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# Black and Green: How Disinvestment, Displacement and Segregation Created the Conditions For Eco-Gentrification in Portland's Albina District, 1940-2015

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Black and Green:  
How Disinvestment, Displacement and Segregation created the conditions for  
Eco-Gentrification in Portland's Albina District, 1940-2015

By  
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## Abstract

The historically African American Albina District of Portland, Oregon holds a long track record of neighborhood neglect, devaluation and displacement of poor residents by private real estate companies and city government. Devaluation in the area was the direct result of discriminatory real estate policies and mid-twentieth century urban renewal projects. Starting in the 1990s, the City of Portland passed revitalization measures to increase private investment in the neighborhood. Since then, few historians have tackled studies of recent sustainability-oriented gentrification resulting from revitalization.<sup>1</sup> Though contemporary works in urban studies at Portland State University have looked at revitalization and subsequent **ecological gentrification** in the area, the history of gentrification in Albina needs more attention.<sup>2</sup> **Ecological gentrification** can be defined as an environmental planning agenda that leads to the displacement or exclusion of the most economically vulnerable human populations while espousing an environmental ethic.<sup>3</sup>

Using archival documents, public histories, social histories, newspaper articles, census data and works in urban studies, first this study analyzes residential segregation, displacement, and disinvestment over a 50-year period (1940-1990). This 50-year period provides adequate context for examining sustainability-oriented real estate projects, rising rents, as well as changing racial and socioeconomic demographics over a 25-year period (1990-2015). Since the Vanport Flood in 1948, post-war urban renewal projects, segregationist redlining policies, unscrupulous mortgage lenders and city-initiated revitalization efforts have formed the conditions for Albina's recent wave of ecological gentrification. The issue here is not environmentalism itself, but rather the way in which

environmentalism can be used to justify social and economic inequalities brought upon by new development.

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### Introduction

After many years of living outside Oregon, Albina designer and grassroots developer Roslyn Hill spoke at a City Club of Portland meeting where she was asked to discuss community and the arts.<sup>4</sup> Instead, Hill told a personal and powerful story:

I was born in Vanport, which no longer exists. I lived in a house on Vancouver Avenue that no longer exists. I moved into a house that was torn down to build Memorial Coliseum. I went to a Catholic day care on the corner of Graham and Williams that no longer exists. The first grade school I attended, where Lloyd Center is now, no longer exists... what if you wanted to take your children or grandchildren around to show where you grew up, and you had nothing to show? ... when there is no evidence of your past, what this says to you, to your family and your community, is that you have no value. You've been removed, not only physically and mentally, but culturally.<sup>5</sup>

The Albina District, where Hill grew up, encompasses multiple inner-Northeast and North Portland, Oregon neighborhoods; including Lloyd, Boise, Eliot, Irvington, King, Vernon, Sabin, Humboldt and Woodlawn. These neighborhoods are located along major North-South thoroughfares – such as Interstate 5, North Williams Avenue and Martin Luther King Boulevard (formerly Union Ave). Today the Albina District, as with most of Portland's inner city, looks very different than it used to. Since 1993, city-revitalization efforts initiated through the Albina Community Plan (ACP) have increased economic investment in the area. Rising property values, rising rents and renewed access to light-rail public transportation buttressed economic growth in the area.<sup>6</sup> The development of LEED-certified condos, retail hubs and high-end grocery chains reflect a

significant socio-economic demographic change within this once highly segregated and devalued area of Portland.<sup>7</sup>

Three historical periods inform this study, in addition to one brief section on pre-war African American housing, employment and discrimination. The first period (1940-1948) shows the growth of Portland's African American community at Vanport City and along Williams Avenue, as increasing numbers of African Americans came to Portland's Kaiser Shipyards in search of work in wartime industries. The second period (1948-1990) shows the aftermath of the 1948 Vanport flood, when thousands of African American Portlanders were left homeless. In the second half of the 20th century, Portland's African American community struggled to recover from the Vanport Flood. Urban renewal projects bulldozed entire communities with construction of Memorial Coliseum and the expansion of Emanuel Hospital. In addition, redlining policies made it difficult for African American Portlanders to buy homes outside Albina, though a few families were successful in buying homes directly from sellers instead of being denied by a discriminatory lending agent.<sup>8</sup> Infrastructure projects such as Interstate 5 demolished homes that once ran along North Minnesota Avenue. Subsequently, unscrupulous lenders led first-time homebuyers into bad mortgage deals, meanwhile crime rates rose and home prices continued to fall. During the 1980s, the situation in Albina only got worse. Absentee landlordism, gang violence, unscrupulous lenders, and lack of investment left some Albina residents with no choice but to leave.

To give contemporary context, the third period (1990-2015) encompasses development since the adoption of the Albina Community Plan in the early 1990s. The plan brought a rapid influx of capital into Albina, which significantly altered the

socioeconomic and racial demographics of the district. This focus contextualizes recent eco-gentrification so that future historians can understand the worries formerly working class, majority-African American communities hold about various forms of gentrification -- whether gentrification is rooted in segregation, disinvestment or environmental ethics. Urban League of Portland has reported that the Black community worries about housing, rising rents and displacement as a result of the gentrification process.<sup>9</sup> In the last 25 years, Albina has been reconstructed for a new population of wealthy, white urbanites. Some developers see no problem with eco-friendly luxury apartments, expensive boutiques and overpriced restaurants morphing Albina into an ecotopia that has never historically existed. Several city officials have been on board as well. Susan Anderson, head of the Bureau for Planning and Sustainability admitted the city's profit motive in an interview with *Grist Magazine*. "We're not doing [sustainability] just to be altruistic. Part of the reason we're doing a lot of this: there's money to be made, to be crass."<sup>10</sup>

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### I. Crossing The Bridge (1887-1940)

Albina began as a company town for the Union Pacific Railroad in 1887, shortly before annexation by the City of Portland in 1891.<sup>11</sup> Irish, German, Scandinavian and Polish working class immigrant families built a majority of Albina's first homes.<sup>12</sup> In 1913, after the opening of the Broadway Bridge, African Americans began migrating into the Eliot neighborhood.<sup>13</sup> Before construction of the bridge, Portland's small African American population of about eight hundred lived in a neighborhood called 'coontown,' a run-down district adjacent to the railroad station at Union Station in Northwest Portland.<sup>14</sup> Between 1910 and 1940, African American Portlanders moved east across the

Broadway Bridge.<sup>15</sup> This marked the first influx of African Americans to the Albina District, predominantly along Williams Avenue, which contained the oldest and poorest housing in the city.<sup>16</sup>

In 1919, The Portland Realty Board responded to the increasing number of Black residents by adopting a “code of ethics,” limiting Blacks from buying homes in white neighborhoods. A stipulation of the code proclaimed it “unethical for an agent to sell property to either Negro or Chinese people in a white neighborhood.”<sup>17</sup> The State of Oregon made it difficult for African Americans to coexist with whites, particularly due to Oregon’s Black Exclusion Laws—which restricted African Americans from residing permanently in Oregon prior to 1926.<sup>18</sup> The code of ethics allowed lenders to deny African Americans home loans, which they already practiced under Black Exclusion Laws. In addition, the code contributed to a process known as redlining.<sup>19</sup>

Creation of the Home Owners’ Loan Corporation (HOLC) in 1933 spurred redlining nationally during the 1930s and 1940s.<sup>20</sup> The agency was initially established by FDR to make low-interest, self-amortizing mortgages for a million homeowners who had gone into default during the Great Depression. In 1935, HOLC’s partner organization, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board (FHLBB) drew up security maps in 239 cities, including Portland, to assess real estate risk levels. The ranking system ranged from a first grade, or “A” rating, to a fourth grade “D” rating.<sup>21</sup> Neighborhoods with fourth grade ratings typically held older housing stock, poor tenants and high concentrations of African Americans, considered by the HOLC to be “hazardous.”<sup>22</sup> Portland’s 1938 HOLC security map shows a fourth grade ranking for North Williams Avenue, south of Going Street and north of Holladay Street. At the time, it was where

Portland's African American community was concentrated.<sup>23</sup> Lenders could count on Portland City Officials to use The Portland Realty Board code and the official status of HOLC security maps to legally legitimize funneling Portland's small Black community into Lower Albina.

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## II. The Growth of Vanport and The Great Influx (1940-1948)

Portland's concentration and total number of African Americans changed dramatically with the growth of wartime industries. In 1940, fewer than 2,000 African American residents made up the city's total population of 340,000.<sup>24</sup> Between 1941 and 1943, 15,000 to 20,000 African-Americans arrived in Portland looking for work at Henry Kaiser's wartime shipyards.<sup>25</sup> African American migrants from the southern United States hoped to double or triple their wages and work fewer hours than what they would have earned working in the South.<sup>26</sup> The reality was quite the opposite. Many African American shipyard workers balanced two jobs in order to stay financially afloat.

By the end of 1942, 6,000 African American migrants settled in the increasingly overcrowded Williams Avenue district of Albina.<sup>27</sup> Existing African American residents shared their homes with some of the incoming shipyard workers, while others "slept in automobiles, churches, movie theaters, and taverns."<sup>28</sup> Before 1942, little effort had been made by the newly formed Housing Authority of Portland to deal with the increasing need to provide housing for incoming African Americans.<sup>29</sup> Henry Kaiser's construction of Vanport City temporarily resolved Portland Housing Authority's inability to provide wartime housing. Funding for construction of Vanport City came from federal funds provided under the 1937 United States Housing Act.<sup>30</sup>



Historian Manley Maben argues that World War II saved Oregon from the “economic doldrums” of the 1930s, added to the diversity of the population, increased the role of the federal government in family life, and disrupted family and community life, Vanport reflected each of these factors.<sup>31</sup> Despite increasing the diversity of Portland’s population, African American migrants who resided in Vanport faced workplace discrimination, de facto segregation, low wages and homes with structural deficiencies.<sup>32</sup> Homes where African Americans resided lacked adequate heating, furnaces often caught fire, and many Vanport residents had problems with rats, cockroaches and bedbugs.<sup>33</sup> Michael McCusker, a resident of Vanport, referred to the homes as “crackerbox houses strung together fast and cheap.”<sup>34</sup> In addition, inadequate housing and workplace discrimination from the local shipyard boilermaker’s union limited the variety of jobs Portland’s growing African American labor force could be employed.<sup>35</sup>

Between 1942 and 1945, shipyard employment and housing at Vanport provided African American newcomers with relative economic security during wartime. However, according to Maben and McElderry, 5,500 African American shipyard workers (roughly one third of the total African American population in Portland) lost their jobs with the shutdown of wartime industries in 1945.<sup>36</sup> Layoffs led to some African American families leaving Portland. The large majority however, were dependent on public housing provided at Vanport due to slim job opportunities.<sup>37</sup> Most white residents of the city left for employment opportunities elsewhere, creating a high concentration of African Americans at Vanport in the years after the war.<sup>38</sup> While 18 percent of the Vanport population were African American in 1945, the African American population grew to 33 percent by 1948.<sup>39</sup>

As the shipyards closed, “many Black families who could not crowd into Albina, either due to lack of resources or the inability to find housing, remained in Vanport and Guild’s Lake.”<sup>40</sup> As African American families remained, HAP deliberated over plans to dismantle Vanport and Guild’s Lake altogether.<sup>41</sup> HAP Chairman Chester E. Moores kept information about their planned “elimination” of Vanport from the press.<sup>42</sup> Many city officials such as Moores believed new African American residents would leave after wartime industries halted production, so that HAP could clear Vanport for industrial development.<sup>43</sup> Neglect from HAP, poor construction, combined with a faulty railroad dike, sealed the fate of Vanport City on Memorial Day, 1948. As a result of the flood, 18,500 Vanport residents were left homeless, and thousands of African Americans moved into Lower Albina where.<sup>44</sup> Hundreds of Vanport residents died with days of the disaster.

