## PolicyLink

USCDornsife
Program for Environmental
and Regional Equity

## An Equity Profile of Pinellas County



## Summary

Mirroring national trends, Pinellas County is becoming a more diverse county. In the next few decades, the majority of the county's residents will be people of color from a rich variety of racial and ethnic backgrounds. However, a long history of racial discrimination and disinvestment in communities of color has created entrenched and persistent racial inequities in employment, income, wealth, education, health, justice, housing, and transportation.

The success and prosperity of Pinellas County will rely on dismantling these unjust barriers and ensuring that everyone can participate in and enjoy the benefits of a thriving economy. It is estimated that without racial gaps in income, the economy in the region would have been $\$ 3.6$ billion stronger in 2016. Existing community and policy efforts are beginning to adopt an equity-focused approach, providing meaningful opportunities for residents, government, and businesses to advance long-term sustainable change to shape a more inclusive economy for all.

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## Foreword

The benefits of a more fair and just society are evident throughout the world. Equity-full inclusion of all residents in the economic, social, and political life of Pinellas County, regardless of race/ethnicity, nativity, age, gender, neighborhood of residence, or other characteristics-is more than just the right thing to do, it is essential for sustained prosperity. Reducing inequity correlates with more stable economies, more capacity to rebound from economic downturns, growth in overall academic performance, increased life expectancy, reduced infant mortality, and increased civic participation. Equity IS the superior economic and social model.

Still, disparities based on race and ethnicity endure across a host of socioeconomic indicators in our county, indicating a persistence of racial barriers to opportunity. Typically, these barriers include discrimination as well as more subtle forms of exclusion that are embedded into institutions and systems. There is a disconnect between the brilliance and contributions of people of color in the United States and in Pinellas County and in the lived experience of many residents.

With the production of this equity profile, UNITE Pinellas aims to make the data clear and indisputable knowing that the goal is to produce fairness and social justice where race would no longer be a factor in the assessment of merit, or in the distribution of opportunity.

UNITE Pinellas is committed to increasing our community's capacity and will to achieve lasting economic and racial fairness. Specific and significant ways exist to reform systems that generated this unfairness:

- Dismantle public policies that create barriers to exclusion and develop policies that are more equitable.
- Eliminate institutional practices such as regulations and day-to-day decision-making in public and private institutions that generate biased outcomes.
- Change the narrative and modify the language, images, and cognitive cues that form the conventional understanding of poverty and race from one of "blame" to a deeper understanding of the systemic barriers in place that have created these inequities.

By increasing the knowledge of the local dynamics and conditions and exposing the root causes that underlie the disparities, our community can develop the capacity to influence these three areas. It is important to acknowledge that the success in impacting systems relies on the wisdom and co-creation of people most impacted by the policies, practices, and blame narratives that perpetuate inequity. This goal will drive who participates in decision-making and how decisions are made.

If there is a more just and equitable Pinellas County what difference will it make? Aside from the deep desire people hold for our world to be just and fair, there are concrete impacts that can be measured and seen. The research in this profile estimates that our local economy would be $\$ 3.6$ billion larger if there were no income inequities.

What happens if our community does not alter the systemic/structural causes of inequity? If the community is unable to generate lasting systemic impact, we will continue to deny the contributions that

## Foreword (continued)

people at the margins are ready and able to make toward the well-being of the whole. The community's potential will be unrealized. Inequities will continue to cost everyone.

This equity profile is an effort to increase awareness of how inequity is part of our reality in Pinellas County. This report, and future reports, will be enhanced as they include even deeper co-creation of solutions from residents who are context experts. Context expertise is a core value of UNITE Pinellas and it will generate a superior solution.

This report defines and launches an agenda for Pinellas County focused on an inclusive economy and justice that materially impacts the measures of equity. The next steps will include an ongoing effort to elevate the awareness of the realities of the current systems, advancing the institutional commitments to internal change, and exploring areas that are ripe for movement around policy and practice.

## UNITE Pinellas Members

AARP Florida
Allegany Franciscan Ministries
Central Florida Behavioral Health Network
Community Foundation of Tampa Bay
Forward Pinellas
Foundation for a Healthy St. Petersburg
Juvenile Welfare Board
One Community Plan and 2020 Plan
Pinellas County Community Foundation
Pinellas County Government
Pinellas County Health Department
Pinellas County Schools
Pinellas County Urban League
Pinellas Education Foundation
St. Petersburg Chamber of Commerce
St. Petersburg College
Tampa Bay Health Collaborative
United Way Suncoast

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Sean Kennedy, The Greenhouse
Veatrice Farrell, Deuces Live

## Introduction Overview

Across the country, residents and community organizations, local governments, business leaders, funders, and policymakers are striving to put plans, policies, and programs in place aimed at healthier, more equitable communities that foster inclusive growth.

These efforts recognize that equity - just and fair inclusion into a society in which all can participate, prosper, and reach their full potential - is fundamental to a brighter future. UNITE Pinellas was formed out of a need to examine and combat systemic inequities in Pinellas County that have diminished economic and social success for residents with low incomes and especially for people of color.

Knowing how a community stands in terms of equity is a critical first step in planning for equitable growth. To assist with that process, PolicyLink and the Program for Environmental and Regional Equity (PERE) developed an equity indicators framework that communities can use to understand and track the state of equity and equitable growth locally.

This document presents an equity analysis of Pinellas County, Florida. The data in this profile are drawn from a regional equity database that includes data for the largest 100 cities and 150 regions in the United States, as well as all 50 states. This database incorporates hundreds of data points from public and private data sources including the U.S. Census Bureau, the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System, and Woods and Poole Economics. See the "Data and methods" section of this profile for a detailed list of data sources.

This profile also uses a range of data sources to describe the state of equity in Pinellas County as comprehensively as possible, but there are limitations. Not all data collected by public and private sources is disaggregated by race/ethnicity and other demographic characteristics. And in some cases, even when disaggregated data is available, the sample size for a given population is too small to report with confidence. Local data sources and the lived experiences of a diversity of residents should supplement the data
provided in this profile to more fully represent the state of equity in Pinellas County.

## Introduction <br> What is an equitable county?

Counties are equitable when all residents - regardless of their race/ethnicity, nativity, gender, income, neighborhood of residence, or other characteristics - are fully able to participate in the county's economic vitality, contribute to the region's readiness for the future, and connect to the region's assets and resources.

## Strong, equitable counties:

- Have economic vitality that supports residents to secure high-quality jobs and to produce new ideas, products, businesses, and economic activity so the well-being of the residents is sustainable.
- Are ready for the future, with a skilled, ready workforce and a healthy population.
- Are places of connection, where residents can access the essential ingredients to live healthy and productive lives in their neighborhoods, reach opportunities located throughout the region (and beyond) via transportation and technology, participate in civic processes, and productively engage with other diverse residents.


## Introduction Why equity matters now

## The face of America is changing.

Our country's population is rapidly diversifying. Already, more than half of all babies born in the United States are people of color. By 2030, the majority of young workers will be people of color. And by 2044, the United States will be a majority people-ofcolor nation.

Yet racial and income inequality is high and persistent.
Over the past several decades, long-standing inequities in income, wealth, health, and opportunity have reached unprecedented levels. And while most have been affected by this growing inequality, communities of color have felt the greatest pains as the economy has shifted and stagnated.

Racial, gender, and economic equity is necessary for the nation's economic growth and prosperity.
Equity is an economic and health imperative as well as a moral one. Research shows that equity and diversity are win-win propositions for nations, regions, communities, and firms.

For example:

- More equitable regions experience stronger, more sustained growth. ${ }^{1}$
- Regions with less segregation (by race and income) and lower income inequality have more upward mobility. ${ }^{2}$
- Researchers predict that health equity would lead to significant economic benefits from reductions in health-care spending and lost productivity. ${ }^{3}$
- Companies with a diverse workforce achieve a better bottom line. ${ }^{4}$
- A diverse population more easily connects to global markets. ${ }^{5}$
- Lower economic inequality results in better health outcomes for everyone. ${ }^{6}$

The way forward is with an equity-driven growth model.
A new economic model based on equity, fairness, and opportunity can secure America's health and prosperity. Policies and investments must support equitable economic growth strategies, opportunity-rich neighborhoods, and "cradle-to-career" educational pathways.

Counties play a critical role in building this new growth model.
Local communities are where strategies are being incubated that foster equitable growth: growing good jobs and new businesses while ensuring that all - including low-income people and people of color - can fully participate and prosper.

[^0]
## Introduction Geography

This profile describes demographic, economic, and health conditions in Pinellas County, Florida, portrayed in the map to the right. Pinellas County is part of the Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater metropolitan statistical area, which also includes Hillsborough, Hernando, and Pasco counties.

Unless otherwise noted, all data follow the Pinellas County geography. Some exceptions, due to lack of data availability, are noted beneath the relevant figures. Information on data sources and methodology can be found in the "Data and methods" section beginning on page 65.


Demographics


## Demographics Who lives in the county?

## The majority of Pinellas County residents

are White. Three-quarters of residents are White and one-quarter are Black, Latinx, Asian, or Mixed/other race. The county is much less diverse than the state of Florida, which is 56 percent White and 44 percent people of color.

Among communities of color in Pinellas, Blacks represent the largest group (10 percent) followed by Latinx ( 9 percent). The majority of the White, Black, and Latinx populations in Pinellas were born in the U.S., while the majority of the Asian or Pacific Islander population were not.

