

Map Gresham

June 2014

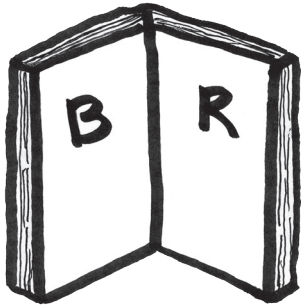
Background Report



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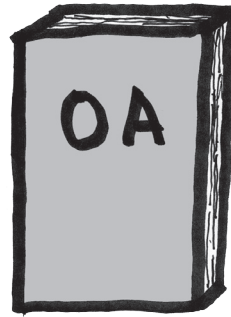
DOCUMENT OVERVIEW



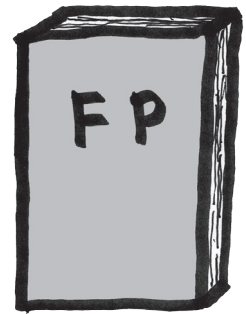
Background Report



**Community
Engagement Report**



Opportunity Analysis



**Opportunity
Framework Plan**

Background Report:

The Background Report draws from literature reviews, case studies, and informant interviews to provide background information and evidence that support the methodology and findings of the Opportunity Analysis and the goals and actions in the Opportunity Framework Plan.

Community Engagement Report:

The Community Engagement Report describes the community engagement efforts completed for the Opportunity Framework Plan, including: interviews, Listening Circles and discussion groups, online questionnaire, technical adviser meetings, Community Celebration, and the City staff consultation open house event. The report concludes with an evaluation of our planning process and engagement methods.

Opportunity Analysis:

The Opportunity Analysis provides a detailed analysis of the opportunity structure in the city of Gresham and throughout its neighborhoods, including demographics and indicators analyzed for this project. The analysis includes maps, methodology, analysis, applicable community engagement findings, and conclusions that inform the recommendations set forth in the Opportunity Framework Plan.

Opportunity Framework Plan:

The Opportunity Framework Plan is the guiding document written for the City of Gresham. The overarching objective of the plan is to improve equitable access to opportunity for Gresham's neighborhoods and diverse populations. The Plan includes a series of nine goals that were created in collaboration with our community partners, technical advisors, and Gresham City Staff.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION & PURPOSE

Opportunity mapping is a planning method used to analyze the spatial distribution of structures that provide people with a chance to live a healthy and fulfilling life. The approach allows us to determine whether access to such structures are distributed equitably or inequitably in a given city or region, and helps us to understand which populations have greater or lesser access.

In 2013, Gresham City Council updated its Housing Policy and identified “opportunity mapping” as a tool that could help guide its implementation. City staff later recognized that two other projects included in the 2014 Council/Commission Work Plan - the Food Access Project and the Community Prosperity Initiative - would also benefit from an opportunity mapping effort.

In order to complete this project, Gresham’s Urban Design & Planning (UDP) contracted Camassia Community Planning (CCP) - a Portland State University (PSU) graduate student consulting group - to conduct this opportunity mapping analysis. The mapping project was accompanied by an extensive community engagement process, and a set of recommendations to help improve the equitable distribution of opportunities throughout the city. The results of this analysis are documented in an *Opportunity Framework Plan* that accompanies this *Background Report*.

Problem Statement

Gresham’s population is growing, as are the number of its residents who are living in poverty. Between 2000 and 2010 the city’s population grew by 17% and the absolute share of the population living in poverty grew by 5.5 percentage points. Both of these rates of growth are higher than the regional average (Table 1). The City’s capacity to provide services has not increased correspondingly. These trends of growing poverty and constrained resources suggests that disparities in opportunities for health and well-being may also be at risk of growing as well. The City’s ability to address potential growth in disparities would be strengthened by a comprehensive understanding of how these opportunities - such as access to quality housing, education, transit, and jobs - vary between neighborhoods and population groups. Further, perceptions of opportunity vary widely in a culturally diverse context such as Gresham’s, which underscores the need for extensive public outreach to better understand the types of opportunities that are needed by people in order to fulfill their aspirations.

This *Background Report* draws from literature reviews, case studies, and informant interviews to provide background information and evidence that support the methodology and findings of the *Opportunity Framework Plan*. More specifically, the purpose of the report is to:

- 1) Provide information related to the Gresham context;
- 2) Establish a theoretical and methodological foundation for opportunity mapping and the resulting framework plan;
- 3) Define and operationalize the indicators that CCP used to create its opportunity maps.

Chapter 2 provides some context for the Opportunity Mapping project by offering a brief overview of geographic, demographic, and governmental conditions in Gresham.

Chapters 3-5 then set out the theoretical and methodological approaches that have guided and informed our opportunity mapping analysis. Chapter 3 outlines the conceptual frameworks that support our approach to opportunity mapping - namely, social determinants of health literature, the geography of opportunity literature, and theories of uneven urban development. These frameworks draw from the research in the fields of public health, critical human geography, urban planning, and political economy as well as other disciplines. Chapter 4 describes the theoretical context for CCP's approach to equity planning, as reflected in our mission statement (see sidebar). Chapter 5 provides an overview of the opportunity mapping methodology that was pioneered by the Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity. The section also includes an analysis of outcomes, benefits, and limitations of the method.

In Chapters 6-8, we shift to provide a background literature review on the major topics of research that our opportunity mapping project was asked to address. Chapter 6 discusses how opportunity mapping can help inform implementation of the updated Housing Policy. Chapter 7 discusses the Food Access project and provides an overview of different approaches to analyzing food access that will inform our opportunity mapping analysis. Chapter 8 discusses approaches to economic development provides context for employment-related analysis and recommendations, and may help inform Gresham's Community Prosperity Initiative.

CCP Mission Statement

Camassia Community Planning's goal is the advancement of social equity and community health. We strive to help communities build their capacity to engage actively in civic life and public decision-making processes. We are committed to using engagement strategies that empower those who have traditionally experienced social and economic barriers, in order to ensure that all residents get to be active co-creators of public policies.

2.0 GRESHAM CONTEXT

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a brief summary of the geographic, demographic, and institutional context of the city of Gresham.

2.1 Geography

The City of Gresham is located in Multnomah County to the east of Portland OR, and within the region's Urban Growth Boundary (UGB). Gresham's boundaries extend north to the Columbia River and south to Clackamas County, while Fairview, Wood Village and Troutdale bound it to the west. The city's topography is mostly flat with some gently rolling terrain, but is also distinctly characterized by its eight volcanic buttes that jut out of the landscape to heights upwards of 1,000 feet. The boundary of Gresham overlaps with five watersheds - the Columbia Slough, Johnson Creek, Fairview Creek, Kelly Creek, and Beaver Creek. Major transportation routes include Highway 26 which runs west to Portland and southeast to Mount Hood National Forest, and Interstate 84, which follows the Columbia River from Portland through to eastern Oregon. A region-wide light rail line (MAX) begins in Gresham, and runs east-west through the city connecting it with downtown Portland.

History and development pattern

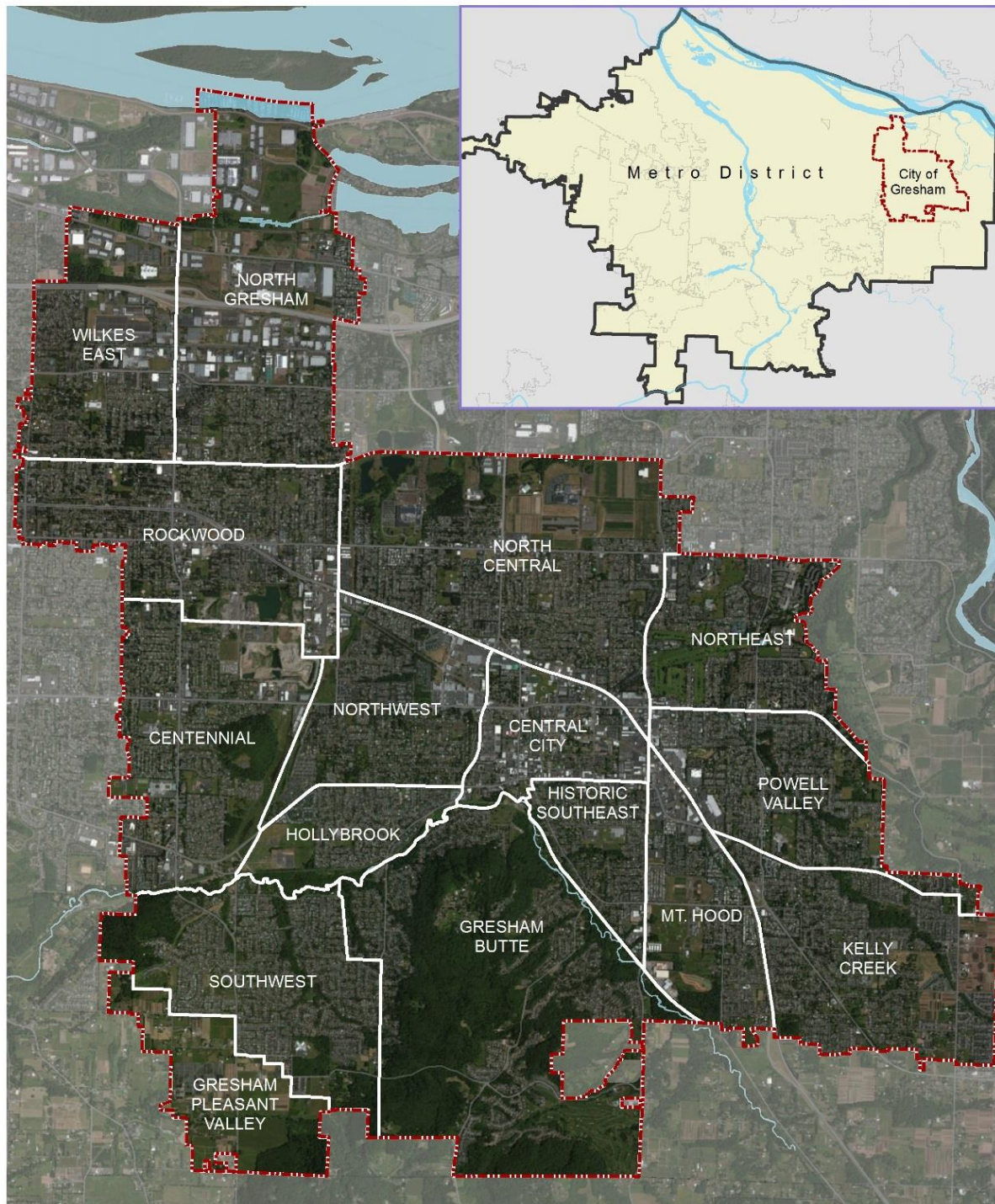
The city of Gresham is located on the traditional territories of Chinook-speaking people whose ancestors have inhabited this land in the Willamette Valley and along the Columbia River for many hundreds of generations. The city was incorporated in 1905. By 1950, the city covered two square miles and had a population of about 3,000. During the 1970s, the city's population nearly tripled reaching 31,275 in 1980. The landmass of the city also began to increase due to the annexation of adjacent lands. Today the city spans 23 square miles and is home to over 105,500 people according to the 2010 Census (Gresham Comprehensive Plan, 2005).

Gresham has long served as a retail center for rural east Multnomah County, providing regional goods and services such as farm supplies, auto manufacturing, logging industry services, and banking (Gresham Comprehensive Plan, 2005). The city continues to provide commercial services to outlying areas, but it is now primarily a residential community following decades of subdivision development and more recent construction of multi-family residential units. As described further in Section 3.3, Gresham's growth reflects the national trend of suburbanization following World War II, driven by federal highway construction, homeownership incentives, and other technical, social, and political forces. In Gresham's case, the proximity to Portland and recreational areas (such as Mt. Hood) drove demand for single family housing, while the political environment supported the supply side through an active annexation program, service extension policy, and land use and development controls supportive of growth (Gresham Comprehensive Plan, 2005)

Commercial uses are located mostly in the central city area (including the downtown and Civic Neighborhood), as well as along major arterial streets in the form of commercial strip developments. Lands designated for industrial use, which make up 16% of the City, are located primarily west of 223rd Avenue and in north Gresham (Transportation System Plan, 2013). Parkland and natural areas cover approximately 1,140 acres (7.6% of the land area). The majority

of undeveloped land designated for development is located in the northwestern and southern portions of Gresham, particularly in the Pleasant Valley, Springwater, and Kelly Creek areas. Parts of southern Gresham are publicly owned and/or subject to hillside constraints, which constrict development.