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### III. Absolute Neglect and Active Destruction (1948-1990)

Between 1948 and 1990, many significant changes occurred in the Albina District. As African Americans were funneled into a limited geographical space, property values declined and urban renewal projects displaced residents. Some of the key features of this period in Portland, as well as the rest of the country, include the growth of the post-war automobile suburbs, the economic decline of the historic inner-city and the growing emphasis on urban renewal in poor African American neighborhoods deemed “blighted” by local and federal governments.<sup>45</sup> In between the Vanport flood and the City of Portland’s implementation of the Albina Community Plan in 1993, the racial and economic situation in Albina got progressively worse.<sup>46</sup>

Rather than call attention to structural inequities in housing, the flood only intensified housing segregation further.<sup>50</sup> While white flood victims scattered all over the city, most African American flood victims ended up living close to Williams Avenue, which was becoming increasingly overcrowded.<sup>51</sup> Several civil rights organizations including Urban League of Portland and the NAACP tried to use the disaster as a public calling to dismantle discriminatory realty and landlord policies.<sup>52</sup> However, their efforts were dismissed by city officials and the real estate establishment. Dorothy McCullough Lee, Portland's newly-elected and reform-minded mayor, tried changing HAP into a more publicly active agency after the war, but was blocked multiple times by Portland voters.<sup>53</sup> In 1950 for example, a referendum by Portland voters blocked a proposal to build a 2,000-unit low-rent housing project.<sup>54</sup> HAP also closed operations at temporary housing developments in Swan Lake and Guild's Lake, leaving more African American families homeless.<sup>55</sup> Swan Lake and Guild's Lake were set aside for industrial development after the sites were cleared by HAP.<sup>56</sup>

At 4:17 pm, the railroad dike on the western edge of Vanport broke.<sup>47</sup> Residents only had twenty minutes to flee the floodwaters. Residents clambered to get seats in taxis and buses parked along North Denver Avenue. Cars rushed to escort survivors from the wreckage. The poorly built buildings and homes of the city floated into the Southeastern pocket of the engulfed development. In total, the disaster cost the federal government an estimated \$21,500,000.<sup>48</sup> 6,000 African American Vanport residents were left homeless.<sup>49</sup>

The Vanport Flood exacerbated Portland's racial segregation.<sup>57</sup> By 1950, 63 percent of the city's non-white population lived in the Williams Avenue district alongside working class white residents, centered at the intersection at North Williams and Russell

Street.<sup>58</sup> The City Club of Portland reported in 1957 that, “in confining a majority of its Negroes to a restricted section of the city [Albina], Portland has forced them to live in crowded, unhealthy and wholly inadequate dwellings.”<sup>59</sup> According to the City Club publication, 4,400 of the 5,000 homes in the Williams Avenue/Albina Area were built before World War I, and received little in the way of repairs.<sup>60</sup> Maps provided in the 1990 study, *History of the Albina Plan Area*, show that many Eliot neighborhood homes were built before 1879, while most were built at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>61</sup>

The Eliot neighborhood was initially a multitude of late nineteenth century real estate developments, named after early Portland founders and developers who developed small sections of land by the Willamette River.<sup>62</sup> One such development was called McMillen’s Addition.<sup>63</sup> Named after Captain James Harvey McMillen, the neighborhood was originally riverfront property the McMillen family acquired through the Oregon Donation Land Claim Act of 1850.<sup>64</sup> The land sat along the Willamette River waterfront on the east side of the river, in-between the Broadway Bridge and the Steel Bridge.<sup>65</sup> McMillen’s Addition was home to a large number of African Americans in the 1940s and 1950s, housing a mix of Vanport refugees and long-time African American residents who had crossed the Broadway Bridge before World War II. Residents lived in homes built on wood foundations, and navigated a complex diagonal street layout, similar to Portland’s Woodlawn and Ladd’s Addition neighborhoods.

During the 1950s, land values rose in Lower Albina, and developers as well as city planners targeted Lower Albina, including McMillen’s Addition, for residential and commercial space.<sup>66</sup> President Harry Truman’s passing of the 1949 Housing Act opened the doors for urban planners to reconceive major metropolitan areas, including Portland,

by rebuilding neighborhoods with substandard housing. Truman remarked that the Housing Act would, “open up the prospect of decent homes in wholesome surroundings,” and that the Federal Government was to be given “effective means for aiding cities in the vital task of clearing slums and rebuilding blighted areas.”<sup>67</sup> The term “blight” was consistently used by city planners to describe poor, predominantly African American neighborhoods, where housing stock was often old and in disrepair. In order to clear so-called “blighted areas,” the Federal Government set aside funds for urban renewal projects under Title I of the 1949 Housing Act.<sup>68</sup> McMillen’s Addition became a possible option for City of Portland officials to build a new war memorial sports stadium, Memorial Coliseum, using new Title I funds.

In November of 1956, the citizens of Portland voted to build Memorial Coliseum at a proposed site, and construction of the project began shortly after.<sup>69</sup> McMillen’s Addition ceased to exist, and hundreds of families, half of them African American, were displaced and dislocated: 476 residential units, 224 of them “non white,” stood in the path of demolition.<sup>70</sup> Homes, businesses and institutions of the leveled community included the Bethel AME Church, the medical office of local civil rights organizer Dr. DeNorval Unthank and the home of Roslyn Hill, whose story of displacement opened this thesis.<sup>71</sup> Like many African American families in Portland, the Hill family lived in Vanport prior to the flood, were renters after the flood, and worked as domestic laborers -- one of the few employment opportunities available to African Americans, according to local resident Otto Rutherford.<sup>72</sup>

Roslyn Hill grew up just north of the Broadway and Steel Bridges, within the proposed construction site for Memorial Coliseum.<sup>73</sup> Her family rented the downstairs

unit of a historic Portland fourplex, which Hill remembers with fond memories.<sup>74</sup>

Portland Development Commission demolished the fourplex in the process of Memorial Coliseum's construction.<sup>75</sup> Hill remarked that, "at the time, the real estate people decided where African Americans could live in Portland, and not many neighborhoods were available to us...everyone knew the Coliseum was coming and that we would have to move out."<sup>76</sup> Some residents displaced once by the Memorial Coliseum project, such as Dr. DeNorval Unthank, were displaced again with the construction of the Minnesota Freeway, today known as Interstate 5.

Interstate 5 removed 125 homes and multiple businesses, which operated along North Minnesota Avenue. Local grocer and barber Charles Maxey, like Dr. DeNorval Unthank, was forced to relocate for a second time. Charlotte Rutherford, another resident of Albina, remarked that, "by the mid-50s thanks to the building of Interstate 5, which ran through what was the heart of the African American community at the time...the city began to open moving to the east housing for Blacks."<sup>77</sup> Urban renewal projects and freeway construction continually pushed African American residents North and East, making the African American community more highly concentrated along Union Avenue, at Northeast 7th and Northeast 15th. This included Charlotte Rutherford's neighborhood on Northeast 9th and Shaver, which she remarked had "no black people" prior to the 1950s.<sup>78</sup>

The construction of Memorial Coliseum and Interstate 5 represented a significant national trend of interurban modernization during the post-war era. Freeway construction and urban renewal projects in Albina coincided with Portland's elimination of historic streetcar lines and interurban railways, which traditionally transported residents to

Downtown from the Albina District.<sup>79</sup> Nothing seemed to deter Portlanders, like most Americans, from their increasing reliance on automobiles. As the older inner-city districts such as Albina fell into neglect during the process of urban renewal, white middle-class homebuyers moved into newly constructed automobile suburbs in Beaverton, Tigard, Gresham and east of 82nd Avenue. Poor, majority-African American residents living in urban core neighborhoods faced forced removal in Portland's effort to modernize. Urban renewal and redevelopment projects such as Memorial Coliseum repeatedly entailed the displacement of African American communities and low-income families, as well as the demolition of their homes and businesses. Portland's most egregious instance of forced removal manifested during the Emanuel Hospital Urban Renewal Project between 1967 and 1973.

During the late 1960s, Emanuel Hospital expanded its presence in the area surrounding North Williams and Russell Street.<sup>80</sup> By January 9, 1967, Portland Development Commission sent their Survey and Planning Grant Application to HUD using findings from a study known as The Hamilton Report, which recommended expansion of the campus into the surrounding neighborhood.<sup>81</sup> Ten days later, on January 19th, Portland City Council approved the project. During deliberations over the planning process, Emanuel Hospital expanded by 55.3 acres. Between January of 1963 and October of 1969, a total of 101 properties along North Williams and Russell were demolished by Emanuel Hospital and the City of Portland.<sup>82</sup>

Over the course of 1970 and 1971, the Emanuel Hospital's Urban Renewal and Relocation Plan faced opposition from a local group of residents displaced in the process of clearing land for the project, known as the Emanuel Displaced Person's Association

(EDPA). Headed by local resident Leo Warren, the EDPA organized meetings and public hearings on issues facing the community, including potential financial burdens residents would face upon removal from their homes. Residents within the path of relocation were given \$5,000 over the assessed value of their homes to compensate for removal (the 2016 equivalent of \$30,687 according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics).<sup>83</sup>

On October 21, 1970, Portland City Council, headed by Mayor Terry Schruck and Commissioner Frank Ivancie, heard testimony from the EDPA. During testimony, two petitions were brought forward to the council, one from the displaced residents themselves, the other from concerned citizens of the larger community.<sup>84</sup> Many members of the EDPA, such as T.C. Williams, felt \$5,000 dollars was not enough to assist displaced residents in transition.<sup>85</sup> Williams remarked:

We are all living on a little old pension from the government; how could we be able to pay \$5,000 on a home and move in it, and not have a job...how can we pay our bills? We don't have any money...we all feel like we have been mistreated.<sup>86</sup>

Leo Warren, during her testimony to city council, made the following remark:

When the larger community tells a smaller part of the community that it is necessary to move them from their homes because the land is needed for 'progress' or 'improvement' and [use] the power of government to effect the relocation, the total community has the obligation to see that those being displaced can move with dignity and without suffering financial loss.<sup>87</sup>

Pressure mounted against Emanuel Hospital in the aftermath of the EDPA testimony. Legal Aid of Oregon, a non-profit organization providing legal services in civil cases, submitted a brief to HUD one month after the EDPA testified before City Council. The HUD brief voiced EDPA's grievances about the Relocation Plan. Legal Aid charged PDC with using inaccurate housing data, failing to comply with Model Cities relocation requirements and inadequately coordinating displacement.<sup>88</sup> As a result, HUD



withheld approval of the relocation plan until further discussions were held between the EDPA and Emanuel Hospital Board of Directors.<sup>89</sup>

In total, relocation destroyed 188 houses and multiple African American businesses.<sup>90</sup> Local residents remain bitter over the demolition that took place, particularly because federal budget cuts in the early 1970s halted Emanuel's planned expansion, running between North Vancouver and Williams Avenues, as well as Russell and Stanton Streets. Blocks where homes and businesses once operated are now vacant and undeveloped lots. Today's Portland residents biking down Williams may never realize these empty spaces were once the bustling heart of the African American community.