## Why it matters

The diversity of residents contributes to the richness of Pinellas County. But often, people of color and immigrants face barriers that prevent them from participating fully in the economy. Having inclusive policies or infrastructure in place would benefit not only people of color, but also the county as a whole.


Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series.
Note: Data represent a 2012 through 2016 average.

## Demographics <br> Who lives in the county and how is this changing?

The county is experiencing a demographic
shift. Demographic change has occurred more slowly in Pinellas County compared to the nation. However, the proportion of the population who are people of color and immigrants continues to steadily increase in the county.

The increase in the Latinx population will continue to drive growth in the county. Between 2016 and 2050, the Latinx population is anticipated to increase from 9 percent to 22 percent, and the Asian or Pacific Islander population to increase from 3 percent to 8 percent of the total population. At this rate, the county will be majority people of color in 2050.

## Why it matters

As people of color continue to grow as a share of the workforce and population, their social and economic well-being will determine the county's future success and prosperity.


Sources: U.S. Census Bureau; Woods \& Poole Economics, Inc.
Projected
Note: Data for 2016 represent a 2012 through 2016 average. Much of the increase in the Mixed/other population between 1990 and 2000 is due to a change in the survey question on race.

## Demographics <br> Who lives in the county and how is this changing?

## The overall population in the county has

 seen a slight increase ( 2 percent) since2010. The White population has declined slightly while people of color have driven all of the net population growth. People who identify as two or more races or Other are the fastest growing group, growing by 51 percent. The Latinx population added the most in terms of net change in population, increasing by over 15,000 residents between 2010 and 2016, with the U.S.-born population contributing to the vast majority of the growth. The population of immigrants who are people of color increased by 10 percent, by about 5,200 people.

## Why it matters

Immigration is an important driver of population growth nationwide, and in many communities, new immigrants are fueling neighborhood revitalization and business growth. Policies that increase access to education, services, and living-wage jobs for immigrants, and remove barriers to their full and equal participation, will help communities thrive.

Growth Rates of Major Groups by Race/Ethnicity and Nativity, 2010 to 2016


## Demographics <br> Who lives in the county and what is their ancestry?

## The county's Black, Latinx, and Asian

 communities are diverse with respect to their ancestry. The Black population is predominantly African American, with most Black immigrants coming from the Caribbean or Sub-Saharan Africa.Within the Latinx community, the largest subgroups are Puerto Ricans and Mexicans. Among Asian or Pacific Islanders, the largest groups are Vietnamese, Indian, and Filipino.

Black, Latinx, and Asian/Pacific Islander Populations by Ancestry, 2016

| Black | Population | \% Immigrant |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| Caribbean/West Indian | 5,302 | $65 \%$ |
| Sub-Saharan African | 2,751 | $43 \%$ |
| European | 638 | $\mathrm{~N} / \mathrm{A}$ |
| Latin American | 238 | $\mathrm{~N} / \mathrm{A}$ |
| North African/Southwest Asian | 45 | $\mathrm{~N} / \mathrm{A}$ |
| African American/Other Black | 85,747 | $\mathbf{2 \%}$ |
| Total | $\mathbf{9 4 , 7 2 1}$ | $\mathbf{7 \%}$ |


| Latinx | Population | \% Immigrant |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| Puerto Rican | 17,125 | $0 \%$ |
| Mexican | 16,283 | $43 \%$ |
| Cuban | 8,667 | $50 \%$ |
| Colombian | 3,695 | $62 \%$ |
| All other Latinx | 37,296 | $33 \%$ |
| Total | $\mathbf{8 3 , 0 6 6}$ | $\mathbf{3 1 \%}$ |


| Asian or Pacific Islander | Population | \% Immigrant |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| Vietnamese | 6,774 | $71 \%$ |
| Indian | 4,829 | $77 \%$ |
| Filipino | 4,642 | $75 \%$ |
| Chinese | 3,227 | $76 \%$ |
| All other API | 11,872 | $63 \%$ |
| Total | $\mathbf{3 1 , 3 4 4}$ | $\mathbf{7 0 \%}$ |

## Demographics <br> Where do people of color live in the county?

## Communities of color are spread

 throughout the county but are the most concentrated in urban centers. For example, the highest density neighborhoods of color are located in South St. Petersburg,Downtown Clearwater, and Highpoint.

## Why it matters

A long history of segregation and Jim Crow laws has shaped where people of color live, work, and socialize. Institutional practices such as redlining created low-resource neighborhoods with a high concentration of African American residents. For all residents to thrive in inclusive neighborhoods, the county and cities need to develop restorative policies and invest in communities of color.

## Percent People of Color by Census Tract, 2016

2\% to $15 \%$
$\square 15 \%$ to $30 \%$

- $30 \%$ to $50 \%$

■ 50\% to $99 \%$


Source: U.S. Census Bureau.
Note: Data represent a 2012 through 2016 average. Areas in white are missing data.

## Demographics <br> How do the county's residents differ by age?

## Young people are leading the demographic shift in

the county. Currently, about 41 percent of the youth (under age 18) in Pinellas County are people of color, compared with 11 percent of the county's seniors ( 65 and older) who are people of color. This 30 -percentage point difference between the share of people of color among young and old can be measured as the racial generation gap. Since 1980, the racial generation gap has grown by 14 percentage points.

## Why it matters

A recent Pew Research Center report shows wide and growing generational differences in views on racial discrimination and the importance of racism as the main explanation for why people who are Black cannot get ahead. ${ }^{7}$ This influences the support for policy approaches to impact equity. Furthermore, the racial generation gap may negatively affect the region if the county does not invest in the educational systems and community infrastructure needed to support the youth population that is more racially diverse. ${ }^{8}$

[^1]
## Percent People of Color by Age Group, 1980 to 2016

Percent of seniors
-Percent of youth


Source: U.S. Census Bureau.
Note: Youth include persons under age 18 and seniors include those age 65 or older. Data for 2016 represent a 2012 through 2016 average.

## Demographics <br> Who will be driving growth in the future?

## The county is relatively older compared to

Florida and to the nation. The average resident of Pinellas County is 47 years old, compared to the statewide median of 42 years and the nationwide median of 38 years. Many of the nation's residents move to the region for retirement.

The county's communities of color are more youthful than its White population. Latinx people, for example, have a median age of 32 , while the median age of Whites is 52 .

## Why it matters

As younger populations grow increasingly diverse and the senior population remains largely White, bridging the gap between the two groups will be critical for the economy. Support from older residents for strong public schools for all children and workforce training is needed to prepare the emerging workforce for the jobs of tomorrow.

## Median Age by Race/Ethnicity, 2016



## Demographics <br> Where are the linguistically isolated households?

There are pockets of linguistic isolation in Clearwater, Highpoint, and the central region of Pinellas County. These are households in which no member age 14 or older speaks "only English" or speaks English at least "very well."

Relative to the state and the country, residents in Pinellas County have high English proficiency with only 5 percent of people age five or older reporting speaking English less than "very well"; in Florida and the nation, it is 12 percent and 9 percent, respectively. But, there are areas in the county where the proportion of households with low English proficiency is as high as 17 percent.

## Why it matters

Low English proficiency limits access to vital social services, health care, and neighborhood assets, which excludes linguistically isolated households from participating fully in the community and economy.

## Percent Linguistically Isolated Households by Census Tract, 2016

$\square 0 \%$ to $1 \%$
$\square 1 \%$ to $5 \%$

- 5 to $10 \%$
- $10 \%$ to $17 \%$


Source: U.S. Census Bureau. Universe includes all households.
Note: Data represent a 2012 through 2016 average. Areas in white are missing data.

## Demographics What is the English proficiency among immigrants?

About one-third of all immigrants have limited English proficiency (LEP), defined as speaking English less than "very well." The LEP share of the immigrant population has decreased slightly since 2010. Black immigrants have the highest levels of Englishspeaking ability with only 16 percent having LEP. Latinx immigrants have the lowest levels of English-speaking ability, followed by Asian/Pacific Islander immigrants.

## Why it matters

An inclusive county fosters a supportive environment for immigrants to thrive economically and socially. Investing in community resources and infrastructure that support immigrants with different linguistic backgrounds will help to integrate the county's new Americans and grow the economy for everyone.

## English-Speaking Ability Among Immigrants by Race/Ethnicity, 2010 and 2016

Percent speaking English...

- Only
- Very Well
$\square$ Well
- Not Well
- None


Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series. Universe includes all persons ages 5 or older.
Note: Data for 2010 represent a 2006 through 2010 average and data for 2016 represent a 2012 through 2016 average.

## Economic vitality



## Economic vitality <br> How is the economy doing after the Great Recession?

## The county is struggling to recover from the

Great Recession. Before the recession that lasted from late 2007 to mid 2009, the county's economy performed about the same as the nation in job growth and better than the nation in GDP growth. Since 2009, Pinellas County has struggled to catch up to pre-recession level job and GDP growth, and has lagged the nation on both measures. However, it is important to note that nationwide jobs and the GDP have increased throughout 2017 and 2018, which is not reflected in this analysis.

## Why it matters

While GDP is often the measure of economic health and well-being, job recovery is also necessary for a prosperous economy. Stagnant job growth indicates that the benefits of an expanding economy are not reaching as many workers and their families as they could be.

Average Annual Growth in Jobs and GDP, 1990 to 2007 and 2009 to 2016

- Jobs

■ GDP


## Economic vitality Is the county growing good jobs for everyone?

## While the country has seen growth across

 industries, this trend is not true in PinellasCounty: jobs in low-wage industries have grown but jobs in middle- and high-wage industries have declined. The decline for middle-wage jobs was most severe at 15 percent. High-wage industries include sectors such as finance and insurance, information, and professional services; middlewage industries include sectors such as manufacturing, health care and social assistance, and construction; low-wage industries include sectors such as retail trade and accommodation and food services.

