Strengthening Small Business Clusters Serving Minority Communities

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Bertelsen, April; Brostoff, Jacob; Ramirez, Lucia; Shibley, Angela; and Tipton, Ernest, "Strengthening Small Business Clusters Serving Minority Communities" (2001). *Master of Urban and Regional Planning Workshop Projects*. 92.  
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STRENGTHENING SMALL BUSINESS CLUSTERS SERVING MINORITY COMMUNITIES

Portland State University - Urban and Regional Planning Workshop

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June, 2001
The project team would like to recognize the valuable advice and assistance from the following people that made this project possible.

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June 2001
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**EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

This project examines the composition, dynamics and patronage of small business clusters that serve minority communities. We examined census, business license and land use data, performed a land use survey and conducted interviews with business patrons, employees and owners.

Based on the information collected in our study, we found that:
- Clusters of businesses serving minority communities exist along N. Killingsworth and in the Burnside Triangle.
- The businesses in these clusters share clients, support and patronize each other.
- Most businesses rent their space and have made substantial investments in their interior space.
- New development (such as Portland Community College expansion plans and the Brewery Blocks) as well as new rail projects (such as the Central City Streetcar and Interstate MAX) have had a mixed reception among small business owners in these clusters.
- Businesses have incomplete knowledge of existing public resources that could help them.

Assets in these clusters include:
- Affordable commercial storefronts for rent
- Diversity of businesses and patrons
- Proximity of transit and freeway access
- High levels of pedestrian traffic

Challenges in these clusters include:
- Lack of certainty regarding the commercial real estate market
- Sensitivity to development pressures
- High demand for parking

We recommend that public resources and policy strengthen these business clusters by:
- Collecting and maintaining data on minority-serving businesses and business clusters
- Preserving and developing the cultural resources present in minority-serving business clusters
- Encouraging property ownership and the availability of affordable commercial storefronts
- Targeting city services, such as technical assistance, to minority-serving small businesses
- Expanding and developing local and regional markets for minority-serving small businesses
- Implementing retail-supportive transportation strategies
- Focusing outreach and organizing efforts on minority-serving business clusters
- Build greater dialogue with minority-serving small business owners.
**Strengthening Small Business Clusters Serving Minority Communities**

**OVERVIEW**

The existence of thriving and numerous small businesses is instrumental to generating wealth within a community. They provide a diverse employment base for local residents, leading to greater economic stability. Small businesses create opportunities for keeping dollars circulating within the community, multiplying the benefits of those dollars. Creating such internal-multipliers within the economy of a community is a strategy for strengthening the community as a whole. This benefit extends to communities of color, immigrant communities, ethnic minority communities, and sexual minority communities.

Not all minority communities share in common a geographic location. They can be found residing in a relatively compact neighborhood just as they are often dispersed over a larger geographic area, such as a region. However a minority community is distributed, clusters of businesses serving a particular community provide value. In addition to generating wealth, business clusters facilitate the creation of place, for a community to meet. These places become important to the sense of identity and pride for the communities they serve.

The goal of this project is to facilitate the strengthening of small businesses and business clusters that serve minority communities. Small businesses are defined as businesses with less than 50 employees. Small businesses serving minority communities include businesses that provide goods and services that may or may not be unique to a minority community. These businesses may be owned by and employ members of a minority community. They may provide "third places" where people can gather and relax, or they may support community events. These small businesses may cluster to share a clientele base or provide goods and services to other businesses in the cluster. These relationships create inter-dependencies among the businesses in the cluster and the communities they serve.

Understanding and attending to the inter-dependencies of small business clusters is one strategy for maintaining the viability of the businesses comprising the cluster. With greater understanding of the local dynamics of these clusters, planning and public investment decisions can be made to effectively strengthen small businesses and the minority communities they serve. In Portland, Oregon, the Interstate Corridor Urban Renewal Area (URA) and the planning process in the West End offer opportunities for such business- and community-strengthening efforts.

Our team performed case studies in the Interstate corridor URA and downtown's West End to identify small businesses serving minority communities, the presence of business clusters and their dynamics. These specific areas of interest include N. Killingsworth Avenue, between Interstate-5 and...
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Cleveland, in the Interstate Corridor URA and the Burnside Triangle in the West End. Within each case study area, we inventoried businesses using Regional Land Information System (RLIS) and City of Portland Bureau of Licenses data. We then conducted interviews with a sample of these businesses to gain a greater understanding of business characteristics as well as to identify business clusters and their mutually supporting dynamics. The interviews included questions to business owners about what would help strengthen their business as well as questions to customers about their patronage habits. We then synthesized findings from these interviews with those from a review of economic development literature to develop strategies and recommendations for strengthening small businesses and the communities they serve.

We further intend this project to serve as a model for identifying small business clusters serving minority communities and determining how planning efforts can strengthen those businesses and the communities they serve. Our project will aid both our clients, including the economic development efforts of the Portland Development Commission (PDC) in the Interstate Corridor URA and City of Portland Commissioner Jim Francesconi’s interest in and advocacy for small and minority businesses.
FOREWORD

Our team prepared this project as part of the Planning Workshop at Portland State University. The team, in consultation with the clients, faculty, and peers, developed the process and products of the workshop project. It represents our collective effort of applying our knowledge gain through the Master’s of Urban Regional Planning Program to an issue of regional and social importance. Our primary clients for this project were staff from the Portland Development Commission (PDC) and staff from the Office of Portland Commissioner Francesconi.

In developing this project the intention of the team is to conscientiously strive to adhere to the code of ethics established by the American Institute of Certified Planners. These principles will be used as a guide to assist the team in balancing the needs of the public, the client, the profession and our team members, and reinforce our primary responsibility as professional planners to serve the public.
Strengthening Small Business Clusters Serving Minority Communities

PROJECT STATEMENT

The more robust the small businesses serving a minority community are, the greater the wealth flowing through that community. Many small businesses access their market by clustering with businesses that attract similar customers or purchase their goods and services. They also tend to locate near large, anchor businesses or public institutions. This creates inter-dependencies among the clustering businesses. Attending to the ecology of small business clusters is one strategy for increasing the viability of businesses and retention of them. This requires first identifying small businesses that serve a minority community and the presence of small business clusters, as well as understanding their inter-dependencies. This knowledge can be used to further identify strategies to strengthen small business clusters that serve minority communities.

To facilitate the generation of wealth within a minority community, planning efforts can include planning and investment decisions to strengthen businesses and clusters. Successful North American examples of public investment designed to strengthen minority business districts include Montreal (le Village, Snowdon), Chicago (North Halstead Street) and New York City (Harlem). The Interstate Corridor Urban Renewal Area and the planning process in the West End offer opportunities to identify small minority business clusters and determine how to strengthen them.

The Interstate Corridor Urban Renewal Area (URA) Work Plan includes the task of devising an economic development strategy, the focus of which includes wealth creation within the community. Furthermore, the Interstate Corridor Urban Renewal Area Base Data & Trends Report includes a business profile of existing businesses. Within the business profile there is an identified need for further data collection and perhaps, other methods of data collection to understand the characteristics and make-up of the businesses in the URA. The profile also identifies ten main street corridors within the URA where data collection efforts could be focused.

Interstate Corridor URA Ten Main Street Corridors

- Russell Street
- Vancouver/Williams
- Mississippi (Target Area District)
- Killingsworth/Albina (TAD)
- Denver
- Lombard
- Interstate
- Swan Island
- Columbia Corridor
Strengthening Small Business Clusters Serving Minority Communities

The West End is going before Portland City Council on June 21st, 2001. The Burnside Triangle, located in the West End, houses an entertainment district serving a regionally drawn sexual minority population. Understanding more about the businesses in this area will help guide community decisions about public investment and planning in the West End.

Our team performed case studies within the two areas of Portland to identify small businesses serving minority communities, the presence of business clusters and their dynamics. From the Interstate Corridor URA, we selected the N. Killingsworth main street corridor, between Interstate-5 and N. Cleveland. The other study area is the Burnside Triangle located in the West End of Downtown Portland. The N. Killingsworth corridor area includes businesses serving an array of communities of color, whereas the Burnside Triangle includes a concentration of services oriented primarily toward sexual minorities.

For each case study area we researched the historic backgrounds and demographic characteristics. We inventoried businesses using Metro RLIS and City of Portland Bureau of Licenses data. To supplement these databases, we conducted land use inventories in both areas to gain greater knowledge of the business composition. This lead us to the major stage of our project, conducting interviews with a sample of these businesses to further describe the characteristics of these businesses, as well as, to identify business clusters and their mutually supporting dynamics. The interviews included questions to business owners about what would help strengthen their business as well as questions to patrons about their patronage habits. We also briefly interviewed business patrons to broaden our understanding of who these businesses serve and determine if businesses share clientele. The fruits of the interviews are distilled into the case study findings.

We synthesized the background research and case study findings with the results of a local and national review of the economic development literature to develop recommendations and strategies for strengthening small businesses and the communities they serve. We intend this project to serve as a model for identifying small business clusters serving minority businesses and determining how planning efforts can strengthen them and the communities they serve.
CLIENTS

The clients for this project include the Office of Commissioner Francesconi and the Portland Development Commission (PDC). Commissioner Francesconi is interested in small business and those that serve minority communities. PDC is currently planning and implementing the Interstate Corridor Urban Renewal Area Plan. We worked with representatives of these two entities, including Cristina Germain from the Office of Commissioner Francesconi and Elissa Gertler from PDC. Cristina Germain is the small business liaison for the Office of Commissioner Francesconi. Elissa Gertler is working with the Interstate Corridor Economic Development Strategies Work Group to develop the Economic Development Implementation Strategies Plan for the Interstate Corridor URA.
RATIONAL

In the interest of strengthening small businesses that serve minority communities, our team seeks to
gain a greater understanding of these businesses, the dynamics among clusters of these businesses and
their relationship to the communities they serve. First, we will provide some context explaining the
foundation of our interest in small businesses.

Creating more opportunities for a dollar to be spent within a community is one way to revitalize and
create wealth within a community.

“When a dollar enters a community and is then spent outside the community, its benefit is felt
only once. If that same dollar is re-spent within the community, its benefit is multiplied: it adds
more value, pays more wages, finances more investments, and ultimately creates more jobs.
Thanks to this “multiplier effect” each additional transaction in which the dollar is involved
creates just as much wealth as a new dollar from the outside, but relies on the local decisions
made by people who care about the community... [a] community can increase its multiplier
effect by plugging leaks, supporting existing businesses, and creating new local businesses –
especially if those new businesses supply locals with things that had previously been imported.”
(Michael J. Kinsley -The Economic Renewal Guide: p. 30)

This benefit extends to communities of color, immigrant communities, ethnic minorities and sexual
minorities within a larger community. Small businesses create opportunities to keep dollars flowing
within a community. Small businesses may provide goods and services unique to the community they
serve. The owners of small businesses and their employees may be members of that same community,
bringing additional benefits to the community. While some small businesses serving minority
communities are dependent upon the communities immediately surrounding them, others may draw
clientele from a larger geographic area. The symbiotic relationship between these businesses and the
communities that they serve creates inter-dependencies between the two and opportunities for
strengthening communities. Just as the sciences of ecology and biology describe symbiosis and other
relationships involving the transfer of resources between living organisms, an ecology of business can
describe symbiosis and other relationships involving the transfer of resources between businesses.

Small businesses often locate in clusters to benefit from commercial agglomeration. These businesses
may sell complementary or supplementary goods and services. Clusters are areas where businesses
locate in close proximity and share clientele or patronize one another. These clusters can be the
commercial center of a local, residential minority community. Alternatively, a business cluster may be
of regional significance, providing a shared place for a dispersed community. Clusters promote cross-
Strengthening Small Business Clusters Serving Minority Communities

patronage, a sense of place, and community identity. Successful business clusters that serve a minority community can strengthen that community and its economic health by creating internal multipliers, promoting a positive public image of the community, and providing a centralized, convenient place for community members to interact, feel comfortable, and purchase goods and services.

Portland is home to numerous minority business clusters. Examples include:
- NE Alberta Street (Latino and African-American goods and services)
- Sandy Boulevard (Southeast Asian goods and services)
- Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard (African-American goods and services)
- Foster Road and 65th Avenue (Russian goods and services)
- Burnside Triangle (sexual minorities entertainment district for a three-state region)

Regional Context

In the regional context, small business clusters serving minority communities serve not only their target communities, but draw customers from the metropolitan region as a whole. They also contribute diversity to the urban environment and provide unique goods and services. In addition, these clusters support a number of public goals. For example these clusters often anchor main street environments, which are an important component of our regional vision. They also create local opportunities to access goods and services both specialized and general, reduce dependence on automobile travel as large percentages of their customers are pedestrians, and increase livability.
Strengthening Small Business Clusters Serving Minority Communities

METHODODOLOGY

This project focuses on three major levels of analysis. These are: identification of small business clusters serving minority communities, finding evidence of valuable inter-relationships that show mutually supportive networking benefiting a minority community, and determining how city policy and planning efforts can help strengthen those clusters and networks once they have been identified.

As we are interested in citing characteristics or evidence that the businesses within a cluster are mutually supportive of each other and minority communities, we wished to observe areas that would demonstrate these types of relationships. Accordingly, we have chosen two areas that have different characteristics. The N. Killingsworth corridor area includes businesses serving an array of communities of color, whereas the Burnside Triangle includes a concentration of services oriented primarily toward sexual minorities. The N. Killingsworth corridor businesses serve adjacent residential neighborhoods, as well as regionally drawn customers, whereas the Burnside Triangle primarily serves a regionally dispersed minority.

