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## Ethnic Minorities in Portland: A 1990 Census Profile

Carl Abbott

Portland State University, d3ca@pdx.edu

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E. Abbott  
L. Abbott  
J. Abbott

**ETHNIC MINORITIES IN PORTLAND:  
A 1990 CENSUS PROFILE**

by  
Carl Abbott

Special Report

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Center for Urban Studies  
School of Urban and Public Affairs  
Portland State University  
Portland, OR 97207-0751  
(503) 725-4020  
(503) 725-5199 FAX  
<http://www.upa.pdx.edu/centers.html#CUS>

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## **Ethnic Minorities in Portland: A 1990 Census Profile**

In the last two years, Portlanders of all backgrounds have begun to pay serious attention to the problems and opportunities created by the increasing racial and ethnic diversity of their metropolitan area. The Oregonian and the broadcast media have focused a number of stories and reports on racial relations and racial tensions. The broad-based strategic planning efforts of the Civic Index project (1989-90) and the Portland Future Focus planning program (1990-91) have pinpointed racial and ethnic relations as one of the central issues that will determine the quality of life in the growing metropolis. The City Club of Portland is preparing a series of reports on "Racial and Ethnic Relations in Portland" with attention to areas such as education, public welfare, law enforcement, and civic participation.

It is important that these discussions are grounded on a solid factual base that answers such fundamental questions as "who" and "where." As a contribution to the discussion, the School of Urban and Public Affairs at Portland State University has prepared this "census profile" of minority groups in the tri-county Portland area. Despite some well-publicized problems with response rates, the 1990 Census is the most thorough, current, and comprehensive source of information for comparing the characteristics of ethnic groups.

This report summarizes information on four racial groups and one ethnic minority group. The racial groups, to use the census terminology, are "white," "black," "American Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut," and "Asian and Pacific Islander." The one ethnic group consists of persons of "Hispanic origin." Since Hispanics may be of any race, members of this group overlap the racial categories. There are strong feelings about the appropriate use of names for racial groups. This report has chosen to use "African-American" for "black" and "Native American" for "American Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut."

The information that is reported and analyzed is only a fraction of the data that will ultimately be available from census publications and data tapes. However, it provides a common starting point for pursuing the discussions about equitable relations among racial and ethnic groups that will be so important for Portland's future.

## A. Growth of Minority Populations (Table 1)

The Portland area has one of the smallest minority populations among major metropolitan areas in the United States. *Of the 38 metropolitan areas with populations of a million or more in 1980, only Minneapolis-St. Paul had a smaller proportion of minority residents.*

Nevertheless, Portland has experienced a rapid increase in its minority population since 1980. The four minority groups constituted 7.8 percent of the tri-county population in 1980 and 11.4 percent in 1990. *Multnomah County continued to record the largest and most prominent minority population. However, it had the slowest increase in that population during the 1980s (45 percent). Washington County had the fastest rate of increase (131 percent).* Clackamas County fell exactly in the middle with an 88 percent increase.

County by county, minority residents were least prominent in Clackamas County, with only 5 percent of the county total, compared with 10 percent for Washington County and 15 percent for Multnomah County (Table 2). *However, the two "suburban" counties are catching up with Multnomah County as centers for racial diversity. Washington County in 1990 had the same level of diversity as Multnomah County ten years earlier. Clackamas County in 1990 had the same level of diversity as Washington County ten years earlier.* If the 1980-90 growth rates for minority and majority populations continue into the future, Washington County will pass Multnomah County as the most ethnically and racially diverse county around the year 2007.

Consideration of individual groups also indicates the growing diversity of the metropolitan area. Asian and Hispanic populations both passed African-Americans in total numbers. *Asians were the fastest growing minority group in each of the three counties. Their 162 percent increase in Washington County was the highest recorded by a specific racial group in a single county.* Hispanics showed the second-fastest growth in all three counties with an overall growth of 88 percent, followed by Native Americans at 42 percent, African-Americans at 21 percent, and whites at 12 percent.

Despite the attention focused on white-black relations in the city of Portland, *the slowest county-wide growth rate for a minority group was the 18 percent increase of African-Americans in Multnomah County.*

## B. Geographic Concentration of Racial and Ethnic Minorities

The degree of concentration or isolation of African-Americans, Native Americans, Asians, and Hispanics can be analyzed at three levels--(1) the three counties, (2) eight districts or sectors that correspond to the commonly understood residential zones of the metropolitan area, and (3) 275 census tracts that correspond roughly to neighborhood units.

