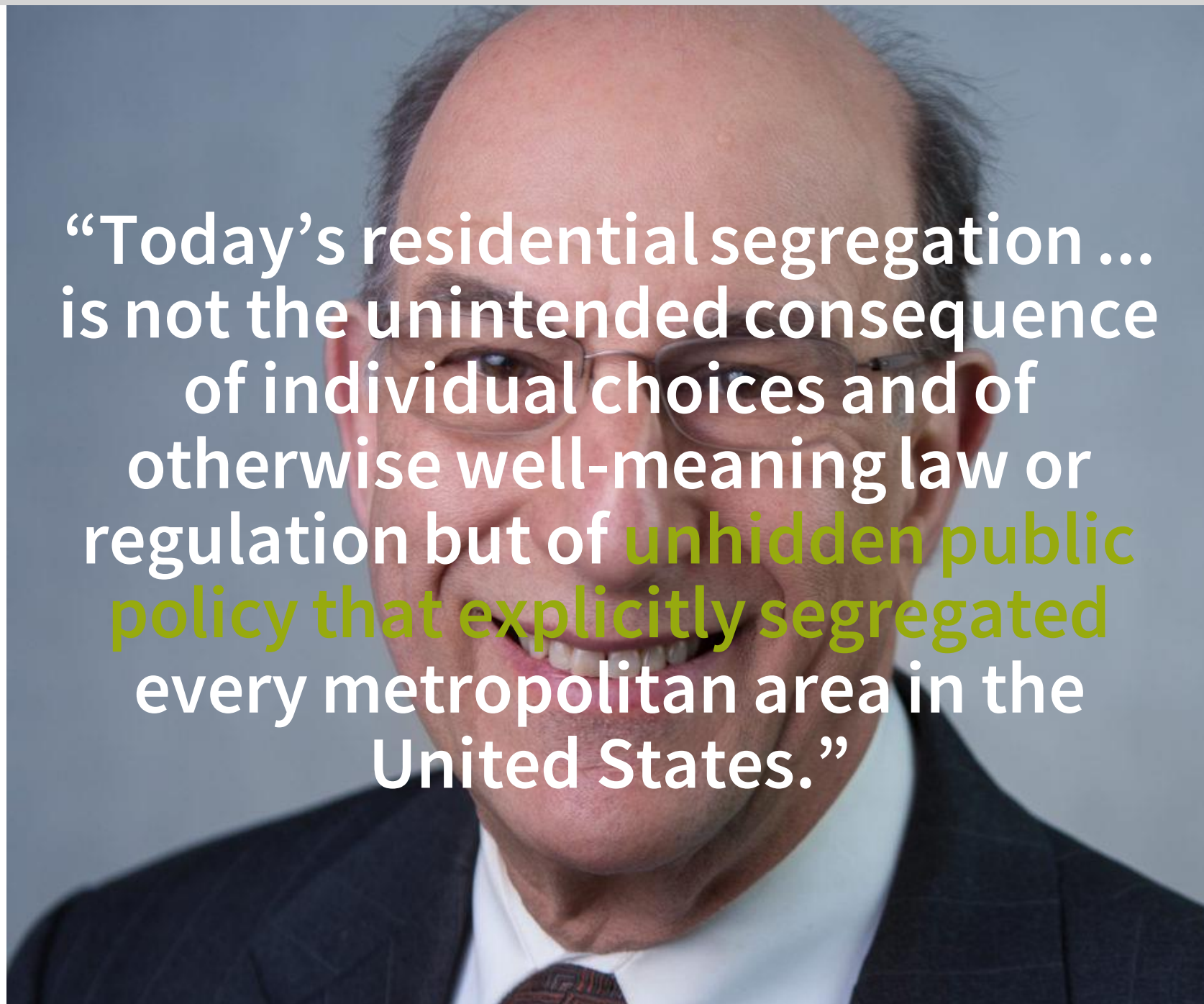
NO UGLY
expensive
5-STORY
CONDOS!
AFFORDABLE
(attractive) NOT ^{high} rise
HOUSING
for FAMILIES
the working people
COMMUNITY!

1990-now: Growth Management and Gentrification

- Growth Management Act
- Tech boom and bust
- Housing bubble & great recession
- Uneven recovery
- Discriminatory lending practices affect communities of color



“Today’s residential segregation ... is not the unintended consequence of individual choices and of otherwise well-meaning law or regulation but of **unhidden public policy that explicitly segregated** every metropolitan area in the United States.”





Discussion Questions

- 1 How much of this history was familiar? How much was new?
- 2 What has been your personal experience of segregation?
- 3 What are some examples of how this history continues to this day in your agency?(directly or indirectly)

A scenic landscape photograph of a calm lake with deep blue water. In the foreground, the dark, weathered bow of a boat is visible, with a coiled rope. The middle ground shows a dense forest of evergreen trees along the shoreline. The background features a range of rugged, snow-capped mountains under a clear blue sky with a few wispy clouds. The overall mood is peaceful and majestic.

Part 2

Current Impacts

A map of Seattle, Washington, with various neighborhood names like FAUNT, CHILL, HILL, PO, JTH, IDGI, HLAN, ARK, PA, SOUTH, TOWN, MOUNT BAKER, COLUMBIA CITY, BRIGHTON, and SEWARD PARK. Overlaid on the map are red dollar signs (\$) and red question marks (?). A large, stylized red and green shape, resembling a car or a piece of machinery, is positioned diagonally across the center of the map.

Disaster gentrification & economic recovery

A photograph of a forest fire. Tall, thin evergreen trees are silhouetted against a thick, hazy smoke that fills the air. In the center, a bright orange and red fire is visible, consuming a tree or structure.

Climate refugeeism

A solid red background with a black chain link running horizontally across the middle. The chain link is made of several interlocking rings.

Reparations

A photograph of a large green and white ship, possibly a ferry or cargo ship, docked in a body of water. The foreground is a rocky, mossy shoreline with a discarded tire and some debris. The water is calm, reflecting the ship and the surrounding trees. The sky is clear and blue.