## Why it matters

The national trend over recent decades has been one of job polarization, with the largest growth in low- and high-wage industries. Job growth is critical for a region's economic vitality, but it is important to grow good jobs that pay familysupporting wages and offer opportunities for upward mobility. Middle-wage jobs have typically provided opportunities for workers without fouryear college degrees to be financially secure and enter the middle class.

## Growth in Jobs by Industry Wage Level, 2000 to 2016

Low-wage

- Middle-wage

■ High-wage


Sources: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics; Woods \& Poole Economics, Inc. Universe includes all jobs covered by the federal Unemployment Insurance (UI) program. Note: Wage levels for industries are classified based on the industry's average annual wage in 2000. The wage level classification for each industry remains the same across all years in order to track the trajectory of jobs and wages of low-, middle-, and high-wage industries.

## Economic vitality Are earnings growing for all workers?

Low-wage workers saw the lowest growth in earnings since 2000. While job growth for middle-wage industries was the lowest, real (inflation-adjusted) earnings growth was highest in these industries, growing by 13 percent. Average earnings increased by 10 percent for workers in high-wage industries, and by 4 percent for those in low-wage industries. The county did better than the nation overall on earnings growth in middlewage industries, but not as well in low-wage and high-wage industries.

## Why it matters

Wages for workers in low-wage industries are lagging behind other industries. Stagnant wage growth limits the ability of residents and households from accumulating wealth and achieving economic mobility. When all job sectors can enjoy the benefits of a growing economy, workers of all racial and economic backgrounds can thrive.

## Growth in Real Earnings by Industry Wage Level, 2000 to 2016

Low-wage

- Middle-wage
- High-wage



## Economic vitality Is inequality low and decreasing?

Income inequality in Pinellas County has been increasing over the last few decades in a trend similar to the nation. Inequality here is measured by the Gini coefficient, which is the most commonly used measure of inequality. The Gini coefficient measures the extent to which the income distribution does not show perfect equality, when every household has the same income. The value of the Gini coefficient ranges from zero (perfect equality) to one (complete inequality where one household has all of the income).

## Why it matters

There is a growing consensus that inequality has a negative impact on growth. Recent research by prominent economists finds that inequality hinders economic growth, and that greater economic inclusion leads to more robust and sustained growth.

Income Inequality, 1989 to 2016

- Pinellas County
- United States



## Economic vitality Are incomes increasing for all workers?

Declining wages play an important role in the county's increasing inequality. One way to examine wage growth is by percentile of the wage distribution. This means that a worker at the $20^{\text {th }}$ percentile, for example, earns more than 20 percent of all workers and less than 80 percent of all workers.

After adjusting for inflation, wages have declined the steepest for the bottom half of the county's workers. Since 1999, wages fell by 6 percent and 12 percent for workers at the $10^{\text {th }}$ and $20^{\text {th }}$ percentiles. Only workers near the top experienced wage growth, with wages increasing by 5 percent for workers at the $90^{\text {th }}$ percentile.

## Why it matters

If growth was inclusive, all workers would see rising wages with the largest gains among lower-wage workers. Nationwide, the trend has been the opposite: the wages of low- and middle-wage workers have stagnated or declined. Inequitable income growth contributes to rising inequality which acts as a drag on economic growth.

## Real Earned Income Growth for Full-Time Wage and Salary Workers Ages 25-64, 1999 to 2016

$\square$ Pinellas County
■ United States


Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series. Universe includes civilian non-institutional full-time wage and salary workers ages 25 through 64. Note: Data for 2016 represent a 2012 through 2016 average. Growth rates are adjusted for inflation.

## Economic vitality <br> Is the median hourly wage increasing for all workers?

Since 2000, the median hourly wage has declined for workers of color. The median hourly wage for Latinx workers went down \$1.60, the largest decrease of all racial and ethnic groups. Wages were highest in 2016 for White workers (\$20.20), well above the $\$ 15.20$ per hour observed for all workers of color combined.

## Why it matters

No racial/ethnic group has a median wage high enough to be called a "living wage" for a family of one adult and two children in Pinellas County. According to the MIT Living Wage Calculator, the living wage for a family of three with one adult is just under $\$ 29 /$ hour in Pinellas County. ${ }^{9}$ The decline of the median hourly wages further puts financial burden on the residents of Pinellas County, especially on its people of color.

[^2]

Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series. Universe includes civilian non-institutional full-time wage and salary workers ages 25 through 64. Note: Data for 2016 represent a 2012 through 2016 average. Note: Values are in 2016 dollars.

## Economic vitality Is the middle class expanding?

## Middle-income households are on the decline while low-income households are

 on the rise. Since 1989, the share of households with middle incomes decreased from 41 to 36 percent while the share of households with lower incomes increased from 30 to 37 percent. The share of households with upper incomes declined during the 1990s but has slowly increased since. In this analysis, households with middle income are defined as having incomes in the middle 40 percent of household income distribution. In 1989, those household incomes ranged from $\$ 32,799$ to $\$ 76,138$. To assess change in the middle income and the other income ranges, we calculated what the income range would be today if incomes had increased at the same rate as average household income growth.
## Why it matters

Investments in community and economic resources for households with low incomes are also necessary for a healthy economy. When no residents are economically insecure, quality of life increases for the entire county.

Households by Income Level, 1989 to 2016


Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series. Universe includes all households (no group quarters). Note: Data for 2010 represent a 2006 through 2010 average and data for 2016 represent a 2012 through 2016 average. Dollar values are in 2016 dollars.

## Economic vitality Can all residents reach employment?

Unemployment rates were highest for Black workers and lowest for White workers in
the county. Among Black adults ages 25 to 64 years, 10 percent were unemployed. Those identifying as Mixed or Other race had the second highest unemployment rate at over 8 percent.

## Why it matters

In an equitable county, unemployment would be low and all workers would have similar success in finding work, regardless of race. Racial differences in employment result from differences in education, training, and experience as well as barriers to employment for workers of color, such as English language ability, immigration status, criminal records, lack of transportation access, and racial discrimination among employers and institutions. Policy and systems changes that remove these barriers will lead to greater labor force participation and a stronger economy.

Unemployment Rate by Race/Ethnicity, 2016


## Economic vitality How likely are residents to be unemployed compared to the region?

In December 2018, Pinellas County's unemployment rate was 3.1 percent, lower than that of the state ( 3.3 percent) and the nation overall ( 3.7 percent). The county and the region are doing well compared to the state and the nation. However, this still means that over 15,000 people in Pinellas County are unemployed.

Unemployment Rate, Not Seasonally Adjusted, December 2018


Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Universe includes the civilian noninstitutionalized labor force ages 16 and older.
Note: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics does not have monthly unemployment data broken down by race and ethnicity, but provides the most recent data. Data for the Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater metro area and Pinellas County is preliminary.

## Economic vitality <br> Where is unemployment most prevalent?

## There are neighborhoods with high

 unemployment rates across the entire county. While unemployment tends to be more concentrated around the cities, suburban areas are not immune to economic recession. Many neighborhoods with high unemployment are located in Clearwater, St. Petersburg, Highpoint, and Tarpon Springs.The unemployment rate captures only the workers who are not employed but still looking for jobs. This does not include those who are discouraged from the job search because of a negative economic climate or have given up. Having a large unemployed workforce as well as a discouraged worker population hamper the prosperity of the county.

## Why it matters

Investments and growing good jobs in every part of Pinellas County are necessary for a prosperous economy where all can participate fully.

## Unemployment Rate by Census Tract, 2016

$\square 1 \%$ to $5 \%$

- $5 \%$ to $10 \%$
- $10 \%$ to $15 \%$
- $15 \%$ to $28 \%$


Source: U.S. Census Bureau. Universe includes the civilian noninstitutionalized labor force ages 16 and older.
Note: Data represent a 2012 through 2016 average.

## Economic vitality <br> Does education lead to employment for everyone?

In general, unemployment decreases as educational attainment increases. Black
workers face higher levels of unemployment than White workers at every level of education. Among college graduates, 6 percent of Black workers are unemployed compared with 4 percent of White workers.

Racial disparities exist for African Americans at all education levels. Among those with less than a high school diploma, African Americans have a much higher likelihood to be unemployed than White and Latinx residents. While obtaining postsecondary training or credentials is often critical to accessing quality jobs, data are not available to track this at the county level.

## Why it matters

Access to educational opportunities provide a foundation for a strong and skilled work force. Equitable access to education is crucial for all residents to participate and contribute to a thriving economy.


## Economic vitality Does higher education lead to better wages for everyone?

Wages also tend to increase with higher educational attainment, but people of color have lower median hourly wages at nearly every education level compared with their White counterparts. White workers with only a high school diploma earn more than workers of color with some college or an associate's degree.

The racial wage gap persists even at the highest education levels. The median wage of Black and Latinx workers with a bachelor's degree or higher is $\$ 21.30$ and $\$ 22.80 /$ hour, respectively, compared with $\$ 27.20 /$ hour for their White peers.

## Why it matters

In an equitable county, wages would reflect differences in education, training, experience, and pay scales, but would not vary systematically by race. Racial gaps in wages between those with similar levels of education suggests discrimination among employers. Policy and systems changes that ensure equal pay for equal work and fair hiring will boost incomes, driving economic growth and job creation.