The primary objectives of our project involved identifying business and their dynamics. Subsequently, we sought to understand the nature of the relationships amongst the businesses themselves and with the communities they serve. Secondary data sources were used to describe the case study areas. These data sources included historic, archive materials, newspapers, city plans, Metro RLIS land use data, 1996 American Community Survey (ACS) data, and City of Portland Bureau of License data. This was followed by field visits to conduct land use inventories of the composition and pattern of uses in the two case study areas.

The method utilized most rigorously toward meeting these objectives was interviewing small businesses believed to serve a minority community, interviewing other businesses that are less obviously, yet perhaps as integrally, part of that overall network. We also interviewed the patrons or beneficiaries of the businesses. The intention and purpose of this process is to gauge whether mutually supportive relationships that define a minority-serving business cluster do in fact exist in those areas. For example, we anticipated that the interview process might lead toward the finding that one business in the cluster offers complementary minority-oriented services in relation to another business, or that a small minority-serving business patronizes another business in the area for supplies or services. We asked questions about business involvement in the community and business organizations, as well as, participation in informal networking with nearby businesses. We also sought to understand the location preferences of the businesses to determine if they believed they benefited from the proximity of the other nearby businesses or they shared location criteria. These
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conversations lead us to learn what the businesses considered to be the assets, challenges and concerns of their location. We asked questions about the characteristics of the business clientele to find indication of shared clientele and discover whom the businesses serve. The survey instrument that guided our interviews is included in this report in Appendix B.

The second major objective of our work involved making findings with regard to how city policy can potentially strengthen minority-serving business clusters. The interview process helped inform us about what the existing relationships consist of, giving a basis for making determinations about what could be done to strengthen those relationships. The interview sessions also involved asking the businesses and their patrons about what they feel could help or hinder the business itself, the patron’s ability to utilize it, and the general environment within which the cluster exists. The next step was the determination of how those needs translate into city policy and actions. To do so, we looked at existing policy and programs to see how those needs are addressed or not addressed. A literature review was conducted to find other strategies used to strengthen minority-serving business clusters that supplement our case study findings.

Our final major objective was to have this project serve as a model for identifying small business clusters serving minority communities. Such a model will reflect how a city or community can make an accurate preliminary determination with regard to the existence of a minority-serving small business cluster. Our project aims to offer strategies for recognizing and showing evidence of a minority-serving small business cluster, and is based upon our findings with regard to what clues are most useful and accurate.
DEFINITIONS

Small Businesses
A business with less than 50 employees.

Minority Community
This term applies to several different types of communities. Minority is defined to include people of color, immigrants, ethnic minorities (e.g. Jewish and Hispanic communities), sexual minorities (e.g. gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender communities). A minority community may be geographically dispersed yet still share an identity, as well as a need for congregating and purchasing unique goods and services. A minority community may reside in the same geographical location. In this instance the community is defined as a minority community when 50 percent or more of the residents are people of color, immigrants, ethnic minorities, or sexual minorities. Included in this definition are communities where the aggregation of different minority groups constitute at least 50 percent of the community or greater. This definition is adapted from the definitions of “minority” and “minority population” in Executive Order 12898, Federal Actions to Address Environmental Justice in Minority Populations and Low-Income Populations.

“Minority: Individual(s) who are members of the following groups: American Indian or Alaskan Native; Asian or Pacific Islander; Black, not of Hispanic origin; or Hispanic.”

“Minority population: Minority population should be identified where either: (a) the minority population of the affected area exceeds 50 percent or (b) the minority population percentage of the affected area is meaningfully greater than the minority population percentage in the general population or other appropriate unit of geographic analysis. In identifying minority communities, agencies may consider as a community either a group of individual living in geographic proximity to one another, or a geographically dispersed/transient set of individuals (such as migrant workers or Native Americans)… A minority population also exists if there is more than one minority group present and the minority percentage, as calculated by aggregating all minority persons, meets one of the above-stated thresholds.”

Minority-serving Businesses
This definition includes businesses that exhibit one or more of the following attributes:

- Serves a minority community by providing goods and services to that community. These goods and services may be unique to a particular minority community.
- Employs members of a minority community.
- Owned by a member of a minority community.
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- Serves a community function by acting as a "third place," or providing a community gathering spot.
- Supports or participates in community events relevant to a minority community.

**Business Cluster**

Business clusters contain businesses located in close proximity to one another. These businesses share a clientele and/or serve other businesses located in the cluster. These businesses may serve complementary or supplementary goods and services. A business owner may choose to locate near another business or collection of businesses to reach a similar clientele base already patronizing the existing businesses. In another instance, a business owner may decide to open a business that caters to the owners and employees, and business needs of nearby businesses. These location choices lead to the development of clusters. Examples of such location decisions include the following:

- The location of a small Latino grocery and general purpose store next to a taqueria.
- The location of a multiple dance clubs in close proximity where patrons may move from one club to the next.
- The location of a business to serve the employees or provide inputs of nearby businesses.
- The close proximity of bars, restaurants and hotels.
LITERATURE REVIEW

Minority-serving Business Cluster Patterns as Economic Assets

Small minority-serving businesses offer a niche of fundamentally needed resources and opportunities for the neighborhoods they exist within. Many offer specialty goods and services to the minority communities they serve, and generate a valuable set of inter-relationships within the cluster not necessarily existing in more mainstream concentrations of large businesses or nationalized chains. Minority-serving businesses serve an important function for minority communities by providing culturally important goods and services, as well as acting to preserve unique cultural identities that would otherwise be invisible to the regional community.

Most important is the way minority-serving business clusters function together, both in the obvious sense of co-locating to attract a customer base, and in the relationships and mutual support that exist within and among them. Such business clusters are valuable to the neighborhoods and the region because they conserve and multiply financial resources within the community. This is a valuable asset for any community or region, for it provides the kind of economic stability governments agencies often try to encourage. Rather than following a pattern of importing goods into the community and being subject to the uncertainties of the international economy, having a diverse and varied array of small businesses fosters strength for the local community, and the region as a whole (Kinsley, p. 11).

The Burnside Triangle and Killingsworth business clusters both contain valuable opportunities for this type of economic stability, because they both consist largely of locally owned small businesses, many of which have a stake in seeing their neighborhoods maintain some version of the current environment. They offer the opportunity to strengthen the community economically at the local level, if they can maintain existence. Kinsley presents the analogy of plugging a leaky bucket before pouring a lot of money into it, stating “When a community plugs an unnecessary leak, it puts money back into the local economy just as surely as if it had earned it through industry. Likewise, as individual residents spend and re-spend the money they’ve saved, the local economic benefit multiplies in the same way it does with new income: more money in circulation creates more value, pays more wages, finances more investments, and ultimately creates more jobs. Unlike income, however, savings are inflation-proof – once you’ve cut out an expense, you no longer need to worry about its price going up. Further, money spent on local goods and services often goes to small businesses, the backbone of most local economies (Kinsley, p. 18).
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The business clusters studied are already acting in this way in that they provide goods and services to the local community and purchase goods and services from each other. This means that money stays within the community. The 1992 Economic Census found that minority owned businesses were 10 to 15 percent more likely to serve the local neighborhood community than non-minority male-owned businesses (1992 Economic Census, p. 20). Also, during 1992, the percent of minority customers served by the business was significantly higher for minority-owned businesses than non-minority male-owned businesses (1992 Economic Census, p. 20). These patterns show that minority communities often already have the resources to conserve and multiply wealth. This is an existing asset that should be built upon and strengthened; building upon this should be done carefully, paying close attention to the existing social and economic exchanges existing in the area.

Social Capital and Community Development

Equally important to monetary re-investment in communities are the aspects of social responsibility and pride inherent in commitment to a place. Warren et al. speak of varying functions that can exist within a neighborhood or community, offering us a way to reflect on how certain behavior and general operations within small business clusters promote the validity in helping ensure that they continue existing. Warren et al. (p. 21) discuss the importance of the area surrounding a particular place: “A neighborhood can be a basis of identity, a place to which one feels a degree of commitment”. Furthermore, “The territorial neighborhood is significant as a social context in part because it tends to be organized around public behaviors. Few really care about deviance that doesn’t get expressed in the neighborhood. People care about it when it is seen and when it is observable in their neighborhood. Thus, in contemporary society people can do pretty much what they want outside the neighborhood and no one cares. Since the neighborhood tends to be focused around visible public behaviors, the failure of a neighbor to cut the grass can be more serious than a personal problem which is acted out elsewhere” (Warren et al., p. 21-22).

It is this sense of pride in the locality that differs from what is found in areas lacking such an identity. Not only do businesses not locally owned lack the re-investment potential resulting in a concentration of local small business, but they also lack the identity necessary for perpetuating pride and ownership within the community.

Another example given of the type of role a neighborhood plays is that of mutual aid. “Mutual aid can also include economic exchange. People have skills – ranging from knowledge of auto repair and garage building to babysitting and landscaping knowledge – and such skills provide the fabric of
Strengthening Small Business Clusters Serving Minority Communities

economic exchange that can go on in a neighborhood” (Warren et al., p. 20). These authors also note the significance of exchanging and borrowing goods in an emergency, such as a cup of sugar, as well as noting the commonality of protecting the neighborhood from outside intrusion. The interviews conducted in both case study areas provided an extensive array of all these kinds of interrelationships.

Community Economic Development

Common to much literature specific to identifying strategies for strengthening minority business is the theme of collective organizing, pooling resources, and other forms of community economic development. In “The New Realities for Minority Business”, the author discusses how certain partnerships and strategies are national in scope, seeing minority business growth as being largely dependent on competing with majority companies. The article cites the need for minority businesses to develop new business structures (joint ventures, consortiums, partnerships) in an effort to “position themselves for growth by seeking equity investments” (p. 17). In addition, the authors discuss the importance of creating new sources of capital, decreasing minority businesses’ dependence on commercial bank lending, minority-lending programs (p. 18), and leveraging government resources (p. 19). Such strategies address how industry consolidation makes it hard for small business to compete, the increasing limitation of race-based affirmative action and minority business development programs, the role of bank consolidations as restricting financial options, and other trends occurring at the national level. Most useful for purposes of our project is the idea of minority business cooperation as a strategy for remaining viable and competitive. Other authors point to a more localized methods for achieving this.

Flora et al., discuss how social infrastructure (the group-level, interactive aspect of organizations or institutions) is needed in addition to human capital, physical infrastructure, and leadership for effective community development (p. 49). They offer “symbolic diversity” as a method for constructive controversy (p. 51), “resource mobilization” or willingness to invest collectively (p. 55), and the “quality of linkages” or facilitation and flow of resources such as information (p. 56), as the three main concepts driving such a process. The main point of this idea is that a community with limited resources needs to be able to identify problems and find alternative ways to solve them, which may require acting collectively on some level. Such a process may begin with the types of relationships found in our case study areas, where many of the businesses face similar problems and challenges. There is existing social infrastructure, found in the ways the varying businesses utilize each other for goods and services, depend on one another in terms of cross-patronage. A strategy helping develop or promote organizing among these businesses could be very valuable, as there is already a level of co-
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dependence within the business clusters. Development of communication is also a potentially valuable endeavor, particularly given that both clusters are affected by large development or expansion projects in their immediate vicinity. The power present in collective knowledge is very important for minority-serving small business. There is also evidence of multiple businesses with similar future goals, such as opening youth-oriented spaces aimed at safety, education, and entertainment. Business cooperation on such projects could help achieve broader community goals.

Other authors discussed a middle ground between a national collectivity of minority business and informal social entrepreneurial infrastructure. Macleod explores the concept of a Community Business Corporation (CBC), where a non-profit organization owned by the community at large gathers local capital and resources and invests those resources back into the community. A CBC could help “plug the leaks” within a local community, making the community less dependent on outside resources, decisions, and occurrences, and more able to act in a savvy, competitive manner. Such an organization may involve worker ownership, but the key is that it involves majority local ownership and control; "They key motivation of a community enterprise is community improvement with profit being a means and not an end in itself. A community enterprise is not owned simply by shareholders or workers but, rather, it holds property and assets as a trust in the interests of the local community" (p. 8). A CBC focuses resources on job creation, infrastructure development and other community needs. Some combination of the approaches discussed in the literature may prove fruitful for future minority community economic development efforts.

Imboscio presents three different strategies for urban economic development. The first is “entrepreneurial capitalism”, which “envisions the development of an urban economy modeled on the Jacobs ideal. Such an economy, based on a variety of small entrepreneurial businesses, would be highly diversified. Because of this diversity and the capacity for creativity and innovation, the economic process at work in this idealized setting, although messy and inefficient, would be highly dynamic and resilient in the face of technological and economic change – and thus capable of achieving development that is both self-sustaining and self-renewing” (p. 50). With regard to our case study areas, such a theory applies, but does not address one of the main issues affecting the local communities, which is the threat of rising rents and a changing demographic. Imboscio also suggests the “community-based strategy”, where economic development is a “collective affair”, with an emphasis on community land trusts, consumer co-ops, community finance institutions, and worker-owned firms (p. 105). The idea offers a more realistic approach than the Community Business Corporation does, because it utilizes pieces of the concept, which is most likely more digestible to such a community, and more politically feasible. Finally, the author discusses the “municipal-enterprise strategy”, which promotes “local economic development by expanding city ownership and profit-making activity to nontraditional areas of the local economy” (p. 139). All of these approaches
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contain elements that can be applied in the interest of preserving and developing small business in Portland.