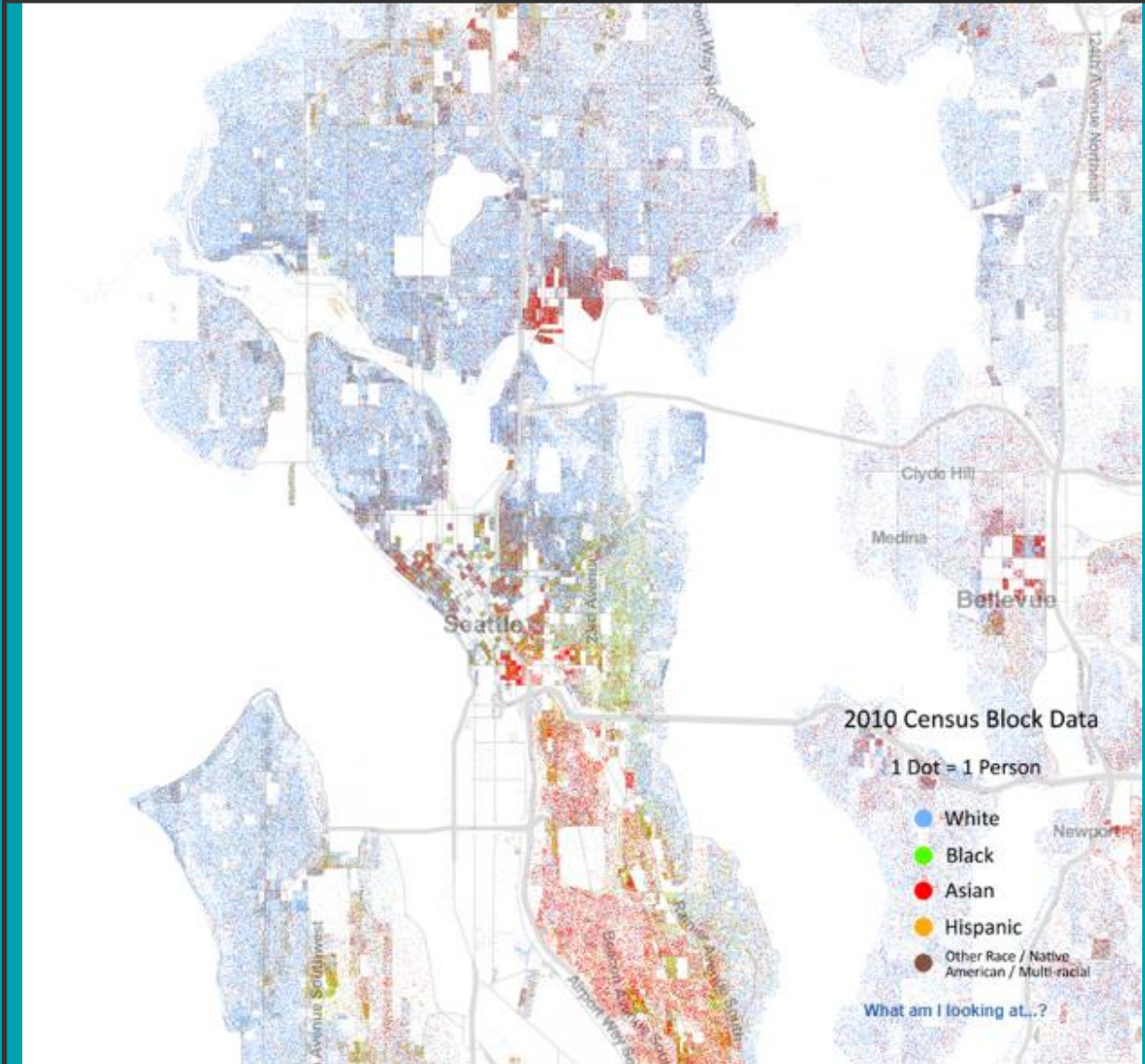
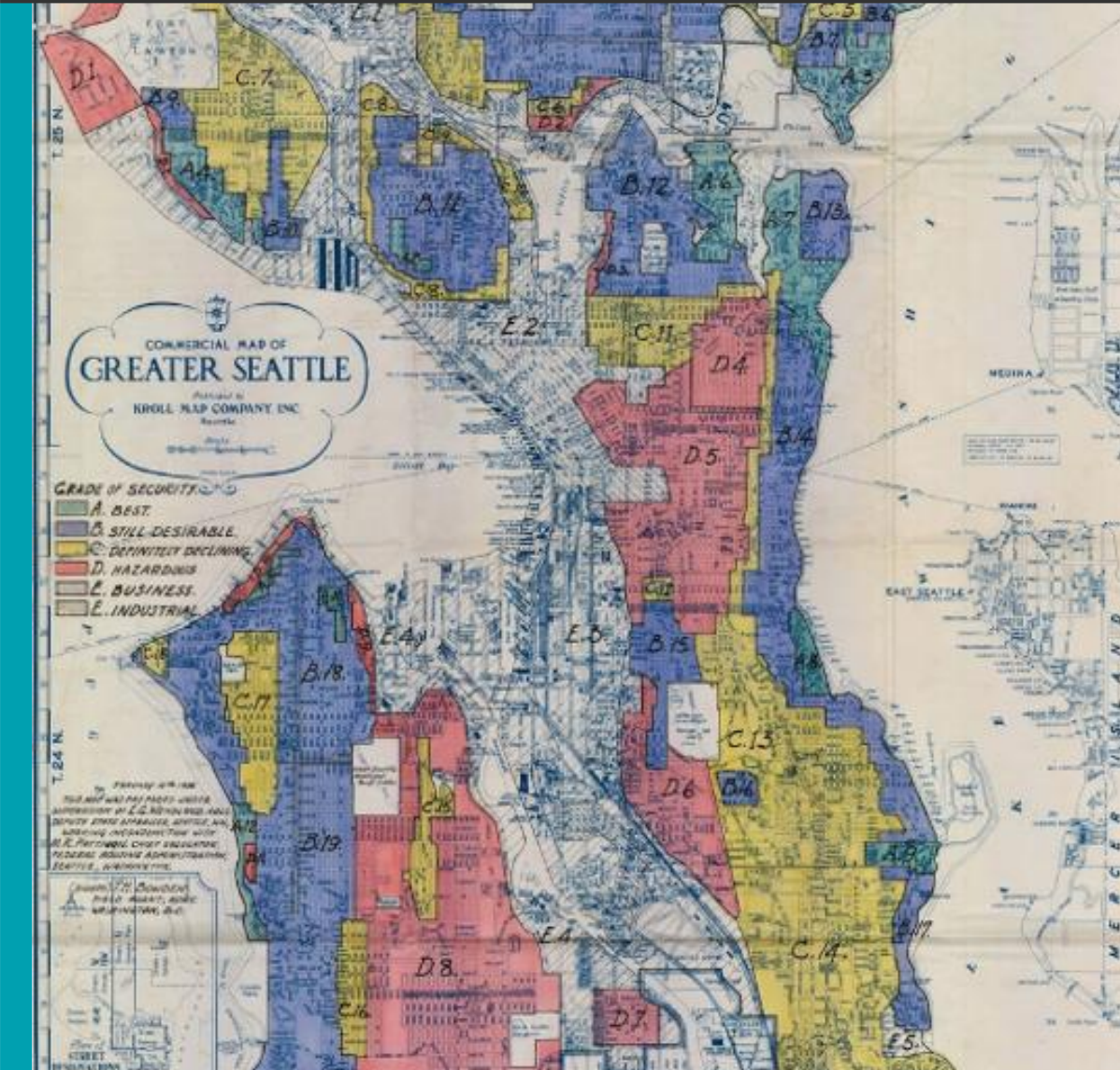
Limits of “growth”



On going impacts

- What are the current impacts of this history?
- Still segregated cities
- Population living in high-poverty neighborhoods
- Disparities in household wealth
- Income by race
- Disparities in unemployment rates
- Exclusionary Zoning
- Suburbanization of Poverty
- Current Redlining Impacts
- COVID Housing Security impacts