*(1) At the county level, Hispanics during the 1980s became a predominantly "suburban" group, as the combined Washington and Clackamas county share of Hispanic residents rose from 47 percent to 54 percent (Table 3).*

The relative shift away from Multnomah County was smaller among other groups. 35 percent of Asians and Pacific Islanders lived in Washington and Clackamas counties in 1980 and 40 percent in 1990. The comparable figures for Native Americans were 32 percent and 35 percent. For African-Americans they were a very low 6 percent in suburban counties in 1980 and a slightly higher 8 percent in 1990.

(2) The tri-county area can be divided into eight districts or sectors for a more detailed analysis (Table 4). The districts, which range in population from 83,000 to 221,000, are:

- (1) North and Northeast Portland
- (2) Southeast Portland
- (3) Northwest and Southwest Portland
- (4) Outer Multnomah County (east of 162nd St)
- (5) Inner Clackamas County (Milwaukie, Oregon City, West Linn, Lake Oswego)
- (6) Outer Clackamas County
- (7) Inner Washington County (Beaverton, Tigard, Tualatin)
- (8) Outer Washington County

A substantial minority presence can be defined as more than 5 percent of a district's population. A visible presence can be defined as 2-5 percent. A proportion of less than 2 percent is essentially invisible. To translate from percentages into neighborhood patterns,

a 5 percent share of population in a neighborhood such as Laurelhurst or Irvington would amount to a single minority household on each block. A 2 percent share would average one household for every two and a half blocks.

Out of the thirty-two possibilities (eight districts multiplied by four groups), *only African-Americans in North-Northeast Portland total more than 10 percent of the district population. There are only three other cases in which a specific group totals more than 5 percent of the district population--Asians in Southeast Portland and Inner Washington County and Hispanics in Outer Washington County.*

More broadly, Hispanics are a "visible" group in every district and Asians are a visible minority in Portland, Multnomah County, and the inner portions of Clackamas and Washington counties.

In contrast, *Native-Americans are an "invisible" group with no more than 1.4 percent of the population of any district. Much like Native Americans, African-Americans are "invisible" in every district except North-Northeast Portland.*

Another way in which to measure the relative isolation of an ethnic or national group is to determine the smallest number of districts that contain at least 75 percent of its total population. The smaller the number of districts, the more isolated the group.

In the case of Portland, *a single district contains 75 percent of all African-Americans in the metropolitan area, making them the most geographically concentrated minority group. Next in degree of concentration are the several national groups of immigrants and refugees from Indochina. One district contains 75 percent of the small Hmong community. Two districts contain 75 percent of all Laotians. Three districts contain 75 percent of Cambodians and Vietnamese.*

In contrast, it takes four of the eight districts to account for three-quarters of Native Americans, Koreans, Chinese, Filipinos, and all Asian/Pacific Islanders grouped together.

*It takes at least five districts to account for 75 percent of the most dispersed groups. These groups are whites, Hispanics, Japanese, and Hawaiians.*

(3) Census tracts are neighborhood-sized territories defined by the Bureau of the Census for reporting social, economic, and housing data. The average 1990 population of a census tract was roughly 3800 in Multnomah County, 5000 in Washington County, and 5350 in Clackamas County.

In the tri-county area, *only 33 of the 275 residential census tracts had more than 500 residents belonging to specific minority groups. All but one of these heavily minority tracts are in Washington or Multnomah counties.* Multnomah County had 20 such tracts (16 with more than 500 African-Americans and 4 with more than 500 Asians). Washington County had 7 tracts with more than 500 Asians and 5 with more than 500 Hispanics. Clackamas County had a single census tract with more than 500 Hispanics.

*White Portlanders are in the majority in 98 percent of all census tracts.* The heaviest minority concentration is in North/Northeast Portland, where there are six tracts in which African-Americans outnumber whites and one additional tract in which African-Americans, Native Americans, and Asians together outnumber whites.