## Median Hourly Wages by Educational Attainment and Race/Ethnicity, 2016

- White
- Black
- Latinx
- Asian or Pacific Islander


Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series. Universe includes civilian noninstitutional full-time wage and salary workers ages 25 through 64.
Note: Wages for some racial/ethnic groups are excluded due to small sample size. Data represent a 2012 through 2016 average. Values are in 2016 dollars. Data for some racial/ethnic groups are excluded due to small sample size

## Economic vitality Is poverty low and decreasing?

For most racial groups, the poverty rate has increased from 2010 to 2016, but people of color continue to be most impacted by economic insecurity. African Americans have the highest poverty rate at 29 percent. About two in nine Latinx people and Native Americans live below the federal poverty level compared with about one in nine Whites.

## Why it matters

High rates of poverty negatively impact everyone, costing the economy and weakening the middle class and civic engagement. The economic and social health of Pinellas County will thrive when all households are economically secure.


## Economic vitality Is the share of workers who work full time and have income below poverty low and decreasing?

While the proportion of workers of color who work full-time yet have income leaving them in poverty has either remained the same or declined since 2010, they are still more likely to be struggling economically than White workers. The working-poor rate defined as those working full-time with family income at or below 200 percent of poverty is highest among Latinx and Black workers at 19 percent.

## Why it matters

As the low-wage sector has grown, the share of adults who are working full-time jobs but still cannot make ends meet has increased, particularly among Latinx and Black workers. The failure of even full-time work to pay family-supporting wages limits the ability of workers to build wealth, provide for their families, and participate fully in the economy.


Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series. Universe includes the civilian noninstitutional population ages 25 through 64 not living in group quarters who worked at all during the year prior to the survey. Note: Data for 2010 represent a 2006 through 2010 average and data for 2016 represent a 2012 through 2016 average.

## Economic vitality Is child poverty low and decreasing?

Black and Latinx children have the highest
poverty rates. In 2016, the child poverty rate for Black children was 43 percent, nearly double the county average. By way of comparison, only about 15 percent of White children lived in poverty. The rate for all children of color combined was 32 percent.

## Why it matters

Family, school, and community environments are critical in children's healthy development. According to the Tampa Bay Times, children in the Tampa Bay Area who live in poverty have less access to educational opportunities and quality health care. ${ }^{10}$ When families are economically secure, the future generation is set up for success.

## Child Poverty Rate by Race/Ethnicity, 2016



## Economic vitality <br> What neighborhoods have the highest poverty rates?

Poverty rates are highest around the urban centers of the county. Neighborhoods with high levels of poverty are seen in cities such as St. Petersburg, Pinellas Park, Clearwater, and Tarpon Springs. Central regions of the county such as Highpoint also see a large share of their population in poverty.

## Why it matters

People who live in high-poverty neighborhoods have less access to jobs, services, high-quality education, parks, safe streets, and other essential ingredients of economic and social success that are the backbone of strong economies. People of color - particularly African Americans, Latinx people, and Native Americans - are significantly more likely than their White counterparts to live in high-poverty neighborhoods, even if they themselves are not poor.

## Percent Population Below the Poverty Level by Census Tract, 2016

$\square 2 \%$ to $10 \%$

- $10 \%$ to $20 \%$
- $20 \%$ to $30 \%$

■ $30 \%$ to $52 \%$


Sources: U.S. Census Bureau; TomTom, ESRI, HERE, DeLorme, MaymyIndia, © OpenStreetMap contributors, and the GIS user community. Universe includes all persons not in group quarters.
Note: Data represent a 2012 through 2016 average.

## Economic vitality Do workers have the education and skills needed for the jobs of the future?

## According to the Georgetown Center on Education and the Workforce, in 2020, 41 percent of jobs in Florida will require an Associate's degree or higher. ${ }^{11}$ While many of

 the region's workers currently have that level of education, there are large racial gaps in educational attainment. Only 32 percent of Latinx residents and 28 percent of African Americans have an associate's degree or higher. While obtaining postsecondary training or credentials is often critical to accessing quality jobs, data are not available to track this at the county level.
## Why it matters

America's future jobs will require ever-higher levels of skills and education, but our education and job training systems are not adequately preparing Latinx, African Americans, and other workers of color - who are growing as a share of the workforce - to succeed. Closing wide and persistent racial gaps in educational attainment will be key to building a strong workforce that is prepared for the jobs of the future.

Share and Count of Working-Age Population with an Associate’s Degree or Higher by Race/Ethnicity, 2016, and Projected Share of Jobs that Require an Associate's Degree or Higher, 2020


Source: Georgetown Center on Education and the Workforce; Integrated Public Use Microdata Series. Universe for education levels of workers includes all persons ages 25 through 64. Note: Data for 2016 by race/ethnicity represent a 2012 through 2016 average for Pinellas County; data on jobs in 2020 represent a state-level projection for Florida.

## Youth preparedness



## Youth preparedness Do all youth have a high school degree or are they pursuing one?

The share of youth who do not have a high school education and are not pursuing one has declined since 2000 for all racial/ethnic groups. Despite the progress, Black and Latinx youth are still far less likely to finish high school than White youth; 12 percent of Black youth and 11 percent of Latinx youth lack a high school education and are not pursuing one whereas the rate for White youth is only 6 percent.

## Why it matters

Ensuring that youth are educated, healthy, and ready to thrive in the workforce is essential for economic prosperity. Not accessing education early in life can have long-lasting impacts including lower earnings, higher public expenditures, lower tax revenues, and lost human potential.


## Youth preparedness Do all youth have a high school degree or are they pursuing one?

Overall the share of youth who do not have a high school degree and are not pursuing one is about the same for female and male youth, but this does not hold across
racial/ethnic groups. Black and Latinx young men are more likely than Black and Latinx young women to be lacking a high school diploma and not in pursuit of one.

## Why it matters

Support for youth of color, especially young men, in accessing educational opportunities will prepare the future generation to succeed in the workforce and grow a prosperous economy for all.

Share of 16- to 24-Year-Olds Not Enrolled in School and Without a High School Diploma by Race/Ethnicity and Gender, 2016
$\square$ Male

- Female



## Youth preparedness Who are the youth not working or in school?

The number of "disconnected youth" who are neither in school nor working remains
high. While the raw number of disconnected youth has increased for all racial/ethnic groups, youth of color are disproportionately impacted.

The number of disconnected youth has increased since 1990. By 2016, more than 3,000 Black young people were not in school or working. The number of White, Latinx and all other disconnected youth has also increased since 1990.

Youth of color are far more likely to be disconnected than White youth. In 2016, youth of color were 36 percent of all youth but were 46 percent of the county's disconnected youth.

## Why it matters

Too many youth - particularly youth of color - are disconnected from educational or employment opportunities and this limits their ability to succeed in the workforce later in life.

Disconnected Youth: 16- to 24-Year-Olds Not in School or Work by Race/Ethnicity, 1990 to 2016

■ API, Native American or Mixed/other
$\square$ Latinx

- Black
$\square$ White


Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series. Universe includes total population ages 16 to 24 (including group quarters).
Note: Data for some racial/ethnic groups are excluded due to small sample size. Data for 2010 represent a 2006 through 2010 average and data for 2016 represent a 2012 through 2016 average.

## Youth preparedness Have youth been prepared to enter the workforce?

## The number of disconnected male youth

 has been growing faster than their female counterparts. The number of young men who are disconnected from school or work increased by 19 percent (about 1,100 people) from 2010 to 2016, with the number of disconnected young men of color increasing by 48 percent. The number of young women who are not in school or work only increased by 7 percent (about 350 people).
## Why it matters

Access to education and job training connects youth of color, especially young men of color, to good paying jobs that support their cost of living and sets the community up for success for the future.

Disconnected Youth: 16- to 24-Year-Olds Not in School or Work by Race/Ethnicity and Gender, 2000 to 2016
■ Latinx, API, Native American or Mixed/other

- Black
$\square$ White



## Youth preparedness Do all children have equitable access to opportunity-rich neighborhoods?

Child opportunity is the highest in parts of the north county and waterfront regions compared to the cities. In areas that score low on the Child Opportunity Index, such as Tarpon Springs, South St. Pete, and
Clearwater, children tend to have less access to educational, health, and social opportunities that are crucial for their wellbeing and success. These are the same parts of the county with a greater concentration of Black and Latinx households.

## Why it matters

Living in a thriving community with access to quality educational and health resources leads to positive cognitive and physical development for children. However, when neighborhoods lack access to these opportunities, children and families suffer, especially people of color.

## Composite Child Opportunity Index by Census Tract



Sources: The diversitydatakids.org Project and the Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity; TomTom, ESRI, HERE, DeLorme, MaymyIndia, © OpenStreetMap contributors, and the GIS user community. Note: The Child Opportunity Index is a composite of indicators across three domains: educational opportunity, health and environmental opportunity, and social and economic opportunity. The index is a relative measure of opportunity within the Tampa-St Petersburg-Clearwater metropolitan area. The vintage of the underlying indicator data varies, ranging from years 2007 through 2013. The map was created by ranking the census tract level Overall Child Opportunity Index Score into quintiles for Pinellas County.

## Connectedness



## Connectedness <br> Are residents paying too much for housing?

High rent burden is a county-wide issue. In several communities a large share of renter households spend more than 50 percent of income on rent. With the rise in upscale development in the downtowns and waterfront areas, affordable housing will continue to be a barrier to equitable growth for all Pinellas residents.