Figure 1 – Gresham Boundaries and Neighborhoods



2.2 Recent Trends¹

Population

Gresham has a growing, diverse, and comparatively young population. It is the third largest city in the Portland metropolitan area (behind Portland and Vancouver, WA) and the fourth largest city in Oregon by population. As of 2010, the population passed 105,500, increasing by 17% since 2000. As the population grows, it is also becoming more racially and ethnically diverse. Between 2000 and 2010, the share of the population in Gresham identified as White (non-Hispanic) decreased by 10 percentage points. The Hispanic/Latino population accounts for the majority of the change, as the share increased by seven percentage points.

Table 1: Population Trends

	Gresham			3-County Region		
	2000	2010	Change*	2000	2010	Change*
Population	90,205	105,594	17%	1,444,219	1,641,036	14%
Population Density	4,072	4,551	12%	477	542	14%
Percent of Population identified as White (Non-Hispanic)	78.9%	68.7%	-10.2%	79.9%	74.2%	-5.7%
Percent of Population identified as Hispanic	11.9%	18.9%	7.0%	8.0%	11.7%	3.7%
Percent of Population identified as Asian (Non-Hispanic)	3.3%	4.2%	0.9%	5.2%	6.5%	1.3%
Percent of Population identified as Black (Non-Hispanic)	1.8%	3.3%	1.5%	3.0%	3.1%	0.1%
Percent of Population under age 18	27.6%	26.5%	-1.1%	24.6%	22.9%	-1.7%

*Percent change (for absolute values) or difference (for percentages)

Sources: US Census Bureau, 2000 Census, 2010 Census, 2008-12 ACS 5-year estimates

On the whole, the city is more racially/ethnically diverse than the region at large, which has a White

¹ The analysis relies primarily on 2000 and 2010 Census data, unless otherwise cited. For variables included in the 2000 Census but not the 2010 Census, we used 2008-12 American Communities Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates to approximate 2010 conditions. The precise statistics related to employment and housing may vary compared to other sources, but are useful in capturing overall trends in the city and region.

For the purposes of this analysis, the region includes the tri-county Portland area (Multnomah, Washington, and Clackamas Counties), which includes a mix of urban, suburban, and rural areas. The Portland Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) includes seven counties in Oregon and Washington. We excluded the mostly rural counties from the comparison region in order to compare Gresham to areas with similar population density and development patterns.

(non-Hispanic) population share of 75% compared to Gresham's share of 69%. Gresham also has a younger population than the region, with a higher share of youth (under age 18) and lower share of seniors (over age 65) than the regional average.

Housing

Gresham's housing stock has also increased over the past 15 years. Between 2000 and 2010, the city added over 5,000 housing units, increasing the population density by about 500 residents per square mile. Compared to the region as a whole, Gresham's housing stock consists of a lower share of single-family homes, a higher share of rentals, and is cheaper to rent or own. The average household size is larger than the regional average.

Table 2: Housing Trends

	Gresham			3-County Region		
	2000	2010	Change*	2000	2010	Change*
Percent of Housing Units that are single-family	56.5%	57.7%	1.2%	64.5%	65.4%	0.9%
Households (occupied housing units)	33,327	38,704	16%	569,461	651,264	14%
Average household size (persons per household)	2.71	2.73	0.02	2.54	2.52	-0.02
Percent of Households that are renter-occupied	45.1%	47.5%	2.4%	38.8%	40.1%	1.3%
Median Gross Rent (2012 \$)	\$881	\$858	-3%	\$897	\$920	3%
Median House Value for Owner-occupied units (2012 \$)	\$207,728	\$227,100	9%	\$228,118	\$287,575	26%

*Percent change (for absolute values) or difference (for percentages)

Sources: US Census Bureau, 2000 Census, 2010 Census, 2008-12 ACS 5-year estimates

According to the ACS, single-family homes (1-unit attached or detached) make up over 57% of housing units in Gresham, whereas the regional average is 65%. Renters occupy about 48% of occupied housing units (households) in Gresham, while the remaining 52% of households are owner occupied, compared to 40% renter occupied and 60% owner occupied for the region as a whole. The vacancy rate of housing units, including single family and multifamily units, is roughly 5.1 %. The share of renters increased slightly in both Gresham and the region overall between 2000 and 2010.

For renter occupied units, the median gross rent in the city declined by about 3% over the past decade to \$858 per month, but increased by 3% in the region to \$920 per month. The median value of owner-occupied units in Gresham increased by 9% over the past decade, reaching about

\$227,100, whereas this value rose across the region by 36% to \$287,575. Roughly 12.8% of the City's rental stock is "affordable housing", defined as housing operated by the Housing Authority or non-profits specifically to provide housing to a low-income target population (Johnson Reid, Gresham Housing Study, 2012).

The average household size in Gresham is about 2.73 persons, compared to 2.54 for the region. Gresham's average household size grew by 0.02 since 2000, while the region's declined by the same increment.

Refer to Chapter 6 for an additional discussion on the housing context in Gresham.

Income and employment

Despite having larger households than the regional average, Gresham's household incomes are lower and have been declining faster than those of the region. In Gresham, the median household income fell 18% from approximately \$57,900 to \$47,600 (2012 dollars) between 2000 and 2010, whereas the regional median household income declined by about 7% to about \$58,000 (2012 dollars).

Gresham also has a declining employment rate that is lower than that of the region. The share of adults (age 16 and over) classified as unemployed but in the labor market increased by five percentage points from 2000 to 2010, reaching 11.9% in Gresham. At the regional level during this period, the unemployment rate increased by four percentage points to 9.9%.

Most of the city's 39,000 employed residents have to leave the city for their work - only 16% work in Gresham, whereas 45% commute to Portland, and 39% travel to other locations outside the city (WorkSource Oregon Metro East, cited from the 2013 Transportation System Plan). Conversely, of the 31,000 jobs located in Gresham, only 20% of workers live in Gresham. Although the number of jobs located in Gresham did increase by 12% between 2002 and 2011, there are still far more housing units (41,000) than jobs (31,000), resulting in a jobs-housing ratio of 0.75. In contrast, the region has more jobs than housing units, with a ratio of 1.17.

Both the percent of the population in poverty and percent of youth (under age 18) in poverty are higher in Gresham compared to the region overall. The share of the population in poverty increased by 5.5 percentage points since 2000 (versus 3.8 percentage points for the region). The share of households on public assistance has incrementally increased in both Gresham and the region, reaching 5.3% and 3.4% respectively.

The regional share of adults (age 25 and older) with a bachelor's degree or more is about 38%, which is more than twice that of Gresham's (18%). Adult educational attainment levels in the city have not changed substantially since 2000.

Table 3: Income and Employment Trends

	Gresham			3-County Region		
	2000	2010	Change*	2000	2010	Change*
Percent of Population in Poverty	12.5%	18.0%	5.5%	9.6%	13.4%	3.8%
Percent of Population Under age 18 in Poverty	17.8%	25.5%	7.7%	11.7%	17.5%	5.8%
Median Household Income (2012 \$)	\$57,921	\$47,577	-18%	\$62,657	\$57,959	-7%
Percent of Households receiving Public Assistance income	4.4%	5.3%	0.9%	3.2%	3.4%	0.2%
Percent of 25+ Population with Associate's	18.4%	18.1%	-0.3%	31.3%	37.6%	6.3%
Unemployment Rate for Civilian Population in Labor Force age 16 and up	6.4%	11.9%	5.5%	5.5%	9.9%	4.4%
Number of Jobs (2002 - 2011)	27,744	30,937	12%	784,434	810,676	3%
Housing Units	35,309	41,015	16%	604,428	694,227	15%
Jobs to Housing Ratio	0.79	0.75	-0.03	1.30	1.17	-0.13

*Percent change (for absolute values) or difference (for percentages)

Sources: US Census Bureau, 2000 Census, 2010 Census, 2008-12 ACS 5-year estimates

Summary

While Gresham is experiencing similar housing, demographic and employment trends as the region as a whole, many of the trends are occurring at an accentuated rate in Gresham. For instance, Gresham and the region are both growing and becoming more diverse, while facing declining household incomes and increasing rates of poverty. In each of these cases however, these trends are occurring faster and are more pronounced in Gresham than they are regionally. Gresham is also characterized as having larger households and a larger share of multifamily housing units and renters than the region as a whole. Rent and household values are lower than the regional average. Although the number of jobs located in Gresham have increased substantially between 2002 and 2011, there are still far less jobs than housing units in the city, and only 20% of these jobs employ Gresham residents.

2.3 City of Gresham

The City of Gresham is a council-manager form of government. The city council is the policy making body and consists of a mayor and six councilors, who are elected at large and serve four year terms. The mayor is the chairperson of the council and has a vote on all matters before the council. The city manager is the administrative head of the city government and is appointed by the city council.

The City of Gresham is a full service city providing water, sewer, and stormwater services, as well as police and fire protection. The City operates four fire stations, one police station, and a public safety facility. The City's parks system includes more than 300 acres within 18 parks, 840 acres of natural areas, and about 10 miles of trails. The city also manages three community gardens. Because the City of Gresham has historically been unable to provide recreation services, nongovernmental organizations such as private clubs, non-profits, and commercial operations have had to fill the need (Gresham Comprehensive Plan, 2005).

The City of Gresham is organized under the departments and offices shown in Figure 2. The departments involved in this project and their role in the city government include:

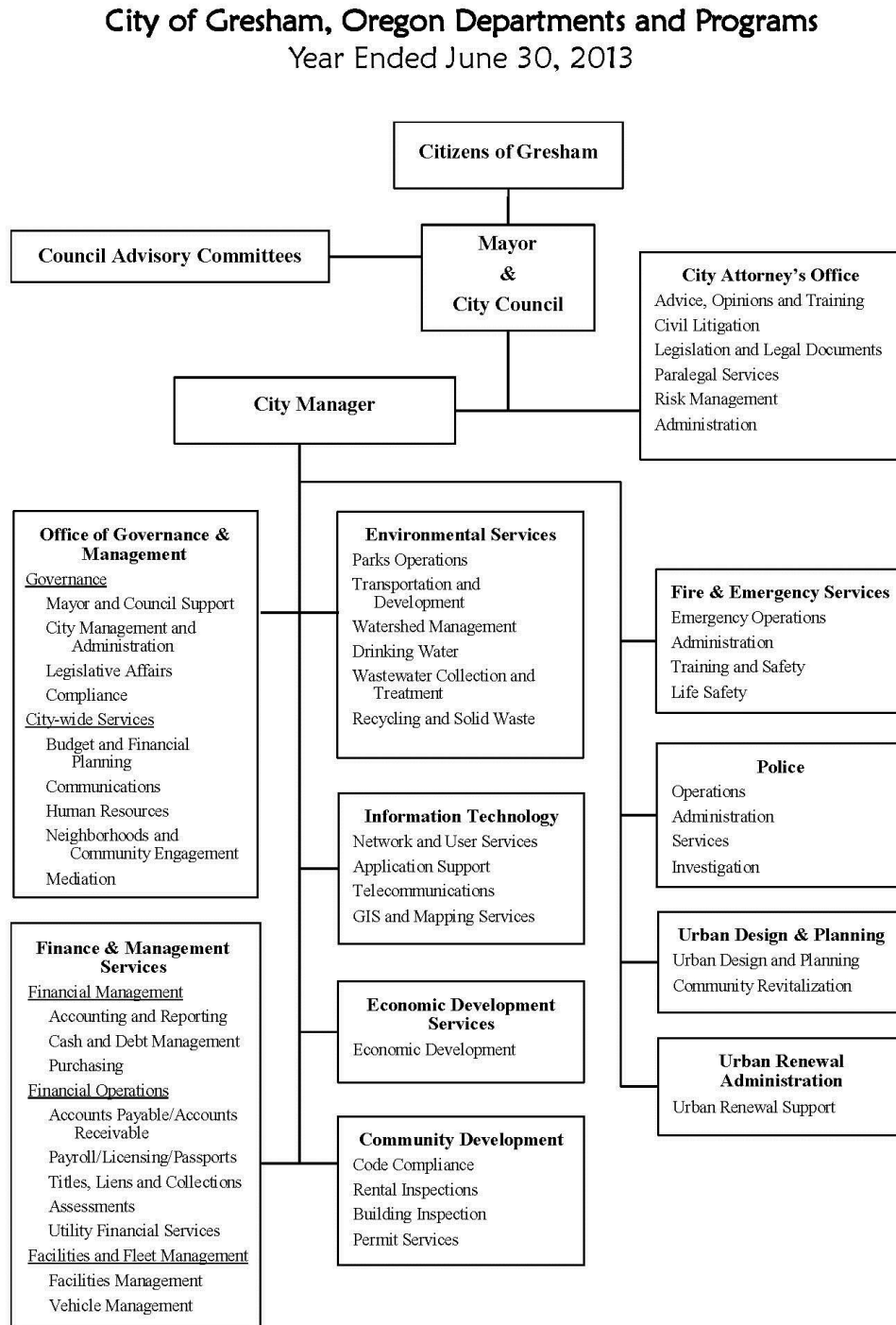
- *Urban Design and Planning*: comprehensive and development planning
- *Community Revitalization and Housing*: administers codes and ordinances to safeguard life and property by regulating building construction and providing municipal code compliance
- *Transportation Division*: designs, operates and maintains the street network, including pedestrian and bicycle facilities, streetlights, traffic signals and road signs
- *Economic Development*: provides business retention, expansion and relocation services, and support for new businesses
- *Office of Neighborhoods and Community Engagement*: coordinates public involvement, including neighborhood associations and the Youth Advisory Committee
- *Redevelopment Commission*: see below