Planning, Community, and Identity

The books we reviewed about place, community and identity have as one of their foundations a discussion of what place is and means, and how this varies for the different populations present in an area. Massey defines place as a construction of social relationships. Cresswell talks about place as social space where there are expectations of behavior that helps redefine the space and give it meaning and continuity. Bell and Valentine discuss achieving place through actions, and in Fincher and Jacobs particular places require performance of identity in different ways. Achieving place usually involves putting forth an identity, or trying to establish the meaning of the place, which involves identities. The discussion of identity relates how it is closely tied to place, how it is problematic and not fixed, and how power can be involved.

Themes include how place itself achieves a recognized identity and what happens when perceived boundaries of identified places are challenged. Chase et al. clearly articulate the idea that everyday actions are what are important in defining spaces for people. The other authors would probably call this performance of identity, which happens within a space and reflects on the meaning of the space for others while it is in use. Sandercock then describes how, in the future, we may plan for spaces that respect many meanings and performances and when planning is limited in what it can design for people. Because it is exactly the performance of everyday activities and relationships that gives meaning to places, planning for physical spaces can only provide guidelines for behavior in the built environment. It cannot determine how those guidelines will be interpreted and what effect it will have on the understandings of the multiple publics that will encounter that space.

The authors and editors are trying to examine how place meanings get built and how these are challenged and changed, particularly by factors of difference. Massey argues that we have a tendency to view localities or places in space and time and view them as static. She shows that communities or localities cannot be concrete or static if they are defined by relationships as she recommends. With these ideas that she explores a concept that underlies all of the other works. Place meaning or place identification depends upon preserving the current relationships that a place has and defining it by them. Change in a place is about changing meanings and expected behaviors and recognizing new relationships. Boundaries are important in all four works (though Massey emphasizes their fluidity) and transgression of these boundaries of place is discussed in all the works but most clearly in
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Cresswell's. He is describing residents and elites of an area trying to hold on to specific meanings of an area, static meanings, while his transgressors threaten to bring new relationships and identifications to an area. All of the authors and editors recognize this act of "transgression," or expressing a new meaning in a place, as a threat to existing power structures, and value the bringing of new meanings as a way to bring change, especially as to recognize and value difference. Sandercock adds that planners have a role in allowing such changes and acknowledging their origins and how planning can contribute to multicultural many-meaninged places or continue trying to create spaces that the individual planners understand as having a static, singular meaning.

These authors inform us of how meanings are created and defended and alert us to how they change over time. These ideas are important for our study as we have identified what are multicultural, or variously interpreted spaces because the business clusters present serve minority communities, which by definition will not share all of the understandings and perceptions of majority groups. We are studying these places and trying to discern the interrelationships among business members of the communities and their patrons to find successful, multicultural communities within Portland. We believe that these communities are valuable because their presence enhances the urban environment for all its members. We also recognize that they may be vulnerable to pressures on their environment and wish to discover what actions that the City might be able to take to increase the likelihood of the continued success of the communities we studied and other multicultural communities in the city.

The articles by Doan (2000) and Foley (2000) then add to these ideas by discussing the importance of these communities as well as the role of safety and freedom of expression. Doan discusses gay and lesbian communities and the safety and freedom of expression that arises in numbers and in a space claimed by or identified with the queer community. Foley's article goes further to directly address the role of a commercial district in anchoring such a space. He demonstrates that the cluster of businesses have a key role in contributing to the identity of the area and creating an environment in which the minority population can express their culture in relative safety and with acceptance. Doan and Foley both reflect key tenets of our study, that a form of safety and freedom for expressing identity arise when a minority group can claim an area of public space as their district. Also, that the commercial sector in those districts reflect the needs of the community and have a pivotal role in its identity and attractiveness to other members of the minority community, leading to a sufficient number of users that the area can take on the roles that Doan described.
CASE STUDY AREA BACKGROUND: HISTORY, DEMOGRAPHICS AND POLICY

The Historic Characteristics of the Case Study Areas and their Minority Markets

The Portland community at large represents the agglomeration of numerous ethnic and cultural sub-groups. Throughout Portland's history the degree of power and equitable treatment afforded these groups by the community at large have advanced and declined in response to socioeconomic factors and regulatory mandates. These forces impacted all of the sub-groups, uniquely pushing, pulling and solidify each in varying degrees depending on their marginality and power to promote positive change.

The Black minority community currently served by the Killingsworth Corridor and the Gay/Lesbian/Bisexual/Transgendered minority community currently served by the Burnside Triangle represent two such groups that were historically disenfranchised. As forces combined to impact their safety, economic vitality and mobility patterns, the business clusters serving these minority communities evolved and responded in tandem.

Portland’s Black Community

The City of Portland has always had a small Black population. As early as the mid-1800s, Blacks were immigrating to Portland seeking economic opportunity, despite state exclusionary laws enacted to "keep (Oregon) clear of that most troublesome class of population."\(^1\) Portland was a river city initially expanding westward from the Willamette River and the small number of early Black residents were dispersed throughout the downtown working as cooks, bootblacks and domestic servants. Beginning in the 1880s, Black and Chinese bond laborers were imported to construct the rail yards and spurs to provide rail to river raw material export. Burnside Street became the dividing line between the labor housing and downtown proper. Blacks and Chinese continued to move into the more affordable housing of the North Burnside District after repeal of the sunset law and worked in nearby hospitality and railroad related jobs, (Figure 3). By 1900, the North Burnside District was a flourishing Black community containing the majority of Portland's Black population adjacent to a developing Chinatown.

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\(^1\) Quote of Legislative Committee Member Peter Burnett, 1844, Oregon Historic Quarterly, Vol. 83, No. 2, Summer, 1982, P. 154.
A booming economy, construction of bridges across the Willamette River and an expanding suburban streetcar system promoted rapid expansion of residential development east of the river. New housing tracts sprang up along the eastside streetcar routes to accommodate an influx of European immigrants.

One of these new areas constructed to house the White immigrants was the Albina neighborhood. The new wave of immigrants to Portland during the early 1900s included middle and working class families from Germany, Poland and Scandinavia. They settled in the Albina neighborhood and worked in timber related industries near the Albina railroad yards. Streetcar lines constructed north from Portland’s central business district along the corridors of Mississippi/Albina, Williams and Union Avenues, (Martin Luther King Boulevard) encouraged suburban migration. As the new immigrants accumulated wealth, the working class White population began moving out of housing adjacent to the Albina railroad yards and into middle-class housing further north on the streetcar line.

As development of rail to ship warehouse buildings continued to expand in the North Burnside District, a new Black working class, employed by the railroad companies, filtered into the Albina housing south of Fremont between Mississippi and Union Avenues. The new Black community was centered along Williams between Broadway and Russell, and took form while commercial intersections were being developed along the Killingsworth streetcar line at the intersections with Albina, Williams and Union Avenues. Constructed in a boom period between 1900 and 1920, the two and three story mixed-use structures at the Killingsworth intersections predominately served the middle-class White streetcar commuters living nearby, (Figure 4).

This social settlement pattern continued and was reinforced through the 1920s and 1930s. As Portland’s economy followed the rest of the country through depression, the realities and fears of job loss and declining property values reinforced discrimination and segregation. Real estate redlining, neighborhood covenants and union rules were used to limit Black economic opportunity and housing succession beyond the Albina community. 
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In the economic downturn minority groups and minority owned businesses experienced a disproportionate decline due to economic compounding or a multiplier effect. Whites were hired for jobs previously held by Blacks. In turn, Blacks were forced out of work or into lower paying jobs, typically forcing them to disproportionately defer maintenance and reduce purchases. Since Black businesses were more dependent on a Black customer base, Black businesses experienced a higher failure rate. This resulted in a decline in services and commercial leadership available within the community, as well as declining property values, public perception and linkages to resource networks outside the community.

A break in this cycle came with the outbreak of World War II. The Kaiser Corporation began building military equipment for export to England in 1941. Shipyards were constructed in the Portland Swan Island area, requiring thousands of new employees and resulting in full regional employment. To meet labor shortages the company began recruiting and importing trainloads of workers from the south and mid-plains states, many previously employed in railroad industries. Additional in-migration followed the word of mouth that better paying jobs could be found in Portland, Oregon. Between 1940 and 1943, natural population growth combined with imported workers nearly doubled Portland’s Black population. Through cohort association, many of the initial Black newcomers settled into housing available in the Albina neighborhoods, extending the Black population further north along the Williams streetcar corridor. Portland’s housing shortage combined with the rapid change in racial composition produced a backlash against the Black community.

In 1942, White residents in the Albina neighborhoods organized to prevent additional Blacks from moving in. In a letter to the North Portland Community Club they recommended that “If it is necessary to bring in large numbers of Negro workers, locate them on the edge of the city.” With the formation of the Portland Housing Authority in 1941, and assistance from Authority and Maritime Commission, development of Vanport City began in 1942, Figure 1. Vanport was developed on the diked low lands between the

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Figure 4 Killingsworth Street, Looking West toward Albina Avenue, 1920.

Figure 5 Black Owned/Operated Business in the Portland Region, 1945.

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**Strengthening Small Business Clusters Serving Minority Communities**

Columbia River and the Columbia Slough, approximately two miles north of the Swan Island shipyards. Between 1943 and 1945, Vanport’s Black population increased 600% and constituted 20% of Vanport’s population, as workers were imported and local residents relocated for better job opportunities and housing conditions.

During the mid-1940’s, the automobile was playing an increasingly dominate role in urban circulation. Union Avenue served as the primary auto corridor connecting Vanport with the Black central business district in south Albina. A study performed by the Portland Club in 1945 revealed the expansion of Black businesses along the Union corridor and the change in business location preference produced by the transportation system shift, (Figure 5).

As war production declined, those who could afford to do so, moved out of the Vanport public housing finding jobs and housing elsewhere in the region. The Black residents of Vanport found that racial income differentials and increasing numbers of returning veterans limited re-entry into the mainstream employment and housing markets.

In 1948, a flood destroyed the city of Vanport. Nearly 30% of the residents left homeless by the Vanport flood were Black. This constituted over 25% of Portland’s Black population. The majority of the displaced Black residents were taken in by friends, relatives and Black social organizations locate in the Albina neighborhoods. With over 50% of Portland’s Black population squeezed into the Albina neighborhoods and a reduction in local job opportunities, the aging Albina housing stock and businesses suffered from progressive degradation. In examining 30 cities nation-wide Massey and Denton dimensioned the impacts of concentrated minority poverty. They found that the geographic concentration of poverty resulted in the relocation and closure of local business, which siphoned assets out of the community and resulted in urban decay spill over into adjacent areas. In the case of Portland, the chain of events resulted in White flight and abandonment in the Albina neighborhood (Figure 6).

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**Figure 6 Black Migration and Settlement Patterns, 1948 to Present.**

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Numerous legislative actions and programs were implemented at all levels of government between the late 1940's and the 1960's in efforts to eradicate employment inequities, marginal businesses, poverty and sub-standard living conditions. In assessing the south Albina area in the late 1950's, government agencies concluded that the area was not worth saving. Various plans and development projects were evaluated and implemented to remove the sub-standard residential and business stock. Construction of the Memorial Coliseum, Minnesota Freeway, and Emanuel Hospital dismantled much of the Black central business district and adjacent housing to provide urban amenities intended to increase downtown property values and encourage commercial investment. As the south Albina Black community was redeveloped through the 1950s and 1960s the ratio of Black residents and the number of Black businesses to the north of Killingsworth and east of Union continued to increase.

In the late 1960s, the City of Portland through the Portland Development Commission received approval from HUD to define portions of the Albina area as a Model Cities Project area. The planning process approved by HUD was based on the premise that local citizens should be involved in the planning decision making process. Through citizen involvement the problem statement provided in the application noted that the local Black community in the Albina area faced unique urban challenges due to minority related factors.

Among other things, the Model Cities Program laid the ground work for the citizens of the Albina area to establish goals, objectives and assignable implementation actions through defined local neighborhoods, which informed the development of the Albina Community Plan (Figure 7). Among the actions to be implemented in the Humboldt Neighborhood, containing the Killingsworth corridor, were re-use of the abandoned Baptist College and improving local educational attainment and job training. Through a coordinated effort with the Portland Development Commission, the Portland Community College system purchased the abandoned college and nearby properties in the late 1960's and opened the Cascade Campus in 1971.
Strengthening Small Business Clusters Serving Minority Communities

Today, the businesses of the Killingsworth corridor and the local residents are faced with new opportunities and challenges.

In the year 2000, voters approved a bond measure for the Portland Community College system to improve existing educational facilities and provide additional facilities to meet growing demand. To accommodate the ten-percent annual growth in student enrollment that has recently occurred at the Cascadia campus, the college Board of Directors has plans to purchase three blocks of property to expand the campus westerly, potentially displacing residents and businesses. Over the next four years, the proposed development will modernize existing campus buildings, provide three new lots for on-site surface parking, construct a modern gymnasium and improve pedestrian ways linking to the Killingsworth street-edge.

Simultaneously, the Portland Development Commission has begun work on the most ambitious urban redevelopment area in Portland's history. The Interstate Corridor Urban Renewal project includes 3,710 acres, expanding out from the existing interstate freeway and light-rail line proposed along Interstate Avenue. Funded through a combination of urban renewal funds, grants and tax increment financing, the plan is a comprehensive approach intended to directly address the following topics:

- Develop new housing and mixed-use light-rail station centers, while addressing issues of gentrification and displacement.
- Improve economic opportunities and community wealth creation, while addressing small business retention.
- Improve transportation and right-of-way conditions.
- Improve community facilities, open spaces, streetscape and historic preservation.
- Revitalize and/or redevelop target business corridors.
Since this project is focused on small business clusters serving minority markets, the demographics are examined locally, using 1996 American Community Survey data from census tract block groups adjacent to the corridor. These include: 34.0101, 34.0104, 35.0101, 37.0202, 37.0203 and 38.0301 (Figure 8).