During the 1980s, in the aftermath of urban renewal, living conditions in Albina went from bad to worse. Real estate prices plummeted, unscrupulous lenders swindled first-time homebuyers into fraudulent deals, and crime rates rose dramatically. Previous urban renewal projects in Lower Albina pushed poor residents further North and East along Williams Avenue and Union Avenue. Residents began referring to Albina as "crack alley," due to rising crime rates and crumbling housing stock in the area.<sup>91</sup>

Not many Portlanders, minus those with no other financial choice, were willing to put up with the crime and gang activity that was making the situation in Albina increasingly volatile. Pauline Bradford, a member of the Northeast Coalition of Neighborhoods and a sixty-year resident of the community, remembers the introduction of gangs in Albina as the moment when neighborhoods became more messed up. "It was bad enough with the hustlers, but it was rough on the regular people who were not interested. You couldn't walk down the street without somebody pestering you or saying

something to you.”<sup>92</sup> Edna Robertson, coordinator for the Northeast Coalition of Neighborhoods in 1988, warned the public of prostitution, drug deals, and gang activity in the area.<sup>93</sup> Bloods and Crips from Los Angeles developed a presence in Albina during the early 1980s, which became alarming in 1987 when competition intensified over the crack trade.<sup>94</sup>

Albina residents were often able to sell their cars for more money than their homes. Albina resident Roy Tillis for example, was able to buy a car for \$25,000 (2016 equivalent of \$45,549), but wasn't able to purchase a home in inner-Northeast Portland for \$16,000 (2016 equivalent of \$29,152).<sup>95</sup> The population of the area had decreased by 27 percent since 1950 and home prices dropped to nearly half of the city's median. Absentee landlords took control of the rental market, making it so only 44 percent of Albina residents lived in owner-occupied homes. Gretchen Kafoury, former state legislator and county commissioner remarked, “landlords simply walked away from [homes] rather than pay back taxes...the property values were so diminished that a home that maybe the family had paid \$40,000 for, they didn't think they could get 25 or 30.”<sup>96</sup>

Former City Commissioner Erik Sten remarked, in an interview for Spencer Wolf and Cornelius Swart's documentary *Northeast Passage: The Inner City and the American Dream*:

In the '80s, literally when the gang scare happened, that sort of led to a kind of whole-scale panic and abandonment of the market...By the early '90s, in four of five neighborhoods in inner-North or [Northeast] Portland you had 2000 homes that the county owned, which basically means that it wasn't worth \$5,000 in taxes to keep hold of a home.<sup>97</sup>

Unscrupulous lenders and property values became a major public concern when *The Oregonian* published a four-part series, entitled “Blueprint for a Slum.” by Dee Lane

and Steve Mayes. The report proved that banks had redlined North and inner-Northeast Portland, and that two lending companies named Lincoln Loan and Dominion Capital were exploiting the housing market.<sup>98</sup> Banks considered inner-Northeast and North Portland to be too risky and refused to issue home loans in Albina, contributing to the process of redlining Albina neighborhoods.<sup>99</sup> In 1990, prospective homebuyers Jeff and Susan Hartnett had \$100,000 (2016 equivalent of \$182,197) in approved credit from a bank so that they could fix up a 2,000 square-foot Victorian in Northeast Portland.<sup>100</sup> The home was on the market for \$15,000 (2016 equivalent of \$27,330), but the bank declined the Hartnetts' application for a loan to buy it.

Even though Dominion had signed an agreement with the State of Oregon to change its practices, and lost money in “questionable real estate deals,” the company continued to sell high-risk mortgages.<sup>101</sup> The major economic woes of the Albina District drove a new generation of policymakers, such as Commissioner Gretchen Kafoury, Mayor Bud Clark, Mayor Vera Katz and Commissioner Charlie Hales, to enact a new plan to revitalize Albina. The city's new approach developed during deliberations over the new Albina Community Plan in the early 1990s.

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### III. Closing The Rent-Gap: Revitalization and Eco-Gentrification (1990-2015)

On July 28th, 1993, Mayor Vera Katz and Commissioner Charlie Hales signed the Albina Community Plan.<sup>102</sup> The ACP created several historic districts within the Albina area; including Mississippi, Woodlawn, Kenton, Irvington and Piedmont, with an emphasis on historic preservation and infrastructure improvements.<sup>103</sup> For homeowners, the ACP was highly beneficial, due to PDC's implementation of Tax Increment

Financing (TIF).<sup>104</sup> With TIF, homeowners who stayed in Albina saw the market values of their homes rise, while the assessed value of their homes remained low. This way, local residents would be able to pay significantly less in property taxes throughout the duration of revitalization. Since property taxes are based on the assessed value of a home, rather than a home's market value, this allowed local homeowners flexibility to be able to pay less in property taxes while neighborhood investment helped increase property values. Economic growth during the mid 1990s helped homeowners significantly. However, the majority of African American residents in Albina were renters, not homeowners, and rising property values often meant that landlords could raise rates to meet demand in the housing market and remove poor tenants.<sup>105</sup>

When Historian Kenneth Jackson wrote *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* in 1985, poor, African American inner-city neighborhoods across the United States were stuck in an economic slump. Jackson believed that middle class wealth of the United States was on the trajectory for continued investment in car-oriented, freeway-dependent suburbs.<sup>106</sup> Historians of the 1970s and 1980s believed that historic inner-city neighborhoods were continuing a trend of downward decline.<sup>107</sup> Historian E. Kimbark MacColl believed in 1979, when he was writing *The Growth of a City*, that the Albina District would continue to fall into despair.

Traditionally in Portland's history, many projects were conceived and even started, but few ever completed...Portland leaders were doomed to making self-defeating decisions with dire consequences. No better example is offered than the city's historic treatment of its minority population.<sup>108</sup>

Jackson cautioned against urban decline in concluding remarks of his book:

By 2025 the energy inefficient and automobile-dependent suburban system of the American republic must give way to patterns of human activity and living structures that are energy efficient...no amount of urban gentrification or rural

revival can obscure the fact that suburbanization has been the outstanding residential characteristic of urban life.<sup>109</sup>

Many urban theorists debate over the meaning of gentrification, which was first coined in 1964 by Urban Sociologist Ruth Glass to describe the influx of new wealth coming into London, England during the 1960s.<sup>110</sup> Geographers such as Michael Lang, of Rutgers University, theorized that gentrification was caused by suburbanites moving to inner city neighborhoods to have a more authentic urban experience.<sup>111</sup> Structural theorists such as Neil Smith believed that gentrification was the side effect of a “back to the city” movement, where city governments and the real estate industry reclaim space in desirable neighborhoods from previous poor and working class tenants, in order to exploit the free market potential of urban space.

In his book *The New Urban Frontier*, Geographer Neil Smith outlined his economic methodology for understanding gentrification, a research agenda known as Rent-Gap Theory. Smith defines rent-gaps as, “the disparity between the potential ground rent level and the actual ground rent capitalized under the present land use.”<sup>112</sup> Rent-Gap Theory revolves around the idea that when real estate developers and governmental organizations devalue a neighborhood, the ground rent paid by tenants is significant less than the potential market value a renter would be paying if the market value of a rental space is fully realized.<sup>113</sup> Before the gaps in rent are filled, either through investment or revitalization of a neighborhood, poor and working class tenants reside in spaces that offer consistently low rents.<sup>114</sup> The Albina District was an extreme example of rent gaps prior to revitalization.<sup>115</sup> Since the area was so severely neglected between 1945 and 1990, the city’s revitalization efforts drove many lower income residents, often poor or working class African American renters, to leave Albina.<sup>116</sup>

Through analyzing rent instead of land value, Smith was able to determine capital movements of lower and middle class tenants rather than simply the landlords who collect the rent.<sup>117</sup> What he found was that a new wave of private capital was being invested by real estate developers and city officials in previously neglected working class neighborhoods of Philadelphia and New York, shifting the urban landscape to reflect incoming upper middle-class residents.<sup>118</sup> For a similar analysis of Portland, Urban Studies Professors Nathan McClintock and Karen Gibson used Smith's methodology to prove that poor African American and working class white residents had to leave Albina to find mortgage capital and escape gang warfare in the 1980s, then left Albina in the 1990s due to revitalization.<sup>119</sup> Urban renewal and general neglect of Albina during the post-war period had depreciated home values and kept rents low. This made Albina ripe for gentrification in the 1990s, after the city enacted revitalization under the Albina Community Plan (ACP).<sup>120</sup>

On September 6, 1996, Jim Barnett and Steve Suo of *The Oregonian* identified evidence that inner North and Northeast Portland were on the brink of rising home values and rising rents.<sup>121</sup> Between 1990 and 1996, a total of \$1.2 billion of wealth accumulated for property owners in Albina. Bulldozers razed former lines of crack houses and police presence increased as a result. Meanwhile, Albina's poorest residents found it harder and harder to rent. Wage gains between 1990 and 1996 measured about a quarter of the growth in home values. Barnett and Suo argued that Albina's revival was assisting the gentrification process. Most new home loans in the area were from white homebuyers. In 1994, 260 African Americans applied for home loans successfully, with a 73 percent increase in total approval for loans. However, over 2,600 white homebuyers applied for

home loans in the same year, showing an 80 percent increase compared with home buying activity in 1992.