Revenues, expenditures, and fiscal capacity

The City of Gresham generates revenue from charges for services, taxes, utility license fees, interest income, and permits. Transfers from the state and federal government are another large source of revenue. Applicable taxes include property tax, state income tax, business income tax, hotel and motel tax, liquor tax, cigarette tax, and 911 tax. These revenue sources are allocated to different types of funds, including the general fund, business funds, and infrastructure funds (City of Gresham's Adopted Budget FY 2013-14). The general fund pays for police, fire, parks, and planning. Business funds support rental inspection, building, and urban renewal services (and partially fund urban design and planning). Infrastructure funds go towards transportation, streetlights, infrastructure development, water, stormwater, and wastewater.

The majority of expenses are allocated to services, with the Department of Environmental Services and Public Safety functions receiving the largest shares. Gresham has 2.6 general fund employees per 1,000 residents, which is the lowest rate among Oregon's Four Largest Cities (<https://greshamoregon.gov/city/city-departments/finance-and-management>). Capital projects represent over 17% of the city's expenses (City of Gresham's Adopted Budget FY 2013-14). Unappropriated funds are set aside in the budget to be used as carryover to the next year's budget.

Figure 2: City of Gresham Departments and Programs



Source: City of Gresham, Finance & Management Services Department

Property taxes comprise almost 50% of the general fund (City of Gresham's Adopted Budget FY 2013-14). Since property taxes are the primary funding source for local government, assessed values have a significant effect on "fiscal capacity" - the ability to generate sufficient revenue for providing services that meet the needs of residents. Although Gresham has the fifth highest total assessed valuation in the region with \$6.9 billion, it has one of the lowest property tax rates among larger cities in Oregon at \$3.61 per thousand dollars of assessed value (2013 CAFR).

State-wide property tax limitation measures enacted in the 1990's (Measures 5 and 50) have had a negative impact on the General Fund balance (2013 CAFR). Specifically, the Oregon constitution establishes a 3% annual increase limit in the taxable assessed value of existing property. This is compounded by Gresham's jobs-housing imbalance which means that compared to cities with a higher ratio, the City of Gresham has a higher cost burden with less revenue, since it is more costly to provide services to residents than to businesses. Together, these conditions have contributed to reductions in general government services over the past two decades, as revenue has lagged behind escalating costs.

Since the recent recession, the overall economic recovery for the City of Gresham has been sluggish, in part due to a "weak residential and commercial investment and reductions in resources from other government agencies" (City of Gresham's Adopted Budget FY 2013-14). Declines in construction and commercial markets have had a severe impact on the City's development-related fees such as building permits, plan reviews, and inspection fees, with declines of 65-70% from pre-recession highs. As a result, the city expects to continue to have low funds for growth related activities in the Building, Urban Design & Planning, and Environmental Services Departments. In turn, the slow growth in land use development creates low expectations for a substantial increase in property tax revenue. Therefore, new business and infrastructure investments are a major priority for Gresham to boost economic growth. As noted below, the City currently has initiated the Gresham Competitiveness Project to facilitate opportunities for more commercial and industrial development.

According to the Director of Budgeting and Finance at the City of Gresham, another major challenge is providing infrastructure and services to the annexed areas of Pleasant Valley and Springwater. Pleasant Valley is intended to accommodate forecasted population growth, while Springwater was added to address the short supply of industrial employment land in the city and the region. However, with limited fiscal capacity, providing adequate services and infrastructure to these areas will be a challenge.

Planning context

Planning in Oregon is guided by statewide planning goals, established by the Land Conservation and Development Commission following the passing of Senate Bill 100 in 1973. Oregon planning law requires local governments to prepare a Comprehensive Plan that is consistent with statewide goals. It also requires consistency between comprehensive plans and implementing regulations (such as the zoning code).

In Gresham, the Urban Design and Planning (UDP) Department is responsible for comprehensive and development planning. “Comprehensive planning” involves working with elected and appointed officials, stakeholders, and residents to develop a vision for the community and chart the course to make the vision a reality. “Development planning” coordinates and processes all land development permits within the city and works to ensure that the City’s goals are implemented through the adopted land use regulations.

UDP prepares plans for areas as they are annexed into the city. Gresham recently annexed two additional rural cities: Pleasant Valley and Springwater in 1998 and 2002, respectively. The City adopted a Community Plan for Springwater in 2011 that focused primarily on developing industrial and high-tech campuses and attracting businesses for job growth.

UDP has several projects currently underway, including:

- *Development Code Improvement Project*: aimed at improving the Development Code’s effectiveness, reducing uncertainty, and increasing consistent interpretations and applications of the Code.
- *Gresham Competitiveness*: seeks to make Gresham the most competitive location in the Metro region and beyond for industrial development.

Economic development

The City has a traded sector economic development strategy, focusing on manufacturing and two complementary industries (clean technologies and professional services). Gresham has a strong manufacturing industry, and its average wages in this sector (\$61,762 as of 2009) are higher than those in the county, state, and nation (Gresham’s Economic Advantage pamphlet). Clean tech includes solar energy, battery technologies, smart grid, energy storage, and green building materials production. In addition to food distribution and retail services, Gresham also has a food processing cluster that has included coffee, bread, and candy manufacturing (City of Gresham, 2009).

Challenges to supporting the manufacturing sector include: the economy/real estate market; keeping incentives geared toward manufacturing; and dwindling industrial lands and buildings in Gresham, which make redevelopment opportunities important. The Gresham Competitiveness Project is addressing barriers to industrial development.

The City of Gresham has an Economic Development Department with a staff of about four employees. The staff provides services for business retention, expansion/ relocation, and new businesses, with most of their time spent on retention (e.g., helping existing businesses to be more efficient, helping them meet equipment and workforce needs, etc.). They also have a Small Business Center, work with local business to understand their needs, provide workforce assistance to help connect employers and their network of workforce development partners. Other incentives and programs offered by Gresham include:

- Enterprise Zone
- GREAT Business Program
- Green Practice Incentives
- Gresham Strategic Investment Zone
- Oregon Strategic Investment Program
- Commercial Stormwater Fee Reduction Program
- System Development Charges Financing Program
- Vertical Housing Development Zone

Three of the incentive programs provide partial tax abatements to new traded sector businesses locating in Gresham and to developers of mixed-use residential and commercial projects. Other program beneficiaries include small businesses and businesses looking to adopt green practices, green stormwater design, or more efficient material use.

Rockwood urban renewal area

The Rockwood area has been the focus of several plans since the adoption of “Gresham Vision 2020” in 1992. As the first city wide visioning effort, the document outlined a long-term, conceptual blueprint for growth in the city to the year 2020. The 2020 vision assigned to Central Rockwood the role of “community center” surrounded by a mixed-use, live/work community. The City adopted the Central Rockwood Mixed Use Development Plan (1995) to address the City’s need to incorporate the new Town Center designation for Rockwood.

In 2003, Gresham residents passed the Rockwood-West Gresham Renewal Plan, which will provide approximately \$92 million in funding for Rockwood redevelopment over a 20-year period. The Urban Renewal Area (URA) is 1,211 acres. The plan’s overall goals are to support the development of businesses that create well paying (“family wage”) jobs and to improve the quality of housing for current and future Rockwood residents (RWGRP, 2004).

The Gresham Redevelopment Commission, which consists of the City Council, is responsible for implementing the Rockwood-West Gresham Renewal Plan. City staff, including an executive director, provides administrative and technical support to the URA.

In 2005, the City developed the Rockwood Town Center Design and Redevelopment Plan as a comprehensive strategy to transform the Rockwood Town Center using urban renewal and other economic development tools. This plan identified the former Rockwood Fred Meyer store at S.E. 187th and Stark St. as Catalyst Site #1 to spur redevelopment in the area. In 2006, the Commission purchased the site and prepared the Cultural Marketplace Site Aspirational Development Plan in 2007. Since then, the City has completed the Plaza del Sol, a wildflower field with a quarter-mile walking path, an urban plaza, and a children’s playground.

Also constructed in the URA was the *Rockwood Public Safety Facility* in November 2013. This project aimed to improve police presence and visibility in Rockwood. Creating opportunity for new community partnerships is an ongoing objective. There are currently several projects underway in the URA:

- Central Rockwood Plan Update
- *Industrial Development Investments* project: seeks to add family-wage industrial jobs and increase URA tax-increment revenue collections in the URA, through strategic investments in public amenities including infrastructure and utilities.
- *Pedestrian Improvements*: enhance the area's walkability through new or enhanced crosswalks, sidewalks, and curb ramps that comply with the American Disabilities Act.

There are also two programs that provide a matching incentive to encourage private investment in the Urban Renewal Area (URA):

- New Industries Grant: supports manufacturing, high-technology, or similar industrial and light-industrial projects locating or expanding in the URA; requires a minimum of \$500,000 in new capital investment for eligible improvements (new construction, machinery and equipment, and major renovation and tenant improvements that increase the assessed value of the property).
- Predevelopment Services Grant: provides matching dollars to partially reimburse property owners for expenses associated with contracting professional consulting services, funding 50% of eligible predevelopment costs, up to a maximum of \$25,000 for commercial projects and \$100,000 for industrial projects. Applicants must either own the site, be able to show site control, or hold a long-term lease with proof of the property owner's consent.

Transportation plans

City of Gresham Transportation System Plan (TSP)

The Gresham City Council adopted the city's first Transportation System Plan (TSP) in 2002, and the City Council adopted the second TSP in 2013. The TSP provides the framework for all the transportation needs in Gresham, providing a 20-year blueprint through the year 2035 that is consistent with state and regional transportation plans, as well as the City's Comprehensive Plan. The TSP provides the following:

- policies for automobiles, bikes, freight vehicles, pedestrians and transit;
- street functions that indicate how arterial and collector roads should operate, as well as street designs and guidelines;
- a comprehensive list of proposed projects for all modes; and
- potential funding sources that are available to build and maintain the transportation system network.

Current city council initiatives

The Gresham City Council and Gresham Redevelopment Commission Work Plan outlines the projects that the City's elected officials wish to undertake during the year on behalf of the City's residents. The Work Plan includes projects that arise from Council and the Commission discussions and deliberations throughout the year, Citizen Advisory Committee feedback, staff input, and regulatory agreements and partnerships with federal, state, regional, and local agencies. The most recent Work Plan was adopted in January 2014 and outlines 24 projects that fall within two

categories. The first is investment in community safety and quality of life, and the second is investment in infrastructure and community appearance. This opportunity mapping project will inform three current and former Work Plan items:

- Housing Policy Update (2011-2013)
- Food Access Project (2014)
- Community Prosperity Initiative (2014)

The Housing Policy Update and Food Access Project are described further in Chapters 6 and 7 of this report, respectively. The Community Prosperity Initiative will explore the role of the City in addressing poverty and charting a course towards broad community prosperity. The initiative responds to regional demographic shifts and the strong sense that there is a growing mismatch between the City's resources and the demand for core city services and for services not traditionally provided by the City. Elements of this initiative could include a community services inventory and an analysis of current and potential federal, state and county funding for social services.