## Why it matters

Quality, stable, and affordable housing is foundational for health and economic security. ${ }^{12}$ However, housing is the single largest expense for most households. Rising costs and stagnant wages mean that many are paying too much for housing, particularly lowincome households and households of color. High housing costs squeeze household budgets, making it difficult to pay for even basic expenses, save for emergencies, or make long-term investments in their communities.

[^3]
## Percent Severely Rent-Burdened Households by Census Tract, 2016

- $0 \%$ to $15 \%$
- $15 \%$ to $20 \%$
- 20\% to $30 \%$
- $30 \%$ to $40 \%$
- $40 \%$ to $74 \%$


Sources: U.S. Census Bureau; TomTom, ESRI, HERE, DeLorme, MaymyIndia, © OpenStreetMap contributors, and the GIS user community. Universe includes all renter-occupied households with cash rent. Note: Data represent a 2012 through 2016 average.

## Connectedness Can all renters maintain stable housing?

There are evictions in nearly every neighborhood in Pinellas County. In 2016, there were nearly 4,000 evictions in Pinellas County, an eviction rate of 2.5 percent. While the overall eviction rate in the county was lower than that of neighboring Hillsborough (3.3 percent) and Pasco counties (3.2 percent), some areas in Pinellas County had as many as 13 evictions for every 100 renter homes in a single year. Since 2010, the share of households that own their homes has declined by 6 percentage points. With more renter households, evictions will be an issue for more families and communities.

## Why it matters

Displacement from a stable home disconnects people from social, educational, and occupational resources. In addition to social and health detriments to the individual, evictions also disrupt the social fabric of a community. When households are able to remain in their homes, build social networks, and invest in their neighborhood, the community as a whole thrives.

Eviction Rates of Renter Homes, 2016
$\square 0 \%$ to $1 \%$
$\square$ 1\% to $2.5 \%$
$\square$ 2.5\% to 5\%

- $5 \%$ to $10 \%$
- $10 \%$ to $13 \%$


Sources: Eviction Lab, Princeton University, www.evictionlab.org; TomTom, ESRI, HERE, DeLorme, MaymyIndia, © OpenStreetMap contributors, and the GIS user community. Universe includes all renter-occupied households. Note: The eviction rate is calculated as the number of homes receiving an eviction judgement ordering renters to leave divided by the total number of renter-occupied units in a given area.

## Connectedness Are residents able to own their homes?

In Pinellas County, the majority of White and Asian or Pacific Islander households own their homes (69 percent and 68 percent, respectively). Homeownership rates for Black households (35 percent) and Latinx households ( 41 percent) are well below the county average (64 percent).

## Why it matters

Homeownership remains one of the major ways to build wealth, especially across generations. However, discriminatory policies extending from redlining and Jim Crow laws have limited access to homeownership for people of color and stifled generational wealth that is still felt today.

Owner-Occupied Households by Race/Ethnicity, 2016


## Connectedness Do all residents have access to a vehicle?

In a county where the built environment requires people to rely heavily on driving, most households (91 percent) have at least one vehicle. But access to a vehicle remains a challenge for households across the entire county. Compared with 8 percent of White households, 17 percent of Black and 11 percent of Latinx households do not have a vehicle.

## Why it matters

Coupled with a limited public transit system in the county, many people of color are excluded from employment opportunities in other parts of the county that may provide better wages. The lack of vehicle ownership also forces residents to walk or bike longer distances, often in the dark and along roadways built for speed and lacking safe accommodations.

## Percent of Households Without a Vehicle by Census Tract, 2016

$\square$ 0\% to 5\%
$\square 5 \%$ to $10 \%$

- $10 \%$ to $15 \%$
- $15 \%$ to $36 \%$


Sources: U.S. Census Bureau; TomTom, ESRI, HERE, DeLorme, MaymyIndia, © OpenStreetMap contributors, and the GIS user community. Note: Universe includes all households (excludes group quarters). Note: Data represent a 2012 through 2016 average.

## Connectedness How do residents get to work?

The vast majority of residents in Pinellas County drive alone to work. Single-driver commuting, however, fluctuates with income. Just under 70 percent of very low-income workers (earning under \$10,000 per year) drive alone to work, compared to 81 percent of workers who make $\$ 75,000$ or more a year.

For households living in neighborhoods without robust transit systems, access to a car is critical, but people with lower incomes and people of color are more likely to be carless.

## Why it matters

Reliable and affordable transportation is critical for meeting daily needs and accessing educational and employment opportunities located throughout the county and beyond. But the high costs of owning a vehicle, as well as repairs and maintenance, can place a burden on households, especially for families with low incomes. Unexpected repairs can put a car out of commission or take a chunk out of savings, both of which would disrupt household finances for months or years.


Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series. Universe includes workers ages 16 and older with earnings.
Note: Data represent a 2012 through 2016 average. Dollar values are in 2016 dollars.

## Connectedness <br> Who relies on public transit to get to work?

Income and race both play a role in determining who uses the county's public transit system to get to work. Households of color are the most likely to be dependent on public transit. Among very low-income Black residents, 11 percent get to work using public transit, while 6 percent do among those earning $\$ 15,000-\$ 35,000$ per year.

## Why it matters

A limited public transit network restricts lowincome residents from accessing social, educational, and job opportunities in other parts of the county. Many of the high-wage jobs in Pinellas are located in mid-county, St. Petersburg, and in north county, all areas that generally lack good transit service. With good paying jobs located throughout the county and region, investment in accessible public transit will be crucial for all residents to enjoy economic prosperity.

```
Percent Using Public Transit by Annual Earnings and Race/Ethnicity,2016
White
Black
Latinx
Asian or Pacific Islander
| People of Color
```



## Connectedness How long do residents travel to get to work?

## Workers in Pinellas County have shorter

 commute times than those in neighboringcounties, with an average commute of 24 minutes compared to 27 and 31 minutes in Hillsborough and Pasco counties. However, the population density is much higher in Pinellas County, which suggests that workers are able to commute to jobs closer to where they live.

Northern county and along the beaches are residential areas and tend to be further from jobs, which result in long commutes. Households in the parts of Clearwater and St. Petersburg with long commute times tend to have lower incomes and decreased access to vehicles, which means that many residents are commuting to work using public transit.

## Why it matters

When not all workers have reasonable commutes, households have to spend more on child care and have a lower quality of life. Employers also suffer from high turnover and employee dissatisfaction, and the public is affected by more carbon emissions and congestion.

## Average Travel Time to Work in Minutes by Census Tract, 2016

$\square 16$ to 21 minutes

- 21 to 23 minutes
- 23 to 25 minutes
- 25 to 27 minutes
- 27 to 39 minutes


Sources: U.S. Census Bureau; TomTom, ESRI, HERE, DeLorme, MaymyIndia, © OpenStreetMap contributors, and the GIS user community. Note: Universe includes all persons ages 16 or older who work outside of home. Data represent a 2012 through 2016 average.

## Connectedness

## Do all residents register to vote in elections?

Voter registration for the 2016 general election was the highest among White residents. In Pinellas County, 51 percent of Latinx residents and 58 percent of Asian or Pacific Islander residents 18 years or older were registered to vote, compared with 85 percent of White residents.

## Why it matters

Participation in elections is necessary to ensure fair representation in local, state, and federal governments. But historically, people of color have lower voter registration rates due to structural barriers such as voter suppression, mass incarceration, difficult paths to citizenship, and lack of documentation that limits voting eligibility. Policies that enfranchise residents will help to create a more fair and democratic society. For example, the passing of Amendment 4 in 2018 restored the right to vote for Floridian residents with felony convictions who have completed the terms of their sentences.


Sources: Florida Division of Elections; Integrated Public Use Microdata Series.
Note: Population data represent a 2012 through 2016 average. Universe includes people 18 years and older.

## Connectedness <br> Do all residents participate in elections?

Voter participation for both the 2016 and 2018 general elections was the highest among White voters. Among those registered to vote, 69 percent of Latinx residents and 70 percent of Black residents voted in the 2016 general election compared with 79 percent of White residents. Voter participation was higher across all racial and ethnic groups in 2016, which is to be expected given it was a presidential election.

## Why it matters

Participation in elections is necessary to ensure fair representation in local, state, and federal governments. But historically, people of color have lower voter registration rates due to structural barriers such as voter suppression, mass incarceration, difficult paths to citizenship, and lack of documentation that limits voting eligibility.

Voter Participation of Registered Voters for the 2016 and 2018 General Elections by Race/Ethnicity

- 2016
- 2018


Justice


## Justice <br> Are residents treated fairly by law enforcement?

## Black and Native American defendants in

 Pinellas County are more likely than Whites to be subject to misdemeanor referrals where the only charge is resisting arrest.Black defendants are more than twice as likely as White defendants to have resisting arrest as their only charge. This racial disparity is much larger in Pinellas County compared to the state.

## Why it matters

A resisting arrest charge can be broadly applied to situations where the law enforcement officer believes that the defendant is obstructing an arrest. However, racial differences may be due to systemic policing in communities of color or a police officer's implicit bias that leads to the perception of Black suspects as more resistant or aggressive than White suspects in the same situation. Unjust and unequal treatment continues to oppress communities of color and prevents Pinellas County from being an inclusive county for all.