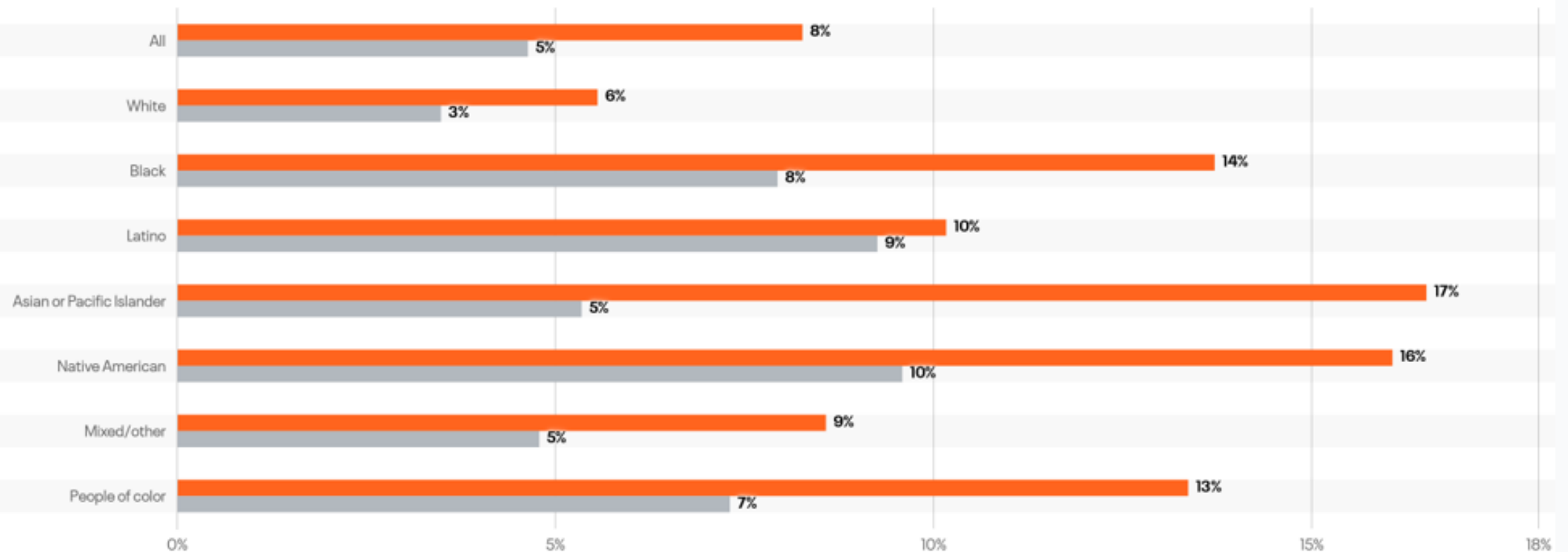
Segregated city



Population living in high-poverty neighborhoods

Percent living in high-poverty neighborhoods by race/ethnicity: Seattle, WA vs. Washington; Year: 2017

Seattle, WA Washington



Homelessness Disproportionately Impacts POC

HOMELESSNESS DISPROPORTIONATELY IMPACTS PEOPLE OF COLOR

Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islanders:

3x more likely



African Americans:

5x more likely



Native American/Alaska Native:

7x more likely

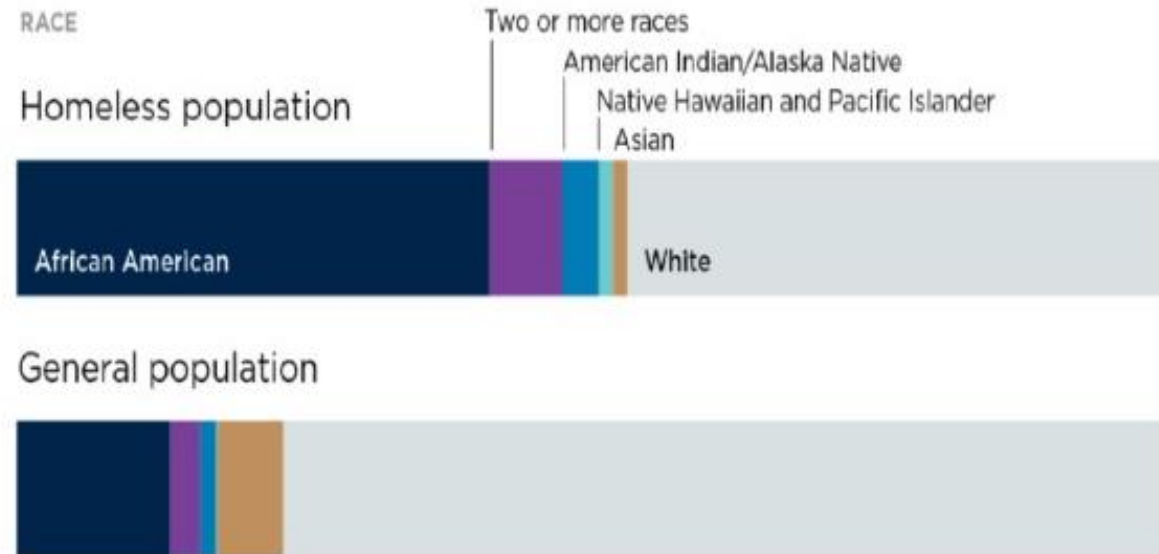


for more info, visit allhomekc.org



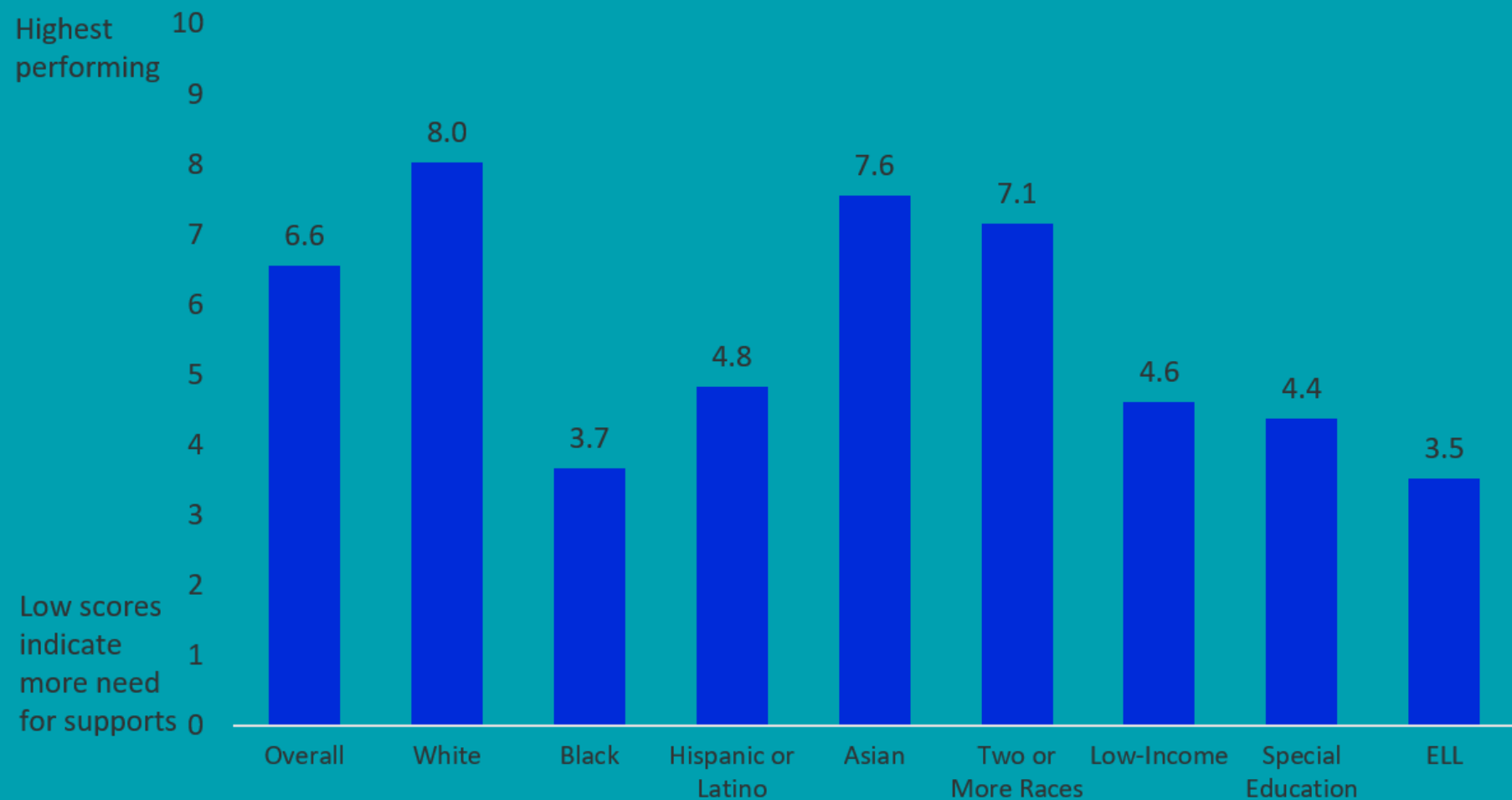
Most Minority Groups Make up a Larger Share of the Homeless Population Than They Do of the General Population