As rents rose, Albina residents used to 1980s-era rental rates, such as Selmene Rodriquez, found it hard to stay financially afloat. After her landlord, a Eugene-area shop owner, raised her rent by \$50, she demanded repairs on the home and was given a month's notice to leave. Rodriquez packed everything she had into a U-Haul truck and left the property, becoming another statistic in the long line of poor renters forced to leave Albina during the 1990s. "I wish there was some way we could keep our people from being displaced."<sup>122</sup>

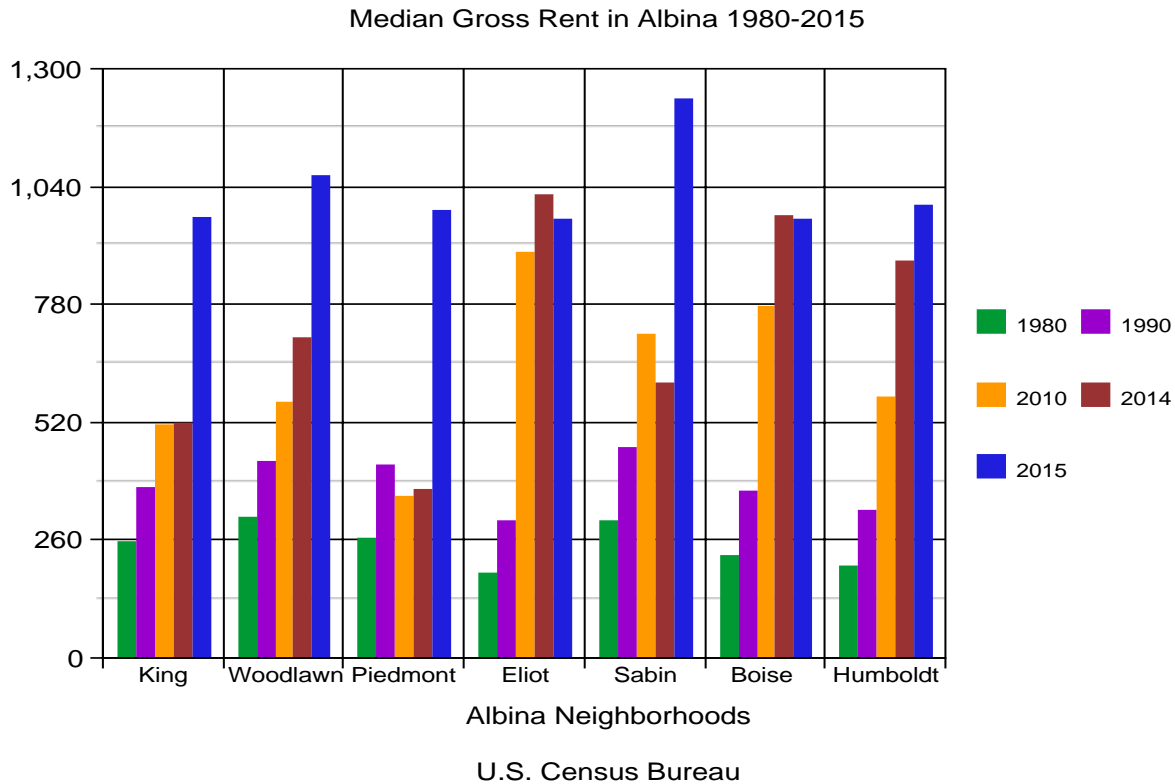
Low-income residents can be displaced by rising rents in gentrifying neighborhoods, and that residents experience a loss of community as a result.<sup>123</sup> Between 1990 and 2000, the African American population living in the Albina District declined by 3,800 residents.<sup>124</sup> Between 2000 and 2010, 11,000 more African Americans moved out, many to find cheaper rental units out in East Portland.<sup>125</sup>

Median gross rent rose dramatically in multiple Albina neighborhoods over the last 35 years. In the Eliot neighborhood for example, rents rose from an average of \$304 per month in 1990 (\$554 in 2016 dollars) to \$895 per month in 2010 and \$1,024 by 2014.<sup>126</sup> Adjusted for inflation, Eliot rents rose 184 percent in 25 years. Comparatively, in the Sabin neighborhood, rents rose from an average of \$465 per month in 1990 (\$847 in 2016 dollars) to \$1,236 per month by 2015.<sup>127</sup> Adjusted for inflation, Sabin rents rose 150 percent in 25 years. As rents have increased in upwards of 184 percent, the median household income of Portland's African American residents have remained largely unchanged since 2000.<sup>128</sup>

According to City of Portland's recent October 2015 report, "State of Housing in Portland," the median household income of African Americans living in the MLK-Alberta area has remained just above \$40,000 a year since 2000, while African Americans living in the Interstate Corridor have seen their median household incomes decrease by \$10,000 since 2000.<sup>129</sup> Comparatively, median white incomes in the MLK-Alberta area rose from \$59,202 in 2000 to \$72,377 by 2013.<sup>130</sup> Since median African American household incomes remain stagnant, an increase in rent has driven out the majority of the African American population, while a majority of white residents are finding the rents affordable and the historic housing stock to be desirable.

Albina's transition in the last 25 years brought in more affluent white homeowners and altered commercial centers along Williams Avenue and Northeast Alberta Street. Alberta was initially developed in the 1880s as a residential and commercial hub for immigrants.<sup>131</sup> During the 1930s, the HOLC redlined the area, leaving property values stagnant.<sup>132</sup> After streetcar service ceased in 1948 and gang violence erupted in the neighborhood during the 1980s, many home buyers avoided





**Figure 1: Growth in Median Gross Rents in Albina District Neighborhoods (according to data provided by the American Community Survey (ACS) from the U.S. Census Bureau, Portland Monthly Magazine – which uses U.S. Census Data - and City of Portland Neighborhood Profiles from 1980 and 1990). Disclaimer: Median Gross Rent data from Census 2000 for specific neighborhoods are currently unavailable online via City of Portland, Portland State University, and the U.S. Census Bureau. While the Eliot and Boise neighborhoods increased in Median Rents prior to 2015, rents rose dramatically during the year 2015 alone.**

Alberta.<sup>133</sup> Since 1993, realtors have used art galleries popping up along Alberta Street to market the neighborhood as the “Alberta Arts District.”<sup>134</sup> Numerous buildings and houses abandoned or neglected in 1992 have been completely refurbished. As a result of revitalization, property values along Alberta have grown by over 1,000 percent.<sup>135</sup> With Alberta becoming more desirable, the street’s only 20 African American businesses remain standing, while the number of total businesses boomed from 79 in 1992 to 220 by

the end of 2015. In addition, the population of African Americans living in Alberta dropped from more than 50 percent in 1990 to about 20 percent in 2010. Michael “Chappie” Grice, field supervisor for the Alberta Street Project, has said, “many people had to move out of the area and can’t afford to come back.”<sup>136</sup>

One former Albina resident who cannot afford to come back is Charlene Campbell.<sup>137</sup> Campbell lived most of her life in North and Northeast Portland and now lives east of Southeast 82nd Avenue, like many of her former Northeast Portland neighbors. “There are more Blacks living out here than before. Go farther out—Burnside and 162nd, and even out on 181st—you see a lot of Black faces. All those people you mean when you say, ‘I wonder what happened to them.’ They’re out here.”<sup>138</sup> Though thousands of African Americans like Charlene Campbell are renting east of 82nd Avenue due to rental affordability, rental units across the entire city leave African American renters cost-burdened and spending more than 30 percent of their monthly income in order to afford rent.<sup>139</sup> Even the cheapest neighborhoods in Portland currently; Parkrose; Southeast 122nd and Division; and Centennial, have 2-Bedroom rental rates that exceed \$698 a month, the maximum monthly rental rate for a 2-Bedroom considered affordable for the majority of African American households.<sup>140</sup> In effect, no Portland-area rental rates are cheap enough for the average African American household to comfortably afford, least of all their old neighborhoods in Albina—where studio apartments now go for an average of \$1,123 a month.<sup>141</sup>

Part of the reason rental rates in the Albina District remain steep is due to the increasing number of eco-friendly high-rise apartment complexes constructed along Williams Avenue since 2000. Neighborhood tension has increased in recent years,

specifically on the issue of density in the Williams Avenue area with the construction of buildings such as The Albert and Mason Williams.<sup>142</sup> The Albert is a 72-unit apartment complex on North Williams Avenue and Beech Street, developed by Jack Menashe and LRS Architects. In submitting approval for the design in 2009, Boise Neighborhood Association appealed to the Bureau of Development Services hoping to downsize the initial plans of the development firm. The appeal was denied, and The Albert continued with construction. The Albert is advertised online as “green-focused...transit-oriented, and close to shopping, dining and downtown.”<sup>143</sup> Rental rates at The Albert range from \$975 a month for a studio apartment to \$1,950 for two-bedroom apartments.<sup>144</sup> Though The Albert is required by HUD affordable housing standards to provide 18 units to low-income households, the majority of residents at The Albert pay significantly more per month to live on Williams Avenue than at any point prior to the 1990s.<sup>145</sup>

Jack Menashe and LRS Architects also constructed Mason Williams. Using a language of sustainability, both complexes market new apartments along Williams Avenue to renters with higher incomes. Advertisements for apartments in Mason Williams read,

Earth Friendly. People Friendly. Now your healthy, eco-conscious lifestyle can include the roof over your head. Welcome to The Mason Williams, a unique urban habitat featuring green rooftops, sustainable material, efficient amenities and ample bicycle parking...with minimal environmental impact.<sup>146</sup>

Leasing rates for the Mason Williams range from one-bedroom apartments for \$1,025 a month to two-bedroom apartments for \$2,250 a month.<sup>147</sup> The Mason Williams prides itself on its “Luxury Vinyl plank flooring made from recycled materials” and its accessibility to downtown via bike.<sup>148</sup>

The bikes themselves, and the eco-conscious ethic behind LRS developments, are not the causes of gentrification—as a recent *Portland Mercury* article has pointed out.<sup>149</sup> New eco-conscious apartments along Williams Avenue use a language of sustainability to mask economic inequalities brought on by rising rents, which contribute to the process of gentrification. The issue here is not environmentalism itself, but rather the way in which environmentalism can be used to justify social and economic inequalities brought upon by new development.

North Williams has transformed tremendously even in the last five years. A recent *Oregonian* article by Elliot Njus has pointed out that thousands of apartments have been recently constructed or are under construction currently.<sup>150</sup> Buildings such as One North and The Radiator have added more than 100,000-square-feet of commercial space along Williams Avenue, in-between Cook and Skidmore streets, in the heart of the old African American community. The new developments are estimated to bring in 14,200-square-feet of public green spaces that previously never existed. This reflects Sarah Dooling’s original definition of ecological gentrification, “the implementation of an environmental planning agenda related to public green spaces that leads to the displacement or exclusion of the most economically vulnerable human population...while espousing an environmental ethic.”<sup>151</sup>

Recent articles from *Governing Magazine* and *Color Lines Magazine* proved that Portland is the most gentrified city in the United States.<sup>152</sup> In addition, the City of Portland is pushing its most economically disadvantaged citizens, mainly African Americans like Charlene Campbell, out to the urban periphery. *Governing Magazine*’s analysis of Portland showed (using data from the American Community Survey), that 13

of Portland's 36 gentrified census tracts run along Interstate Avenue, Williams Avenue and Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard.<sup>153</sup> Lisa Bates said, of recent gentrification, in

Portland Urban League's 2015 publication of *State of Black Oregon*:

The small size of Portland's Black population makes the effects of gentrification even worse. You couldn't erase Blackness from a place like Harlem, where the deeply ingrained Black presence is seen as culturally vital. But for Portland's N/NE neighborhoods, it will soon be as if Blacks had never been there at all.<sup>154</sup>

In losing a sense of community, many former member of Albina's African American community, such as Michelle Lewis, feel dislocated, especially now that so many of them are scattered, living east of 82nd Avenue.<sup>155</sup> Access to social services, mental-health resources and proximity to African American institutions have been diminished as a result of the move to Portland's post-war automobile suburbs, where access to public transportation is not nearly as fast and efficient as neighborhoods in Portland's urban core. Those who can't afford to drive cars are now struggling to get to work, buy groceries and run daily errands that used to be somewhat readily accessible when working class African American families lived in the Albina District.