The local demographic study area includes 392 acres, containing 5,342 residents for a population density of 13.6 persons per acre. This is equivalent to approximately 3,200 square feet of land area per resident. The residents range across all age groups, from infants to the elderly (Figure 9). The majority, 52 percent, of the study area residents are Black (Figure 10). This is in contrast to Multnomah County at large, in which 7 percent of the population is Black. In general, the residents are stationary. New immigrants are moving into this area, but on average residential mobility has remained low. Nearly one out of ten residents is an ethnic immigrant; 40 percent have arrived within the past six years. Over a third of the households own their home and 47% of the residents have lived in their current residence for more then five years (Figure 11).
Residents predominately work in the Portland metropolitan center. Seventy percent of the area’s employed drive to work, while 4 percent walk or bike and 21 percent use mass-transit. Over 25 percent of the commuters travel less than 15 minutes to work, with 65 percent traveling less than 30 minutes. These work commute patterns are relatively consistent with Multnomah County as a whole. A higher than average percentage of the area’s residents remain in service and fabrication related jobs. In Multnomah County 62 percent of the employed are in managerial and office positions, as compared to 49 percent of the local residents, reflecting a 13-percentage point difference. At 21 percent and 30 percent respectively, local area residents are over 1 ½ times as likely to be employed in a service or fabrication related jobs. This may reflect the disparity in educational attainment between area residents and the County as a whole. Fifty percent of the local area residents over the age of 25 did not proceed beyond high school, compared to 38 percent for all county residents.

There are income disparities both internal and external to this area. The median income of households within the study area ($21,422) is approximately 60 percent that of county median ($32,716), while the number of persons per household is slightly higher (2.8 verses 2.3). This locational income disparity occurs across all ethnic groups except Indian. Within the study area, Black household income ($10,432) is approximately half the median income.

The area housing stock was originally constructed around the turn of the century with middle and work-class amenities. The housing was designed to accommodate the large turn-of-the-century families predominately with three or more bedrooms (Figure 12). Median rents in the area are approximately 75% of the County median, while median housing values and mortgages are approximately 80% the county median.
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The Killingsworth commercial strip between the I-5 Minnesota Freeway and Martin Luther King Boulevard is currently designated to be a Main street corridor. The corridor properties within the study area are generally zoned CSD, for Commercial Storefront use requiring design review approval (Figure 13). The continuity of the storefront zoning is interrupted approximately mid-way, between Commercial and Kerby on the south and Commercial and Albina on the north. This area is zoned IRd, Institutional Residential to accommodate Jefferson High School and the PCC Cascadia campus.

In addition to requiring design review, institutional uses are required to submit a master plan indicating that current and future activities will be compatible with adjacent uses and that land use conflicts will be mitigated. The CSD zoning designation limits the floor area ratio to 3 and height to 45 feet, reinforcing the historical scale of the street wall (Figure 14). This zoning designation also discourages building setbacks and on-site surface parking and requires amenities to encourage pedestrian activity, while it does not provide incentives for vertical mixed-use development. Zone surrounding the corridor is single and multi-family residential providing a local market for the storefront zoning.

Figure 13  Killingsworth Study Area Zoning, 2001.
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The Killingsworth corridor study area contains 48 private business establishments, six social service groups and four public institutions. Public institutions include the PCC Cascadia campus, Jefferson High School, the Neighborhood Policing Center and public library (Figure 15). There are six restaurants in the corridor and one planned as part of a new PDC subsidized mixed-use development. All of the existing restaurants are within a one-block radius of the campus. There are two night clubs/bars in the corridor, both are older establishments west of the campus. Renaissance Market is the primary grocery store in the area. Ethnic specialty markets are located within a one-block radius and across Killingsworth from the Renaissance Market. Mini-markets are located approximately three blocks apart through the course of the corridor. Two office establishments in the corridor are newspaper offices with specialized minority markets. Regional discount outlets have historically clustered at the corner of Killingsworth and Albina serving both local patrons and drawing regional customers into the corridor. Numerous small shops and residential units provide interaction and commercial synergy west of Kerby, where the Jefferson High School field divides the corridor streetscape. Six buildings are currently believed vacant in the corridor, all east of PCC and Jefferson High school.

Figure 14 Killingsworth Street, Looking West toward Albina Avenue, 2001.
Figure 15  Killingsworth Land Uses, 2001.
Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgendered Community

While the Black community has been repeatedly place based throughout Portland's history, the Gay/Lesbian/Transgender community has until recently lacked a singular place of identity. Historically, this minority group lived in fear of rejection, arrest and physical abuse. While community members can be identified back as far as the early 1900's in Portland's history, few accurate records were kept, thereby preventing the detailed tracking of community activities and commercial node relationships. Over the past one hundred years outlawing activities reinforced the dispersal of meeting places among various other uses (Figure 16). Secret codes of conduct have continually been used to avoid exposure.

Given the closeted nature of activities, the earliest meeting places of the community in Portland were likely the homes of friends. One of the earliest known residences was that of Dr. Marie Equi. Dr. Equi and her partner Harriet Speckhart moved among various locations in Portland, with 415 Yamhill being the earliest known. Dr. Equi was a physician with her medical office located in the Lafayette Building at the corner of Sixth and Washington. Between 1907 and 1920, Dr. Equi and Harriet Speckhart lived in five locations migrating from the Fourth and Yamhill area to the Nortonia Hotel at the corner 11th Avenue and Stark and later the Hotel Oregon at Broadway and Stark, thereby moving closer to the office.

Another early couple lived at 384 Morrison, a block north of Dr. Equi's Yamhill residence and a block south of the Louvre Cafe. The Louvre Cafe opened in 1907 to serve gay clientele. Claude Bronner and Nathan Healey moved into the Morrison residence prior to 1910, the same general time period that Dr. Equi was living at the Yamhill location.

Numerous specialty businesses and community contact places were established during this period ranging from the medical offices at Alder and Park, to the Hotel San Marco at Washington and 11th Avenue. The earliest business cluster specializing in serving the gay community was on 3rd Avenue between Taylor and Salmon. All established in 1910, The Reed, The Rose City Club Tavern, Dinty Moore's and the Lotus Club clustered together to share gay patronage. The bars were located to enable city gays to connect with sailors docked at the waterfront.

The YMCA at the corner of Sixth and Taylor was also a popular pickup point during this period. In 1912 Police were called to the YMCA to enforce Oregon's Newly Enacted Sodomy Law and discovered a sex party in process. With the Arrest of thirteen individuals the media focused public attention on the illegal activities and reinforced a wave of anti-gay sentiment among Portland's general
Figure 16  Historic Sequence of Portland Business Starts Serving the Gay/Lesbian/Transgender Community.
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population. The new law and public attention lead to additional raids on various establishments throughout downtown. Arrested members of the Gay and Lesbian community were brought up on charges ranging from sodomy and immoral conduct to forbidden criticism of the U.S. government.

Between 1909 and 1912, eight businesses were established in Downtown Portland catering to the gay population. In the 37 years following the 1912 raid on the YMCA, only two new businesses in the City opened with the intention of serving the gay population. Lacking sanctioned establishments to locate like-minded partners, the gay community sought new places to find companionship. During this period public spaces and businesses often provided separate areas for men's and women's activities. Public parks, theaters, music halls and hotels all typically provided areas where people of the same gender could gather. These became the new contact places for many members of the gay and lesbian community after 1912.

The end of World War II brought financial difficulty to the owners of several downtown bars including the Rathskeller and the City nightclub. Several of the bars had served as prostitute pickup points for visiting sailors. This provided an attraction to pull patrons into the bar. With reduced military shore leave activity, bar owners increasingly discovered that they could compensate for the loss by providing gay and lesbian customers a place for late night meetings and entertainment.

In 1949, Dorothy Lee became Mayor of Portland based on an agenda to eliminate gambling and vice.Raids were increased on theaters and bars, giving rise to a new wave of discrimination against the gay and lesbian community. Despite the Mayor's efforts to shut down "Hang Outs for sex Perverts" the number of meeting places used by the gay and lesbian community rose during 1950. A new cluster of meeting places including the Greyhound Bus Depot and the newly opened McMahon's Bath on 4th near Washington took form, and the first newspaper for the gay and lesbian community was available at the adjacent Rich's Cigar Store. By restricting liquor licenses, raiding establishments, enforcing public hygiene standards and performing building inspections, the city and state continued to limit and close establishment serving the gay and lesbian community throughout the later part of the 1950s and into the early 1960s.

The sexual revolution and women's movement of the 1960's and 1970's served to raise public legitimacy for the community and allow community organization. Taverns such as the Tel & Tel, the Ripride and the Dahl & Penne began allowing exclusive activities close to closing time, and the Majestic Hotel and Bath opened in the Burnside triangle. During the 1960s and 1970s, 24 new business establishments opened in Downtown Portland to serve the gay and lesbian community.

3 The Keyhole Newspaper, San Francisco, April 1951.
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One-third of the new establishments were located within the Burnside triangle, while the Gay Community Center and the first gay community event were located near Morrison and 4th.

Over the course of the decade the buildings that housed many of the early community meeting places were either demolished or converted to other uses. The Burnside Triangle now provides the dominant downtown business cluster serving the gay and lesbian community, while the members of the community remain regionally dispersed and largely uncounted.

The Burnside triangle includes the area between Burnside, Washington and Park Street, and for the purposes of this project includes the O'Bryant Park open space. Historically, the site of O'Bryant Park was occupied by the Rivoli Theater and mixed-use Columbia building frequented as a meeting place of the gay community. Today, the park serves as the closest open space available to the residents and visitors of the Burnside Triangle.

In 1935, the Burnside triangle was an entertainment area containing a wide variety of uses. Of the twelve blocks within the boundary, eight blocks contained hotels typically with retail or restaurants on the ground level (Figure 17). Many of the dance halls and clubs were connected to adjacent restaurants and hotels to share patronage, and several of the clubs were located above ground level retail. Much of the building stock was nearing fifty years old, and hotels rented rooms to long-term guests.

Figure 17 Burnside Triangle Land Uses, 1935.
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In 1984, the Portland City Council initiated a process to build upon and coordinate the numerous existing policies associated with the downtown. The general goal of the plan was to build upon the downtown’s unique qualities and successes to enhance and preserve livability and economic vitality.

The Central City Plan was developed over a four-year period to incorporate the interests and concerns of numerous business and neighborhood associations and to incorporate the ideas of thousands of city residents. The study area for analysis and conceptual planning and policy development included a total of 2,750 acres (Figure 18). This area was initially sub-divided into eight districts following previous planning boundaries, to encourage the development of policies and service strategies that address local concerns while linking into a comprehensive approach. Since adoption of the Central City Plan in 1998, the boundaries of the Central City districts have been modified to include the University, River and Pearl districts, thereby allowing policies to be developed that reflect their unique nature.

The Burnside Triangle study area is located in the Downtown District, and was originally adjacent to the Northwest Triangle and Goose Hollow Districts. Under the original central city concept, the area was envisioned as a mixed-use transitional zone of historic character linking the nearby districts to the downtown core. The policies called for expanded preservation of the area’s historic buildings, encouraging development of high-density single resident housing and increasing the availability of local social and public safety services. The area was planned to be a celebrated gateway to the downtown where districts converged and land uses transitioned from a singles residential base to a medium scale commercial base supporting the downtown core.

Richard Sennet, author of Flesh and Stone, argues that these interstitial or “in between places” as the Burnside Triangle can serve as opportunity points for urban multiculturalism and social tolerance. As with the western edge of the Village in New York, below average rents allow disenfranchised groups and supporting businesses to cluster and form a safe self-supporting community. Located at the crossing to adjacent zones, these gateway districts have a tendency to become meeting places encouraging community dialogue and mixing.

5 Richard Sennet, Lecture on The Multicultural City, University of Oregon, June 1994.
In the late 1990's the areas adjacent to the Burnside Triangle were beginning to experience redevelopment pressures. In addition, plans were being developed to construct a new streetcar line through the West End of downtown connecting the housing in the northwest exposition area with the University District on the south.

Between 1997 and 2000, the West End Vision and Plan were prepared. The plan included the area between the University District, Burnside, the city Park Blocks and the I-405 Freeway. The Burnside Triangle was included within the West End planning boundaries. The objectives of the plan included strengthening connections to the surrounding districts and adapting to benefit from the proposed streetcar line, while preserving the existing affordable housing enclave.

While the policies were not necessarily developed to accommodate the issues and needs existing in the Burnside Triangle, the following will impact the residents, business and land use patterns within:

- Encourages new commercial development along the streetcar alignment and within the residentially zoned areas.
- Increases allowable development density.
- Provides streetscape improvements to enhance redevelopment attraction.