2.4 Partner Organizations

Outside of the City, there are many governmental agencies and nonprofit organizations that provide services to residents and business owners in the Gresham area. TriMet provides bus, MAX, and paratransit service to Gresham. Multnomah County operates two of its 19 libraries in the city. The main campus of Mt. Hood Community College is located in Gresham. Multnomah County Health Department provides health and human services, and the Gresham Community Hospital is the primary provider of emergency medical services. In addition to the Multnomah Education Service District, the K-12 school districts serving Gresham's residents include:

- Gresham-Barlow
- Centennial
- Reynolds

Regional governments

Metro

Oregon Metro is the elected regional government for the Portland metropolitan area. Metro works with communities, businesses, and residents to create a vibrant and sustainable region for all. In 2010, the Metro Council adopted equity as one of the region's six desired outcomes. Currently, Metro is developing an organizing framework that will help the agency consistently incorporate equity into policy and decision making.

(<http://www.oregonmetro.gov/index.cfm/go/by.web/id=42323>)

Multnomah County

Health and Human Services

The vision of the Multnomah County Health Department is healthy people in healthy communities. The department assures, promotes, and protects the health of people in the County through goals that assure individuals, families and communities gain greater control of the factors that influence their health, that improve the health of the County's diverse communities, and that aim to be an adaptive learning organization that serves an effective and accountable local public health authority and provider of community health services. (<https://web.multco.us/health/vision-mission-values-and-goals>)

Community Capacitation Center, STRYVE project

The Community Capacitation Center works to build capacity in communities to identify and solve their own most pressing health issues. One strategy of the CCC is youth violence prevention. The County Health Department was awarded a Striving to Reduce Youth Violence Everywhere (STRYVE) grant from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention to help communities take a public health approach to preventing youth violence before it starts. The City of Gresham is part of a coalition to develop a comprehensive plan to stop youth violence. (<http://web.multco.us/health/youth-violence-prevention>)

Multnomah Youth Commission

The Multnomah Youth Commission is the official youth policy body for both Multnomah County and the City of Portland. It is a group of young people, ages 13-21, that strives to provide a voice for youth in the County and City's work. It serves as an advisory role within local government, provides youth input to its parent organization the Commission on Children, Families & Community, and works to improve the community through service projects. Currently, the group is working on a project to expand access to free transit through the YouthPass program to all middle and high school students throughout Multnomah County. (<https://web.multco.us/multnomah-youth-commission/sustainability-0>)

Housing organizations

Home Forward

Home Forward is the Housing Authority of Portland, serving Multnomah County by championing shelter and support for neighbors in need. The mission of Home Forward is to assure that the people of the community are sheltered, especially to those who encounter barriers to housing because of income, disability, or special need. Home Forward promotes, operates, and develops affordable housing that engenders stability, self-sufficiency, self-respect, and pride in its residents and represents a long-term community asset. (<http://homeforward.org/home-forward/our-mission>)

Transportation organizations

TriMet

TriMet provides bus, light rail and commuter rail service in the Portland metro area. The mission of TriMet is to provide values transit service that is safe, dependable, and easy to use. They aim to accomplish this by doing the right thing, by being responsive, inclusive, and accountable. (<http://trimet.org/about/mission.htm>)

East Metro Connections and the Powel-Division Transit Project

The East Metro Connections Plan was completed in 2012 through an agreement between the cities of Fairview, Gresham, Troutdale and Wood Village and Multnomah County which determined that transportation solutions are necessary to advance economic development. It was a 2-year planning effort to identify specific transportation, community, and economic development projects and their phasing over the next 20 years in the plan area. The Powell-Division Transit and Development Project was identified in the East Metro Connections Plan. The Powell-Division Transit and Development Project will address transit challenges along Powell Boulevard and Division Street. This project intends to connect downtown Portland to East Portland. This project is scheduled to present the final recommendations in 2015 and completed in 2020.

Organizing People, Activating Leaders (OPAL)

OPAL is an Oregon-based environmental justice organization that works with low-income communities and communities of color in order to advocate for safe and healthy living environments and meaningful participatory decision-making processes. Since 2010, OPAL has been organizing around issues of transit justice in the Metro region, and has advocated for longer transfer times for public transit riders.

Oregon Walks

A non-profit organization that works to promote walking and to make the conditions for walking safe, convenient and attractive for everyone. Oregon Walks advocates for “better laws, enhanced enforcement, more sidewalks and signed crosswalks, education programs, community improvements designed for pedestrians, and increased funding to support these activities.”

Safe Routes to School

A national program that examines conditions around school and works to improve these conditions by making them more safe and accessible in order to encourage more students to walk or bike to school, thereby encouraging a healthy, active lifestyle from a young age.

Economic development organizations

Rockwood CDC

The Rockwood Community Development Corporation is a non-profit organization with a focus on prosperity for low and middle-income residents, small business, and immigrants and refugees

through the development of social, economic, and housing systems. The mission of the CDC entails providing ladders for climbing from poverty into prosperity, improving health outcomes, integrating with and creating synergies for existing faith-based organizations and social family service programs, creating and sustaining public-private partnerships, expanding the supply of affordable housing, and encouraging and assisting commercial development. (<http://www.rockwoodcdc.org/about-us/>)

Education and workforce development organizations

Mt. Hood Community College

Mt. Hood Community College serves around 30,000 students in a 950 square mile district with two campuses in Gresham, and one in Maywood Park, Portland. The mission of MHCC is to transform lives and build communities through teaching and learning, community engagement, and resource development. The college values cultivating an inclusive environment that celebrates, respects, and supports diverse communities. MHCC has more than 120 academic programs including career technical programs, as well as English skill classes, GED/high school diploma programs, community education courses, workforce and professional training, as well as small business development opportunities. (<https://www.mhcc.edu/FutureStudents.aspx?id=3677>)

Work Systems

Worksystems, Inc. is a non-profit organization that provides workforce development services in Multnomah and Washington Counties, with the mission to coordinate a regional system that supports individual prosperity and business competitiveness. They develop and deliver services through a network of local partners to help people gain skills, training, and education needed to get jobs and advance in their careers. Partners include: employers, labor groups, government, community colleges, high schools, community-based and economic development organizations. (<http://www.worksystems.org/about-us>)

Rockwood Business Coalition

The Rockwood Business Coalition is a group of local business owners and organizations that support the business community in the Rockwood area (generally bounded by Division, 162nd, 202nd and the Portland border). The goal of the coalition is “to come together, share ideas, create synergy and promote Rockwood as a whole community”. (<http://rockwoodbusinesscoalition.com>)

Health & human service organizations

Department of Human Services, Self Sufficiency

DHS serves thousands of Oregonians each year through assistance programs aimed at stabilizing and strengthening families, helping families and individuals become self-sufficient, reducing barriers to employment and improving the health and welfare of children. (<http://www.oregon.gov/DHS/assistance/Pages/index.aspx>)

Human Solutions

Human Solutions works to ensure that homeless and low-income families have the tools and resources they need to build pathways out of poverty. Their mission is to help low-income and homeless families and individuals gain self-sufficiency by providing affordable housing, family support services, job readiness training, and economic development opportunities. They envision doing this through fostering a prosperous and health community that is free of the devastating effects of homelessness and poverty. Human Solutions collaborates with WorkSource by referring clients to each other, based on specific needs. They also provide social services to the buildings that Home Forward operates. (<http://www.humansolutions.org/>)

Empower Rockwood (E-ROC)

E-ROC is a group of youth associated with Human Solutions that developed through the Rockwood Arts and Media Project (RAMP) in 2012-13. RAMP involved We Are Oregon... The project resulted in the “Be Seen, Get Heard” video, which documented a youth-led photo-voice. The purpose of the video was to counteract the negative image of Rockwood by highlighting positive assets, while also sharing stories about some of the challenges with living in the neighborhood.

Rosewood Initiative

The Rosewood Initiative is an organization dedicated to making the Rosewood area a desirable place to live, work, and play. They partner with residents, apartment managers and owners, businesses, churches, social service agencies, neighborhood associations, and public safety agencies to create space for the community to come together to meet their common goals. (<http://rosewoodinitiative.org/about-2/>)

211 - info

211info believes in the idea of “Health for Your Whole Life.” By serving as the front door to non-profit, government, and faith-based programs in Oregon and Southwest Washington, 211info connects people to over 3,000 agencies and 50,000 programs in the region that help people access food, housing, and economic opportunity. (<http://211info.org/about-211info>)

Metropolitan Family Service

Metropolitan Family Service helps people move beyond the limitations of poverty, inequity and social isolation by creating opportunities that bridge generations and inspire all people to live their best lives. (<http://www.metfamily.org/community-schools/>)

SUN Community Schools (Schools Uniting Neighborhoods)

The success of our children is largely determined by their achievement in school. Yet many kids face challenges or barriers that keep them from realizing their true potential. Enrichment activities, homework help, mentoring, and access to support services (like food pantries, clothing closets, or community referrals) help our kids and their families thrive. Offering a vibrant and welcoming atmosphere for individuals of all ages, languages, and socio-economic backgrounds means everyone can be part of their school and their

community. By providing safe and engaging learning centers, children, families and neighborhoods grow stronger and students flourish.

CAFE Community Schools (Child and Family Enrichment)

Tailored collaborations that meet the variable needs of our diverse school districts, CAFE sites work to integrate targeted academic support into a vibrant after school environment. Building on the SUN model, CAFE incorporates academic instruction and enrichment delivered by certified teachers, as well as access to credit recovery and college/career readiness activities for older students.

Food access organizations

Ecumenical Ministries

Ecumenical Ministries of Oregon is a statewide association of Christian denominations, congregations, ecumenical organizations, and interfaith partners working together to improve the lives of Oregonians through community ministry programs, ecumenical and interreligious dialogue, environmental ministry, and public policy advocacy. In 2013, EMO conducted a community food assessment in Gresham's Rockwood neighborhood to engage neighbors in a process of collectively examining food related issues and community assets in order to build food security. This information was gathered to inform implementation of changes around food equity and food justice in Rockwood. (http://www.emoregon.org/pdfs/Voice/Voice_2013_Fall-final.pdf)

Outgrowing Hunger

The mission of Outgrowing Hunger is to get healthy food into the mouths of hungry people. They envision doing this through transforming unused private, public, and institutional land into neighborhood gardens, where healthy food, resilient community, and economic opportunity spring up together. One of their programs is the Gresham Community Gardens. They partnered with the City and County to provide management, programming, and individual help for gardeners at four municipally owned community gardens in Gresham.

(http://www.outgrowinghunger.org/Our_Programs.html)

Rockwood Food Co-op

A group of Rockwood residents who are working to create a food cooperative in their neighborhood in order to help bring affordable, healthy food into the neighborhood. Currently as the group is working to establish the co-op, they are actively partnering on a community garden, hosting cultural activities for people all ages, and hosting a weekly International Marketplace.

Parks and recreation organizations

Oregon Youth Conservation Corps

OYCC runs a similar, but broader variety of programs to Northwest Youth Corps. OYCC also provides youth with opportunities to be outdoors and gain valuable and employable skills. This program focuses on engaging at-risk youth.

(http://ccwd.oregon.gov/oiccweb/content.aspx?p=1_1)

Northwest Youth Corps

Modeled after the Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930s, this program combines education and job skill training with outdoor adventure for ages 16 to 19. With the guidance of experienced field staff, youth crew members work on conservation, reforestation, and recreation projects, while developing leadership skills and learning how to work as a team.