### **Conclusion**

Portland's first African American community in Northwest Portland, by Union Station, migrated east between 1913 and 1940. Portland's next African American community resided along the Southern tip of the Albina District from 1913 to today. Many African Americans migrated from the South to work twice as many jobs as they planned to, slept in people's homes and wherever they could find shelter. African Americans moved to Vanport, experienced a terrible flood, and moved again. African Americans moved once more with the advent of urban renewal. Memorial Coliseum, Interstate 5 and Emanuel Hospital cleared homes of African American residents to make

way for modernization and the automobile, as the inner city became neglected. Today, African Americans and poor working class whites have been pushed out, priced out and spatially fixed east of 82nd.

Since 1948, post-war urban renewal projects, segregationist redlining policies, dishonest mortgage lenders and city-initiated revitalization efforts formed the conditions for Albina's recent wave of ecological gentrification. Some of the conditions that led to a wave of gentrification include devaluation, displacement and neglect on the part of city government and the real estate industry. In the case of Albina, poor African Americans first became displaced as a result of a natural disaster, the Vanport flood. Next, African Americans and poor working class whites were displaced in the construction of Memorial Coliseum. The Minnesota Freeway knocked out the heart of the African American community and Emanuel Hospital displaced, demolished and relocated an entire neighborhood to make way for buildings that was never constructed.

During the 1980s, neglect of the neighborhood left Albina residents in a dire state, with homes worth nothing and crime-ridden streets. Dishonest lenders and redlining left the housing market in tatters. By the time the city finally made efforts to rehabilitate Albina, many long-time residents had already left. Rents remained low in Albina despite the fact that many neighborhoods in Lower Albina are a short distance from the urban core. These conditions fostered a rent-gap bound to close the moment market forces stepped in, full force. The Albina Community Plan, and specifically TIF, only advanced the interests of homeowners and commercial interests along Williams Avenue, MLK Boulevard and Alberta Street, while the majority of the area's African American population, renters, were left out cold and forced to move east once again.

For decades, Portland modeled the rest of the nation by redlining old, historic inner-city neighborhoods, and neglecting the African American populations that lived therein. From the 1940s until the 1970s, Portland followed national trends and voted for urban renewal initiatives meant to modernize urban space and re-appropriate transportation toward the age of the automobile and the Interstate Highway system. Portland dismantled its highly developed streetcar system in the 1940s, which had helped build the Albina District. As the age of the automobile moved affluence out into the newly built urban periphery, older inner-city districts of Portland—such as Albina—saw declining property values, declining populations and crumbling infrastructure. Now, in the age of ecological gentrification, Portland’s declining property values and crumbling infrastructure are in the post-war suburbs, mainly east of 82nd Avenue. As wealth moves into the urban core, affordable housing and neighborhood livability must be taken into consideration for every corner of the Portland Metro Area, as Portland’s most economically disadvantaged get pushed out to the urban fringe due to rising rents.

The story of Albina shows us that Portland’s particular brand of sustainability can be used to make light of serious gentrification struggles African American neighborhoods are dealing with nationwide. For years, cities like Portland purposefully funneled Black residents into undervalued inner city neighborhoods. Now, the previously undervalued inner cities of the United States are becoming increasingly desirable to more affluent residents that can afford rents in former Black neighborhoods. Many locals have said that the City acted too late to save the Black community, which was being torn apart by gang violence in the 1980s.

The most significant aspect that we must understand from this crisis is that poor communities of African Americans have experienced a long history of displacement, and the potential for other urban African American communities to experience this particular type of gentrification is rather high. Wealth is no longer concentrated in the post-war automobile suburbs of United States cities. Instead wealth is rapidly shifting toward the urban core. Unlike Albina, East Portland's streets are not as easy to walk. Albina's grid pattern and flat streets make getting around by bike significantly easier than neighborhoods such as Southeast 122nd and Division. If Portland is going to be as egalitarian as it is sustainable, we must seek future investment in affordable housing east of 82nd Avenue and make public transportation more readily available for East Portland residents who rely on public transit every day. If little investment is put into making the streets of East Portland livable, East Portland might become another Albina, or another Williams Avenue. Portland could become another San Francisco; too expensive for low-income residents and filled with wealthy newcomers who may not understand the struggles endured by previous generations of African American homeowners and tenants.



## NOTES

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1. “Gentrification,” *Youth Historians in Harlem*, 2012, <http://www.youthhistorians.com/#!/gentrification/cjk2>.

Multiple organizations of historians have argued that research on gentrification in historically African American neighborhoods has been minimal. Youth Historians in Harlem, for example, have argued that historical research on gentrification in Harlem has been “scant,” and that further questions need to be asked about whether gentrification is benefitting African American neighborhoods and why African American residents would resist it.

2. “A Public History Role For Building Bike Lanes In Cities?” *National Council on Public History*, January 28, 2016, <http://ncph.org/history-at-work/a-public-history-role-for-building-bike-lanes-in-cities-2/>.

David Rotenstein of the National Council on Public History has mentioned that historians have made in-roads toward documenting and interpreting gentrification and displacement, and that debates over public policy decisions relating to bike lanes could further historical understanding of the process of gentrification. He argues that Washington D.C. is going through much turmoil in their decision to implement bike lanes in historically African American neighborhoods that are currently being gentrified.

3. Sarah Dooling, “Ecological Gentrification: A Research Agenda Exploring Justice in the City,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 33 (2009): 630.

The term “eco-gentrification” is short for ecological gentrification, a concept first introduced in 2008 by Sarah Dooling, Assistant Professor at the UT Austin’s School of Architecture. Dooling defines ecological gentrification as, “the implementation of an environmental planning agenda related to public green spaces that leads to the displacement or exclusion of the most economically vulnerable human population — homeless people — while espousing an environmental ethic.”

4. Judy Blankenship, “Intersections: Trimet Interstate MAX Light Rail Community History Project,” 6 (Portland, Oregon: 2003)

5. *Ibid.*

This quote by Roslyn Hill shows how urban renewal was so destructive to African American communities. Her story displays how urban renewal erased the community’s sense of place.

6. Nathan McClintock, Jamal Green and Erin Goodling, “Uneven Development of the Sustainable City: Shifting Capital in Portland, Oregon,” *Urban Studies and Faculty Publications and Presentations* 107 (Portland, Oregon: 2015), 13. doi:10.1080/02723638.2015.1010791.

7. *Ibid.*, 13; Casey Parks, “New Seasons Opens North Williams Avenue Store With Historic Sausage,” *The Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon), August 25, 2013; Casey Parks, “North Williams Avenue New Seasons opens, another MLK Boulevard restaurant closes: North and Northeast Portland news” *The Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon), August 28, 2013.

On August 25th, 2013, Casey Parks wrote a story on the opening of the New Seasons on North Williams and Fremont. The new location attempts to consciously help shoppers forget the store’s alien presence in the neighborhood through a visual-historical timeline of Albina’s history.

8. Stuart McElderry, “Building a West Coast Ghetto: African American Housing in Portland, 1910-1960,” *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 92, no. 3 (2001): 141-142.

Loopholes were available for certain African American homebuyers who were affiliated with a lender who disregarded the code of ethics. Also, certain homebuyers, such as The Urban League’s industrial secretary E. Shelton Hill, avoided racist lenders by going directly to sellers to buy a home. Other African American families had their white friends buy homes in segregated neighborhoods on behalf of African Americans.

9. Urban League of Portland, *State of Black Oregon 2015* (Portland, Oregon: Urban League of Portland, 2015), 134-137, 144-146.

Issues highlighted by Urban League of Portland currently range from educational opportunities for African American youth, steady and fulfilling employment for working mothers and young high-school graduates, as well as curbing high childhood poverty rates for African Americans.

10. Darby Minow Smith, “Breaking: Portland sustainability chief admits Portlandia isn’t really a parody,” *Grist Magazine*, November 2, 2012; Goodling, Green, & McClintock, “Uneven Development of the Sustainable City,” 13.

11. E. Kimbark MacColl, *The Growth of a City: Power and Politics in Portland, Oregon 1915-1950* (Portland, Oregon: The Georgian Press, 1979), 44; City of Portland Bureau of Planning, “The History of

the Albina Plan Area,” (Portland: 1990), 5; Karen Gibson, “Bleeding Albina: A History of Community Disinvestment,” *Transforming Anthropology* 15, no. 1 (2007): 6.

12. Portland Bureau of Planning, “The History of Portland’s African American Community (1805-Present)” (Portland, Oregon: 1993), 26-27. MacColl, *Growth of a City*, 44.

13. McElderry, “Building a West Coast Ghetto,” 137.

14. Rudy N. Pearson, “African Americans in Portland, Oregon, 1940-1950. Work and Living Conditions: A Social History” (PhD diss., Washington State University, 1996), 7; MacColl, *Growth of a City*, 46, 672; *Neighborhood Profiles of the City of Portland 1960-1970* (Portland: Office of Planning and Development, July 1978). It is important to point out that in 1979, when MacColl was writing, and in 1996 when Pearson was writing, that Albina was still heavily undervalued by real estate developers, was still largely African American, and was one of the poorest neighborhoods in the city. The racial and socioeconomic demographics of the neighborhood have changed since then. Although by the time Pearson finished his dissertation, Albina was beginning to grow due to revitalization.

15. McElderry, “Building a West Coast Ghetto,” 137.

16. MacColl, *Growth of a City*, 44; Pearson, “African Americans in Portland, Oregon,” 7; *Local Color*, directed by John Tuttle (Portland, Oregon: Oregon Public Broadcasting, 1991, 1999), DVD.

In terms of employment, African Americans in Portland were expected to work as redcaps, porters, waiters and domestic workers at institutions such as The Portland Hotel and Union Station. They were generally limited in their employment opportunities, which discouraged Black settlers willing to travel to Oregon in search of work. Black settlers were also discouraged from coming to Oregon due to the strength of the Ku Klux Klan in local politics and popular white culture, and because Portland had the smallest non-white population of any major west coast city. Otto Rutherford, a long-time African American Portland resident who grew up in Northwest Portland, remarked that when his parents moved to Portland in 1897, Oregon was a Klan state just as prejudiced as South Carolina. Rutherford remarked to Historian Elizabeth MacLagan in 1978 for the Oregon Black History Project, “Oregon was a Klan state...It has always been a very prejudiced state. Up until 1926, the Oregon Constitution had Black exclusion laws, one of which stipulated, “it shall not be lawful for any negro or mulatto to enter into, or reside in Oregon.”<sup>18</sup> From the very beginning, Blacks were not welcome in Portland, were systematically discriminated against and were segregated from white society.