Figure 19. Downtown Development Concept, 2000.
The land use zoning in the Burnside Triangle reflects vestiges of the original Central City Plan policies. The properties west of Eleventh Avenue are zoned RXd and the properties east of Eleventh Avenue are zoned CXd. The RXd designation is central city residential intended to provide high-density residential densities and permit ground level retail and commercial to serve local residents. Under the West End Plan zoning revisions, the base floor area ratio of 6:1 can be increased to as high as 9:1, through provision of additional residential units and the use of small lot bonuses. The CXd designation is central city commercial intended to provide medium to high-density downtown office and retail, while providing development bonuses mixing residential development. As shown in figures 20-22, buildings are generally two to six stories high on parcels that generally do not exceed ¼-block square, (100’x100’) or are odd shaped. This presents challenges to consolidation and improvement. To encourage commercial densification and serve the increased market potential of the streetcar, the West End Plan provides development incentives through the transfer of housing bonus and parking rights. But, the plan excludes the Burnside Triangle from providing active ground floor uses to reinforce pedestrian activity. It was also noted in the West End Plan that the adjacent Park Blocks serve a vital role as the only public open space available to local residents and visitors.
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The demographics of the local market study area are based on the directly adjacent census tract block groups, which include; 5004, 5103, 5201, 5301 and 5302. While the data may in part reflect members of the Gay and Lesbian community, neither the U.S. Census nor the American Community Survey collect data specific to this group (Figure 23).

The demographic study area includes 229 acres and contains 1,740 residents. This provides a population density of 7.6 persons per acre, reflecting the large number of single resident occupancies and the dominant commercial character of the area. This population density is less than 50% of that recommended for transit oriented development to support a streetcar system. 6 Seventy percent of the residents that live in the area are between the ages of 20 and 49, placing the bulk of the area population in the 1950-1976 life cycle cohort range (Figure 24). The racial composition is similar to Multnomah County at large, with 84 percent White, 8 percent Black and less than 5 percent of other racial groups (Figure 25). Over 80% of the residents in the study area are single and 69% of the residents are male. When compared to Multnomah County, where 50% of the population is married and 49% of the population is male, this implies that a higher than average single male population resides in the Burnside Triangle demographic area.

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Only 17% of the residents have lived in their present home for more then five years, with over 30% of the new residents coming from other regions. This implies that either the Burnside Triangle is experiencing rapid population growth, which isn’t evident in new housing starts, or the area has a high residential turnover rate. Talking with local residents indicated that some new residents to the area use the Burnside Triangle as a stepping stone neighborhood, temporarily locating there on their way to permanently residency elsewhere.

As compared to Multnomah County, a high percentage of residents in the study appear to work locally, reflecting adequate local job availability. Forty percent of the study area residents walk or bicycle to work as compared to 5% for the County, while time to work is relatively the same with approximately 80% traveling less then 30 minutes. While local jobs appear to be available, local wages of jobs available to the residents are below the County average. Median household income of the Burnside Triangle residents ($11,586) is approximately 30% of the County median ($32,716). Comparing household income in lieu of per capita income reflects the contributing weight of housing costs.

All of the housing within the study area are rental units with 80% of the housing stock over fifty years old (Figure 26). The housing units are predominately single resident occupancies that were converted from the historic hotel stock (Figure 27). Five of the buildings within the Burnside Triangle are currently listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

Currently, the Burnside Triangle contains a diverse mix of small and large-scale establishments serving a range of local and regional customers. It contains two social service agencies, a local market, and numerous entertainment establishments, offices and retail businesses.

Since 1935, the number of establishments catering to the Gay/Lesbian/Bisexual/Transgender community has increased by approximately 300%. The picture houses and theaters that provided obscure meeting places for the community during the oppressive years of the 1930's have been substituted by numerous entertainment night spots and a resurgence in dance halls. New economy office development has replaced obsolete residential space with dot-com companies clustered around an upper floor Internet and telephone equipment warehouse. Cafes, gothic boutiques, music stores and other specialty shops have opened at ground level catering to the local single population and regional visitors.
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Figure 28 Burnside Triangle Land Uses, 2001.
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CASE STUDY FINDINGS

Interviews conducted along the business cluster on N Killingsworth and the Burnside Triangle helped give significant insight into how the businesses within each of the two separate study areas interact, are mutually supportive, and generally relate and function together. In an effort to learn about the existence of such dynamics, the interviews were designed to look for evidence of different forms of mutual support between the businesses, as well as whether or not cross-patronage is present. The most valuable theme to be expressed from these findings was the unique inter-relationship existing in this cluster and the strengths inherent to those relationships. Reflection and analysis will help guide not only how the City can work to preserve such business clusters, but show why it is valuable to do so.

N Killingsworth Findings

There were a total of eighteen businesses interviewed within the N Killingsworth cluster. They included an American restaurant, two Asian restaurants, a Mexican Restaurant, an African-American Soul Food restaurant, a coffee shop, three Asian markets, two bars, a flower shop, a discount-oriented store, an automotive repair shop, and a laundromat/tailor. The race and ethnic background of the business people interviewed was diverse, including people of African-American, Chinese, Vietnamese, Mexican, and Caucasian descent. The amount of time businesses have been open in the cluster varied from two months to seventy years. We recorded two businesses that had been open for two months, one that had been open for six months, two that had been open for two years, one that had been open for thirteen years, one that had been open for seventeen years, and one that had been open for seventy years. We also found a number of businesses that had been open for a number of years yet had new owners. One had been open for fifty years with the last two years under a new owner, another had been open for thirty years with ten years under a new owner, and another had been open for two months but had been around for twenty years prior. This gives the reader a general idea of who was interviewed; the following gives a detailed account of the kinds of findings determined as a result of the interviews.

Presence of Clusters

Many interview responses showed an active pattern and occurrence of mutual support within the cluster. One of the commonalities among the businesses was their patronage of other businesses in
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that people will be out either browsing, shopping for something specific yet likely to stop by spontaneously. Another restaurant stated that a lot of people will come to the area specifically for the retail-oriented businesses, but will make their way over to the restaurants afterward. A number of businesses, particularly restaurants and bars, stated that a large part of their clientele are "regulars" from the immediate surrounding neighborhoods, and that some of their customers patronize other restaurants and bars along the street as well. We heard from at least one business that at certain times of the day, patrons from other parts of the metropolitan region are the preponderance of the clientele. This shows evidence of clustering within the cluster, which may in fact be seen in that there is a collection of similar types of retail, restaurant, and service-oriented businesses.

Presence in Minority Communities

The above mentioned observations demonstrate the dynamics existing in the area in terms of the extent to which customers utilize more than one type of business in the cluster. Also important is the question of analysis of who customers are, where they are coming from, and what they are looking for. Related to this is a discussion of what kinds of specialized goods and services are available in the cluster, and how the clientele affects the strength and maintenance of the cluster.

Many of the businesses in this case study area appear to be oriented around serving a certain type of product, and many of them have some sort of ethnic theme. There are a variety of Asian restaurants; Chinese and Vietnamese are at least two examples. There are a number of Asian markets providing Asian food and other goods, as well as at least one Latino market, offering specialty Latino food and other goods. There are restaurants serving Mexican food, serving Asian food, serving American food (i.e. soup and sandwiches), and restaurants serving "Soul Food". In fact, there is a restaurant present that serves several different varieties of specialty foods. Many of these restaurants claimed to serve a variety of races, and noted the diverse nature of their clientele and the neighborhood in general. Other businesses in the area included retail such as furniture and discount goods; some of them appeared to be oriented around specializing in unique goods imported from Asia. Other businesses included a grocery store, an auto-repair shop, several hair and nail salons, cafes, several bars/restaurants, and a flower shop.

In speaking with some of these businesses, it became apparent that there is a perception of the area as a neighborhood in transition, and as having a changing demographic. One retail-oriented business talked about the presence of more Caucasians in the last two years, whereas before there were more African-Americans; they noted that the Hispanic presence has always been there, but is growing. One restaurant noted that their customers used to be approximately 80% Vietnamese, whereas now there appears to be more students as their clientele. They noted that business actually seemed to have
gotten better. A number of the markets and restaurants noted that they get quite a few regulars from the surrounding residential neighborhoods. Another restaurant noted that although PCC and Jefferson High School students serve as a large part of their clientele, this is not necessarily the best arrangement because they usually do not order very much and want everything to be cheaper. This business owner noted that they get White people, African Americans, Asians, and Latinos as customers. Another restaurant owner spoke of changing demographics in the neighborhood, stating that it seems like a lot of the people who work downtown are buying houses in this area, and that many of these people are well-educated and highly situated in their employment. This particular businessperson stated that these newcomers actually serve as their main clientele, because their product is desirable to this demographic, whereas many of the other restaurants in the area are not necessarily as desirable to them.

It is this changing demographic that seems to be helping the neighborhood by increasing the current customer base for many of these businesses. However, if the neighborhood were to change too dramatically, it is possible that some of these businesses may face competition from other businesses that wish to serve the new population, or may become obsolete due to the lack of variation in clientele. Also important were comments that much of the businesses' clientele are elderly people who live in the neighborhood and patronize the businesses because they can easily walk to them. The change in demographics and subsequently the potential change in businesses would affect the viability of this segment of the neighborhood’s population significantly. Important to note is that many of the businesses in the area, particularly the restaurants, have only been in the area for a relatively short period of time (anywhere from a few months to a few years). There is also evidence of the same businesses closing but then reopening. For example, one restaurant had been in the same location for over 20 years, sold the business, but then bought it back recently. Other businesses stated that: "some of the businesses around here keep opening and closing." This raises questions about the possibility that although this location is seen as ideal by small businesses because of the affordable storefront space or the availability of ideal clientele, the process of starting up and remaining open is not necessarily guaranteed with these amenities.

Another descriptor of the business cluster dynamics is how the businesses participate in events, organizations, or otherwise show support by helping either the immediate neighborhood or the larger community. One restaurant owner spoke of a desire to have the restaurant serve as a place where kids can go and feel comfortable enough to stay and study, and perhaps be able to do work on the internet. This person wanted to generally offer a theme of education, rather than have the restaurant act only as a place to eat. This business owner also participates in the International Refugee Center of Oregon's World Conference by providing food, participates in various church efforts for tutoring kids, attends meetings at the Blazers Boys & Girls Club, and wants to start a foundation to help clean
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up the streets, help cut people's grass. Another restaurant spoke of turning their restaurant into a future Community Vietnamese Christian Youth Center, where young people could gather on the weekends to have food, listen to music.

There is a certain level of formally organized neighborhood community gatherings, such as neighborhood associations. One business recalled having been to neighborhood meetings in the past, but was not aware of a regular meeting time or schedule. Another business said that although they have attended meetings, the relationship with the surrounding businesses does not go much beyond recognition. Another business stated that because they depend so much on word-of-mouth to recruit and retain clientele, they try to have a good relationship with the surrounding businesses. One restaurant was in the process of organizing and advertising an open house party for anyone in the neighborhood and beyond to attend. Another business noted that they belong to the North/Northeast Business Association. These responses indicate that the businesses' community involvement reflects individual businesses' desire to provide a community-oriented gathering place rather than showing involvement in already existing, more formalized community organizations. This is significant because it shows a desire and potential capacity within this business cluster for organizing either around a cause or for the betterment of their community.

The presence and future expansion of Portland Community College is of paramount importance to the neighborhood and its businesses. The interview comments shed light on an interesting dynamic, where the businesses recognize their dependence on PCC as a major source of clientele, yet also are becoming increasingly aware of the potential displacement that would occur with its expansion.

Many of the interview comments showed examples of how these businesses are dependent on PCC. One market noted how the students come over for snacks, cigarettes, and other items. One restaurant noted that professors, staff, and students come over to eat regularly. Another restaurant stated that PCC often has its executive meetings in their restaurant. Another restaurant said that one of the main reasons they located where they did was proximity to PCC and the potential clientele; they also noted that PCC will sometimes put out a map of the local restaurants for its students, which is very helpful in terms of advertising. Also, some of the interview participants spoke of PCC as providing facilities for neighborhood meetings.

Despite this apparent good attitude about PCC and evidence of it providing clientele, there are also issues of conflict. One issue is the factor of parking, with comments reflecting that eighty-five percent of the on-street parking is taken up by PCC students. An even bigger issue is the proposed PCC expansion. This has created a fear among many businesses that they may be forced to close or relocate. For some businesses this will potentially occur in the very near future, whereas for others it is
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a long-term issue. One business noted that PCC could be a bit more considerate, following up with the comment that some of the businesses that have recently moved in are also in spaces that are the first slated for PCC expansion. Given that some of these businesses were not aware of the potential for PCC expansion when they moved into those spaces, there is evidence of a communication gap. Another restaurant noted a feeling of being "out of the loop", having trouble keeping on top of the issues, and feeling like PCC has not necessarily been forthcoming with information. Another business noted that they would not have even known about the expansion plans if their landlord had not mentioned it to them. Many of the businesses noted that there has been talk of the potential for financial and technical assistance if they are forced to move, but that the specifics of that have never been addressed explicitly.

Assets, Concerns and Mixed Reviews

N Killingsworth Assets

- Portland Community College (PCC) provides anchor
- Cultural and racial diversity of the neighborhood
- Authentic "neighborhood feel"
- Convenient freeway access
- High level of transit service
- Affordable commercial rents
- Number of historic buildings intact
- Multnomah County Public Library
- Jefferson High School
- Peninsula Park

N Killingsworth Concerns

- Parking competition between PCC and small businesses
- Negative media images of the neighborhood
- Drug problem at intersection of N Killingsworth and Albina
- Street not cleaned often enough
- Insufficient number of garbage cans on the street
- Garbage and recycling not picked up frequently enough
- Sidewalks in disrepair
- Loitering
- Concern regarding redevelopment pressures created by MAX, PCC
Mixed Reviews

- **Light Rail:**
  - Some businesses think light rail will not help. People will just pass through the area.
  - Some business owners see the light rail line as bringing higher density housing and increasing their customer base.

- **Police Presence:**
  - Some view presence as too much: the "disconcerting, overwhelming military presence of the police that is very intimidating".
  - Some report a good partnership with police and that the Community Policing Office helps to make the street safe and reduces illegal activity.
  - Some are not aware of Community Policing Office.