Given these figures, it is not surprising that *Portland lacks an eastern-style black ghetto* in which African-Americans make up 90 or 95 percent of the population for mile after mile in areas like the east side of Cleveland or the south side of Chicago. *The highest African-American concentrations are 70 percent in tract 34.02 (North of Fremont and west of King) and 69 percent in tract 34.01 (south of Killingsworth and west of King).* Only four other tracts are more than 50 percent African-American. These six tracts with an African-American majority all lie along NE Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd. Taken together, their 10,508 residents are only 27 percent of all African-Americans in the metropolitan area. In short, *nearly three-fourths of the Portland area's African-Americans are a minority within their own neighborhoods as well as within the metropolitan area as a whole.*

### C. Shifting Ethnic and Racial Geography

In the same way that we can take a total population of 500 as an indication of a substantial concentration of a particular minority group within a census tract, we can take an increase of 200 persons as an indicator of substantial growth of a particular group within a census tract.

Most of the increase of Asians and Pacific Islanders came in the Beaverton-Aloha area of Washington County (+6300), Southeast Portland (+1900), mid-Northeast Portland (+900), and the St. Johns area (+500).

*The high-gain tracts for Hispanics were concentrated in the outlying agricultural areas of the metropolitan area, particularly in the Hillsboro-North Plains-Forest Grove area (+4600), in mid-Washington County (+1200), in the Canby area (+1000), and in the Gresham area (+300).*

*In contrast, there were only eight high-increase tracts for African-Americans. All are located in North/Northeast Portland and all but one north of Killingsworth Street.*

Rapid simultaneous increases for two groups were found in the Aloha and Parkrose areas (Hispanics and Asians) and the St. Johns area (African-Americans and Asians).

*The most striking point about the changing location of African-Americans in the metropolitan area is their continuing northward shift within North/Northeast Portland. Since the 1940s, the heart of Portland's African-American community has been moving steadily northward from its historic center around Broadway and Williams. The process started with land clearance for the Coliseum in the 1950s and continued with the construction of Interstate 5 in the 1960s and the Emanuel Hospital redevelopment project in the 1970s. It has persisted through the 1980s without the assistance of major public land clearance.*

North and Northeast Portland can be divided into five smaller areas:

- (1) South of Fremont, north of I-84, west of 18th (roughly equivalent to Eliot and Irvington);
- (2) North of Fremont, west of 15th, south of Killingsworth (King, Boise, Overlook, Humboldt);
- (3) South of Fremont, north of I-84, east of 18th (Irvington, Grant Park, Rose City Park);
- (4) West of 15th, north of Killingsworth (Piedmont, Kenton, Portsmouth, St. Johns);



(5) East of 15th, north of Killingsworth (Woodlawn, Vernon, Sabin, Cully, Concordia).

*The old center of the Albina community has been emptying out for more than two decades.* The African-American population of Area 1 has declined from approximately 5000 in 1970 to 3400 in 1980 and 3000 in 1990. The African-American population in Area 2 has declined from 10,600 to 9000 to 7700. Taken together, nine of the twelve census tracts in these areas lost a total of more than 2000 African-American residents in the 1980s (while gaining 200 white residents).

There has been a small increase in Area 3, from 100 to 600 to 1000. This increase represents the gradual movement of economically successful African-Americans into a set of attractive middle-class neighborhoods.

*In contrast, there have been substantial increases in Area 4, from 3800 to 6500 to 9100 and in Area 5, from 2000 to 5500 to 7000.*

Table 5 shows the areas of African-American population increase and decrease on a regional basis. Again, several points are striking. First, the greatest increase in African-Americans has come north of Killingsworth. Second, the other neighborhoods of Northeast Portland have seen a decrease of African-Americans. Third, there have been substantial increases in Southeast Portland and the areas outside the city, indicating a continuing dispersal of African-Americans. Finally, the West Hills region of Portland has made the smallest contribution to easing the problems of racial isolation.

As the figures for areas outside Portland indicate, *the gradual suburbanization of African-Americans that was evident in the 1970s continued at roughly the same slow pace in the 1980s.* The number of new black residents in Clackamas County in the 1970s (rounded off to 400) was essentially the same as the increase in the 1980s. The same was true of Washington County, where the increment was approximately 900 in the 1970s and 1000 in the 1980s.

#### D. Household Characteristics

There are consistent contrasts in household characteristics among minority and majority Portlanders.

In terms of simple household size (Table 6), *Hispanics and Asians tend to live within large households*, ranking first or second in six of the eight districts. These findings may represent larger numbers of children living at home and/or more extended families that include members in addition to the nuclear core of parents and children. Whites live in the smallest households in every district.