## Justice <br> Are all residents being treated fairly by the court of law?

## Of all nonviolent felony convictions

 involving a defendant with no violent convictions in Florida in the past three years, Black defendants are more likely than their White and Asian counterparts to be sentenced to prison. In Pinellas County, 24 percent of Black defendants who are convicted of a nonviolent felony (and have no violent conviction in Florida in the past three years) are given a prison sentence while only 17 percent of White defendants are.
## Why it matters

When people are treated unequally for similar crimes, it shows that the criminal justice system is inequitable. Black communities continue to be disrupted when Black residents are more likely to be imprisoned than Whites.


[^4]
## Justice <br> Are all residents being treated fairly by the court of law?

Of all drug possession convictions where the defendant has no violent convictions in Florida in the past three years, Black defendants are more likely to go to jail. In Pinellas County, the rate at which nonviolent Black defendants are sentenced to jail for drug possession is 34 percent compared with only 26 percent of White defendants. According to reports by the Sarasota Herald Tribune, Black defendants throughout Florida face harsher sentences than their White counterparts for the same charges. ${ }^{13}$

## Why it matters

Racial prejudice and discrimination are prevalent throughout the criminal justice system, leading to differential sentencing on the basis of race. While Whites are more likely to be placed in drug treatment programs in lieu of punishment, Black defendants are systemically given harsher punishments. Not only does an inequitable justice system create lasting damages in a person's personal life and job prospects, it also removes resources and community members from already marginalized communities.

[^5]
## Percentage of Drug Possession Convictions Resulting in a Jail Sentence by Race/Ethnicity, 2012 to 2013



Source: Measures for Justice, https://measuresforjustice.org. Universe includes all drug possession convictions involving a defendant with no violent convictions in Florida in the prior three years. Note: The defendant's race is often recorded based on an assessment made by the criminal justice officer who had initial contact with the defendant. Race and ethnicity categories mirror those used by the U.S. Census Bureau. Florida justice officer who had initial contact with
courts classify Hispanics/Latinx as White.

## Health of residents



## Health of residents Do residents have health insurance?

People of color are less likely than Whites to have health insurance coverage as adults.
In 2016, 71 percent of Latinx adults and 78 percent of adults of Mixed or Other race in the county had coverage compared with 88 percent of White adults. Black, Latinx, and Asian or Pacific Islander people under 26 years old were also less likely to have health insurance compared with their White counterparts.

## Why it matters

Without access to health insurance, many people go without medical treatment and preventative care that are crucial to physical and mental well-being. A healthy population is necessary for a thriving county.

Health Insurance Coverage Rates by Race/Ethnicity and Age, 2016
$\square$ Under 26

- 26 and Older



## Health of residents What types of health insurance do residents have?

For all racial/ethnic groups, most people who have health insurance are covered by private insurance. In Pinellas County, 38 percent of Black residents and 29 percent of Latinx residents have public insurance compared with only 23 percent of Whites and 17 percent of Asian or Pacific Islanders.

## Why it matters

Public insurance such as Medicare and Medicaid provide important health care coverage for residents who are older and have low income. Access to preventative care and quality medical services helps to ensure that everyone is able to live in a healthy community.

Health Insurance Coverage Rates by Race/Ethnicity and Insurance Type, 2016

- Private
- Public


Source: Integrated Public Use Microdata Series.
Note: Data represent a 2012 through 2016 average. Private insurance includes health care coverage provided through employer, bought directly, or covered by
TRICARE or another military health program. Public insurance includes health care coverage provided through Medicare, Medicaid or other government assistance, and VA health care.

## Economic benefits of equity



## Economic benefits of equity How much higher would GDP be without racial economic inequities?

Pinellas County stands to gain a great deal from addressing racial inequities. The county's economy could have been $\$ 3.6$ billion stronger in 2016 if its racial gaps in income had been closed: an 8 percent increase.

Using data on income by race, we calculated how much higher total economic output would have been in 2016 if all racial groups who currently earn less than Whites had earned similar average incomes as their White counterparts, controlling for age.

## Why it matters

Wage and employment gaps by race are not only bad for people of color, they hold back the entire economy. Closing these gaps by eliminating discrimination in pay and hiring, boosting education attainment, and ensuring strong and rising wages for low-wage workers is good for families, communities, and the economy. Rising wages and incomes, particularly for low-income households, leads to more consumer spending, which is a key driver of economic growth and job creation.

Actual GDP and Estimated GDP Without Racial Gaps in Income, 2016
■ GDP in 2016
■ GDP if racial gaps in income were eliminated


[^6]Note: Data represent a 2012 through 2016 average. Values are in 2016 dollars

## Data and methods

Data source summary and regional geography

## Selected terms and general notes

Broad racial/ethnic origin
Nativity
Detailed racial/ethnic ancestry
Other selected terms
General notes on analyses
Summary measures from IPUMS microdata
Adjustments made to census summary data on race/ ethnicity by age

Adjustments made to demographic projections
National projections
County and regional projections

Estimates and adjustments made to BEA data on GDP
Adjustments at the state and national levels
County and metropolitan area estimates

Middle-class analysis

Assembling a complete dataset on employment and wages by industry

Growth in jobs and earnings by industry wage level, 2000 to 2016
Estimates of GDP without racial gaps in income

## Data and methods Data source summary and regional geography

Unless otherwise noted, all of the data and analyses presented in this profile are the product of PolicyLink and the USC Program for Environmental and Regional Equity (PERE), and reflect Pinellas County, Florida. The specific data sources are listed in the table shown here.

While much of the data and analysis presented in this profile are fairly intuitive, in the following pages we describe some of the estimation techniques and adjustments made in creating the underlying database, and provide more detail on terms and methodology used. Finally, the reader should bear in mind that while only a single county is profiled here, many of the analytical choices in generating the underlying data and analyses were made with an eye toward replicating the analyses in other counties and regions and the ability to update them over time. Thus, while more regionally specific data may be available for some indicators, the data in this profile is drawn from our regional equity indicators database that provides data that are comparable and replicable over time.

|  | Dataset |
| :--- | :--- |
| Source |  |
|  | $19805 \%$ State Sample |
|  | $19905 \%$ Sample |
| $20005 \%$ Sample |  |
| 2016 American Community Survey, 5-year microdata sample |  |

## Data and methods Selected terms and general notes

## Broad racial/ethnic origin

In all of the analyses presented, all categorization of people by race/ethnicity and nativity is based on individual responses to various census surveys. All people included in our analysis were first assigned to one of six mutually exclusive racial/ethnic categories, depending on their response to two separate questions on race and Hispanic origin as follows:

- "White" and "non-Hispanic White" are used to refer to all people who identify as White alone and do not identify as being of Hispanic origin.
- "Black" and "African American" are used to refer to all people who identify as Black or African American alone and do not identify as being of Hispanic origin.
- "Latinx" refers to all people who identify as being of Hispanic origin, regardless of racial identification.
- "Asian American and Pacific Islander," "Asian or Pacific Islander," "Asian," and "API" are used to refer to all people who identify as Asian American or Pacific Islander alone and do not identify as being of Hispanic origin.
- "Native American" and "Native American and Alaska Native" are used to refer to all people who identify as Native American or Alaskan Native alone and do not identify as being of Hispanic origin.
- "Mixed/other" and "Other or mixed race" are used to refer to all people who identify with a single racial category not included above, or identify with multiple racial categories, and do not identify as being of Hispanic origin.
- "People of color" or "POC" is used to refer to all people who do not identify as nonHispanic White.


## Nativity

The term "U.S. born" refers to all people who identify as being born in the United States (including U.S. territories and outlying areas), or born abroad to American parents. The term "immigrant" refers to all people who identify as being born abroad, outside of the United States, to non-American parents.

## Detailed racial/ethnic ancestry

Given the diversity of ethnic origin and large
presence of immigrants among the Latinx and Asian populations, we sometimes present data for more detailed racial/ethnic categories within these groups. In order to maintain consistency with the broad racial/ethnic categories, and to enable the examination of second-and-higher generation immigrants, these more detailed categories (referred to as "ancestry") are drawn from the first response to the census question on ancestry, recorded in the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) variable "ANCESTR1." For example, while country-oforigin information could have been used to identify Filipinos among the Asian population or Salvadorans among the Latinx population, it could do so only for immigrants, leaving only the broad "Asian" and "Latinx" racial/ ethnic categories for the U.S.-born population. While this methodological choice makes little difference in the numbers of immigrants by origin we report - i.e., the vast majority of immigrants from El Salvador mark "Salvadoran" for their ancestry - it is an important point of clarification.

## Data and methods Selected terms and general notes <br> (continued)

## Other selected terms

Below we provide definitions and clarification for some of the terms used in the profile.

- The term "region" may refer to a city or county (e.g., Pinellas County) but typically refers to metropolitan areas or other large urban areas (e.g., large cities and counties). The terms "metropolitan area," "metro area," and "metro" are used interchangeably to refer to the geographic areas defined as Metropolitan Statistical Areas under the December 2003 definitions of the U.S. Office of Management and Budget (OMB).
- The term "neighborhood" is used at various points throughout the profile. While in the introductory portion of the profile this term is meant to be interpreted in the colloquial sense, in relation to any data analysis it refers to census tracts.
- The term "communities of color" generally refers to distinct groups defined by race/ethnicity among people of color.
- The term "high school diploma" refers to both an actual high school diploma as well as a high school equivalency or a General

Educational Development (GED) certificate.