There were a number of commonly perceived assets within and around the N Killingsworth focus area. Many businesses noted that the PCC campus and Jefferson High School were valuable as a customer base. The area was said to have a very authentic neighborhood feel, complemented by a diversity of culture and race. Many of the businesses saw the close freeway as a major asset, providing customers with easy accessibility. Other significant factors are the high level of transit serving the area, also increasing access to the area and the businesses. Affordability of storefront space was a key interview response to questions of the decision to locate in the area. Other amenities were the historic buildings, the public library, and Peninsula Park.

Common concerns within the area included the expansion of PCC, which may force some businesses to relocate. It will also increase the existing concern of PCC students taking up all the on street parking, making it difficult for the businesses' clientele to find parking. Garbage on the street due to insufficient garbage cans and infrequent pick-up, as well as other street-cleaning needs, were major issues. Loitering in front of the businesses was a major concern, not so much because the loiterers caused problems per se, but because they caused a safety perception problem to potential customers. Other concerns involved the issue of sidewalks being in disrepair.

Certain issues received divergent responses from interview participants. In speaking about the construction of light rail, some people thought it would be a key factor in helping increase the businesses' customer base, while others simply saw it as a mechanism for riders to pass through. The other issue that received such different responses had to do with the police presence in the area. The local community policing station was perceived by some as being valuable in alleviating problems with drugs, gangs, and other problems in the area, whereas others saw the police as an overwhelming presence. At least one participant didn't even know the station existed, pointing to a need for more community outreach efforts by the police in the area.
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Burnside Triangle Findings

Our findings in the Burnside Triangle are based on a series of interviews with business owners, managers, employees, and customers as well as field observations and a community meeting to discuss the possible formation of a Gay/Lesbian/Bisexual/Transgendered District that we attended. This approach made it possible for the team to hear from a broader array of people associated with the Burnside Triangle. Our interactions with people in the case study area were predominantly, though not entirely, with male businessmen, customers and concerned citizens. This is in part due the fact that the Burnside Triangle is primarily attracting gay men. We did talk with a few women, including a couple business owners and concerned citizens. The majority of the people with whom we spoke were of Caucasian descent.

In the Burnside Triangle, we conducted a total of eleven interviews with a variety of different types of businesses in an effort to collect a representative sample of the business composition. We were also attempting to capture evidence of interaction between them. The interviews consisted of two interviews with dance clubs managers, two interviews with bars, one with a manager one with a bartender, two interviews with restaurant owners, as well as, one interview each with a bookstore, specialty retail store, market, café, and a media arts studio.

We were able to capture opinion from the business community, customers of the Burnside Triangle and concerned citizens at a community meeting held in the Burnside Triangle at the Fez Ballroom on the evening of May 1st, 2001. The community meeting was facilitated by the Metropolitan Human Rights Center and Bureau of Planning staff, and was also attended by Portland Commissioners Francesconi and Saltzman. The purpose of the meeting was to hold a community discussion about whether a sexual minority identified district should be formed, what it should be like and whether or not it should be located in the Burnside Triangle. The second hour of the meeting was spent in small group discussion of these topics. This meeting provided us with a sample of public opinion. We heard about the strengths of the area, its value to community members, their concerns, and some visions of what a preferred district would include.

Presence of Clusters

The clustering of businesses is based on the complementary and supplementary uses that comprise an entertainment district that caters to a gay clientele. A number of the businesses have been located in the district for a longtime, some for twenty and thirty years. Many of the businesses have clustered to
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access a common customer base and facilitate cross-patronage. We found evidence that business owners and employees patronize other businesses in the area and interact socially.

The Burnside Triangle has come to be known as a destination for members of sexual minority communities, particularly gay men, and to a lesser extent, lesbians, bisexuals and the transgendered. The awareness of the informal identity of the district has attracted additional gay-owned and gay-oriented businesses. This was in part due to efforts to access a shared clientele, as well as, the low rents and tolerance by some property owners of dance clubs. At this time, the district is primarily an entertainment district, consisting of bars, nightclubs, restaurants and hotels. Through observation and customer interviews, we learned that patrons often frequent more than one of the businesses during a visit to the Burnside Triangle. Nearly all of the businesspeople with whom we spoke said that their clients also patronize other businesses in the triangle.

The district does not cater solely to a clientele of sexual minorities and extends beyond being just a night entertainment district. It includes a mix of uses, from housing to bookstores to office space. The land use inventory map located on page 37, reveals the wide array of uses and types of commercial establishments located in the Burnside Triangle. Jake's Grill, a lasting remnant of the old seafood restaurants that once occupied the area, is well known and frequented by Portlanders and tourists alike. The location decision of many of these businesses was related to other complimentary or supplementary commercial uses. For example, there are three music stores and six bookstores located within three blocks of one another, in and near the Burnside Triangle. These businesses attempt to attract the same clientele by offering similar products.

The interviews revealed anecdotal evidence of businesses recommending and helping out one another. For example, a restaurant owner mentioned that when they run out of ice, a nearby restaurant lets them use ice from their machine. More than one restaurant owner told us that many employees of nearby businesses eat at their restaurants. An employee of another commercial establishment explained that the owners and employees of the nearby clubs would stop in, make a purchase and invite him/her to their businesses. S/he spoke of making the rounds to “pay respects to the others.”

We found an example of a successful mini-cluster within the larger cluster located in a single building on the southern edge of the Burnside Triangle. Several small storefront commercial businesses are located on the ground level and small offices rent space on the floors above, including non-profit businesses. Two owners said that all the businesses mutually support each other by attracting and sharing the same clientele. The mix of small businesses, their merchandise, atmosphere and image all complement one another. We were told that this was a conscious effort of the owner to lease to a
combination of businesses that would spur business for one another. The owners and employees also purchase from one another. We found evidence of charitable support and relationship-building as well. One of the commercial businesses donated goods to a non-profit business upstairs for their meetings on a regular basis. The same employees of that business frequent the commercial business daily. There is a sense of reciprocity and camaraderie among the businesses and people in the building.

*Presence in Sexual Minority Communities*

The importance of the Burnside Triangle to sexual minority communities was voiced by business owners and customers alike. Perhaps most importantly, the Burnside Triangle offers a safe space for individuals who often feel judged, stared at, harassed, and even physically threatened elsewhere in the city. A few business owners spoke of the Burnside Triangle as a place where sexual minority groups can feel at ease, like they belong, and customer interviews reflect the same sentiment. We heard from one business owner that s/he opened in the Burnside Triangle because s/he found that there was a need for sexual minorities to go late at night where they would be accepted as they were. Another business owner said that there was informal communication among the business owners and employees to alert the others when there was an occurrence of a hate crime. It was an unspoken, agreed-upon priority to do so. They will try to relay who was involved, what happened and when, along with any other information they may have.

We found evidence of mutual support and conscious efforts to serve and strengthen the Gay/Lesbian/Bisexual/Transgendered (GLBT) community. Gay pride/rainbow stickers can be found on the windows of several commercial establishments advertising a gay owned or gay-friendly establishment. There is a formidable amount of advocacy of patronizing other sexual-minority-owned businesses to benefit the community as a whole. This is evident in the presence of a formal, sexual minority identified business association, the Portland Area Business Alliance (PABA). At least thirteen businesses in the Burnside Triangle were found listed in the Gay and Lesbian Community Yellow Pages. This business directory was often distributed by businesses in the district to promote patronage of other sexual minority-owned businesses around the region. This is an important example of minority-serving businesses networking among themselves beyond the geographic boundaries of their cluster.

Many of the businesses, including businesses that did not primarily cater to sexual minority communities, reported that they participated in or supported local community events. One businessperson mentioned that s/he decorated the store window display to correspond to the theme
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of the Pride celebration in June. Another businessperson reported examples of how they supported community events, including donations of their products to the Imperial Sovereign Rose Court and gift certificates when the Frontline Restaurant is holding a raffle. The Imperial Sovereign Rose Court is Oregon’s oldest GLBT charity organization. The community elects a new Rose Empress and Emperor each year. The title-holder becomes a major fundraiser for charities, research and non-profit organizations.

Strengthening the Clusters

With the imminent arrival of the streetcar, and redevelopment of the Pearl District and the Brewery Blocks, the near future presents the Burnside Triangle with opportunities and challenges. Many businesspeople perceive the streetcar and nearby redevelopment as benefiting their businesses and the district. Some said that it would bring more customers to the area, while others thought they would just pass through the district. Concern was expressed that the streetcar and redevelopment both threaten the affordability of the district. Business owners expressed genuine concern that their rents would rise more quickly than their profits. This is particularly true among business owners with short leases. Those business owners who had long, stable leases or who owned their buildings were less concerned with this issue.

There was support among the people with whom we talked and the participants of the Burnside Triangle Community meeting, to create a formal district acknowledging the Burnside Triangle as a gay district. Numerous participants in the community meeting expressed interest in attracting more sexual minority-owned businesses to the area and diversifying the types of commercial uses to make the district a 24-hour, “gay all day” district that served people of all ages and sexual-orientations. Meeting participants expressed a desire to see more gay-owned businesses open during the day, such as galleries, cafes, and commercial retail. While the district would be formally known as a gay district, it would welcome all people. The goal of many participants was to provide a district that celebrates sexual minorities, provides them with a safe, comfortable space, and show they are valued by society.

At the Burnside Triangle community meeting, there was discussion of making physical improvements to the infrastructure in the district. People supported hanging flags or banners along the street to identify the Burnside Triangle as a GLBT district. There was support for sidewalk expansion and improvements, better street lighting, public art, street trees, green spaces and a public square.

Not all people we heard from found such cosmetic and image improvements to the district to be crucial for strengthening the businesses. More important and of more immediate concern to them
were crime and the loitering of homeless youth and adults. These businesspeople wanted to see more police presence in the area to decrease the drug activity. There was a desire for cleaning-up the area to improve the perception and image of the district. They were concerned that the loitering of the homeless and drug activity makes customers uncomfortable. They fear it may even deter some potential customers from coming to the district.

Overall, there was a mixed reaction regarding police in the Triangle. A club manager reported seeing too many incidents where police officers used excessive force when dealing with people in the Burnside Triangle. The manager also preferred to have gay police officers on patrol in the area. The manager felt that not all officers respect him or understand him as a gay man. This acts as a barrier preventing the officers from hearing her/his concerns or giving them credence. The manager stated that gay police officers tend to understand her/his concerns and showed more respect to people in the district. Countering this position, other business people said that the relationship with the police has greatly improved over the years. Numerous people said they appreciated the police presence in their businesses and felt they increased the level of safety. Some reported a very positive relationship with the police.

Assets, Concerns and Mixed Reviews

Burnside Triangle Assets
- Affordable commercial storefronts and office space
- Central location
- High pedestrian traffic
- Proximity to NW Neighborhoods, Pearl, and Downtown
- Businesses patronizing one another
- Sexual minorities feel safe
- Low-income housing available
- 24-hour usage
- Variety of businesses present

Burnside Triangle Concerns
- Prostitution
- Presence of drugs
- Homeless people/youth
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- Use of excessive force by police officers
- Traffic safety
- Pedestrian safety
- Parking competition
- Affordable, stable building leases
- Fear about future of the neighborhood

**Mixed Reviews**

- Pearl District Development and Brewery Blocks Development, due to potential rent increases
- Central City Streetcar:
  - Some thought would increase number of customers
  - Some thought it would have no effect on shopping habits
- Housing:
  - Some residents complain regarding entertainment district noise
  - Some businesses see patronage from local residents as asset
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Findings Common to both Burnside Triangle and N Killingsworth St.

In each case study area our interviews uncovered cluster dynamics among the businesses. The businesses provided specialized goods and services to their target markets as well as general goods; they shared clientele and demonstrate mutual support of one another. The business clusters are also supportive of the minority community they served and participated in community events and made an effort to provide gathering spaces.

Important perceived assets in both places are the neighborhood diversity, the presence of historic buildings, and the availability of inexpensive storefront space. In both areas, businesses tend to rent or lease their space. Many are dependent on what they perceive as relatively inexpensive storefront space. Business people are therefore concerned about potential increases in their rent rates and about the potential loss of historic buildings in the neighborhoods. Both of these concerns are related to new development in the neighborhoods. A concern that we heard from interviewees in both areas is that the new development may create a new, updated standard for buildings in their vicinity to meet. Therefore, there may be pressure to do renovations that the small businesses may not be able to afford and this could lead to the removal or redevelopment of landmark buildings in the neighborhoods.

This concern highlights another commonality, in that there was incomplete knowledge of existing programs to help small business in both areas. For example, were not aware of current programs such as the storefront improvement grants, and others did not know how to access such programs. Also, businesses seemed to need assistance with everyday concerns such as accessing advertising sources.

The other new developments in both areas are rail projects: Interstate MAX in the Killingsworth area and the Central City Streetcar in the Triangle. We found mixed reception to these projects. Some interviewees believe that the new rail projects will bring new customers to strengthen businesses, while others expect little or no changes in their customer bases. The people that expect no change view the rail projects as taking people passing through to their destinations; they do not expect that people unfamiliar with the area will get off the train and explore or patronize local shops. A few other business people express more of a “wait-and-see” attitude towards the effects of rail.

In both areas interviewees voiced a concern regarding the parking situation. In Killingsworth, the trouble is that PCC students and staff occupy on-street spaces that would otherwise serve the small
businesses on the street. In the Burnside area, the concern was having enough parking for potential customers. In both areas, there is an abundance of transit available. Several buses serve each study area and soon rail will as well. Both have a main street appearance with mixed-use buildings and storefront retail. Both rely on a considerable amount of pedestrian traffic on their streets.