Race and ethnicity of those experiencing homelessness compared with the general population



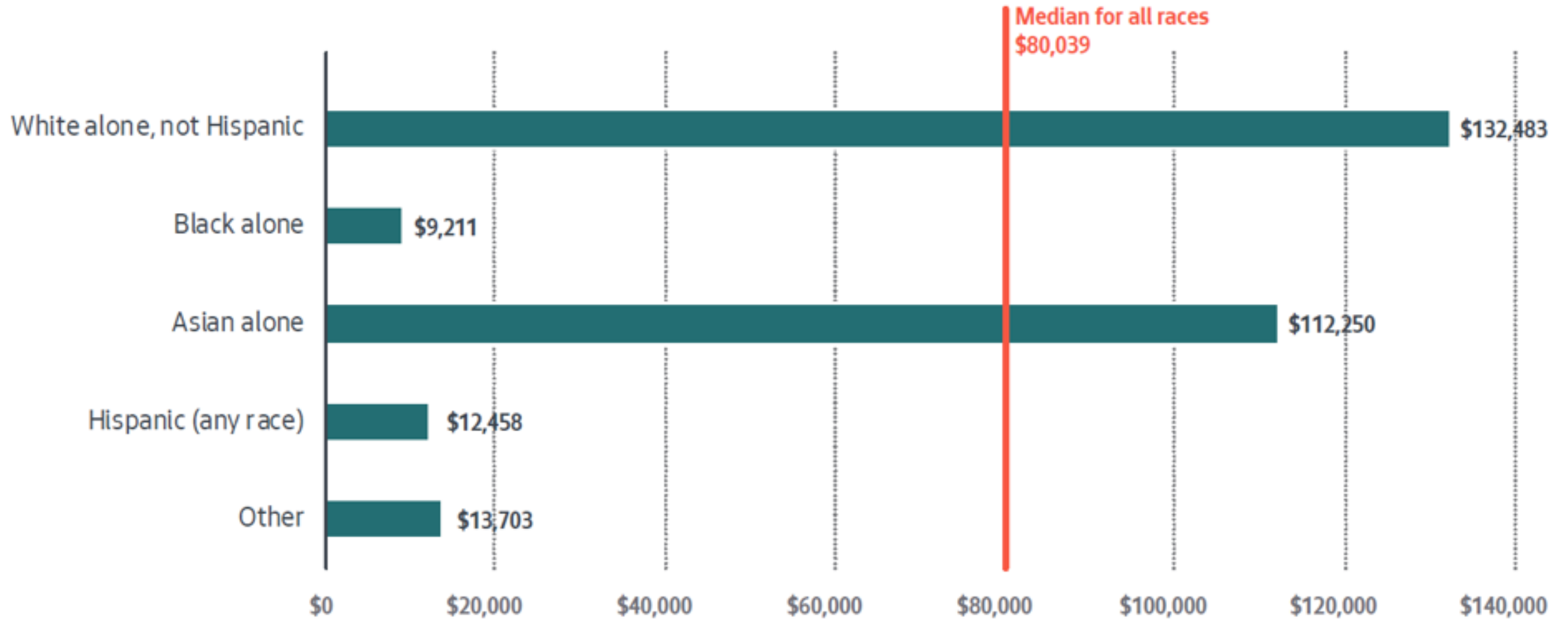
Homeless population data are for a given night in 2017.
Source: 2017 Annual Homeless Assessment Report to Congress, Part 1