- The term "full-time" workers refers to all persons in the IPUMS microdata who reported working at least 45 or 50 weeks (depending on the year of the data) and who usually worked at least 35 hours per week during the year prior to the survey. A change in the "weeks worked" question in the 2008 American Community Survey (ACS), as compared with prior years of the ACS and the long form of the decennial census, caused a dramatic rise in the share of respondents indicating that they worked at least 50 weeks during the year prior to the survey. To make our data on full-time workers more comparable over time, we applied a slightly different definition in 2008 and later than in earlier years: in 2008 and later, the "weeks worked" cutoff is at least 50 weeks while in 2007 and earlier it is 45 weeks. The 45 -week cutoff was found to produce a national trend in the incidence of full-time work over the 2005-2010 period that was most
consistent with that found using data from the March Supplement of the Current Population Survey, which did not experience a change to the relevant survey questions.
For more information, see:
https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Cens us/library/working-
papers/2012/demo/Gottschalck 2012FCS M VII-B.pdf.


## General notes on analyses

Below, we provide some general notes about the analysis conducted.

- With regard to monetary measures (income, earnings, wages, etc.), the term "real" indicates the data has been adjusted for inflation. All inflation adjustments are based on the Consumer Price Index for all Urban Consumers (CPI-U) from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.


## Data and methods Summary measures from IPUMS microdata

Although a variety of data sources were used, much of our analysis is based on a unique dataset created using microdata samples (i.e., "individual-level" data) from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS), for four points in time: 1980, 1990, 2000, and 20122016 pooled together. While the 1980 through 2000 files are based on the decennial census and each cover about 5 percent of the U.S. population, the 2012-2016 files are from the ACS and cover only about 1 percent of the U.S. population each. The five-year pooled ACS file was used to improve the statistical reliability and to achieve a sample size that is comparable to that available in previous years.

Compared with the more commonly used census "summary files," which include a limited set of summary tabulations of population and housing characteristics, use of the microdata samples allows for the flexibility to create more illuminating metrics of equity and inclusion, and provides a more nuanced view of groups defined by age, race/ethnicity, and nativity for various geographies in the United States.

The IPUMS microdata allows for the tabulation of detailed population characteristics, but because such tabulations are based on samples, they are subject to a margin of error and should be regarded as estimates - particularly in smaller regions and for smaller demographic subgroups. In an effort to avoid reporting highly unreliable estimates, we do not report any estimates that are based on a universe of fewer than 100 individual survey respondents.

A key limitation of the IPUMS microdata is geographic detail. Each year of the data has a particular lowest level of geography associated with the individuals included, known as the Public Use Microdata Area (PUMA) for years 1990 and later, or the County Group in 1980. PUMAs are generally drawn to contain a population of about 100,000, and vary greatly in geographic size from being fairly small in densely populated urban areas, to very large in rural areas, often with one or more counties contained in a single PUMA.

While the geography of the IPUMS microdata generally poses a challenge for the creation of regional summary measures, this was not the case for Pinellas County, as the geography of the county could be assembled perfectly by combining entire 1980 County Groups and 1990, 2000, and 2010 PUMAs.

## Data and methods Adjustments made to census summary data on race/ethnicity by age

For the racial generation gap indicator, we generated consistent estimates of populations by race/ethnicity and age group (under 18, 18-64, and over 64 years of age) for the years 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2016 (which reflects a 2012-2016 average), at the county level, which were then aggregated to the regional level and higher. The racial/ethnic groups include non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, Hispanic/Latinx, non-Hispanic Asian and Pacific Islander, nonHispanic Native American/Alaska Native, and non-Hispanic Other (including other single race alone and those identifying as multiracial, with the latter group only appearing in 2000 and later due to a change in the survey question). While for 2000 and later years this information is readily available in SF1 and in the ACS, for 1980 and 1990, estimates had to be made to ensure consistency over time, drawing on two different summary files for each year.

For 1980, while information on total population by race/ethnicity for all ages combined was available at the county
levels for all the requisite groups in STF2, for race/ethnicity by age group we had to look to STF1, where it was only available for nonHispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, Hispanic, and the remainder of the population. To estimate the number of non-Hispanic Asian or Pacific Islanders, non-Hispanic Native Americans, and non-Hispanic Others among the remainder for each age group, we applied the distribution of these three groups from the overall county populations (across all ages) to that remainder.

For 1990, the level of detail available in the underlying data differed at the county level, calling for different estimation strategies. At the county level, data by race/ethnicity was taken from STF2A, while data by race/ethnicity and age was taken from the 1990 MARS file - a special tabulation of people by age, race, sex, and Hispanic origin. However, to be consistent with the way race is categorized by the OMB's Directive 15, the MARS file allocates all persons identifying as "Other race alone" or multiracial to a specific race. After confirming that population totals
by county (across all ages) were consistent between the MARS file and STF2A, we calculated the number of "Other race alone" or multiracial people who had been added to each racial/ethnic group in each county by subtracting the number who were reported in STF2A for the corresponding group. We then derived the share of each racial/ethnic group in the MARS file (across all ages) that was made up of "Other race alone" or multiracial people and applied it to estimate the number of people by race/ethnicity and age group exclusive of "Other race alone" or multiracial people and the total number of "Other race alone" or multiracial people in each age group.

For the 1990 city-level estimates, all data were from STF1, which provided counts of the total population for the six broad racial/ethnic groups required but not counts by age. Rather, age counts were only available for people by single-race alone (including those of Hispanic origin) as well as for all people of Hispanic origin combined. To estimate the number of people by race/ethnicity and age for the six

## Data and methods <br> Adjustments made to census summary data on race/ethnicity by age <br> (continued)

broad racial/ethnic groups that are detailed in the profile, we first calculated the share of each single-race alone group that was Hispanic based on the overall population (across all ages). We then applied it to the population counts by age and race alone to generate an initial estimate of the number of Hispanic and non-Hispanic people in each age/race alone category. This initial estimate was multiplied by an adjustment factor (specific to each age group) to ensure that the sum of the estimated number of Hispanic people across the race-alone categories within each age group equated to the "actual" number of Hispanic origin by age as reported in STF1. Finally, an iterative proportional fitting (IPF) procedure was applied to ensure that our final estimate of the number of people by race/ethnicity and age was consistent with the total population by race/ethnicity (across all ages) and total population by age group (across all racial/ethnic categories) as reported in STF1.

## Data and methods Adjustments made to demographic projections

## National projections

National projections of the non-Hispanic White share of the population are based on the U.S. Census Bureau's 2014 National Population Projections. However, because these projections follow the OMB 1997 guidelines on racial classification and essentially distribute the other single-race alone group across the other defined racial/ethnic categories, adjustments were made to be consistent with the six broad racial/ethnic groups used in our analysis.

Specifically, we compared the percentage of the total population composed of each racial/ethnic group from the Census Bureau's Population Estimates program for 2016 (which follows the OMB 1997 guidelines) to the percentage reported in the 2016 ACS 1year Summary File (which follows the 2000 Census classification). We subtracted the percentage derived using the 2016 Population Estimates program from the percentage derived using the 2016 ACS to obtain an adjustment factor for each group
(all of which were negative, except for the Mixed/other group) and carried this adjustment factor forward by adding it to the projected percentage for each group in each projection year. Finally, we applied the resulting adjusted projected population distribution by race/ethnicity to the total projected population from the 2014 National Population Projections to get the projected number of people by race/ethnicity in each projection year.

## County and regional projections

Similar adjustments were made in generating county and regional projections of the population by race/ethnicity. Initial countylevel projections were taken from Woods \& Poole Economics, Inc. Like the 1990 MARS file described above, the Woods \& Poole projections follow the OMB Directive 15-race categorization, assigning all persons identifying as other or multiracial to one of five mutually exclusive race categories: White, Black, Latinx, Asian or Pacific Islander, or Native American. Thus, we first generated an adjusted version of the county-level Woods \&

Poole projections that removed the other or multiracial group from each of these five categories. This was done by comparing the Woods \& Poole projections for 2010 to the actual results from SF1 of the 2010 Census, figuring out the share of each racial/ethnic group in the Woods \& Poole data that was composed of Other or Mixed-race persons in 2010, and applying it forward to later projection years. From these projections, we calculated the county-level distribution by race/ethnicity in each projection year for five groups (White, Black, Latinx, Asian or Pacific Islander, and Native American), exclusive of Other and Mixed-race people.

To estimate the county-level share of population for those classified as Other or Mixed race in each projection year, we then generated a simple straight-line projection of this share using information from SF1 of the 2000 and 2010 Census. Keeping the projected Other or Mixed-race share fixed, we allocated the remaining population share to each of the other five racial/ethnic groups by applying the racial/ethnic distribution implied

## Data and methods <br> Adjustments made to demographic projections

(continued)
by our adjusted Woods \& Poole projections
for each county and projection year. The result was a set of adjusted projections at the county level for the six broad racial/ethnic groups included in the profile, which were then applied to projections of the total population by county from the Woods \& Poole data to get projections of the number of people for each of the six racial/ethnic
groups.

Finally, an iterative proportional fitting (IPF) procedure was applied to bring the countylevel results into alignment with our adjusted national projections by race/ethnicity described above. The final adjusted county results were then aggregated to produce a final set of projections at the regional, metro area, and state levels.

## Data and methods Estimates and adjustments made to BEA data on GDP

The data on national gross domestic product (GDP) and its analogous regional measure, gross regional product (GRP) - both referred to as GDP in the text - are based on data from the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA). However, due to changes in the estimation procedure used for the national (and statelevel) data in 1997, and a lack of metropolitan-area estimates prior to 2001, a variety of adjustments and estimates were made to produce a consistent series at the national, state, metropolitan area, and county levels from 1969 to 2016.