A high proportion of married couples among all households is sometimes taken as an indicator of both economic and social stability, offering the possibility of dual incomes and sharing of family responsibilities among two adults (Table 7).

Among the five groups, *the proportion of married couples among all households is higher among whites, Asians, and Hispanics and lower among African-Americans and Native Americans*. The very low proportions of married couples among the latter two groups in West Portland reflects the particular demographics of the west side's low-income districts. *The differences among the "high-marriage" and "low-marriage" groups are smaller in the suburban districts than in the city of Portland*. These outer districts, in other words, display a more traditionally "suburban" pattern in household structure among all groups.

The converse of assumptions about the positive social impacts of married couples is the common concern that female-headed households with children but with no spouse present may lack both the economic and social resources to cope effectively with the challenges of modern life (Table 8).

*Whites and Asians share the smallest proportions of such female-headed households in seven of the eight districts. Native Americans and African-Americans share the highest proportions in seven districts, with Hispanics falling in the middle range.*

*It is worth pointing out that African-Americans and whites share quite similar household structures in Clackamas County, in Inner Washington County, and on the west side of Portland*. The gap in household structure between African-Americans and whites

is greatest in North/Northeast Portland, where more than a quarter of all African-American households are female-headed with children present. North/Northeast Portland also has the highest proportion of such households among Native Americans, confirming the spatial concentration of this potential source of social problems and dysfunctional families.

#### E. Age

A key age group for predicting the future of a city are the people aged 17 to 29. On the one hand, this is the age group responsible for more than half of the reported crimes in the United States. On the other hand, it is also the age group that will furnish the heart of the community's labor force over the next generation.

Taken together, *Portland's minorities constitute 12 percent of the total population but 15 percent of the 17-29 year olds* (Table 9).

Whites are consistently underrepresented among people in their late teens and twenties. Contrary to what may be the popular impression, the proportion of African-Americans in this key age group is also relatively low. In particular, the proportion of African-Americans in this age category is particularly low in North/Northeast Portland. Whatever that district's problems of racial relations, they are not caused by an "oversupply" of young adults in the gang-joining and crime-committing years.

It is Hispanics who have the largest proportion of young adults. This fact probably reflects the large numbers of migratory or semi-migratory agricultural workers and the rapid overall increase of the Hispanic population (since the majority of long-distance migrants tend to be young adults).

#### F. Housing

Homeownership in the United States has traditionally functioned as both an indicator and a source of economic success. To be an owner-occupant indicates that a householder has been able to save a down payment. At the same time, home equity has served as a form of savings and perhaps of capital gains in rising markets.

*The gaps among the several groups are less marked in the area of homeownership than in some of the social and demographic categories. (Table 10). Whites and Asians show the highest levels of homeownership, but Hispanics, Native Americans, and African-Americans are relatively close in several of the districts.*

*At least 40 percent of African-American households are homeowners in five of the eight districts, including North/Northeast Portland. The difference in ownership rates between whites and minority group members within the city of Portland is greatest on the west side and in southeast neighborhoods and least in north and northeast neighborhoods. On the west side, the difference reflects the split between an expensive ownership market in the highlands and a more affordable rental market in close-in neighborhoods and downtown. In North/Northeast Portland, the relatively high ownership rates among minorities reflect both affordable prices and the cumulative effects of a nearly half a century of home buying in what was for many years the only section open to African-American purchasers.*

*There is relatively high homeownership among Native Americans outside the the city of Portland and among Hispanics in Clackamas County. There is relatively low homeownership among Hispanics in the active farming areas of Outer Multnomah County and Outer Washington County.*

The value of owner-occupied housing and the average contract rent of rental houses and apartments are indicators of the quality and prestige of neighborhoods or housing available to different racial and ethnic groups.

*Homeowning African-Americans and Asians in Outer Multnomah County, Clackamas County, and Inner Washington County are able to live in housing that is equal to or superior to that of white homeowners (Table 11). These figures indicate that the relatively small numbers of suburban blacks and the larger numbers of suburban Asians are in fact economic success stories.*

The pattern is similar although somewhat less sweeping in average rents (Table 12). Blacks occupy more expensive rental housing than whites in Inner Clackamas and Outer Washington counties. Asians occupy more expensive rental units in Outer Multnomah County.