The interviewees indicated that popular perception of their neighborhoods could create a problem for businesses. For example, in the Killingsworth area, the neighborhood has a history of being a place of concern for the broader public. Consequently, today when the media mentions a problem in North or Northeast, people associate the problem with the whole sector of the City instead of realizing that the problem area may be only a small space within the large neighborhoods. In the Burnside Triangle perception problems are related more to the presence of homeless youth and adults in the neighborhood. In addition, streetscape challenges such as litter in the street or overflowing garbage cans contribute to the perception problem.

Another interesting fact is that the household incomes and rents in each area are lower than the county medians. This makes sense intuitively in the Killingsworth area, because the North and Northeast neighborhoods have traditionally housed the majority of the City’s lower-income and minority residents. This fact may be a bit misleading in the Burnside Triangle, though, because it is likely influenced by the significant number of low-income hotels and single room occupancy housing in the area. Both areas are patronized by and support their surrounding residential population as well as serving customers from the city as whole. This is particularly true in the Burnside Triangle because the minority community served comes from the whole region and the nearby residential population is not necessarily equivalent to the minority community.
RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings common to both areas have informed the recommendations that we present for the consideration of City agencies. The recommendations are designed to respond to concerns that we heard articulated in the communities and to bolster existing programs that serve small businesses and thus strengthen small business clusters and the minority communities that they serve. They also respond to the literature reviewed in that they respond to the need to build wealth within the communities, by encouraging the circulation of money throughout the communities and therefore provide opportunities and added value. They begin by recognizing the value that small business clusters serving minority communities bring to the urban area and the function that they have in anchoring a space or district associated with a minority group where members can find one another, learn from one another, and feel safe.

We have organized our recommendations into four categories. These are Baseline Data Collection and Management, Cultural Preservation and Development, Real Estate Market Strategies, and City Services. They build on existing policy such as Goal 5 (Economic Development) of the City of Portland Comprehensive Plan: “Foster a strong and diverse economy which provides a full range of employment and economic choices for individuals and families in all parts of the city.”

The recommendations recognize the importance and contribution of existing City programs such as PDC’s storefront improvement program and financial services, as well as existing resources such as PSU Business School’s technical assistance programs and organizations such as Oregon Entrepreneurs’ Forum. We intend for these recommendations, based on what we have learned from literature and interviews, to further enable the public sector to tailor existing and future programs to meet the needs of these valuable small business clusters, which serve specialized roles in our city.

BASELINE DATA COLLECTION AND MANAGEMENT

RECOMMENDATION:

INVENTORY MINORITY-SERVING BUSINESSES

Collect and maintain an up-to-date, citywide inventory of businesses serving minority communities.

This database could include an inventory of minority-owned businesses and businesses that provide goods and services oriented towards a minority community. In addition, a good baseline of data about minority-owned and -serving businesses is the first step toward tracking minority business
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development in Portland. The City of Portland Bureau of Licenses is a potential implementer of this recommendation.

RECOMMENDATION:
IDENTIFY CLUSTERS THAT SERVE MINORITY COMMUNITIES
Build upon the efforts of this study to continue identifying small business clusters that serve minority communities.

Identifying business clusters serving minority communities would help the City gain a greater understanding of their dynamics and interdependencies. It could also facilitate targeted outreach to small minority-serving businesses located in these clusters.

CULTURAL PRESERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT

RECOMMENDATION:
ADOPT POLICY STATEMENTS DECLARING THE VALUE OF SMALL BUSINESS CLUSTERS SERVING MINORITY COMMUNITIES
The value of diverse neighborhoods in Portland should be directly addressed and clearly appreciated in policy. A stated policy with active outreach and communication with assistance to community organizations such as Portland Area Business Alliance or the Oregon Association of Minority Entrepreneurs (OAME) could assist in the preservation of such neighborhoods.

RECOMMENDATION:
ENGAGE IN DIALOGUES WITH MINORITY COMMUNITIES ABOUT THE DESIRABILITY OF DESIGNATING FORMAL DISTRICTS CELEBRATING THEIR IDENTITY.
The development of formal districts is one way the City can demonstrate that minority communities and the businesses serving them are valued. It substantiates their existence and supports further development of these districts. It could serve as a catalyst for greater investment by the private sector. The establishment of these districts may also facilitate greater organization among business owners. These districts may include elements that are as simple as banners flags and gateway treatments, or as complex as design standards and zoning regulations.

REAL ESTATE MARKET STRATEGIES
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RECOMMENDATION:
CREATE, ENCOURAGE, AND REPLACE SMALL, AFFORDABLE STOREFRONT COMMERCIAL SPACE.
Small businesses serving minority communities depend on affordable retail space with high visibility to pedestrians. Redevelopment can threaten these businesses with displacement, or with the gradual loss of affordable space to rent. In addition, new retail space may be too large or expensive for locally-owned small businesses to take root. Planning and economic development interventions can be structured so as to stabilize and maintain the supply of affordable storefront commercial space.

Implementation strategies:
- Creation of small business incubators.
- Pursue historic preservation of buildings where small business clusters serving minority communities are located to retain the commercial space they are dependent upon.
- Adopt a policy of “no net loss” of small, affordable storefront commercial space where small business clusters serving minority businesses exist.
- Zoning regulations that require replacement of existing small retail space with new retail space of similar size after new development occurs.
- Development of cooperatively owned or protected buildings with ground-floor retail designated for small business (similar to a community land trust, or cooperative housing ownership).

RECOMMENDATION:
DEVELOP AND IMPLEMENT PROPERTY OWNERSHIP STRATEGIES
The majority of the businesses we interviewed do not own the building or space they occupied. However, many interviewees cited affordability as a major factor in their location decision. Helping more minority-serving small businesses attain ownership would help insulate them from rising rents and real estate market instabilities common in neighborhoods experiencing or located near gentrification. It would also encourage greater investment in site improvements by owners.

Implementation strategies:
- Buyer assistance programs targeted to small business owners to facilitate the purchase of commercial/mixed use properties.
- Develop Community Business Corporations (CBC), similar to Community Development corporations (CDC).
- Establish non-profit organizations to manage business community land trusts.
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CITY SERVICES

RECOMMENDATION:

FOCUS TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND OUTREACH EFFORTS ON SMALL BUSINESSES SERVING MINORITY COMMUNITIES

Helping businesses connect to technical assistance support services makes the services more useful and better utilized. Often, businesspeople are not aware of available programs or do not know how to access existing services. There is a need for greater linkage between providers of existing programs and business owners.

Implementation strategies:

- Further promote existing technical assistance programs and expand outreach to recruit minority participation (for example, provide materials other languages such as Spanish, Russian, or Vietnamese).
- Prepare a pamphlet listing existing resources and how to access them and send to targeted recipients as well as other small businesses in the city.

RECOMMENDATION:

PROVIDE ASSISTANCE WITH AND EXPEDITE CITY PERMITTING AND APPROVAL PROCESSES

Many businesses we spoke with indicated that expedited permitting and assistance with permit applications would greatly facilitate business growth. Targeted outreach to minority-serving and owned businesses, including application materials in other languages, could ease the permitting process for proprietors.

RECOMMENDATION:

EXPAND AND DEVELOP MARKETS

All of the small businesses we interviewed had a mix of customers from nearby neighborhoods and from throughout the region. More housing close to the businesses could expand the local market for their goods and services, while promotion of the small businesses could attract minority patrons from a broader market throughout the region and beyond. In addition, both clusters we looked at had very high levels of transit service and freeway access. This high level of regional accessibility is an asset that could be more fully capitalized upon to bring more patrons to the clusters.

Implementation strategies:
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- Develop mixed-income, medium- and high-density housing near business clusters serving minorities. This strategy could include housing that allows members of the community to remain in close proximity to the business cluster as they age.
- Promote Portland's minority business clusters and minority-identified neighborhoods throughout the region and to newcomers/visitors, for example, advertising them in visitor guides.
- Provide marketing assistance designed to promote businesses in local and regional markets.
- Implement transportation demand management, innovative parking strategies and commerce-linked transit to bring more customers to the businesses in the clusters. This strategy could include a program in which businesses provide customers with free transit tickets when they make a purchase of a certain amount. This would be similar to a parking validation program.

RECOMMENDATION:
IMPLEMENT TRANSPORTATION DEMAND MANAGEMENT AND RETAIL-SUPPORTIVE PARKING STRATEGIES

The parking concerns that interviewees voiced could be addressed via transportation demand management (TDM) programs in both areas. An important component for the N. Killingsworth area would be to give PCC the responsibility for ensuring that its students and staff do not park on the streets of the neighborhood. In addition, in the Burnside area, some of the intersections are locations of frequent traffic accidents. Improving the safety of those intersections and thereby encouraging pedestrian traffic would help to alleviate the safety problem.

In areas that do not have metered on-street parking, long-term parkers can absorb on-street parking that might otherwise be used by retail patrons. Implementing parking supply restrictions could ensure greater turnover of on-street parking, thereby increasing the availability of convenient parking for the patrons of small businesses.

Implementation strategies:
- Providing monitored two-hour restricted parking for on-street parking
- Encourage Burnside district patrons to park at areas underutilized in the evenings and take transit, such as the new Central City Streetcar, into the heart of the Triangle.
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CONCLUSION

The purpose of our project is to identify ways in which public actions can strengthen Portland's minority communities by strengthening the business clusters that serve them and thus build on existing City policy and programs. Our project identified a tentative definition of business cluster, sought to identify such clusters, and learn about their dynamics. We looked at literature in related topic areas and rested the large part of our study on talking with the businesses and their patrons to verify the existence of clusters as we defined them and to learn about their strengths and concerns as they identified them.

In our discussions with interviewees, we found that small business clusters serving minority communities exist, that they are located in close proximity, share customers who often walk between them, sometimes purchase goods from one another, and usually exhibit a network of support among them. These clusters contain mutual dependencies and are adapted to serve minority community members as well as a diverse public in general. They add value to the city and the region by contributing diversity and specialized goods and services in addition to general goods. They anchor an area that allows for members of the minority community to express their cultural identity, and often they intentionally try to create a space that is safe and welcoming for members of the community. The general public then benefits from exposure to diversity and from strengthened contributions to the city from members of minority groups.

An important aspect of our findings is that these specialized communities have small businesses whose needs are not likely to be very different from small businesses serving other communities in the city. Concerns are about rent, level of patronage, physical environment in the immediate area. Many of the businesses we spoke with could benefit from assistance regarding technical issues and information regarding available resources. Where these minority communities may differ is in a need for specialized outreach to increase understanding of existing programs and resources, given language barriers and comfort levels in contacting City agencies. This is particularly true of ethnic minority communities as in our Killingsworth Street study area. Therefore, a small business liaison can act to strengthen these communities with basic strategies likely to be employed for the wider population of small businesses. Targeted outreach and education should be an aspect of this person's strategy and should be directed at any community that may have difficulty accessing current programs and resources.

Our work adds to existing efforts to build communication with actors in minority communities. We guided our conversations with the set of general questions included in Appendix B of this document.
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We received a generally positive response, and found the interview guide to be quite effective in the two very different communities of our study areas. We have thus shown that a general path of inquiry will lead to useful results in very disparate communities. Our conversation guide can continue to be developed by others and can be employed in the future for parallel projects that build on our work. One of our key recommendations is to continue the dialogue so that the public sector can learn more about the dynamics of these clusters. This will allow community members to express their ideas and perceived needs and facilitate the City to pass on knowledge of existing resources.

Dialogue will also facilitate the City and the public recognizing the value of these clusters and their assets, to continue identifying valuable clusters which serve distinct communities within the region. An important aspect of this dialogue will be to try to connect businesses with similar interests to one another and ensure resource-sharing and networking within clusters or even across clusters. Some organizations already exist to facilitate such networking among businesses, such as Oregon Association of Minority Entrepreneurs and the Oregon Entrepreneurs Forum. A role of the public sector can be to connect businesses in identified clusters with these resources and help them build local organizations as well. This can help build capacity in the communities and make the process of continuing a dialogue easier for the City. Communicating with key contacts in neighborhood business associations, or occasionally attending meetings with them is certainly less resource-intensive than the door-to-door canvassing that our group has done.

We began this project with an assumption that these communities contain value for the city, presuming that difference among people and variety within communities is important to the fabric of the city as a whole. Moreover, strong minority communities add opportunity for new perspective, experience, and knowledge to enrich the lives of the majority of urban residents. We thought that these communities are likely to be anchored and supported by small businesses that cluster to serve the population. We found confirmation of all these ideas in our interviews with businesses and their patrons as well as in the literature that we studied. We hope that these facts become a part of the policy base that the City agencies and other organizations work from.

The majority of businesses that we spoke to in each area are main street type businesses providing retail, services, and entertainment, which can be easily accessed by foot and transit. They were specialized only in that some of the kinds of products and services to their populations. Since the development of main streets with exactly these sorts of opportunities is a vital component of the vision for the Portland region, it is important to nurture existing businesses that provide such an environment. A further component of the vision could be to ensure that some of those main streets provide specialized products and services to support minority communities. Attention to this
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component of the vision would add to the opportunities available within our urban area and further strengthen its attractiveness and livability for its current and future residents.
APPENDIX A: PROJECT GROUP

APRIL BERTelsen is a staff assistant in the Transportation Planning at the Portland Office of Transportation. The focus of her planning career is bridging the technical and analytical aspects of planning and public involvement in the planning process. She takes a strong interest in advocacy planning. In her current position, Ms. Bertelsen has been involved in the development of the North Macadam Transit and Parking Strategy Technical Report, Tacoma Main Street Plan, Far SE and SW Master Street Plan, and the Lents 2040 visioning/planning process lead by the Portland Development Commission (PDC). Prior to this, Ms. Bertelsen assisted in a TRANSIMS funded research project conducted by Metro’s Travel Forecasting Section that entailed collecting raw data, managing it in a database and conducting some analysis. Ms. Bertelsen earned her Bachelor of Arts in Religious Studies at Lewis & Clark College. She served two years in Americorp with the “I Have a Dream” Foundation in Portland. Currently, April Bertelsen is nearing completion of a Master’s of Urban and Regional Planning at Portland State University.