(<http://www.nwyouthcorps.org/OurPrograms/ProgramsforYouth/YouthCorps.aspx>)

SummerWorks

SummerWorks is a program of WorkSystems, Inc. a non-profit organization that strives to improve the quality of the workforce in Portland and Multnomah and Washington Counties. The SummerWorks program connects youth with sponsors to provide training and summer job opportunities. (<http://www.worksystems.org/summerworks>)

Community-Based Organizations

Neighborhood Associations

The city of Gresham has 16 neighborhood associations that are organized and governed by residents. All residents, businesses, and property owners in Gresham are considered members of their neighborhood association. CCP interviewed neighborhood association leadership in four neighborhoods that make up West Gresham/Rockwood. These included Wilkes East, North Gresham, Rockwood, and Centennial.

Latino Network

Latino Network provides transformative opportunities, services, and advocacy for the education, leadership, and civic engagement of youth, families, and communities. Latino Network promotes early literacy, encourages parent involvement, works with gang-involved and adjudicated youth and families and provides academic support and activities to high school aged youth in Multnomah County. Their work springs from the core belief in Latino community self-determination - that is, the ability of community members to participate meaningfully in the decisions that affect their lives and the lives of their families. (<http://www.latnet.org/about/mission/>)

El Programa Hispano

El Programa Hispano offers a wide variety of services for low-income Latino families including support services, emergency services, domestic violence and sexual assault services, parent and child development services, and school based services for youth and their families. Their mission is to increase self-sufficiency within the Latino community, the empower individuals to achieve a better quality of life, and to promote mutual understanding and respect among cultures. (http://www.catholiccharitiesoregon.org/services_latino_services.asp)

3.0 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

The word “opportunity” can mean many things. For the purposes of this project, we are referring to the opportunity to lead a healthy, happy, and fulfilling life, and the opportunity to support family and other community members to do the same. Our approach to framing opportunity reflects a broad definition of well-being, attempting to capture the things we all have in common (basic human needs), while recognizing that much variation in values and aspirations exist at individual and community levels. The framework we use to start a dialogue in Gresham:

- considers economic, social, environmental, and political factors;
- uses an equity lens, recognizing the potential for disparities across space and populations; and
- takes into account the local, regional and national structures and histories of political economy that have produced the urban environment and shaped the social and geographical distribution of opportunities.

This chapter describes three conceptual frameworks that each inform our approach to opportunity mapping: (1) social determinants of health analysis, (2) theories of uneven urban development; and (3) the geography of opportunity framework. These approaches are based on the fields of public health, critical human geography, sociology, public affairs, planning, and urban studies.

3.1 Social Determinants of Health

Health is commonly understood in personal terms such as the habits and decisions that affect lifespan and disease. According to the World Health Organization (WHO) however, “health is a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.”

There is a growing understanding of the sensitivity of health to external conditions, based on a body of research that has linked a range of social, economic, and environmental factors to health outcomes. The general finding is that living conditions and structural factors collectively impact on health as much or more so than do personal behaviors and medical care. In other words, place matters, as do economic and social opportunities and resources (see diagram below). Whereas medicine is viewed as the treatment of sickness and disease once they have occurred, the field of public health seeks the “upstream” causes that affect health outcomes far before one even needs to visit the doctor to treat an illness.

Physical and environmental conditions at home and in communities that affect health include but are not limited to: housing; transportation; access to open space, recreation, cultural amenities, and affordable healthy food; and exposure to pollution, allergens, crime, litter, odors, and noise levels.

One of the strongest determinants of these conditions is one’s socioeconomic status, as is educational attainment in so far as it is linked to one’s socioeconomic condition. Similarly, race tends to be a strong predictor of health outcomes (Williams & Collins, 2001). Researchers and

practitioners have come to explain these factors that lead to disparities in health outcomes as “social determinants of health.” Referring to these factors as “determinants” is not intended to imply that they are deterministic (i.e., just because you have low-income does not imply that you will always experience diminished health). Rather, a social determinant of health is said to have a statistically significant correlation with one or more health measure.

According to the WHO, the social determinants of health are “the conditions in which people are born, grow, live, work and age,” and the distribution of money, power and resources at global, national and local levels shape the distribution and quality of these conditions (WHO, 2008). In other words, political and economic structures and processes at multiple scales influence the social and environmental factors that impact health, which in turn lead to disparities across places and populations.

Figure 3: The Social Determinants of Health



Source: Adapted from RWJF, Overcoming obstacles to health report.

World Health Organization’s definition of the social determinants of health. “The complex, integrated, and overlapping social structures and economic systems that are responsible for most health inequities. These social structures and economic systems include the social environment, physical environment, health services, and structural and societal factors. Social determinants of health are shaped by the distribution of money, power, and resources throughout local communities, nations, and the world.” -Commission on Social Determinants of Health, WHO, 2008

Employment and education

One’s socioeconomic status or class, as determined by income and education, is a social determinant of health because income enables people to live in a stable home in a safe

neighborhood, eat healthy food, and seek medical care - each of which affects one's health. Accordingly, poor social and economic circumstances affect health through a variety of pathways associated with disadvantage such as insecure employment, poor housing, social stress, and lack of affordable and accessible services. The longer people live in stressful social and economic circumstances, the greater their health suffers, and the less likely they are to live a long, healthy life. Disadvantage tends to concentrate spatially and perpetuate through generations (Wilkinson & Marmot, 2003). For instance, places with concentrated poverty typically have fewer collective resources which to provide physical conditions that are supportive of health and to break intergenerational cycles of poverty.

Because income is often necessary to pay for health-supporting resources, employment is thought to be fundamental to health and well-being. Employment also contributes to positive self-esteem, while being unemployed contributes to financial burdens and low self-esteem (Grieb et al, 2013). The mental and physical health effects of unemployment tend to be greater among individuals with lower levels of education (Turner, 1995). Over time, low self-esteem from chronic unemployment can drive individuals to partake in drug use and/or criminal activities to survive (Grieb et al, 2013). On a societal level, “too many unemployed residents and not enough job openings increases competition and therefore lowers wages for unskilled workers,” contributing to growing poverty rates (Holtzer, 1991), which further contributes to health outcomes.

Education is also a strong predictor of health, and disparities in health and educational achievement are linked (Freudenberg & Ruglis, 2007). These correlations can be explained because schooling provides individuals with more employment opportunities and opportunities to earn higher incomes, which enables health-promoting living conditions. Education also allows individuals to create stronger social networks (Freudenberg & Ruglis, 2007), leading to reduced social stress.

Racial segregation and health

In addition to class, race tends to be a predictor of health outcomes. The Centers for Disease Control (CDC) 2011 Health Disparities and Inequalities Report reveals that the US has reduced some health disparities, but many people of color are more likely than white people to suffer from a variety of negative health outcomes. The segregation of residential neighborhoods has directly contributed to disparities in health status in the US, particularly between black and white populations (Williams & Collins, 2001). Residential segregation impacts health in several ways. For one, it limits job and educational opportunities due in part to the spatial mismatch between jobs and housing (Chapple, 2006). Further, segregation is often coupled with uneven private and public disinvestment and unequal access to services. To the extent segregation results in the degradation of living conditions, it also affects health outcomes. Racial segregation is also often related to the lack of grocery stores and the prevalence of low quality food (typified by fast food restaurants and small corner stores) in certain black neighborhoods (Kwate, 2008).

In a 2011 Report, the CDC concludes that persisting racial health disparities “must be addressed with intervention strategies related to both health and social programs, and more broadly, access to economic, educational, employment, and housing opportunities.” Indeed, factors that lead to race, class, and health disparities reinforce one another. Viewing health in this manner supports the need

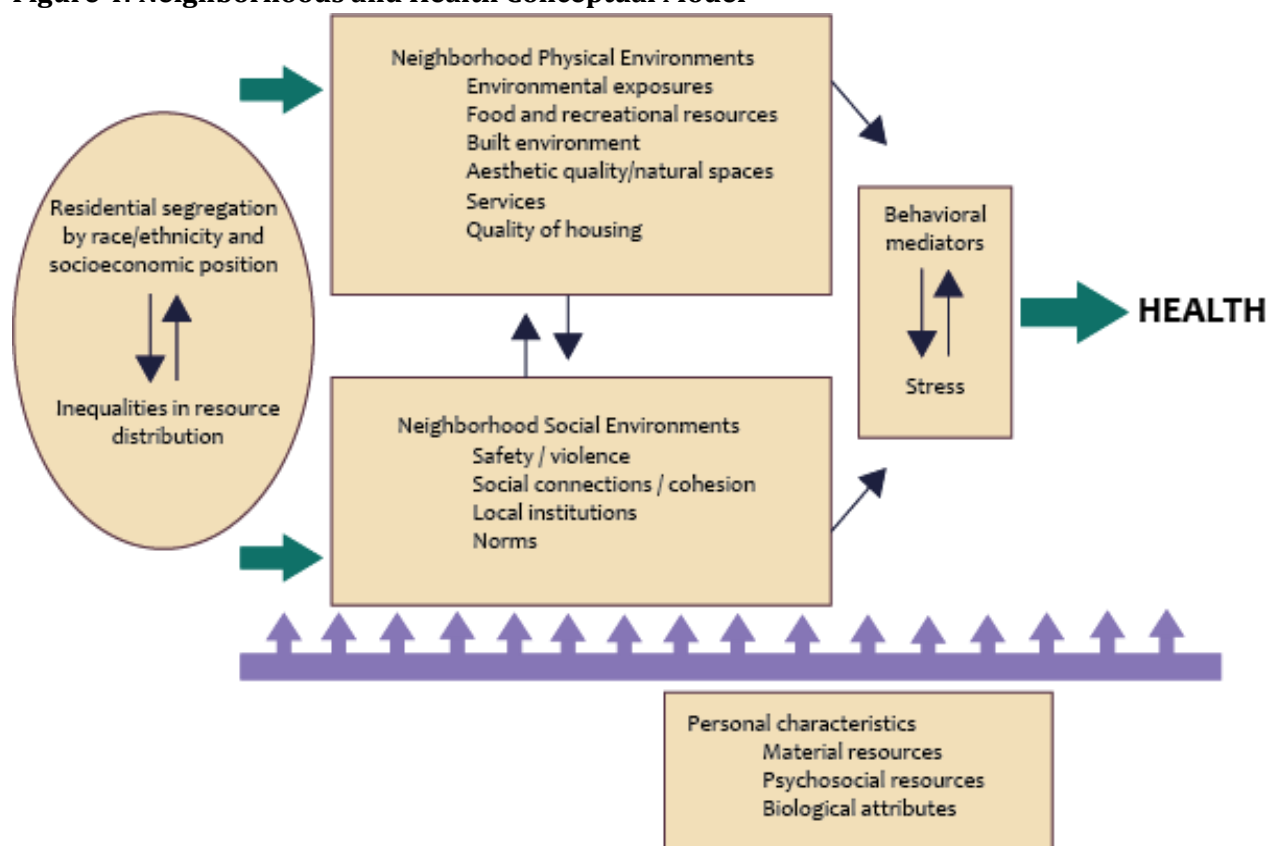
to focus on multiple levels of change, beyond just the individual-scale interventions focused on behavioral change. Accordingly, eliminating racial disparities in health must address structural causes of racial/class segregation and the adverse conditions that it creates.

Neighborhoods and health

The impact of neighborhood conditions on quality of life and socioeconomic mobility is well documented (Kirwan Institute). Both physical and social neighborhood attributes can affect the health of individuals. Further, because place of residence is strongly patterned by race/ethnicity and/or social position, neighborhood characteristics can also contribute to health inequities between different socio-economic groups (Diez Roux & Mair, 2010). Places that enable people to contribute equally to the social, economic, and cultural life of their community will be healthier than those that do not.

The diagram on the following page depicts the mutually reinforcing mechanisms affecting health in neighborhoods. For example, characteristics of the built environment such as quality parks and community spaces affect the nature of social interactions, which in turn affects social capacity and cohesion. Inequalities in resources due to residential segregation are also mutually reinforcing since segregated neighborhoods tend to experience less investment, thus perpetuating the affordability of the housing stock and the continued concentration of low-income families in those neighborhoods.

Figure 4: Neighborhoods and Health Conceptual Model



Source: Adapted from Diez roux & Mair.