Table 1  
Growth in Racial and Ethnic Minority Population, 1980-1990

	<u>African American</u>	<u>Native American</u>	<u>Asian</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>	<u>All Minorities</u>
<u>Clackamas Co.</u>					
1980	768	1225	2376	3624	7993
1990	1134	1971	4827	7129	15061
% Change	48	61	103	97	88
<u>Washington Co.</u>					
1980	1090	1082	5130	6405	13707
1990	2058	1779	13424	14401	31662
% Change	88	64	162	125	131
<u>Multnomah Co.</u>					
1980	29844	4998	14163	11239	60244
1990	35133	6734	27326	18390	87583
% Change	18	35	93	64	45
<u>Tri-county Total</u>					
1980	31702	7305	21664	21268	81944
1990	38325	10404	45577	39920	134306
% Change	21	42	110	88	64

Table 2  
 Minority Groups as a Percentage of Total Population

	<u>African American</u>	<u>Native American</u>	<u>Asian</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>	<u>All Minorities</u>
<u>Clackamas Co.</u>					
1980	0.3	0.5	1.0	1.5	3.3
1990	0.4	0.7	1.7	2.6	5.4
<u>Washington Co.</u>					
1980	0.4	0.4	2.1	2.6	5.6
1990	0.7	0.6	4.3	4.6	10.2
<u>Multnomah Co.</u>					
1980	5.3	0.9	2.5	2.0	10.7
1990	6.0	1.2	4.7	3.1	15.0
<u>Tri-county Total</u>					
1980	3.0	0.7	2.0	2.0	7.7
1990	3.3	0.9	3.9	3.4	11.4

Table 3  
 County Shares of Racial and Ethnic Minorities, 1980-1990  
 (percent)

	<u>African American</u>	<u>Native American</u>	<u>Asian</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>	<u>All Minorities</u>
<u>Clackamas Co.</u>					
1980	2.4	16.8	11.0	17.0	9.8
1990	3.0	18.9	10.6	17.9	11.2
<u>Washington Co.</u>					
1980	3.4	14.8	23.6	30.1	16.7
1990	5.4	17.1	29.5	36.1	23.6
<u>Multnomah Co.</u>					
1980	94.1	68.4	65.4	52.8	73.5
1990	91.7	64.7	59.9	46.1	65.2

Table 4  
Groups as a Percentage of Population, by District, 1990

	<u>White</u>	<u>African American</u>	<u>Native American</u>	<u>Asian</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>
North/Northeast Portland	78.6	13.8	1.4	4.9	3.6
Southeast Portland	90.0	1.6	1.2	6.1	3.0
West Portland	92.6	1.9	0.8	4.0	2.4
Outer Multnomah Co.	94.2	1.1	0.9	2.5	3.2
Inner Clackamas Co.	96.0	0.5	0.6	2.1	2.4
Outer Clackamas Co.	97.0	0.3	0.8	0.8	2.9
Inner Washington Co.	92.3	0.8	0.5	5.4	2.7
Outer Washington Co.	91.1	0.4	0.7	1.7	9.4
Tri-county Total	90.5	3.3	0.9	3.9	3.4

Table 5  
Changes in African-American Population by District, 1980-1990

Portland: North of Killingsworth	3600
Portland: I-84 to Killingsworth	-632
Portland: East Side South of I-84	1443
Portland: Inner West Side	395
Portland: West Hills	91
Outer Multnomah County	331
Clackamas County	366
Washington County	968

Table 6  
Persons per Household, 1990

	<u>White</u>	<u>African American</u>	<u>Native American</u>	<u>Asian</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>
North/Northeast Portland	2.33	2.87	3.15	3.87	3.62
Southeast Portland	2.35	2.75	3.03	3.40	3.26
West Portland	2.03	2.42	2.45	2.36	2.43
Outer Multnomah Co.	2.67	3.42	2.97	3.58	4.10
Inner Clackamas Co.	2.57	3.31	3.04	3.70	4.02
Outer Clackamas Co.	2.91	4.50	3.42	5.23	5.01
Inner Washington Co.	2.47	2.75	2.85	3.34	3.37
Outer Washington Co.	2.80	4.07	3.49	4.01	5.46
Tri-county Total	2.47	2.86	3.01	3.43	3.86