Neighborhood Elementary Schools



Seattle Elementary Student Sub-Groups

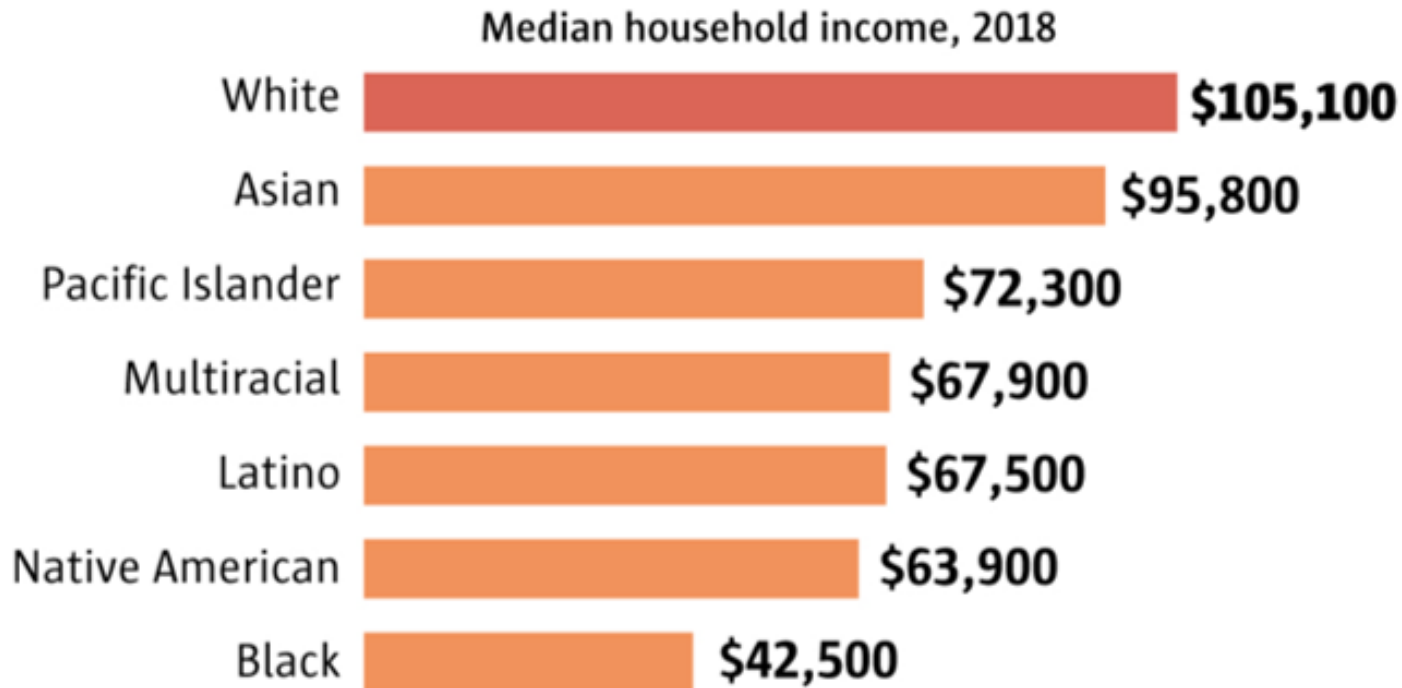
Disparities in household wealth



Income by race

Seattle income by race

White households have the highest median income in Seattle, and more than double that of black households.