17. Karen Gibson, “Bleeding Albina: A History of Community Disinvestment, 1940-2000,” *Transforming Anthropology* 15, no. 1, 6; McElderry, “Building a West Coast Ghetto,” 137.

18. Greg Nokes. “Black Exclusion Laws in Oregon.” *Oregon Historical Society*, 2016, [http://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/exclusion\\_laws/#.VyxtFBUrJpQ](http://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/exclusion_laws/#.VyxtFBUrJpQ); McElderry, “Building a West Coast Ghetto,” 137; Gibson, “Bleeding Albina,” 6; Oregon Black History Project, quoted in Elizabeth MacLagan, *A Peculiar Paradise: A History of Blacks in Oregon, 1788-1940* (Portland, 1980), 129; Pearson, “African Americans in Portland, Oregon,” 8, 11; Oral history interview with Otto G. Rutherford, interviewed by Helen Warbington and Elizabeth MacLagan, March 3, 1978. Interview funded by a grant from the Bicentennial Commission and used in the book, “A Peculiar Paradise: A History of Blacks in Oregon, 1788-1940,” by Elizabeth McLagan.

19. Amy Hillier, “Redlining and the Homeowners Loan Corporation,” *Journal of Urban History* 29, no. 4, (2003): 395.

Historian Amy Hillier, in her article “Redlining and the Homeowner’s Loan Corporation,” describes redlining as “lending (or insurance discrimination that bases credit decisions on the location of a property to the exclusion of characteristics of the borrower or property.”

20. *Ibid.*, 394

21. NARA II RG 195 Entry 39 Folder “Portland, Oregon Security Map and Area Descriptions” Box 26; HOLC Division of Research and Statistics, “Pittmon’s Map of Portland Ore. and Vicinity” by Armena Pittmon, City and County Engineers Files, Appraisal Department HOLC, Portland Printing House, (Portland, Oregon, 1934, 1938), <http://www.urbanosis.org/projects/holc-fha/digital-holc-maps/>

22. Hillier, “Redlining,” 395.

Having as few as three African Americans in a neighborhood could give them a forth grade designation.

23. McElderry, “Building A West Coast Ghetto,” 139. Census tracts 22 and 23, neighborhoods within HOLC’s redline border for Lower Albina, had certain blocks with populations more than 50 percent Black; Gibson, “Bleeding Albina,” 8. Census tracts 22 and 23 remained more than (or at) 50 percent Black up until 1970.

Albina's pre-war history is discussed at length by Historians Stuart McElderry, Elizabeth McLagan, Carl Abbott, E. Kimbark MacColl and Diane Pancoast.

24. Rudy Pearson. "A Menace to the Neighborhood: Housing and African Americans in Portland, 1941-1945," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 102, no. 2, (2001), 161.

25. McElderry, "Building a West Coast Ghetto," 139.

26. Portland Bureau of Planning, "The History of Portland's African American Community (1805-Present)," 59, 89.

27. McElderry, "Building a West Coast Ghetto," 139; *The Portland Observer*, June-July 1946 (cited in McElderry, 147)

28. *Ibid.*; *The Oregonian*, Sept. 23, 1942 (cited in McElderry, 147)

29. *Ibid.*, 139.

30. *Ibid.*, 138; Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*, 223-225 (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1985)

31. Manley Maben, *Vanport*, (Portland, Oregon: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1987), xi, 30, 87-97 137-146. Pearson, "African Americans in Portland, Oregon," 217.

In his book *African Americans in Portland, Oregon 1940-1950: Work and Living Conditions -- A Social History*, Historian Rudy Pearson shows that the Portland Boilermakers Union (as well as other craft unions) used exclusionary policies to limit non-white workers from employment in Portland's shipbuilding industries. According to Pearson, a closed shop agreement between Oregon Shipbuilding Corporation (The Kaiser Shipyards) and the Metal Trades Department (an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor) granted the Portland Boilermakers' Union power to make all decisions about hiring and firing new labor, which meant only white boilermakers in good standing could count on steady employment and livable wages. Pearson states that Black workers were hired as boilermakers to meet labor regulations established by the Fair Employment Practices Commission, but were let go from their jobs after a month of employment.

According to an Urban League Report cited by Pearson, defense industry jobs brought 160,000 people to Portland in-between 1942 and 1945, 15 percent were African American. Vanport, Guild's Lake and the Williams Avenue District were where the large majority of Black newcomers resided, with 7,500 new Black residents residing along Williams Avenue between 1940 and 1950. According to McElderry, 96 percent of African American newcomers to Portland were employed in defense industries. Prior to World War II, according to a 1941 industrial survey cited by Rudy Pearson, 98 percent of the employed African American population in Portland worked for Union Pacific Railway or at Union Station. While these figures show the importance of The Portland Hotel, Union Station, and the Kaiser Shipyards the institutional employment of African American Portlanders, it is important to note that multiple Black-owned businesses operated in Northwest Portland along Broadway. In addition, multiple Black families found work in domestic jobs such as maids and janitors. However, many of these laborious professions were the only opportunities available to African Americans in Portland, even if they were highly educated.

32. McElderry, "Building a West Coast Ghetto," 141; Maben, *Vanport*, 91. For additional reading on discrimination, segregation and union discrimination during World War II, read Rudy Pearson's dissertation "African Americans in Portland, Oregon, 1940-1950. Work and Living Conditions: A Social History," and Pearson's article "A Menace To The Neighborhood: Housing and African Americans in Portland, 1941-1945."

33. *Ibid.*; City of Portland Bureau of Planning, "History of the Albina Plan Area," 32 (Portland, Oregon: 1990).

34. MacColl, *Growth of a City*, 578.

35. Pearson, "African Americans in Portland," 12-63 McElderry, "Building a West Coast Ghetto," 141, 148; *The Oregonian*, June 2, 1948.

36. McElderry, "Building a West Coast Ghetto," 141, 148; Maben, *Vanport*, 91.

According to John Tuttle's documentary *Local Color*, shipyard closures and the Vanport Flood left more than half of Portland's African American workers unemployed.

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*

40. Gibson, "Bleeding Albina," 9-10; McElderry, "Building a West Coast Ghetto," 143; City of Portland Bureau of Planning, "The History of Portland's African American Community (1805-Present)," 86.

41. MacColl, *Growth of a City*, 595.

Historian E. Kimbark MacColl writes that, “the term ‘troublesome blighted area’ referred to a section of Vanport occupied by negroes.”

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid.

44. *The Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon) May 31, 1948; Maben, *Vanport*, 104-132; McElderry, “Building a West Coast Ghetto,” 143; Gibson, “Bleeding Albina,” 10.

45. “The Rise of Urban Renewal and the Loss of Community in Albina,” *Acknowledging The Past, Embracing The Future: A Glimpse Into the History of Albina’s Eliot Neighborhood*. Emanuel Hospital, 2801 N Gantenbein Ave, Portland, Oregon 97227. March 1, 2016.

46. Gibson, “Bleeding Albina,” 13.

Here, Gibson writes, “the relationship between the Albina community and city agencies could be characterized by extremes of absolute neglect and active destruction. At times when residents resisted, such as during the testimony of the Emanuel Displaced Persons Association, they got some cooperation and support from the city. Ultimately they could not trust that it had their best interests at heart.”

47. Maben, *Vanport*, 106.

48. Ibid, 125.

49. Ibid., 104-132; McElderry, “Building a West Coast Ghetto,” 142, 148; *The Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon), May 31, 1948

50. McElderry, Building a West Coast Ghetto,” 142.

51. Ibid., 143.

52. Ibid., 141-142; Gibson, “Bleeding Albina,” 9-10; City of Portland Bureau of Planning, “The History of the African American Community (1805-Present),” 89-102 (Portland, Oregon: 1993).

Civil rights organizations during the post-war years -- such as Urban League of Portland, led by Edwin Berry, and the local NAACP chapter, led by Dr. DeNorval Unthank -- advocated for the rights of African American tenants and worker communities, as HAP neglected to make public housing efforts a priority. The Urban League helped Vanport City gain several of Portland’s first African American teachers. In addition, The Urban League and local NAACP chapters helped initiate civil rights legislation in Oregon between 1949 and 1953. For more on civil rights, see City of Portland Bureau of Planning’s 1993 study, “The History of the African American Community (1805-Present).”

53. McElderry, “Building a West Coast Ghetto,” 143.

54. Ibid, 143, 146, 148; Carl Abbott, *Portland: Planning, Politics, and Growth in a Twentieth Century City* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 157-158; *The Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon), Oct. 5, Nov. 10, 1950; MacColl, *Growth of a City*, 602.

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid.; Gibson, “Bleeding Albina,” 10; Pearson, “African Americans in Portland, Oregon,” 193-222.

58. Ibid., 143.

59. City Club of Portland, “The Negro in Portland: A Progress Report, 1945-1957,” 358 (Portland, Oregon: 1957); Gibson, “Bleeding Albina,” 10.

Gibson reveals in this section that 90 percent of realtors would not sell homes to African Americans in white neighborhoods. HAP and Portland Realtors argued at the time that “Negroes depress property values,” and that it was unethical for a lender to sell African Americans homes in white neighborhoods. For more reading on discriminatory lending policies, see the City Club of Portland report, “The Negro in Portland: A Progress Report, 1945-1957.”

60. Ibid.

61. City of Portland Bureau of Planning, “History of the Albina Plan Area,” 36.

62. City of Portland Archives, Oregon, City Auditor – Archives & Records Management – Auditor’s Historical Records 12/31/1891, A2001-002, no. M/1123, Section 27 – Albina Area. <http://efiles.portlandoregon.gov/Record/2300142/>

Page 33 in City of Portland Atlas. Map includes early developments of Union Pacific Railway Company, Cook’s Addition, Riverview Addition, Albina Addition, Proebstel’s Addition, Abend’s Addition, Evan’s Addition, Railroad Shops Addition, Albina, East Irving’s Addition and Holladay’s Addition. Scan is missing section title and compass from top of map.

63. Roy E. Roos. *The History of Albina: Including Eliot, Boise, King, Humboldt and Piedmont Neighborhoods* (Portland, Oregon: 2008), 37; City of Portland Archives, Oregon, City Auditor Historical

Records 12/31/1891, A2001-002, no. M/1122, Section 34 – Couch’s Addition, McMillen’s Addition and Wheeler’s Addition.

Page 42 in Atlas of the City of Portland. Map includes Couch's Addition, Northern Pacific Terminal Company, B. Stark Addition, East Irving's Addition, McMillen's Addition, Holladay's Addition, Wheeler's Addition, East Portland, and Frush's Square. Scan is missing section title and compass from top of map and small portion of right side.