3.2 **Geography of Opportunity**

The US has been known as “the land of opportunity,” reflecting the ideal of freedom set forth in the Constitution, drawing on the nation’s immigrant mythology of the American Dream. Underlying the concept is the belief that everyone, regardless of background, has the opportunity for prosperity and success, and that social mobility can be achieved through hard work. Several studies in recent years, however, have found the US is less mobile than comparable nations, meaning that children in the US are less likely to move upward from their parents’ place in the income distribution (DeParle, 2012).

Related to constraints on social mobility is the growing disparity in the distribution of wealth throughout the US (Stiglitz, 2013). Inequities in wealth are reflected spatially across a region. The regional dynamics that drive conditions in individual communities reproduce and exacerbate these inequalities over time. Recognizing these dynamics, scholars began using the term “geography of opportunity” to describe the spatial distribution of opportunities and resources across a region, paying particular attention to examining racial disparities and the variations of race related differences in neighborhoods within a region (Osypuk and Acevedo-Garcia, 2010). This relates to theory of uneven development, described further in the following section.

Much like the social determinants of health framework, the geography of opportunity perspective recognizes that differences between neighborhoods in terms of the quality and availability of resources such as nutrition and education create differences in life opportunities. This leads to lagging intergenerational transfers of wealth in poorer communities, in both relative and absolute terms. It is difficult to compensate and overcome setbacks delivered on children growing up in neighborhoods with fewer resources and greater exposure to environmental hazards (Gunn, 2004).

Briggs argues that “understanding and changing the geography of opportunity is crucial if America is to improve outcomes in education, employment, safety, health and other vital areas over the next generation” (2005, p.2). Accordingly, a geography of opportunity framework seeks to improve opportunities in communities that currently have unequal access to resources, using policy interventions at the neighborhood, city, and regional scales.

Definition of Opportunity and Opportunity Structure:

“Opportunity” is a condition or situation that places individuals in a position to be more likely to achieve their needs and thrive.

“Opportunity structure” are the institutional conditions that enhance or constrain an individual’s ability to access opportunities.

History of opportunity structures in the US

The ability of citizens to enjoy a high quality of life has varied between social groups and classes throughout US history. While some have benefitted from greater public investments, others have experienced fewer opportunities as a result. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 provides clear instruction

to local jurisdictions to “assure that no person shall on the grounds of race, color, national origin, Limited English Proficiency, sex, income, age, or disability” be excluded from participating or denied benefits from public activities (City of Gresham Nondiscrimination Policy Statement - Title VI, 2011). Today, local jurisdictions are responsible for ensuring that public programs and services neither impose nor cause disproportionate impact on any one of these “protected classes.” This provision applies to any jurisdiction that receives any amount of federal dollars.

Historically, policy in the US has been characterized by acute discrimination, denying access to benefits from public and private investments to groups of people based on race and/or ethnicity (Osypuk and Acevedo-Garcia, 2010). The racial inequality we see today is rooted in the inability to recognize and dismantle the racial hierarchy constructed through our nation’s history, since the occupation and appropriation of indigenous territories, systemic warfare and genocide against indigenous nations, the institutionalization of slavery, and the Jim Crow system of segregation, which ended only recently in the latter half of the twentieth century.

The housing and home lending story is evidence that racial segregation and discrimination continued beyond the banning of Jim Crow laws, and that the Pacific Northwest has not been immune to that history (Gibson, 2007). In the Portland region, racial segregation was commonly practiced, but pronounced in the 1940s when the first significant population of black and African American workers came to fill emerging needs in wartime shipyards. Racially motivated policy contributed to segregation and cycles of neighborhood disinvestment, devalorization, and ‘uneven development’, as described further below (Smith, 1996). For instance, redlining was a common practice whereby banks would delineate certain neighborhoods where they refused to invest as a matter of policy up until the late-1970s. ‘Racial steering’ practices whereby real estate brokers direct people to specific neighborhoods depending on their race also persisted after the formal end of Jim Crow. The systematic withdrawal of capital investments in segregated communities perpetuated the neglect of public services such as: transportation, schools, buildings, street and park maintenance, and garbage collection. For many disinvested areas of the region, residents continue to experience physical and social barriers to amenities, which in turn, fuel a cycle of lack of opportunities for success persisting through generations.

In a 2013 document titled ‘Defining Equity’, Metro defined three forms of discrimination (interpersonal, institutional, and structural) that help us to understand how discrimination has persisted beyond the Jim Crow era. Interpersonal discrimination occurs on a person to person level, such as when a person is refused service at a restaurant because of the color of their skin. Institutional discrimination occurs at a larger scale, and refers to the practices and policies that create adverse outcomes for some groups, and not for others. Often institutional forms of discrimination are unintentional. For instance, Multnomah County reports that students of color are twice as likely to be disciplined by schools than their white counterparts, even though they make up a smaller share of the student population (Exclusionary Discipline in Multnomah County Schools Report, 2012). While discipline policies help keep order and support a positive learning environment in our schools, the same policies and practices disproportionately impact youth of color, often preventing them from advancing in school or even graduation. These seemingly neutral practices result in inequality within our schools. Structural discrimination is the interplay of these

various policies, practices, and programs from different institutions, which lead to adverse outcomes for some communities, while benefitting others, often unintentionally. Even when there is no intentional discrimination, this interplay has a differential and harmful effect on members of certain groups. A common example of a cycle of structural discrimination can be seen in education, employment, and housing. When a person is unable to complete a high school degree, it may be harder to find a higher wage job, which in turn limits their ability to afford quality housing for their family.

Metro's Three Forms of Equity

- **Interpersonal discrimination:** Pre-judgment, bias, stereotypes or generalizations about an individual based on their race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, age, ability, class, or other group membership.
- **Institutional discrimination:** Policies and practices that work to the benefit of individuals in certain groups to the detriment of people in other groups, often unintentionally or inadvertently.
- **Structural discrimination:** The interplay of policies, practices, and programs of differing institutions which lead to adverse outcomes and conditions for certain groups that occurs within the context of inequitable historical and cultural conditions.

Source: Metro, 'Defining Discrimination', 2013

3.3 Theory of Uneven Urban Development and Responses

David Harvey (2006) and Neil Smith (1984) have described how flows of capital across space sculpt the built environment of cities. They theorize that periodically, as capital begins to reach the limits of accumulation in one location, it shifts to new spatial locations in order to avert a crisis in accumulation - what Harvey calls a 'spatial fix'. Consequently, these flows of investment structure the distribution of amenities such as parks, public transportation services, affordable housing, and schools. As capital withdraws investment in one part of a city and shifts to another, what results is 'uneven development' (Smith 1984). In turn, disinvestment creates a 'rent gap' - the difference between the value of property at present, and the potential value of that property in the future. Eventually, as capital begins to reach its limits of accumulation in well-invested areas (maxing out potential profit), what results is a gradual shift of capital back to disinvested areas in order to access new frontiers of accumulation and capitalize on the potential value created by the rent gap.

Harvey and Neil Smith have identified two notable periods of 'capital switching' in post-war US history, beginning with a movement of investment away from inner-city neighborhoods and towards the suburbs - a process that was facilitated by the US government's subsidizing of highway infrastructure and home loans that encouraged white middle-class families to leave the central city. This process of 'white-flight' toward the suburbs resulted in a diminished tax-base, and concentrations of racialized poverty in the core of many US cities. In the case of Gresham, federal financing was used in the mid-1950s to build the Banfield Expressway (I-84) from Portland east through Gresham. Previously, the only way to travel from Portland to Gresham was via arterial

streets. The opening of this new expressway in 1955 led to a period of migration eastward, and rapid suburban development in Gresham. Much of this development occurred in areas of what is Eastern Gresham today, but which were not officially incorporated into the city until 1980.

Suburban growth and development in Gresham continued at a rapid pace through the 1970s, with single family development continuing to spread eastward. Over 6,000 housing units were built in Gresham during the 1970s, which constituted almost 60% of the city's housing stock at that time. During this period, multi-family developments were also built, usually along major arterial streets, and in close proximity to commercial districts, such as Rockwood and the Burnside Strip. By 1980, the housing stock for the planning area had grown to an estimated 12,000 single family dwellings, and 7,000 multiple family units, with nearly all of the housing stock less than thirty years old (Gresham Comprehensive Plan, 2005). During this same time period, between 1950 and 1980, Portland's share of the housing units in Multnomah County dropped from 80% to 68% (US Census, cited in Goodling et. al., 2014). Many members of Portland's African American community, who were being denied federally-insured loans as a matter of policy, had fewer locational choices and remained largely concentrated in inner-city neighborhoods (Gibson, 2007)

Smith and Harvey describe how this phase of capital accumulation through suburban development began to reach its limits in the mid-1970s, and was preceded by renewed investment in the inner-core of many American cities. This period of capital switching has been associated with broader economic processes of neoliberalization, or the practice of enhancing the role of the private sector in society through deregulation favoring free trade and open markets (Hackworth, 2007). As capital returned to the city, it no longer took the form of industrial production and manufacturing as it had historically. Rather, this new cycle of development has been characterized by consumptive-oriented service sector industries, such as tourism, bars and restaurants, hotels, convention centers, sports stadiums, luxury condos, and boutique shops. Reinvestment in the urban core, and the accompanying rise in property values that this investment brings with it, also results in concomitant processes of gentrification that displace low-income residents, who are often disproportionately people of color, pushing these populations out to suburban areas. This spatial pattern of gentrification and re-investment in a service-economy in the central city and the consequent displacement of low-income people of color to the suburbs has come to be referred to as the 'neoliberal city'.

Efforts to attract capital back to inner-city Portland began with federally funded urban renewal projects in the 1960s and 1970s that cleared entire African American neighborhoods to build facilities such as the Lloyd Center shopping mall, the Memorial Coliseum, and Emanuel Hospital (Loving, 2011, cited in Goodling et al, 2014). In the 1980s, Portland annexed large tracts of unincorporated suburbs to its east in order to generate more tax revenues that could be reinvested in the city's core. The 1990s witnessed public funds being used to encourage 'urban renewal' in historically black neighborhoods of Portland. As Goodling et al describe:

Although (urban renewal) implied that funds would benefit long-time African American residents, coffee shops and yoga studios catering to mostly white hipsters opened up on historically black Alberta Street within a few years... Brew pubs and

bike shops have opened alongside brand new condo complexes with names like Eco Flats PDX, and marketing taglines advertising “Sustainable Urban Living in Portland” cater to a new demographic: white, young, progressive, and eco-conscious” (Goodling et al., 2014).

As this reinvestment occurred, many black people that had historically lived in these neighborhoods were priced out.

As investment shifted back to inner-city Portland, lower property values in East Portland and Gresham resulted in a migration of low-income families to these areas, including black families who have been displaced from inner-city Portland due to gentrification, as well as recent immigrant and refugee populations. As Table 4 indicates from 2000 to 2011, Gresham’s population in poverty rose by 74.6%, outpacing larger cities in the region such as Portland and Vancouver, while other suburbs in the region particularly in Washington County, more than doubled their populations in poverty. These trends help to explain why Gresham is currently characterized as a young, growing, highly diverse population, and low property values resulting in a relatively small tax-base with which to support public amenities when compared to the regional average.

Table 4: Poverty Trends (2000 to 2009-2011)

City	Change in Total Population	Change in Population in poverty
Tualatin	18%	189.1%
Oregon City	27.6%	132.58%
Beaverton	18.8%	101.03%
Newberg	20.3%	100.45%
Milwaukie	-2.9%	94.92%
Tigard	17.1%	74.98%
Gresham	17.9%	74.6%
Hillsboro	31.9%	70.87%
McMinnville	22.4%	70.25%
Vancouver	13.5%	59.64%
Portland	11.2%	53.78%

Data from the 2000 Census and the American Community Survey. Poverty thresholds were \$11,484 for an individual in 2011 and \$8,794 in 2000.

In sum, many of the processes of capital investment and disinvestment described by Harvey and Smith are reflected in the historical processes of political economy of Gresham and the Portland

region, and help to explain how the current geographical distribution of opportunity structures in the region were produced.

Spatial mismatch

The urban planning response to the uneven geography of opportunity derives from the spatial mismatch hypothesis, which refers to the physical separation between job opportunities and low-income, people of color (Chapple, 2006). The theory emerged in the the 1960s as an explanation for why inner city minority populations have low employment rates and earnings compared to the white people who were increasingly living in the suburbs near where job growth was occurring. The phenomenon is particularly striking for low-skill jobs and people with lower education levels (Stoll et al, 1999).