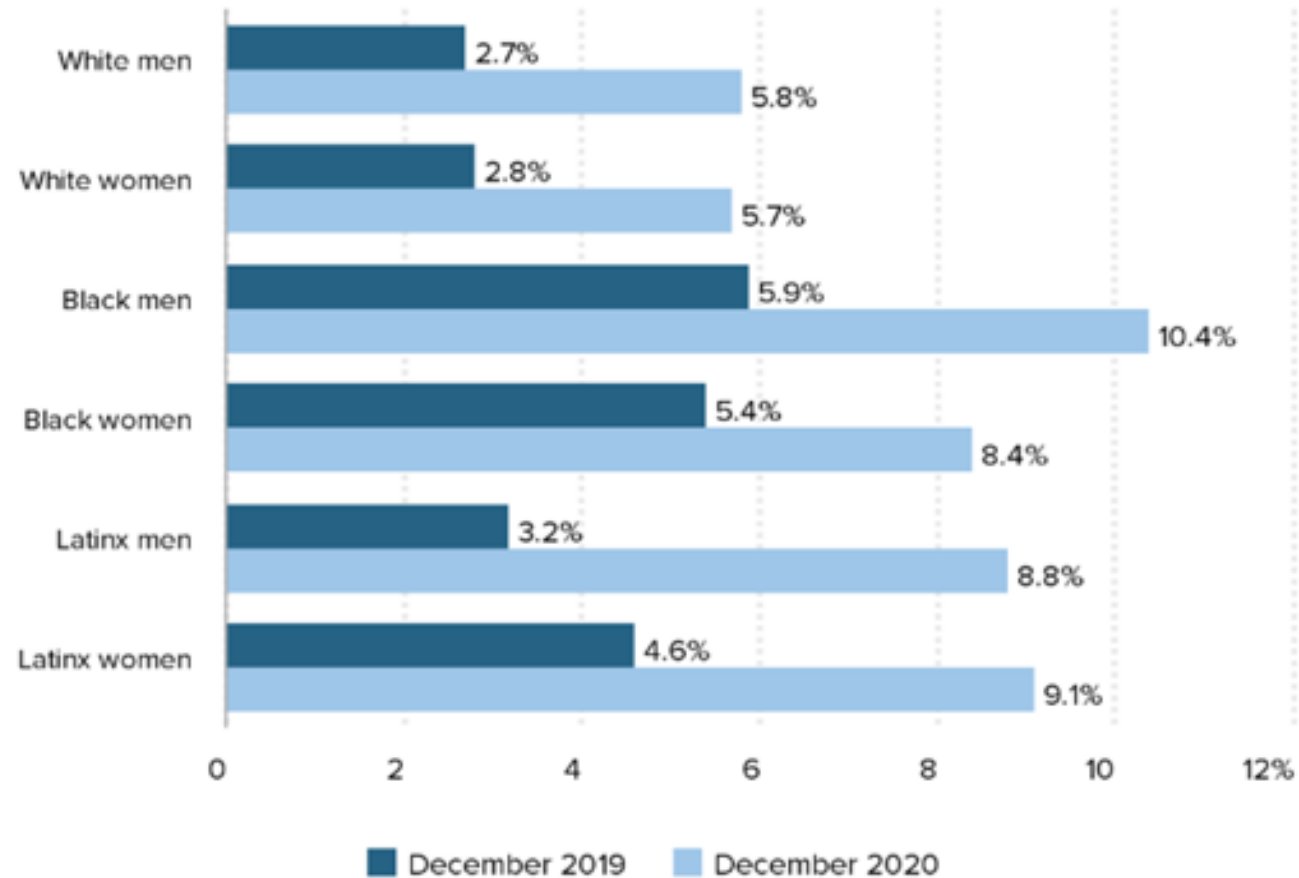


Source: U.S. Census

JAMES ABUNDIS / THE SEATTLE TIMES

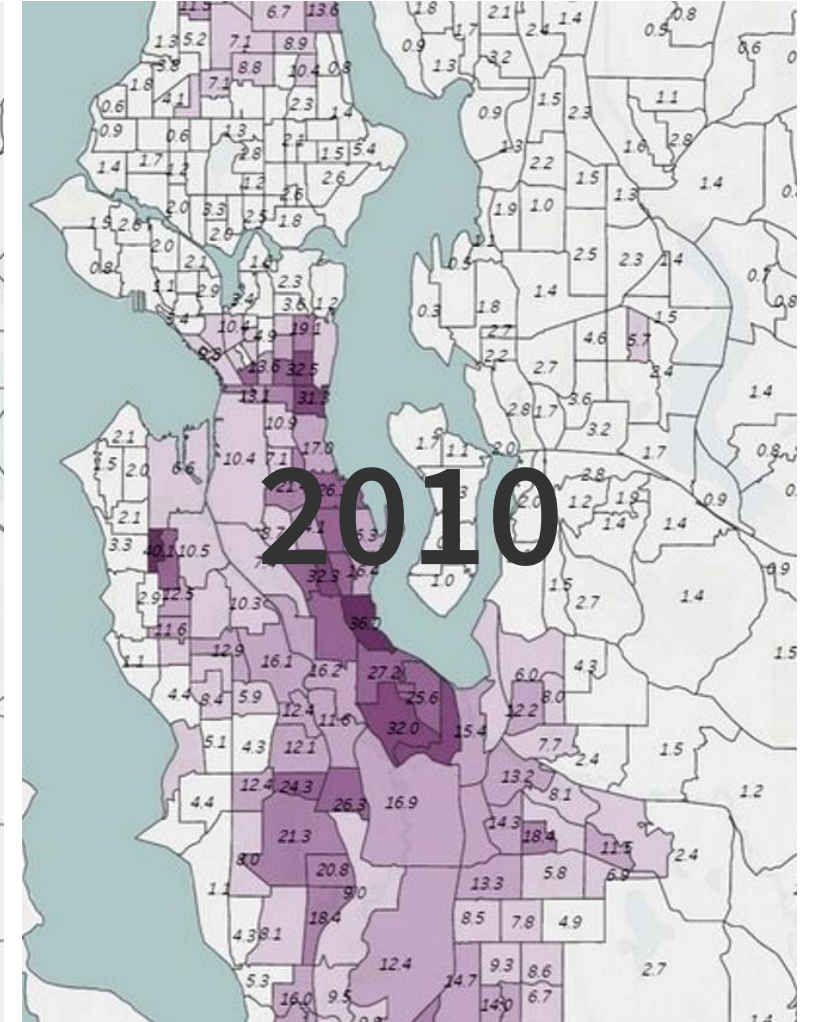
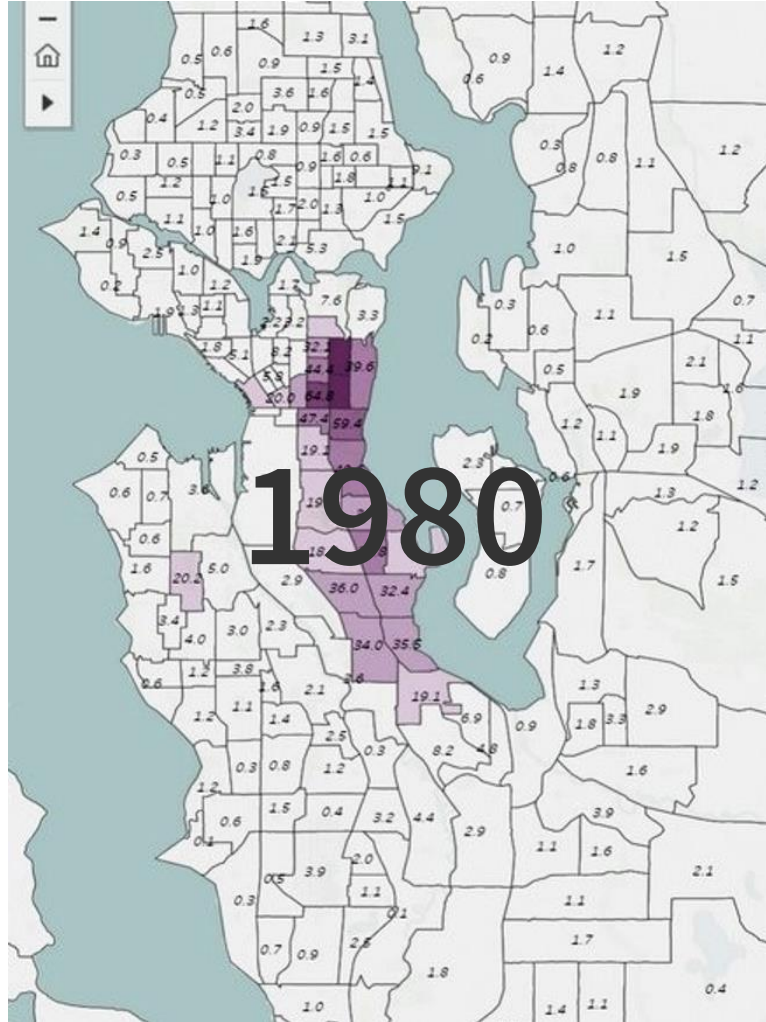
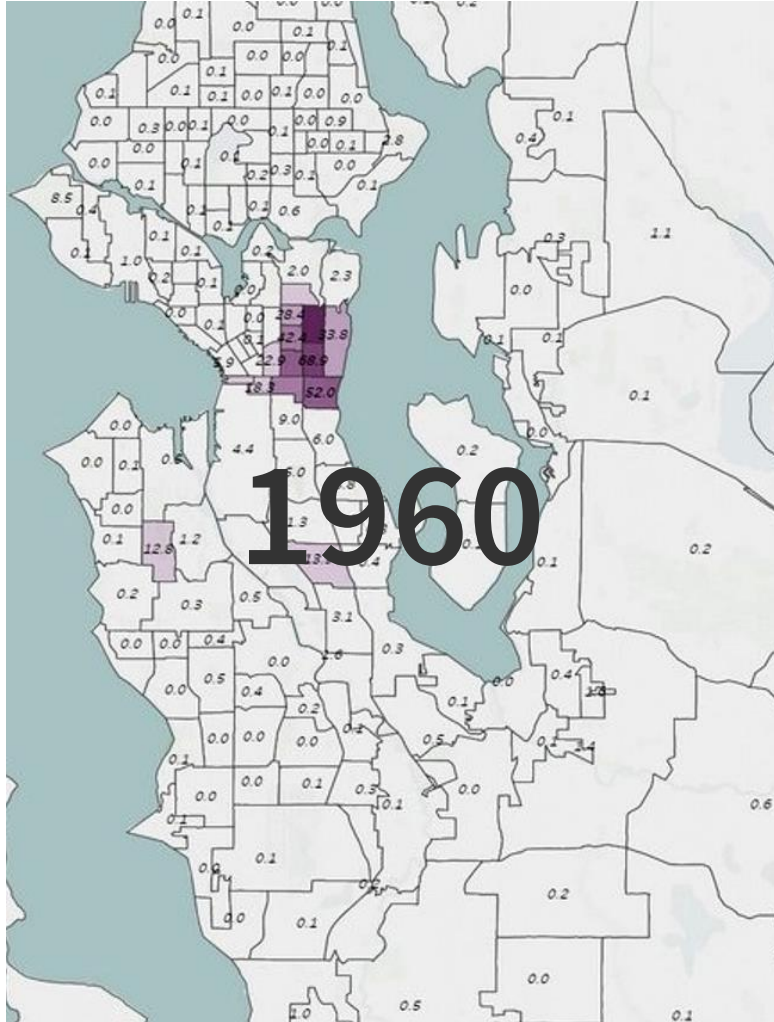
Disparities in unemployment rates

Unemployment rates for select workers by race/ethnicity and gender,
December 2019 and December 2020