## Adjustments at the state and national levels

While data on gross state product (GSP) are not reported directly in the profile, they were used in making estimates of gross product at the county level for all years and at the regional level prior to 2001, so we applied the same adjustments to the data that were applied to the national GDP data. Given a change in BEA's estimation of gross product at the state and national levels from a standard industrial classification (SIC) basis to a North American Industry Classification

System (NAICS) basis in 1997, data prior to 1997 were adjusted to prevent any erratic shifts in gross product in that year. While the change to a NAICS basis occurred in 1997, BEA also provides estimates under an SIC basis in that year. Our adjustment involved figuring the 1997 ratio of NAICS-based gross product to SIC-based gross product for each state and the nation, and multiplying it by the SIC-based gross product in all years prior to 1997 to get our final estimate of gross product at the state and national levels.

## County and metropolitan-area estimates

To generate county-level estimates for all years, and metropolitan-area estimates prior to 2001, a more complicated estimation procedure was followed. First, an initial set of county estimates for each year was generated by taking our final state-level estimates and allocating gross product to the counties in each state in proportion to total earnings of employees working in each county - a BEA variable that is available for all counties and years. Next, the initial county estimates were aggregated to metropolitan-area level, and
were compared with BEA's official metropolitan-area estimates for 2001 and later. They were found to be very close, with a correlation coefficient very close to one (0.9997). Despite the near-perfect correlation, we still used the official BEA estimates in our final data series for 2001 and later. However, to avoid any erratic shifts in gross product during the years until 2001, we made the same sort of adjustment to our estimates of gross product at the metropolitan-area level that was made to the state and national data - we figured the 2001 ratio of the official BEA estimate to our initial estimate, and multiplied it by our initial estimates for 2000 and earlier to get our final estimate of gross product at the metropolitan-area level.

We then generated a second iteration of county-level estimates - just for counties included in metropolitan areas - by taking the final metropolitan-area-level estimates and allocating gross product to the counties in each metropolitan area in proportion to total earnings of employees working in each

## Data and methods Estimates and adjustments made to BEA data on GDP <br> (continued)

county. Next, we calculated the difference between our final estimate of gross product for each state and the sum of our seconditeration county-level gross product estimates for metropolitan counties contained in the state (that is, counties contained in metropolitan areas). This difference, total nonmetropolitan gross product by state, was then allocated to the nonmetropolitan counties in each state, once again using total earnings of employees working in each county as the basis for allocation. Finally, one last set of adjustments was made to the county-level estimates to ensure that the sum of gross product across the counties contained in each metropolitan area agreed with our final estimate of gross product by metropolitan area, and that the sum of gross product across the counties contained in state agreed with our final estimate of gross product by state. This was done using a simple IPF procedure. The resulting county-level estimates were then aggregated to the regional and metro area levels.

We should note that BEA does not provide data for all counties in the United States, but rather groups some counties that have had boundary changes since 1969 into county groups to maintain consistency with historical data. Any such county groups were treated the same as other counties in the estimate techniques described above.

## Data and methods Middle-class analysis

To analyze middle-class decline over the past four decades, we began with the regional household income distribution in 1979 - the year for which income is reported in the 1980 Census (and the 1980 IPUMS microdata). The middle 40 percent of households were defined as "middle class," and the upper and lower bounds in terms of household income (adjusted for inflation to be in 2010 dollars) that contained the middle 40 percent of households were identified. We then adjusted these bounds over time to increase (or decrease) at the same rate as real average household income growth, identifying the share of households falling above, below, and within the adjusted bounds as the upper, lower, and middle class, respectively, for each year shown. Thus, the analysis of the size of the middle class examined the share of households enjoying the same relative standard of living in each year as the middle 40 percent of households did in 1979.

## Data and methods Assembling a complete dataset on employment and wages by industry

Analysis of jobs and wages by industry, reported on pages 24-25 is based on an industry-level dataset constructed using twodigit NAICS industries from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics' Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages (QCEW). Because of some missing (or nondisclosed) data at the county and regional levels, we supplemented our dataset using information from Woods \& Poole Economics, Inc., which contains complete jobs and wages data for broad, twodigit NAICS industries at multiple geographic levels. (Proprietary issues barred us from using Woods \& Poole data directly, so we instead used it to complete the QCEW dataset.)

Given differences in the methodology underlying the two data sources (in addition to the proprietary issue), it would not be appropriate to simply "plug in" corresponding Woods \& Poole data directly to fill in the QCEW data for nondisclosed industries. Therefore, our approach was to first calculate the number of jobs and total wages from nondisclosed industries in each county, and
then distribute those amounts across the nondisclosed industries in proportion to their reported numbers in the Woods \& Poole data.

To make for a more accurate application of the Woods \& Poole data, we made some adjustments to it to better align it with the QCEW. One of the challenges of using Woods \& Poole data as a "filler dataset" is that it includes all workers, while QCEW includes only wage and salary workers. To normalize the Woods \& Poole data universe, we applied both a national and regional wage and salary adjustment factor; given the strong regional variation in the share of workers who are wage and salary, both adjustments were necessary. Another adjustment made was to aggregate data for some Woods \& Poole industry codes to match the NAICS codes used in the QCEW.

It is important to note that not all counties and regions were missing data at the twodigit NAICS level in the QCEW, and the majority of larger counties and regions with missing data were only missing data for a
small number of industries and only in certain years. Moreover, when data are missing it is often for smaller industries. Thus, the estimation procedure described is not likely to greatly affect our analysis of industries, particularly for larger counties and regions.

The same above procedure was applied at the county and state levels. To assemble data for regions and metro areas, we aggregated the county-level results.

## Data and methods <br> Growth in jobs and earnings by industry wage level, 2000 to 2016

The analysis on pages 24-25 uses our filled-in QCEW dataset (see the previous page) and seeks to track shifts in regional job composition and wage growth by industry wage level.

Using 2000 as the base year, we classified all broad private sector industries (at the twodigit NAICS level) into three wage categories: low-, middle-, and high-wage. An industry's wage category was based on its average annual wage, and each of the three categories contained approximately one-third of all private industries in the region.

We applied the 2000 industry wage category classification across all the years in the dataset, so that the industries within each category remained the same over time. This way, we could track the broad trajectory of jobs and wages in low-, middle-, and highwage industries.

This approach was adapted from a method used in a Brookings Institution report by Jennifer S. Vey, Building From Strength: Creating Opportunity in Greater Baltimore's Next Economy (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2012).

While we initially sought to conduct the analysis at a more detailed NAICS level, the large amount of missing data at the three- to six-digit NAICS levels (which could not be resolved with the method that was applied to generate our filled-in two-digit QCEW dataset) prevented us from doing so.

## Data and methods Estimates of GDP without racial gaps in income

Estimates of the gains in average annual income and GDP under a hypothetical scenario in which there is no income inequality by race/ethnicity are based on the 2016 5-Year IPUMS ACS microdata. We applied a methodology similar to that used by Robert Lynch and Patrick Oakford in chapter two of All-In Nation: An America that Works for All, with some modification to include income gains from increased employment (rather than only those from increased wages). As in the Lynch and Oakford analysis, once the percentage increase in overall average annual income was estimated, 2016 GDP was assumed to rise by the same percentage.

We first organized individuals ages 16 or older in the IPUMS ACS into six mutually exclusive racial/ethnic groups: White, Black, Latinx, Asian or Pacific Islander, Native American, and Mixed/other (with all defined as nonHispanic except for Latinx, of course). Following the approach of Lynch and Oakford in All-In Nation, we excluded from the nonHispanic Asian/Pacific Islander category subgroups whose average incomes were
higher than the average for non-Hispanic Whites. Also, to avoid excluding subgroups based on unreliable average income estimates due to small sample sizes, we added the restriction that a subgroup had to have at least 100 individual survey respondents in order to be included.

We then assumed that all racial/ethnic groups had the same average annual income and hours of work, by income percentile and age group, as non-Hispanic Whites, and took those values as the new "projected" income and hours of work for each individual. For example, a 54-year-old non-Hispanic Black person falling between the 85th and 86th percentiles of the non-Hispanic Black income distribution was assigned the average annual income and hours of work values found for non-Hispanic White persons in the corresponding age bracket ( 51 to 55 years old) and "slice" of the non-Hispanic White income distribution (between the 85th and 86th percentiles), regardless of whether that individual was working or not. The projected individual annual incomes and work hours
were then averaged for each racial/ethnic group (other than non-Hispanic Whites) to get projected average incomes and work hours for each group as a whole, and for all groups combined.

One difference between our approach and that of Lynch and Oakford is that we include all individuals ages 16 years and older, rather than just those with positive income. Those with income values of zero are largely nonworking, and were included so that income gains attributable to increased hours of work would reflect both more hours for those currently working and an increased share of workers - an important factor to consider given differences in employment rates by race/ethnicity. One result of this choice is that the average annual income values we estimate are analogous to measures of per capita income for the population ages 16 and older and are thus notably lower than those reported in Lynch and Oakford. Another is that our estimated income gains are relatively larger as they presume increased employment rates.

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Pinellas County Schools

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[^4]:    Source: Measures for Justice, https://measuresforjustice.org. Universe includes all nonviolent felony convictions involving a defendant with no violent convictions in Florida in the prior three years. Note: The defendant's race is often recorded based on an assessment made by the criminal justice officer who had initial contact with the defendant. Race and ethnicity categories mirror those used by the U.S. Census Bureau. Florida courts classify Hispanics/Latinx as White. Data reflect a 2012 through 2013 average.

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