64. *The Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon), June 22, 1913, 8. <http://www.gfo.org/lone-fir/james-h-mcmillen.htm>. Accessed April 20, 2016.

65. Roos, *The History of Albina*, 37; McElderry, “Building a West Coast Ghetto,” 143; City of Portland Archives, Oregon, City Auditor – Archives & Records Management – Auditor’s Historical Records 12/31/1891, A2001-002, no. M/1122, Section 34 – Couch’s Addition, McMillen’s Addition and Wheeler’s Addition. <http://efiles.portlandoregon.gov/Record/2300141/>

For a map of non-white occupancy in the McMillen’s Addition area of Lower Albina, see Figure 4 of Stuart McElderry’s article, “Building a West Coast Ghetto.” Some blocks of McMillen’s Addition were shaded Black to indicate the population of certain blocks to be over 50 percent African American. McMillen’s Addition was platted long before the construction of the Broadway and Steel Bridges, which were constructed between 1912 and 1913. The bridges are used in this sentence purely to convey geographical awareness.

66. “Eliot in the Postwar Era,” *Acknowledging The Past, Embracing The Future: A Glimpse Into the History of Albina’s Eliot Neighborhood*. Emanuel Hospital, 2801 N Gantenbein Ave, Portland, Oregon 97227. March 1, 2016.

67. Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, “Harry S. Truman: Statement by the President Upon Signing the Housing Act of 1949,” *The American Presidency Project*, July 15, 1949. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=13246>. Accessed April 26, 2016.

68. “The Rise of Urban Renewal and the Loss of Community in Albina,” *Acknowledging The Past, Embracing The Future: A Glimpse Into the History of Albina’s Eliot Neighborhood*. Emanuel Hospital, 2801 N Gantenbein Ave, Portland, Oregon 97227. March 1, 2016.

69. *Ibid.*; Gibson, “Bleeding Albina,” 11.

70. Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of the Community: Buildings of Portland’s African American History*, 86-87 (Portland, Oregon: August, 1995).

71. *Ibid.*; Blankenship, “Intersections,” 2-7.

72. *Local Color*, directed by John Tuttle (Portland, Oregon: OPB, 1991, 1999), DVD.

73. Blankenship, “Intersections,” 2.

74. *Ibid.*, 4.

Roslyn Hill recalls her experience living in the historic fourplex:

“when you walked through the front door, you saw a beautiful place with hardwood floors, dark stained woodwork, and leaded glass windows...I especially remember the Murphy bed in the living room that pulled out of the wall, because my brother and I would get into it and pull it up so we could look out the window behind. From there, facing west, we could see Interstate, which was a two-lane highway then, the train tracks, the river, and, across the river, downtown.”

75. *Ibid.*, 5.

76. *Ibid.*, 4.

Though Hill’s family was able to secure a rental in the Sugar Hill District of Southeast Portland, their case was a rare one (despite the small, growing community of African Americans in the Sugar Hill District around Southeast 42nd and Cora). Some displaced families from the Memorial Coliseum area left Portland entirely, while some ended up scattered throughout crowded neighborhoods north of Broadway. Most displaced residents and businesses fell into debt looking for new homes and storefronts.

77. Monica Fields-Fears, “Interview with Charlotte Rutherford,” 10 (November 19, 2008). *Black United Front Oral History Project*. Paper 6.

78. *Ibid.*

Even prior to the construction of Interstate 5, construction of Highway 99W removed businesses and homes along Interstate Avenue. Interstate Avenue, however, did not displace nearly as many residents as construction for the Minnesota Freeway.

79. Richard Thompson, "Portland Streetcar System," *The Oregon Encyclopedia*, (Portland State University, Oregon Historical Society: 2016).  
[http://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/portland\\_streetcar\\_system/#.Vz6Zy5MrLGI](http://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/portland_streetcar_system/#.Vz6Zy5MrLGI)

For further reading on Portland's streetcar system, see Richard Thompson's *Portland Streetcar Lines* (2010), *Portland Streetcars* (2006), and *Willamette Valley Railways* (2008). Also see John T. Labbe's *Fares Please! Those Portland Trolley Years* (1980).

80. Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of the Community*, 90.

81. Jeana Woolley, "Reconciliation Project: The Emanuel Hospital Urban Renewal Project," 1-6 (Portland, Oregon: January, 2012)

By July 19, 1962, Emanuel Hospital in North Portland showed interest in preparing a plan for expansion of their facilities through an urban renewal program. Shortly after, on July 24th, Paul Hanson and Oscar Gustafson (another administrator) met with U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) representative Bob Boldt to discuss possibilities for expansion. The newly formed Portland Development Commission (PDC) noted on September 24, 1962 that the hospital had already purchased \$170,000 of land that they hoped to utilize as "pool credit" if an urban renewal project were to commence. Many members of the community were not told of these activities until Emanuel Hospital held meetings at Albina area churches during the summer of 1970. In order to determine the viability of the project, Portland Development Commission adopted a resolution on July 16th, 1963 spearheading preparation for a Central Albina study, which became known as The Hamilton Report -- named after Minneapolis hospital consultant James A. Hamilton. According to Jeana Woolley, a developer and longtime community activist, The Hamilton Report concluded, "if the hospital was to remain in its present location...it must acquire considerably more of the surrounding properties to protect itself from undesirable encroachments in the future." PDC ultimately used findings from The Hamilton Report to find out what additional land was needed in order to go further with the project.

In order to secure approval for the urban renewal project from the federal government, the Emanuel Hospital Board of Directors needed to amend their Survey and Planning Grant Application to meet new standards set by the Model Cities Citizens Planning Board. The Model Cities Program was established in 1967, as part of President Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty initiative. Model Cities emphasized involvement of grassroots community residents in the decision-making process and project design activities associated with urban renewal areas, including the Albina District. Between 1967 and 1969, Emanuel Hospital adjusted its grant application so there would be increased coordination with the Model Cities Program and that there would be a "working relationship" to make adequate housing available to the entire city, not just the urban renewal area. After adjustment to the Survey and Planning Grant, on June 18, 1968, the Model Cities Citizen's Planning Board approved the urban renewal plan. Two years later, on May 26, 1970, HUD approved the planning application.

82. Ibid.

83. Eunice Kim, "Mitigating Displacement Due to Gentrification: Tools for Portland, Oregon," (Master's Thesis, Tufts University, 2011), 52; Bureau of Labor Statistics Inflation Calculator. [http://www.bls.gov/data/inflation\\_calculator.htm](http://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm). Accessed May 1, 2016.

84. Woolley, "Reconciliation Project," 1-6; City of Portland Archives, Oregon, City Council Documents, AD/3508, City of Portland Council Minutes, Emanuel Hospital Project 3700, Emanuel Displaced Persons Association Testimony, October 21, 1970, 2.

City council members continually assured residents that the removal process would permit residents to move with dignity. Oliver Norville, a representative of the PDC, pointed out during the hearing that there were two stages to urban renewal: the first stage is the elimination of "blighted conditions," the second stage involved assuring residents that developments are consistent with the plan of the community. Overall, Norville believed that approval of the plan was the "proper use to which the land can be put." While Norville made attempts to make PDC and Emanuel look like less of an aggressor, Model Cities representative Robert W. Boyer made his opinions clear about the lasting effects urban renewal would bring to the area. "Through this displacement, you stand to lose more than money could reimburse."

85. Ibid., 1-6; City of Portland Archives, Oregon, City Council Documents, AD/3508, City of Portland Council Minutes, Emanuel Hospital Project 3700, Emanuel Displaced Persons Association Testimony, October 21, 1970, 3.

The EDPA came to an agreement with the Emanuel Administrators, PDC, and the Model Cities Planning Board on March 11, 1971. The agreement outlined a plan to create 180-300 units of federally-assisted low-moderate income housing for residents of the now demolished urban renewal area.

86. Ibid.

87. Ibid., 2.

88. Woolley, "Reconciliation Project," 1-6.

Several Model Cities initiatives were beneficial to the community outside Emanuel Hospital's expansion. This includes the creation of the Albina Corporation, the Albina Arts Center, the Albina Youth Opportunity School, the Black Education Center, the creation of Unthank Park, and the Albina Neighborhood Improvement Project.

89. Ibid.

90. Bosco-Milligan Foundation, *Cornerstones of the Community*, 90.

Urban renewal projects continually reshaped Albina during the 1970s. In December of 1973, The City of Portland and the Model Cities Planning Board initiated the Union Avenue Redevelopment Project. The goals of the project were to create new economic opportunities for local businesses and beautify the appearance of the street, as well as provide housing opportunities for adjacent communities. Union Avenue became widened in the process of the development plan. On-street parking was eliminated along long stretches of the street, and a tree-lined median strip was constructed to prevent car crashes and allow for safer left-turns at dangerous intersections. The City's reasoning for redeveloping Union followed the conventional planning mindset of the post-war era, that older streets like Union Avenue needed to be adapted for the increasing numbers of automobiles. Rather than expand opportunities for local businesses, the redevelopment project hindered revitalization of Union Avenue's business district. Many African American businesses disappeared with expansion of the street and by 1980, the center of Portland's African American community had shifted from Lower Albina to Upper Albina, at the intersection of Union Avenue and Skidmore. Of Albina's 63,000 residents in 1980, 20,000 were African American.

91. Gibson, "Bleeding Albina," 22-23; David Austin and Holley Gilbert, "Portland's Crack Alley," *The Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon), August 3, 1988, C1; Kathie Durbin, "Crack Epidemic Devastates Portland's King Neighborhood," *The Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon), July 31, 1988, A1.

92. Tasha Triplett, "Interview with Pauline Bradford," 16 (March 9, 2010) *Black United Front Oral History Project*. Paper 1.

93. Gibson, "Bleeding Albina," 17.

94. Ibid.

95. Dee Lane, "Buyers Say Home Loans Refused For Some NE Sites," *The Oregonian*, September 10, 1990, A11; Gibson, "Bleeding Albina," 4-5, 17-19, 21; Bureau of Labor Statistics Inflation Calculator. [http://www.bls.gov/data/inflation\\_calculator.htm](http://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm). Accessed May 1, 2016.

Absentee landlords, gang violence and diminished property values created a vacuum for dishonest lenders to take advantage of first-time home-buyers. During the 1980s, Dominion Capital had been the most active home mortgage lending company in North and inner-Northeast Portland. Where banks saw risky investments, Dominion saw the potential for making massive profits. Dee Lane and Steve Mayes' 1990 report found that Dominion had inflated the value of homes they then sold to unsuspecting home buyers. The company provided risky financing to buyers without fully disclosing the terms and conditions of the sale. The main problem with Dominion, however, was the fact that the company loaned more on homes than what they were worth. Knowingly overpricing bad deals, the company sold homes to unsuspecting first-time home-buyers who had no idea that a home's value was much less than what they earned.