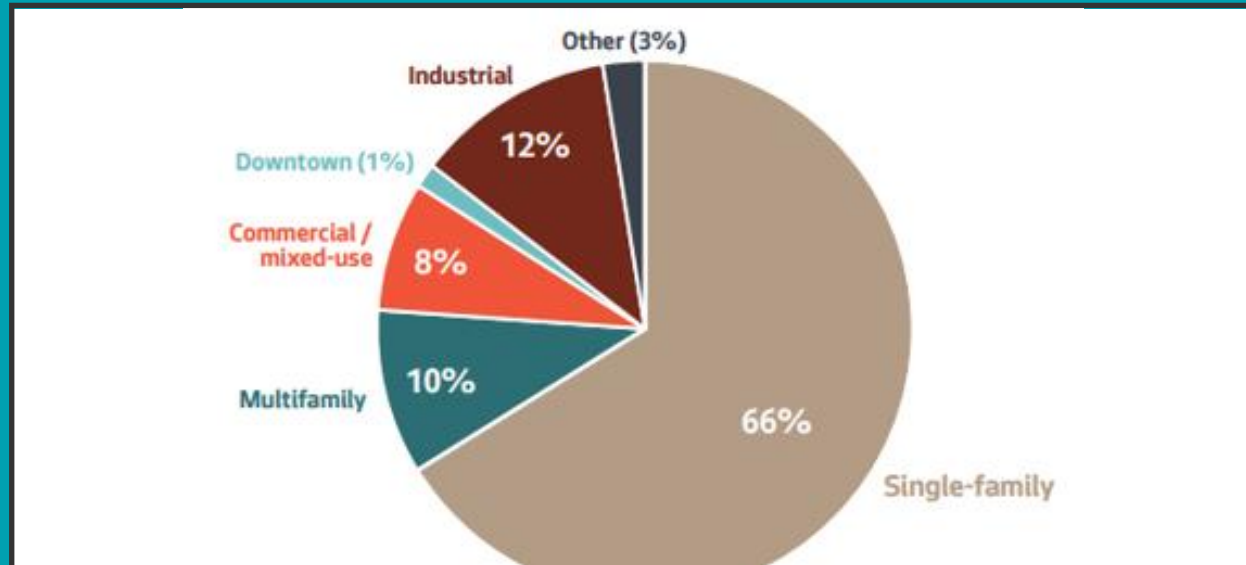
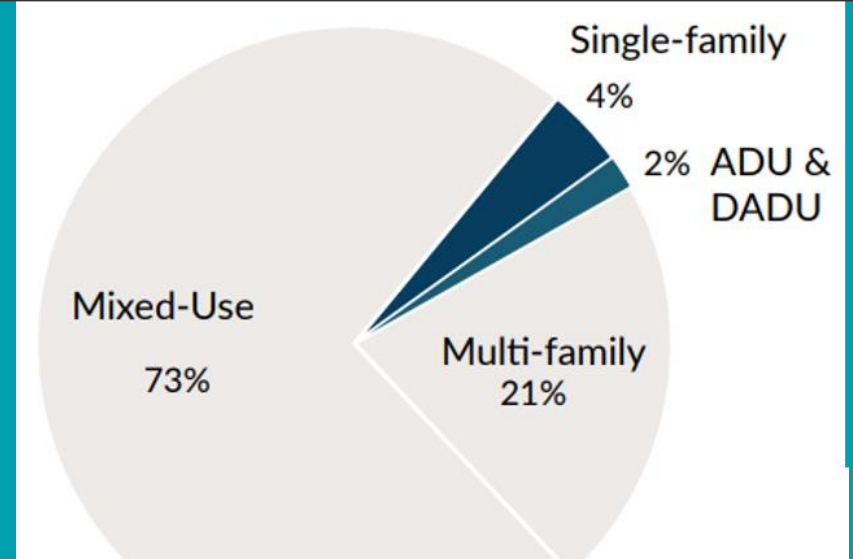
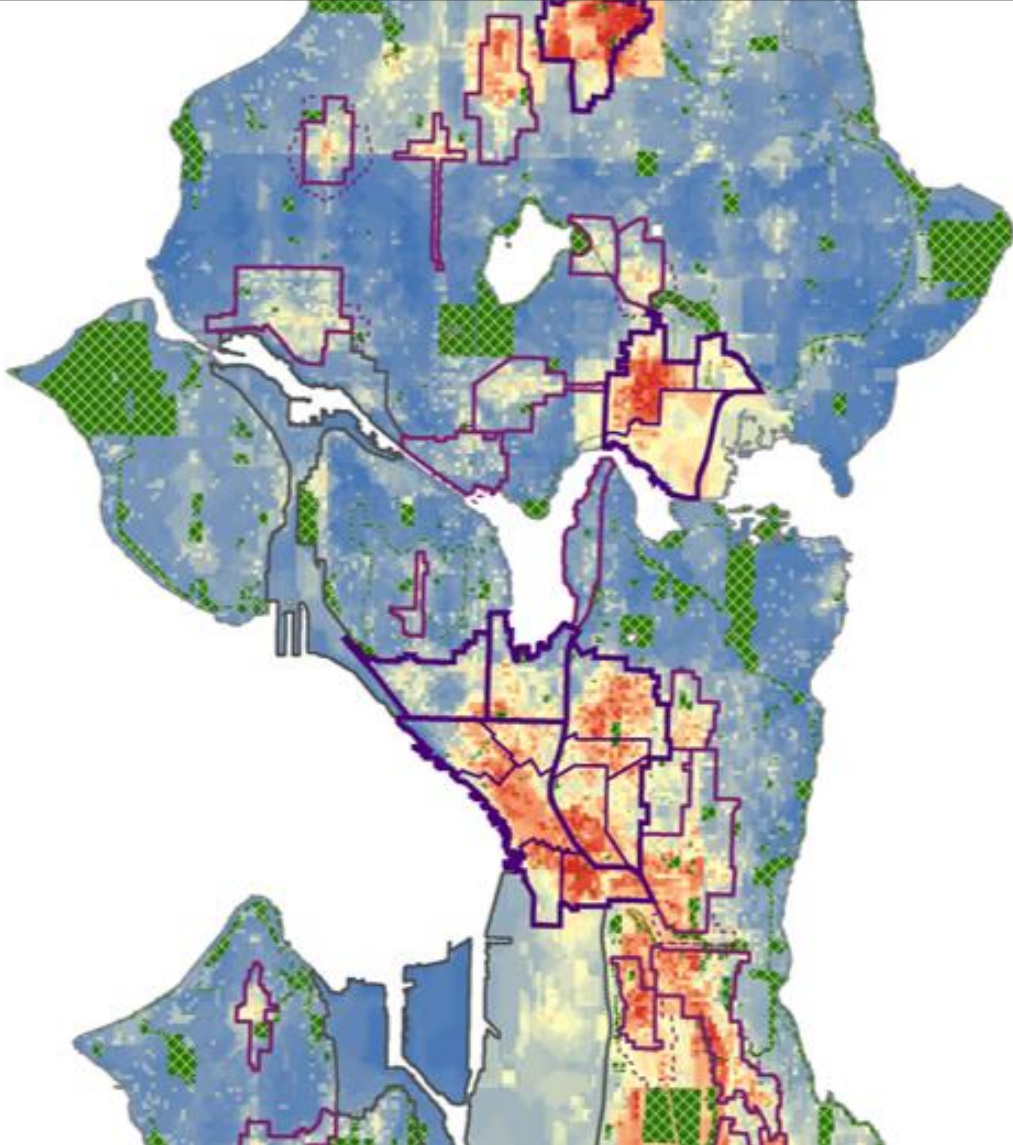


Notes: Data are for workers ages 20 and older. Racial and ethnic categories are not mutually exclusive; white and Black data do not exclude Latinx workers of each race.