The spatial mismatch contributes to longer commutes, which affects time available for other health promoting activities such as socializing and exercising. Longer commutes means a higher transportation cost burden, which is one of the major contributors to the cost of living for low and moderate income families (Lipman, 2006). High travel costs also discourage residents from traveling outside of their neighborhoods to look for work, resulting in longer and more frequent periods of unemployment (Holzer et al, 1994). Lastly, “as commuting times increase, job seekers will require higher wages,” reducing actual opportunities as other job seekers in the region are willing to accept lower wages (Ihlanfeldt and Sjoquist, 1998).

As implied, the spatial mismatch is mainly a problem of transportation, as access to the regional job market implies the availability of transportation to get to and from work. Not surprisingly, studies have found that not having access to a vehicle seriously limits the availability of job opportunities. For example, “low-income workers that rely on public transit have less access to jobs than do low-income workers with cars” (Barnes, 2000). In addition, many entry-level and low-skilled jobs are either not accessible by public transit or require employees to work when public transit is not operating such as nights and weekends (Sanchez, 2008). Accordingly, “there is evidence that increasing access to automobiles can improve opportunities for social mobility by expanding the job search radius” (Chapple, 2006).

Given that many job seekers may not have reliable access to transportation and must rely on the local job market, it is important to consider the local area when analyzing employment opportunities (Kain, 1992). In addition, living close to employment opportunities may increase the chance of hearing about jobs that may not be advertised outside of the local area (Chapple, 2006). The local scale is also important because “social networks are one of the primary channels through which job seekers find employment” (Chapple, 2006).

The spatial mismatch hypothesis has influenced policy responses over the past 40 years by aiming to connect low-income and minority residents to job opportunities through three general strategies (Chapple, 2006):

- 1) Dispersal: relocating residents to suburbs by providing Section 8 vouchers and assistance in overcoming housing discrimination
- 2) Mobility: improving transportation connections and/or information available to residents
- 3) Economic development: attracting new jobs to areas where the residents live

While the proximity to job opportunities is important, Chapple warns that emphasizing spatial factors may over-simplify access to employment at the expense of structural factors that have stronger explanatory power in social and economic outcomes (2004). Examples of factors that prevent job seekers from finding work even when employment opportunities are located nearby include “racial discrimination, lack of social networks, and poor human capital development” (Chapple, 2006). Chapple argues that: “planners are well equipped to take greater responsibility for antipoverty initiatives because of their training in interdisciplinary, comprehensive thinking, and can play a more effective role if they understand how place and race shape the social interactions that lead to job opportunities” (Chapple, 2006). Structural factors affecting job opportunities are discussed further in Section 3.3 below.

Metropolitics and the Fiscalization of Land Use

Myron Orfield developed another framework for understanding these regional dynamics, recognizing the social and economic polarization between and within jurisdictions that began to escalate in the 1980s. Orfield’s “metropolitics” framework examines the spatial distribution of poverty and wealth within a region. He used a variety of factors to measure regional disparities including poverty, school performance, racial segregation, crime, jobs, land use, and fiscal capacity, or the ability for a government agency to generate revenue needed to provide services.

Orfield argues that since property taxes are a main source of local revenue, jurisdictions compete for property wealth through “fiscal zoning,” or the use of land-use regulations to support the development of expensive homes and commercial/industrial with low service needs, while discouraging lower cost housing. This tendency contributes to mutually reinforcing relationships that essentially transfer property value from less well-off jurisdictions to those with more resources through changes in both government and private spending (Orfield, 1998). The result is the destabilization of communities and the trend towards the concentration of poverty in some jurisdictions and the concentration of wealth in others (Orfield, 1998). These regional patterns reinforce the relationships at the neighborhood level, described in Section 3.1 above.

In a 1998 study of the Portland region, Orfield found that most of the factors causing regional polarization throughout the US are present. “Virtually all the places in the region where social needs are increasing, the total assessed property value per household is small, relatively stagnant, or even declining. On the other hand, in places where the tax valuation per household is the largest,

the social needs are comparatively small and sometimes declining” (Orfield, 1998). Orfield identified west Gresham as an area with significant concentration of lower-income households facing pressures related to “steady or decreasing wages, increasing insecurity in the job market, rapidly increasing housing prices, the increasing cost of higher education, long commutes, and the limited availability of childcare, among other concerns” (Orfield, 1998).

Compared to other regions, however, Portland had many outer suburbs with high concentrations of poor households and households of color, similar in demographics to some inner-suburban areas (a trend that is becoming increasingly common but was not as apparent at that time). Lastly, Orfield concluded that the basic structure of polarization is present and worsening in Portland, but it is less severe than in larger, older regions in the US. Possible explanations are that “the Portland region is younger, less racially diverse (and hence whites who are uncomfortable with people of color have not fled the central city to the same degree as in other major cities), and has a less fragmented pattern of municipal incorporation” with a strong regional land use planning system (Orfield, 1998). While the region was experiencing job growth and property value increases in Portland and older, low tax value suburbs like Gresham, “this growth remains a pale reflection of the growth occurring in the high-valued suburbs” (Orfield, 1998).

A recent study completed by PSU students for Metro found that these trends are continuing and seem to be worsening (report available at: <http://www.pdx.edu/usp/student-work>). Comparing the 25 cities under Metro’s jurisdiction and using “assessed values per household” as a measure of fiscal capacity, the analysis found that suburbs with an assessed value per household above the regional average (“High Capacity suburbs”) have a median household income that is over 31% higher than the “Low Capacity Suburbs”. The cities with the highest median home values and those that experienced the highest percent change in median home values between 2000 and 2011 were overwhelmingly High Capacity Suburbs. The region’s population has been increasingly living in Low Capacity Suburbs, which saw larger absolute increases in the percent of families falling below the federal poverty level. In Gresham, assessed values per household dropped by 4.5% between 2000-10 (Table 5). Only one other city in the region experienced a decrease in this measure. The study concluded that Measures 5 and 50 essentially created a system in which fiscal differences were locked into place: those cities that were doing well when the measures passed in the early 1990s continue to do well, and vice versa.

“Living in a healthy place means having adequate housing; secure and meaningful livelihood; access to schools, parks, and public spaces; safety and freedom from violence; unpolluted air, soil, and water; and a society which promotes not only opportunity and innovation but also cooperation, trust, and equity.”

(Human Impact Partners, *Health Impact Assessment: A Guide for Practice*)

Table 5: Change in Household Value (2000-2010)

County	Assessed Value Per Household (2000)	Assessed Value Per Household (2010)	Change
Clackamas County	\$210,670	\$254,245	20.7%
Washington County	\$202,280	\$232,922	15.1%
Multnomah County	\$181,551	\$200,284	10.3%
City			
King City	\$1,600,388	\$3,076,894	92.3%
Lake Oswego	\$552,889	\$688,685	24.6%
Happy Valley	\$403,966	\$362,338	-10.3%
West Linn	\$238,832	\$338,937	41.9%
Tualatin	\$252,655	\$322,770	27.8%
Wilsonville	\$299,780	\$313,117	4.4%
Durham	\$241,234	\$259,818	7.7%
Tigard	\$232,672	\$256,519	10.2%
Oregon	\$167,959	\$253,483	50.9%
Damascus	*	\$251,206	*
Hillsboro	\$226,717	\$249,072	9.9%
Sherwood	\$183,510	\$227,155	23.8%
Beaverton	\$182,568	\$198,657	8.8%
Wood Village	\$141,515	\$197,214	39.4%
Portland	\$178,926	\$194,517	8.7%
Troutdale	\$178,362	\$190,786	7.0%
Milwaukie	\$161,824	\$176,772	9.2%
Maywood Park	\$156,867	\$173,607	10.7%
Gresham	\$180,065	\$171,867	-4.6%
Fairview	\$107,966	\$159,797	48.0%
Gladstone	\$142,208	\$157,354	10.7%
Forest Grove	\$139,820	\$156,525	11.9%
Cornelius	\$129,071	\$153,256	18.7%

* Damascus shows a value of zero for 2000, given that it was not incorporated at this time and tax data was not readily available. Audit reports for Johnson City indicate no property tax revenue for FY2010-11

Economic restructuring and the neoliberal city

A major structural factor that influences job opportunities at the regional level is national policy and international trade conditions. Over the past few decades, the US economy has become more oriented toward service industries and less oriented toward manufacturing (Stiglitz, 2013). Currently, job market demand in the U.S. tends to be divided between the low-skilled service industry and the highly professional and technical industry (Portes, 2005). In the Portland region, a recent analysis of employment patterns since the recession found that most of the job growth has been in high and low wage jobs, with a corresponding decline in jobs with middle income wages (Kaylor, 2014).

One driver of economic restructuring is the increasing geographic mobility of capital, facilitated by technological advancements (DeFilippis). This means that firms are not as bound to one place as they used to be. Off-shoring of manufacturing is the most common example of capital mobility. A consequence is intense competition for business between cities at regional, national, and global scales (Osgood et al 2012). Cities experiencing the most competitive pressure are more likely to be “distressed areas” with lower median HH incomes, higher poverty rates, lower median home values, higher unemployment, and lower education levels (Osgood et al 2012).

Globalization and neoliberalization of the economy has corresponded with international trade agreements and national policies that have led to declining funding to local governments. Less federal funding combined with a shrinking local tax base reduces the ability of local governments to provide basic goods and services (DeFilippis). The strain has led to two general responses: 1) rely more on private and non-profits sectors to fill service gaps, and 2) find new sources of funding to increase the tax base. To attract capital investment in their cities, local actors are becoming more “entrepreneurial” and focused on economic development (Osgood et al 2012).

3.4 Implications

Whereas a social determinant of health analysis allows us to describe what underlying social conditions are linked to disparities in health outcomes, the geography of opportunity analysis describes how those conditions are inequitably distributed throughout a city or region. Theories of uneven urban development can explain the historical conditions of the political economy that produced these inequitable distributions. Taken together, these three conceptual frameworks help us to understand the root causes of health outcome disparities in our cities - disparities that we will continue to address in the remainder of this report.

These conceptual frameworks also help us to understand that many policies and political actions that have not traditionally been thought of as related to health in fact have been shown to have lasting effects on the health of populations. Therefore, we believe practitioners, policy-makers, and stakeholders should approach health and well-being from a variety of disciplines and perspectives, and adopt a critical lens that considers spatial and social variation in health outcomes.

The resulting framework plan will thus seek to address not only the physical environment and urban infrastructure that shapes the opportunity structure in Gresham, but also the social and economic root causes that impact access to opportunity. Throughout this process, we must keep in mind that without good health, it is near impossible to take full advantage of opportunities in one’s community.

4.0 PLANNING APPROACH

According to the AICP Code of Ethics, planning as a profession has a responsibility to provide opportunity for all people to have a meaningful impact on public decision-making, and to ensure the fair treatment of all participants in a planning process (AICP Code of Ethics, 2013). Federal and state oversight also supports a climate of nondiscrimination to address historic imbalances that have occurred since the country's inception. Various planning practices have also been developed to assist government agencies in addressing these imbalances and to ensure the needs and rights of all residents and upheld, regardless of their background. This chapter outlines several planning approaches that inform our practice as we seek to identify and address uneven geographies of opportunity in Gresham.

4.1 Regional Equity Planning

Regional equity planning has emerged as a response to the uneven geography of opportunity in the US. It builds upon traditional community development work, while recognizing that remedies must go beyond local asset-building and involve strategies at larger scales (Pastor and Benner, 2011). Reflecting the growing interest in regional equity, the Metropolitan Policy Program of the Brookings Institute launched a Metropolitan Opportunity Series in 2009 to document the “changing geography of poverty and opportunity in metropolitan America”. Many regions are now completing regional equity and opportunity assessments to help guide future decision-making in areas such as healthcare, education, transportation, and housing (Kirwan, 2013, p. 2).