JACOB BROSTOFF received community and economic development professional training from the University of Oregon, and is completing a Masters of Urban and Regional Planning from Portland State University. He has worked on economic development visioning for the City of Saint Helens, Oregon and currently works as Transportation Advocate for 1000 Friends of Oregon. Formerly, he advised Portland City Commissioner Jim Francesconi on planning, transportation and sexual minority issues, helped develop the City of Portland Transportation System Plan, and worked in land use, environmental, recreation and economic development planning in the City of St. Helens. In 1999, Jacob co-authored the West End Study with Portland State University Masters of Urban and Regional Planning students and Michael Harrison, FAICP. He is currently employed as the Transportation Advocate for 1000 Friends of Oregon.

LUCIA RAMIREZ grew up in Portland, Oregon. She has received her Bachelor of Arts in Sociology and Environmental Studies from Whitman College in Walla Walla, Washington. During college she had several internships in which she studied growth management techniques for Walla Walla County, provided key public communication to implement bicycle and pedestrian advocacy in the transportation planning process in Idaho, and worked with the Forest Service in Washington, DC. Recently, she spent the summer doing planning research for the Port of Portland, Oregon and currently works for the City of Portland's Urban Services Program. She is nearing completion of her Master's of Urban and Regional Planning at Portland State University.
ANGIE SHIBLEY is a Portland, Oregon native, having grown up in the Tualatin area, and later living and working in other parts of the region. She obtained her undergraduate degree in 1998 from Portland State University, majoring in both Community Development and Political Science. Currently she is a Master of Urban & Regional Planning student at Portland State University, specializing in Land Use and Community Development as key areas of interest within the field. Key internship work related to this project involved working with the Association for Portland Progress, where she was involved in community education and involvement of small businesses during the West End planning process.

ERNEST TIPTON is currently employed by Portland State University as a Project Manager, specializing in development planning and budgeting. Ernest holds a Master’s of Architecture degree with an undergraduate Minor in Urban Studies and Planning and is nearing completion of a Master’s Degree in Urban and Regional Planning. In 1998, he received joint grants from the University of Oregon and the Washington State Energy Council to present a paper on strategies for Community Building through Redevelopment. This project builds on that base of research and extends it to examine the impacts of urban intervention and change on local minority business clusters.
Appendix B: Survey Instrument

Interview Questions for Business Owner or Contact

to

Location:
1. When did you open your business?
2. How did you decide to locate here?
3. What is good about your present location?
4. What would your ideal location provide?
5. How far do you live from your place of work?

Clustering:
6. Are there nearby businesses that serve the same people?
7. Does being close to these businesses benefit your business?
8. Do you purchase from nearby businesses, or do they purchase from you?

Clientele:
9. What do your customers have in common?
10. Has your client base changed over time? How?

Business and Community Networks:
11. What community events (i.e. street festivals, parades, open air markets) do you participate in?
12. Are there any businesses in the area that serve as a community gathering spot?
13. What organizations do you belong to (local business association, professional association)?

Business Health:
14. What is good for business?
15. What is bad for business?

Description of Business:
16. Is this your only location?
17. How many employees do you have at this location?
18. Does a person of color, woman, or sexual minority own this business?

Survey Questions for Customers
1. What other businesses do you visit in this area?
2. How far do you travel to this business?
3. How did you decide to come to this business?
APPENDIX C: ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Minority-serving Business Cluster Patterns as Economic Assets


This document summarizes national data for businesses throughout the U.S., including a significant amount of information about minority owned businesses. In addition to giving a lot of data about small business and minority business, it shows relationships, patterns, and trends that although are national in scope and much more exhaustive use of data than our project encompasses, serves as applicable information.


This book discusses the concept of the “multiplier effect”, illustrating how if dollars are spent within the community by the community, each transaction creates wealth within that community. Such a pattern of investment strengthens businesses within the community, works to find and strengthen existing assets within the community, creates the capacity for people to work together toward the common good (social capital); essentially the locality is strengthened both economically as well as socially through this process.

Social Capital and Community Development


This book offers a significant amount of information about the varying functions a neighborhood or locality serves for those existing within it. As our project focuses on two specific places and the inter-relationships existing within and around them, information helping in reflection about how a set of uses or an area centered around functioning as a place or as a destination is very useful and relevant.
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Community Economic Development

Flora, Cornelia Butler and Jan L. Flora (1993). Entrepreneurial Social Infrastructure, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, The, 529, 48-58. American Academy of Political and Social Science. This is an article concerned with issues of social infrastructure as a mechanism toward strengthening localized communities. It states “as more responsibility is placed on localities to solve their challenges of maintenance and development, we need to examine what type of social infrastructure is most propitious for economic development at the community level” (p. 51). The types of material that may be useful to our project involve the following kinds of ideas; “The third resource-related characteristic of entrepreneurial social infrastructure is willingness to invest private resources locally. Enterprises in entrepreneurial communities are able to obtain both debt and equity capital locally. Individuals in entrepreneurial communities are also willing to contribute non-monetary capital, in the form of physical and human resources, to enterprises that are anticipated to benefit the community. Such capital may then be used to leverage outside capital and investment, but the initial self-investment means greater degree of local control and flexibility” (p 56). These types of strategies may be useful in developing our toolkit of strategies for strengthening localized small business clusters.


This article discusses the concept of utilizing the similar structure of a Community Development Corporation in a new way – that of a Community Business Corporation. The concepts are similar in their localized focus, use of assets, and promotion of community ownership and involvement. The author claims that such a model would be different than both a traditional corporation, as well as the traditional community-oriented cooperative, as these both represent the good of their specific members rather than the local community needs in general. Rather than success based on profit for shareholders or owners, the goal of the enterprises belonging to the CBC are much more community-
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minded, having localized strengthening goals such as creating sustainable jobs. The article provides case studies in Canada, Spain, and Italy where such a model has been executed successfully.


This is a work that discusses varying models and strategies for cities to engage in strengthening their localized economies. It gives valuable insight into the implementation of community-oriented development strategies, offering realistic, politically feasible ways to go about such processes.

Planning, Community, and Identity


This book deals primarily with the experiences of sexuality in the city. The editors' goal is to present a set of essays that inform our thoughts about the ways in which the spatial and the sexual constitute one another. They also want to contribute to the recognition of sexuality as an important aspect of geography and make it clear that space is a production of people's actions. The first leads off the discussion by presenting the sexed body as a social construction that is in need of explanation, rather than a given. The body is an aspect of its context, understood in its social and cultural setting. This leads directly to the author's idea that identity is a performance. It is a required performance, and the performance required is dependent on the current context, including spatial context.


The editors have collected a group of essays that demonstrate their belief that the everyday lived experience of the city is what is important. People's ordinary activities and interactions can define spaces and show what cannot be designed by planners and instead needs to find its own urban form in time through repetition and memory. We should recognize that urban design is not absolutes, instead each instance or place has many meanings, interpretations, and lived experiences within. The political is also rooted in lived experience and in public space. New interpretations/performances in public space can contribute to new interpretation of how democracy can and should work.

This book deals with the boundaries of places, how they are interpreted and what happens when those boundaries are crossed by unexpected persons or behaviors. The author intends to show that places are social spaces where there are specific expectations and that meaning is not inherent in places, rather these are created, reproduced, and defended largely through expectations of behavior. He defines ideology as involving the constitution and patterning of how humans live as conscious participants in a meaningful world. He argues that the expectations about behavior in place are important aspects of the construction and evolution of ideological values and he uses a series of stories to demonstrate the relationships between place and power and how place meanings are created and maintained.


This article discusses queer communities of the Castro District in San Francisco and Asheville, NC, their history, role and dynamics. It then considers whether or not these spaces are equally safe for the smaller gender variant population. This population is a difficult one to reach because it is a smaller sub-population within the queer population and historically a less visible one. Thus, they are often excluded from legislation and political movements to address gay and lesbian concerns.


The authors present their idea of adapting the idea of the “transect,” a line directly across space such as a landscape which crosses a variety of environments along its path, to planning. In this application the lines would represent a rural to urban continuum. Planning codes should be amended to accommodate this kind of planning for continued variation. Benefits would include a greater integration between human settlements and their natural environment and more allowance for diversity and change over time.


This is a collected work of essays that deal with a variety of types of difference in urban areas. The editors’ goal is to show how attention to difference has contributed to the way contemporary geographers think about city spaces and the lives of urban residents. The essays included are to depict how identity, power, and place are wrapped up together. The editors want to present a perspective
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that they call a "located politics of difference." This perspective is to enable examination of how such social and spatial specificity can influence power structures. They argue that identity and thus difference are not givens, instead they are socially produced, and that it is important to situate theories and stories of difference in their spatial contexts. This text describes many properties of place, meaning, and identity. The essays demonstrate that places both enable and require the performance of given identities. Identities are defined as individuals' understandings about themselves that shape the meanings that they perceive, which in turn shape their actions and practices.


This article discusses the importance of a gay commercial district to the gay community locally and beyond using the example of the French Quarter in New Orleans. These districts enable public space to be identified with the community it serves and thus creates a space where gay culture is welcome and appreciated. Gay men and transgendered men can feel safe in expressing their identity. Further, the creation of such visible spaces contributes to the community members' ability to be visible to one another and allows gay identity, history, and experience to be developed and shared.

Massey, Doreen (1994). Space, Place, and Gender Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press

This book builds a theory of gender experience in urban areas. It begins with an economic focus, discussing how economic changes affect localities then builds to the relationship between place and identity, and finally directly addressing gender identities in space in the final section of the book. The author demonstrates that as people achieve their identities through interrelationships and interconnections with others, so do places. Defining a space is trying to hold its current meaning stable over time. Her purpose is to show that space and place are defined by social relationships and are connected with gender and the construction of gender relations and to describe the relationship between concepts of space and place and aspects of their relationship with gender.


The author offers a critique of modernist rational planning and offers an outline for future planning creativity that responds to the new levels of difference in our cities. Her recommended foundation for planning is rooted in multiculturalism and acknowledgement of many ways of knowing. It requires less comprehensive planning and more negotiated, political, and focused planning and the acknowledgement of multiple publics. She further recommends that planning acknowledge its true
domain of study and activity, which is not addressing static spatial problems, but rather addressing a broad set of socio-spatial processes.


Using a biological analogy Sennett provides a historical evaluation of how urban organization patterns in western cultures have at times consciously and unconsciously impacted social discourse. Using comparisons he illustrates the importance of reinforcing diversity through planning policies and subsequent urban form in order to maintain a healthy society that can continue to flourish and evolve. Sennett explains that urban seams and nodes that connect multiple zones within a city play a critical role that can be likened to a biological immune system. In an unhealthy society these connecting conduits can become unclaimed territory separating or being absorbed into discrete dominate zones within the city. Through positional rivalry the natural forces of the safety of the known and the security of sameness can serve to diffuse and neutralize alternative voices and support social polarization. In healthy societies, these “in-between” places of ambiguity have often been occupied by alternative enclaves and served as transitional bridges between discrete zones and groups. When occupied by alternative groups these arbitrated zones become diverse common ground for idea exchange, which reinforces the synergy of the urban body as a whole.

**Main Street and Business Improvement District Development**


Provides professionals and grassroots organizers a systematic and detailed approach to revitalizing local business districts, increasing competitiveness and business retention. The method has been tested nation-wide and is a comprehensive approach for strengthening business clusters through:

- The organization of local business owners and stakeholders
- The (cooperative) restructuring of local economic resources
- The positive promotion of local shopping
- The preservation and improvement of local storefronts and urban character

The approach is not intended to be a "quick fix". It requires at least a three-year commitment by local leadership business owners to establish the building blocks for incremental change and a means to integrate a leadership training process. As a guide, it assists leaders in assessing their own assets and tailoring strategies to build upon them, as well as providing a contact network for additional support.
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Explains the concepts and principles of forming a business improvement district (BID), whereby local business owners can collectively target publicly collected funds to address local business concerns. As a long-term funding mechanism, BID’s give local business owners control over local economic resources, while avoiding the free-ride issue. But, at the same time, added administrative costs are associated with assessment collection and transfer. Through numerous case studies and general discussion this resource covers organization, environmental scanning, establishment and tracking goals and objectives, budgeting and financing structures, management structures and potential BID projects to address commonly encountered business challenges.

Qualitative Methods


This text introduces and describes many techniques for successfully acquiring research data from interviews of individuals. It discusses tools and tactics and how to decide who to interview, when to use interviews, and how to analyze the data. It also contains detailed description of the interview process and offers advice on how to manage the conversation and reach the data required for the research goals.


This article is the report of a study of a niche market of firms who specialize in the redevelopment of brownfield sites. However, on another level, it is also a discussion of the successful use of interview techniques as a primary data-gathering method in a research study. It discusses the interview process, how interviews lead to one another, and how to utilize complementary data sources and build all of these into a credible research study. It also offers an example of how to report the results of such a study.
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