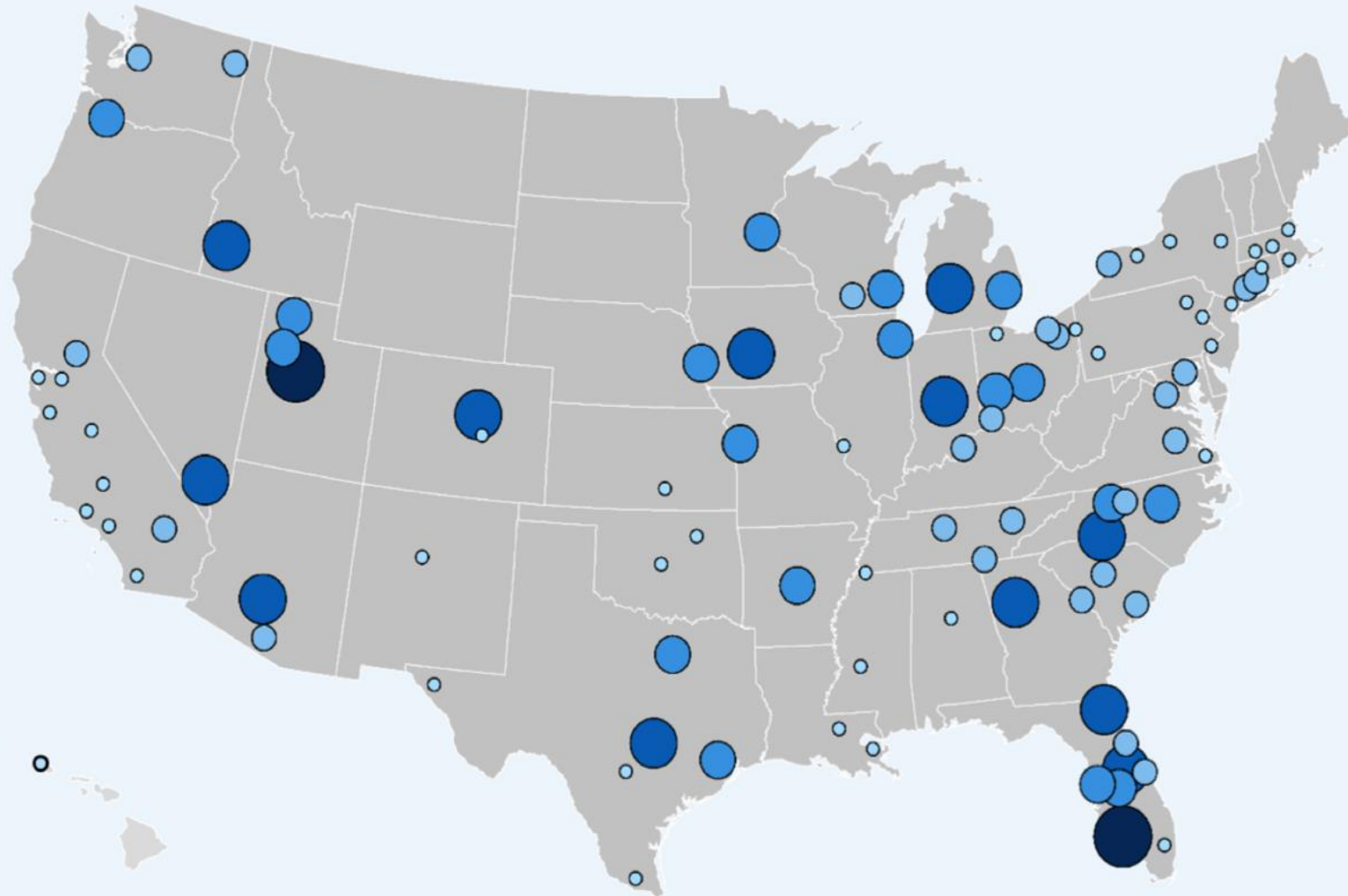
Black or African American residents (% of population)



Exclusionary Zoning



Suburbanization of Poverty



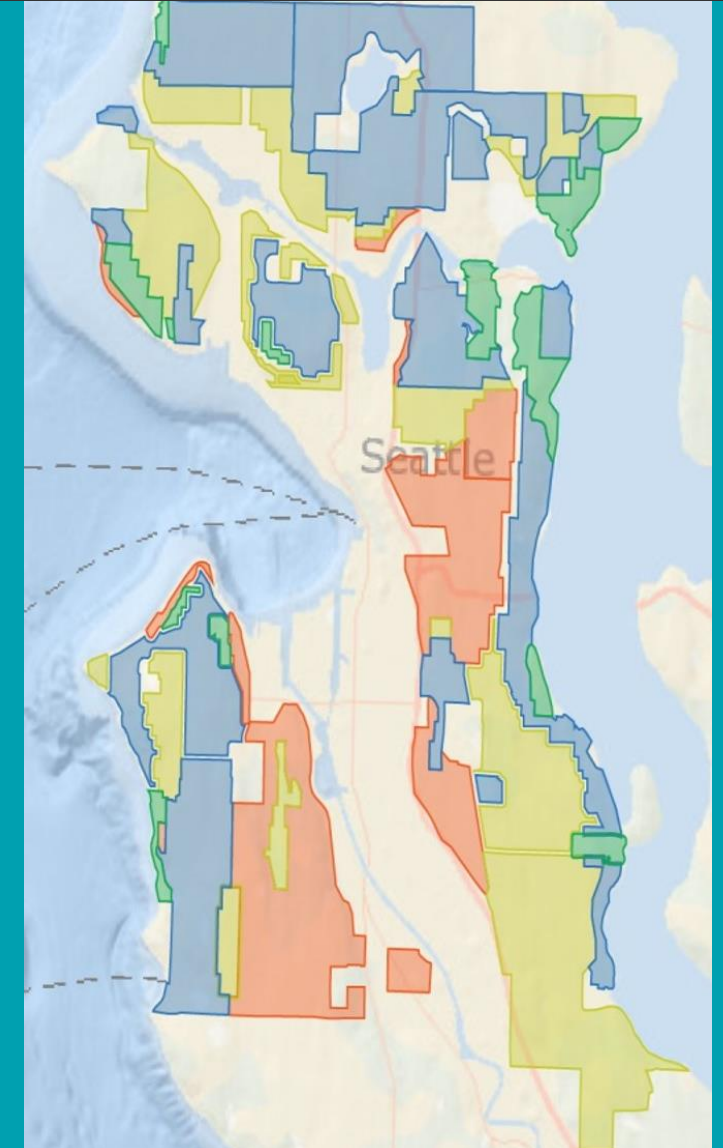
2000-2015

Change in suburban
populations in poverty

Between 2000 and 2015, the
suburban poor population
increased in 90 of the top 97
metros.

Redlining Impacts: Life expectancy in South Park is 74 — 13 years less than in wealthy, mostly white neighborhoods like Laurelhurst or Magnolia.

	1936 "GRADE OF DESIRABILITY"			
	BEST	DESIRABLE	DECLINING	HAZARDOUS
PEOPLE OF COLOR	15%	22%	42%	52%
POVERTY	15%	22%	23%	25%
CONTAMINATED SITES (average per square mile)	17	24	32	38
LIFE EXPECTANCY (average)	85 years	84 years	83 years	81 years



COVID Impacts - Housing insecurity

18%



18 percent of POC mortgage holders missed/deferred their June payment

65% Target

34%



34 percent of POC renters missed/deferred their June payment

Break Out questions

- 1 How did it feel to learn about the role of government, planning, and policy in this history?
- 2 How do you think these policies influence how our region looks and where people live today?
- 3 Where do you see opportunities to undo these harms?