96. *Northeast Passage: The Inner City and the American Dream*, directed by Spencer Wolf and Cornelius Swart. (Portland, Oregon: CreateSpace 2002, 2011)

97. Ibid.

98. Ibid.; Gibson, "Bleeding Albina," 19.

99. Ibid.

100. Ibid.; Dee Lane, "Buyers Say Home Loans Refused For Some NE Sites," *The Oregonian*, September 10, 1990, A11; Bureau of Labor Statistics Inflation Calculator. [http://www.bls.gov/data/inflation\\_calculator.htm](http://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm). Accessed May 1, 2016.

101. Dee Lane and Steve Mayes, "Bank Redlining Creates Blueprint for Slum in North, inner NE Portland: 1990 coverage from The Oregonian," *The Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon), August 24, 2014.

Lane and Mayes' report exposed Attorney General Dave Frohnmayer for ignoring more than 90 deals in which Dominion defrauded investors and first-time home buyers. Overall, predatory lenders such as Dominion Capital took advantage of conditions conventional banks created in Albina by not providing home loans in low-income Albina neighborhoods.

102. Portland Bureau of Planning, "Adopted Albina Community Plan," (Portland, Oregon: 1993), 1-9. Another feature of the plan was commercial development. Since the consumer base in Albina was in decline, and commercial services were at a standstill, one way the ACP increased commercial activity was to revitalize Martin Luther King Boulevard and provide North Portland residents with a new light-rail MAX (Metropolitan Area Express) line running down Interstate Avenue.

103. *Ibid.*, 1.

104. Portland Development Commission, "About the PDC: Frequently Asked Questions." <http://www.pdc.us/about-the-pdc/frequently-asked-questions.aspx>. Accessed May 1, 2016.

105. Goodling, Green, & McClintock, "Uneven Development of the Sustainable City," 2; U.S. Census 2012 American Community Survey. <http://blackdemographics.com/households/housing/>.

106. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 283-285.

In this section of Jackson's last chapter, he remarked, "eighteen of the nation's twenty-five largest cities in 1950 suffered a net loss of population over the next three decades, a circumstance which many observers have taken as the most compelling evidence that our cities are dying." Jackson goes further by stating, "as early as the 1950s, suburban real estate advertisements were harping on the themes of race, crime, drugs, congestion and filth. Thus, the well-to-do could avoid the local costs of urban old age by simply stepping over the border, leaving the poor to support the poor."

107. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 283-305; MacColl, *Growth of a City*, 659-660.

108. MacColl, *Growth of a City*, 659.

109. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 304.

110. Ruth Glass, *London: Aspects of Change* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1964), xviii.

A small group of urban theorists and Geographers, including David Harvey, Michael Lang, Sharon Zukin and Neil Smith were able to figure out why a fundamental economic shift was occurring in the historic inner cities of the United States. Their studies focused on urbanity's new defining issue, gentrification, and became a calling for a new generation of Urban Geographers. In its most common terms, gentrification is used to describe the process of middle and upper-class resident moving into, and rehabilitating, historically low-income neighborhoods.

111. Michael Lang, *Gentrification Amid Urban Decline: Strategies for America's Older Cities* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Ballinger Publishing, 1982), 6-7.

112. Neil Smith, "Toward a Theory of Gentrification: A Back to the City Movement by Capital, Not People," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 45, no. 4 (1979): 539, 547.

The issue of gentrification came to dominate conversations among journalists and urban theorists alike during the 1980s. Locations of inquiry included Manhattan's Lower East Side, Philadelphia's Society Hill and San Francisco's Mission District faced rising rents and spatial reorganization efforts in the 1980s and 1990s. Each district, like Albina, had a long history of poor and working class residents living in century-old housing stock. During the post-war era, real estate developers paid little attention to these central city dwelling hubs, and city governments oriented their focus on modernization, the automobile, the interstate highways and the ever-expanding automobile suburbs. During the 1980s and 1990s, things were beginning to change.

113. Neil Smith, *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City* (London & New York: Routledge, 1996, 2005), 65.

114. *Ibid.*, 18, 139.

Here, Smith explains how the East Village and Harlem had artificially low rents in the early 1980s, which made the neighborhoods attractive to artists and bourgeois tenants prior to rent hikes.

115. Gibson, "Bleeding Albina," 6.

Gibson points out: "In Portland, the Black community was destabilized by a systematic process of private sector disinvestment and public sector neglect."

116. *Ibid.*, 20-21.

117. Smith, *The New Urban Frontier*, 58-59.

118. *Ibid.*, 3-27, 116-162.

119. Gibson, "Bleeding Albina," 22; November 2, 2012; Goodling, Green, & McClintock, "Uneven Development of the Sustainable City," 17-19.

120. *Ibid.*

121. Jim Barnett and Steve Suo, "Albina 1996: Selmene Rodriguez, squeezed by rising rents, portrait of a lost NE Portland Neighbor," *The Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon), August 24, 2014.

122. *Ibid.*



123. Lisa Bates, *Gentrification and Displacement Study: Implementing an Equitable Inclusive Development Strategy in the Context of Gentrification*, (Portland, Oregon: Bureau of Planning and Sustainability), 10.
124. City of Portland, Oregon, “Displacement in North and Northeast Portland – An Historical Overview.” <https://www.portlandoregon.gov/phb/article/517236>
125. Nikole Hannah-Jones, “In Portland’s Heart, 2010 Census shows diversity dwindling,” *The Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon), April 30, 2011.
126. City of Portland Office of Neighborhood Associations, “Neighborhood Social Profiles (1990 Census): Eliot,” (Portland, Oregon: August 1997); U.S. Census Bureau, 2006-2010 American Community Survey; Bureau of Labor Statistics Inflation Calculator. [http://www.bls.gov/data/inflation\\_calculator.htm](http://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm). Accessed May 1, 2016.
127. City of Portland Office of Neighborhood Associations, “Neighborhood Social Profiles (1990 Census): Sabin,” (Portland, Oregon: August 1997); “Neighborhoods By The Numbers – Real Estate 2015: Our Annual Quick Reference Guide To 122 Neighborhoods and Suburbs,” *Portland Monthly Magazine* (Portland, Oregon), 2015.
128. Portland Housing Bureau, *State of Housing in Portland*, (Portland, Oregon: 2015), 71.  
According to this recently published document, the median yearly income of the Black population in the MLK-Alberta area rose from \$42,017 in 2000 to \$42,323 in 2010. A \$300 increase in 10 years of inflation, rising prices of goods, rising rents, and rising home prices.
129. *Ibid.*, 69.  
According to the same document, the median yearly income of the Black population in the Interstate Corridor area dropped from \$35,398 in 2000 to \$24,322 in 2010.
130. *Ibid.*, 71.
131. Alberta Main Street, “History of Alberta Street.” <http://albertamainst.org/about-2/history/>.  
Alberta’s revitalization had a lot to do with Roslyn Hill’s local efforts to grow Alberta Street into a hub for culture, entertainment, and the arts.
132. NARA II RG 195 Entry 39 Folder “Portland, Oregon Security Map and Area Descriptions” Box 26; HOLC Division of Research and Statistics, “Pittmon’s Map of Portland Ore. and Vicinity” by Armena Pittmon, City and County Engineers Files, Appraisal Department HOLC, Portland Printing House, (Portland, Oregon 1934, 1938), <http://www.urbanosis.org/projects/holc-fha/digital-holc-maps/>
133. Alberta Main Street, “History of Alberta Street.” <http://albertamainst.org/about-2/history/>; Gibson, “Bleeding Albina,” 17-19.
134. Gibson, “Bleeding Albina,” 20; Jim Redden, “Alberta Street: then and Now,” *The Portland Tribune* (Portland, Oregon), December 15, 2015.  
The Alberta Street Project, an initiative of Black United Fund of Oregon was set up to restore commercial activity along Alberta Street and improve neighborhood livability.
135. *Ibid.*
136. *Ibid.*
137. Urban League of Portland, *State of Black Oregon 2015* (Portland, Ore.: Urban League of Portland, 2015), 144-146.
138. *Ibid.*
139. Portland Housing Bureau, *State of Housing in Portland*, (Portland, Oregon: 2015), 34.
140. *Ibid.*
141. *Ibid.*
142. Brian Libby, “Neighbor Seek Limits on Williams Avenue,” *Portland Architecture* (blog), April 22, 2013, <http://chatterbox.typepad.com/portlandarchitecture/2013/04/boiseeliot-neighborhood-takes-on-oversized-williams-avenue-projects.html>.
143. <http://thealbert.com/?contact>. Accessed May 1, 2016.
144. *Ibid.*
145. <http://thealbert.com/?other/affordable-housing>. Accessed May 1, 2016.  
Local developers have become increasingly aware of the role these new high-end eco-structures have had in changing the neighborhood, and are well aware of the need to provide affordable housing when constructing new buildings along Williams Avenue. Local developer Jean-Pierre Valliet and Siteworks Northwest responded to the need for affordable housing by building a LEED Gold-certified “workforce housing” unit, known as Shaver Green. Shaver Green is an affordable mixed-use housing complex, which looks very similar to other Williams Avenue green buildings such as The Albert and Mason Williams.

However the rates at Shaver Green are much different. While still combining the eco-conscious aesthetic of other buildings in the area, Shaver Green hosts 85 net-zero environmental impact units for families with limited incomes. The building has 71 units occupied by renters making 60 percent or less of Portland's median household income, with some renters paying \$515 a month. Shaver Green is one of the few exceptions in the neighborhood.

146. <http://themasonwilliams.com/>. Accessed May 1, 2016.

147. <http://themasonwilliams.com/?contact>. Accessed May 1, 2016.

148. <http://themasonwilliams.com/?apartments/features>. Accessed May 1, 2016.

149. Sarah Mirk, "It's Not About the Bikes: Pinning the North Williams Uproar over Bikes Misses the Point—and the History," *The Portland Mercury* (Portland, Oregon), February 16, 2012.

150. Elliot Njus, "Office Buildings a new twist on Portland's rapidly developing North Williams corridor," *The Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon), May 20, 2015.

151. Dooling, "Ecological Gentrification: A Research Agenda Exploring Justice in the City," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 33 (2009): 630.

152. Michael MacCiag, "Gentrification in America Report," *Governing Magazine* (Folsom, California), February 2015; Abigail Savitch-Lew, "Gentrification Spotlight: How Portland is Pushing Out Its Black Residents (Part 2)," *Color Lines Magazine* (Oakland, California), April 20, 2016.

153. *Ibid.*

154. Urban League of Portland, *State of Black Oregon 2015* (Portland, Ore.: Urban League of Portland, 2015), 134-137.

155. Abigail Savitch-Lew, "Gentrification Spotlight: How Portland is Pushing Out Its Black Residents (Part 2)," *Color Lines Magazine* (Oakland, California), April 20, 2016.

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[http://www.bls.gov/data/inflation\\_calculator.htm](http://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm).
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