Table 7  
Married Couples as a Percentage of All Households, 1990

	<u>White</u>	<u>African American</u>	<u>Native American</u>	<u>Asian</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>
North/Northeast Portland	44.4	28.7	32.2	54.4	40.3
Southeast Portland	43.6	29.1	34.1	58.0	41.7
West Portland	38.5	16.4	15.5	32.7	24.6
Outer Multnomah Co.	58.8	52.8	47.1	67.6	60.0
Inner Clackamas Co.	60.1	55.9	54.8	65.0	57.5
Outer Clackamas Co.	70.7	39.6	60.6	69.5	66.7
Inner Washington Co.	56.2	43.7	49.9	65.7	54.5
Outer Washington Co.	63.2	47.2	53.8	54.3	60.7
Tri-county Total	52.8	30.1	40.1	57.4	48.9



Table 8  
 Female-Headed Households (Children Present/No Spouse) as a  
 Percentage of All Households, 1990

	<u>White</u>	<u>African American</u>	<u>Native American</u>	<u>Asian</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>
North/Northeast Portland	6.7	25.4	21.1	10.7	13.1
Southeast Portland	6.9	16.3	17.1	7.1	11.2
West Portland	3.0	6.8	9.1	2.8	6.2
Outer Multnomah Co.	6.8	14.7	16.9	5.1	9.1
Inner Clackamas Co.	5.8	11.1	12.3	5.4	10.3
Outer Clackamas Co.	4.4	3.8	9.4	6.3	7.0
Inner Washington Co.	5.8	10.1	13.0	5.8	7.9
Outer Washington Co.	6.4	18.0	11.5	4.8	11.6
Tri-county Total	5.9	22.3	16.5	6.7	10.2

Table 9  
 Percentage of Population Aged 17-29, 1990

	<u>White</u>	<u>African American</u>	<u>Native American</u>	<u>Asian</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>
North/Northeast Portland	17.9	20.4	23.8	26.0	28.1
Southeast Portland	21.1	23.7	24.3	23.4	26.2
West Portland	21.7	28.5	28.4	39.2	34.0
Outer Multnomah Co.	18.8	21.2	35.2	34.7	32.3
Inner Clackamas Co.	16.4	16.5	20.0	18.8	25.5
Outer Clackamas Co.	15.0	33.1	22.1	17.2	27.6
Inner Washington Co.	18.9	21.5	23.9	20.7	27.0
Outer Washington Co.	17.5	22.1	25.5	30.4	33.2
Tri-county Total	18.5	21.1	23.8	24.0	29.1

Table 10  
Percentage of Households That are Owner-Occupants, 1990

	<u>White</u>	<u>African American</u>	<u>Native American</u>	<u>Asian</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>
North/Northeast Portland	61	41	36	51	37
Southeast Portland	55	24	34	54	37
West Portland	48	14	19	26	23
Outer Multnomah Co.	64	47	43	69	36
Inner Clackamas Co.	69	48	49	64	49
Outer Clackamas Co.	81	64	69	80	60
Inner Washington Co.	60	33	45	51	37
Outer Washington Co.	67	56	47	49	27
Tri-county Total	62	38	40	51	37

Table 11  
Average Value of Owner-Occupied Units, 1990  
(\$000s)

	<u>White</u>	<u>African American</u>	<u>Native American</u>	<u>Asian</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>
North/Northeast Portland	62	49	50	58	53
Southeast Portland	61	60	56	60	54
West Portland	140	124	97	121	127
Outer Multnomah Co.	76	79	67	83	73
Inner Clackamas Co.	110	115	92	117	97
Outer Clackamas Co.	88	95	77	96	81
Inner Washington Co.	101	105	88	103	92
Outer Washington Co.	83	71	74	84	67
Tri-county Total	89	56	69	85	75

Table 12  
Average Contract Rent of Renter-Occupied Units, 1990

	<u>White</u>	<u>African American</u>	<u>Native American</u>	<u>Asian</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>
North/Northeast Portland	\$351	\$295	\$314	\$328	\$327
Southeast Portland	344	320	349	332	332
West Portland	405	315	321	353	349
Outer Multnomah Co.	406	353	342	409	380
Inner Clackamas Co.	459	459	398	443	402
Outer Clackamas Co.	352	235	353	278	322
Inner Washington Co.	484	460	458	445	444
Outer Washington Co.	392	395	364	361	344
Tri-county Total	407	312	357	376	363