Chapple suggests that it takes four steps to build the case for an equity-oriented regionalism: 1) establish that there is an uneven opportunity structure within metropolitan regions; 2) determine its causes; 3) evaluate the effectiveness and political feasibility of different solutions; and 4) determine whether the best solutions are systematic across regions or whether each region requires unique policy remedies (2004). The ultimate purpose of regional equity planning is to build sustainable and resilient communities and regions that are just and fair – “where all can participate and prosper” (Kirwan, 2013). Part of the strategy is to reduce the concentration of poverty and racial/ethnic segregation in order to address historic discriminatory policies. Advocates of regionalism are pointing to recent research that shows that poverty reduces economic growth, while lower levels of inequality correlate with better economic performance (Benner and Pastor, 2012).

4.2 Deliberative Democracy and Collaborative Decision Making

Another approach to addressing fair and equal opportunity that has been developed and adopted over the past several decades is known as ‘deliberative democracy’ or collaborative planning. These approaches seek to rectify disparities in opportunity structures by creating democratic decision-making structures that allow all to participate equally. The theory behind deliberative democracy emerged from the work of scholar Jürgen Habermas, who argued that in order for a decision making process to be deemed valid, all subjects who are affected by that process must have been permitted to participate in a deliberation that shaped the outcome, and that their participation in the process must have been absent of coercion. Other theorists such as Iris Marion Young have

additionally noted that people tend to speak and understand situations differently depending on a wide range of factors including their age, socioeconomic position, and cultural upbringing. Consequently, a deliberative process must accommodate these different approaches accordingly in order to assure that all voices get a fair chance at being heard and are thereby able to participate in decision-making.

Collaborative planning approaches adopt these insights into planning practice while addressing contemporary problems that traditional planning processes have been ill-equipped to adequately address. Collaborative process draws from diverse perspectives as well as expert knowledge. Further, rather than beginning with planning objectives being determined from on high, goals are agreed upon by a diverse set of actors who begin with a shared concern and who then work together to develop strategies to achieve these goals (Innes and Booher).

Collaborative planning must also be sensitive in navigating the tensions between expert knowledge and local knowledge. Traditional planning often relies heavily on publicly available quantitative and spatial data, which can result in the neglect of qualitative information such as cultural values. Planning theorists Innes and Booher contend that a collaborative process drawing from diverse qualitative perspectives is better suited for decision making than quantitatively-derived expert knowledge. Although they recognize that there are instances where a traditional planning model may still be appropriate, they suggest that in general, “collaborative planning is more likely to generate feasible and legitimate decisions than traditional decision making.” Similarly, Corburn argues that pursuing equity necessitates planners to move away from treating the city as a laboratory and towards the co-production of knowledge with local residents (Corburn, 2009).

4.3 Community-Based Action Research

Community-based action research is a third planning approach that seeks to address issues of inequity by engaging the communities that are least often heard in research projects that they themselves drive and which result in action. Since the 1950s, social scientists have recognized the need for the stories of those most impacted by inequality to be expressed and evaluated as *qualitative* information and data (Torre and Fine, 2011). In many cases, the expressions of marginalized residents, characterized as “expert local knowledge,” reveals key solutions in the planning process that would otherwise be shrouded if not for their participation (Corburn, 2005). In practice, *community-based participatory researchers* provide support to marginalized groups and individuals to initiate, conceive, collect and interpret their own data for final report. *Action research* projects such as PhotoVoice, community mapping, or even quantitative measurement of point exposure to toxins have been conducted around the country. The findings of these reports are often used for advocacy to a jurisdiction or government agency in order to make positive social change in communities. Action research projects conducted worldwide have proven to build the capacity for community members to engage at a higher level in civic life, but also bring a greater imagination of potential solutions to often intractable urban problems.

4.4 **Implications**

The context of CCP's opportunity mapping and analysis in Gresham is one with a growing population, increasing cultural and linguistic diversity of residents, a changing economy, and constraints of limited public resources. The planning approach that we have taken - influenced and informed by regional equity planning, collaborative planning, and community-based action research – are well suited to these conditions. Taken as a whole, this approach amounts to a holistic way of learning about a community and supporting community-led solutions to the complex problems our cities face. We understand that it will take participation of many people, from *all* walks of life, to contribute to a collective understanding of issues and framework for action. Effective community planning also requires two-way learning between technical experts and local experts, working side-by-side to incorporate accurate and accessible information.

The creation of the goals and actions outlined in our *Opportunity Framework Plan* was done in partnership with community groups and residents. We used a variety of collaborative methods, described in our *Community Engagement Report*, to “co-create” meaning from life experiences to aid in problem formulation, qualitative data collection, interpretation of data, and suggestions for local solutions. Using co-production methods, CCP and the City of Gresham worked together to engage various groups throughout the city to learn about their unique experiences, which fed into the analysis of existing conditions and problem identification, as well as development of final recommendations.

CCP rests firmly on a model of community empowerment in our collaborative practice. We believe that through this approach community members in the target neighborhood increase their capacity to engage with government officials about the issues that matter most in their lives. Simultaneously, government staff gain an opportunity learn from the community and to test new methods for engagement, acquiring new skills and relationships with groups that are often hard to reach through more traditional outreach strategies.

5.0 OPPORTUNITY MAPPING

Studying the geography of opportunity and determinants of health naturally involves mapping. With the invention of geographic information systems (GIS), mapping tools have been used to highlight trends such as racial segregation, gentrification of central city areas, and suburbanization of poverty. Given its capabilities, federal agencies, regional organizations, community groups, and local governments are developing mapping tools to document and analyze living conditions and demographics across neighborhoods, cities, and regions.

In recent years, several agencies and organizations in the Portland region have mapped indicators of opportunity for various purposes. For example, the Coalition for a Livable Future (CLF) has developed an interactive web-based mapping tool called the Equity Atlas “to promote widespread opportunity for a stronger, healthier, and more sustainable region” (CLF website). CLF uses the atlas to encourage discussions on equity by highlighting disparities for marginalized and disadvantaged communities across the region, contributing to a common knowledge base that can motivate policy change (Interview with Scotty Ellis, 2013). Originally, CLF was going to use nine indicators in version 2.0 of the atlas (released in 2012), but their two-year outreach process determined that people wanted more information, so it now includes about 150 datasets (Interview with Scotty Ellis, 2013). This application demonstrates the potential to incorporate an equity planning approach into the opportunity mapping methodology.

Opportunity mapping has also emerged as a tool. This section addresses the following questions:

- What is “Opportunity Mapping” and how is it used?
- What have been the outcomes of opportunity mapping efforts?
- What are some lessons learned?

The section is based on CCP’s professional experience and research completed since September 2013. We also completed brief case studies on the experiences of City of Portland and Washington County, based partly upon interviews with two practitioners:

1. André Tremoulet, formerly Washington County Community Development Department (during the Consolidated Plan update in 2010)
2. Uma Krishnan, City of Portland Bureau of Planning and Sustainability (involved in the opportunity mapping project in partnership with the Portland Housing Bureau during 2012-13.)

5.1 **Kirwan Methodology**

The Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity at The Ohio State University pioneered the “opportunity mapping” methodology. It is a comprehensive framework to measure and display the distribution of opportunity in metropolitan regions, and to determine who has access to opportunity rich areas. The method is based on the extensive body of research that has established the important impacts of physical and social environments on health and well-being, as described in Chapters 2 and 3. Residents of a metropolitan area essentially operate within “an interconnected web of opportunities that shape their quality of life” (Kirwan, 2013).

The process of opportunity mapping involves collecting a variety of indicators (see list below) at the census tract or block group level, which is then combined into a composite opportunity index (Kirwan, 2013). The index is then mapped using GIS to create composite maps. The maps should first be evaluated by stakeholders, then revised through an iterative process, allowing local knowledge to refine and augment the maps. The final maps are typically compiled into a report that is made publicly available.

Opportunity mapping allows stakeholders and organizations to facilitate community engagement, planning, and analysis to address equity challenges. The maps can help people “assess what factors are limiting opportunity in a community and can assist in identifying what measures are needed to remedy these impediments to opportunity” (Kirwan website). The ultimate purpose is to affirmatively connect marginalized communities to pathways of opportunity, such as successful schools, safe neighborhoods, and sustainable employment (Kirwan, 2013).

Applications

Opportunity mapping has typically had regional applications. For example, the Kirwan Institute is currently providing technical assistance to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) for implementation of the Sustainable Communities Initiative. HUD is requiring the recipients of planning grants to complete a Fair Housing Equity Assessment (FHEA) to analyze racial segregation and the concentration of poverty, recognizing that “equity and access to opportunity are critical underpinnings” of the grant program (HUD website).

Kirwan’s work has touched many areas of city and regional functions and policies. Among the uses for opportunity mapping, those most relevant to Gresham include:

- Service Delivery
- Targeting Investments
- Community Development
- Policy Design and Advocacy
- Community Planning
- Coalition Building
- Supporting Fair Housing

In general, opportunity maps have been utilized to understand where to target resources in “high need” communities, especially in places that are struggling to provide services with limited

resources. By mapping and prioritizing critical investments, under-served communities are able to advocate for their needs by painting a picture of the opportunity landscape (Kirwan, 2013). In the Puget Sound Region, for example, opportunity mapping was used to develop policy and planning initiatives around proposed light rail corridors in the Region. Through the mapping efforts, the regional council explicitly explored the housing, transportation, and jobs link in assessing areas where critical infrastructure investments were needed to both support transit, and support communities along transit lines (Kirwan, 2013).

Portland region

In 2011, Kirwan prepared a report for the Portland region (funded by the Northwest Area Foundation). It was intended to be a starting point for discussions among advocates and leaders in equitable sustainability in the region. The ultimate goal is to foster more collaboration around establishing policies that provide access to strong opportunity networks for all people living in the Portland region. The overall finding from the mapping effort was that access to regional opportunities, as mapped by various indicators, was most limited in the region's communities of color. Specifically, more than half of all Native Americans, African Americans, and Latinos in the region are located in areas with "low" or "very low" opportunity. Another finding was that 64% of the region's subsidized housing units are located in areas with limited opportunity.

Through the mapping and analysis effort, Kirwan recommended four strategies:

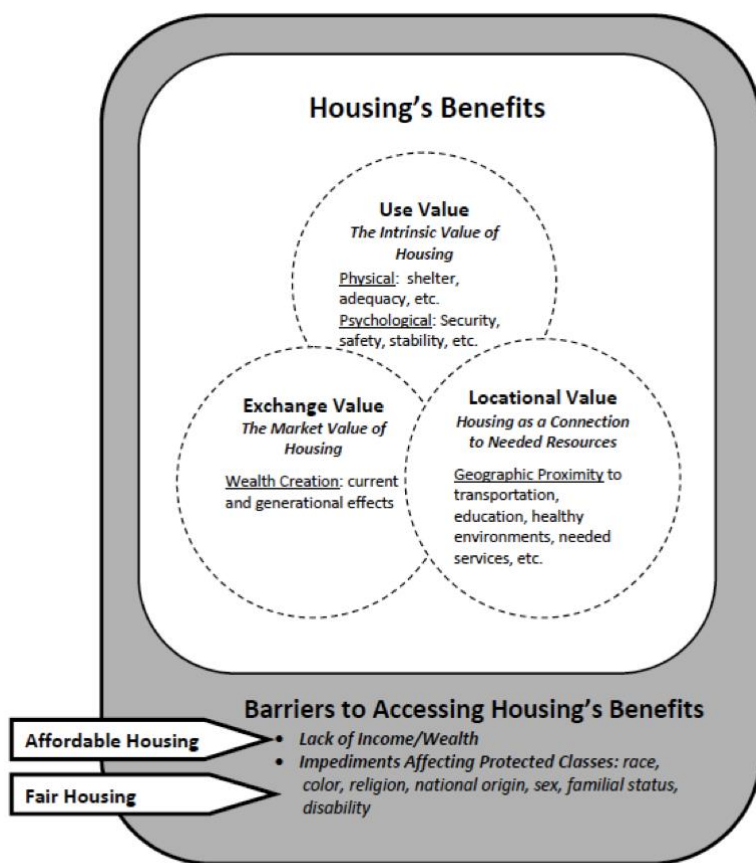
1. Improve access to safe and good credit for all residents of the region (minimize subprime mortgages)
2. Increase and improve affordable housing options
3. Leverage compact development patterns and transportation infrastructure to create stronger linkages between people and place
4. Use the Opportunity Map to perform an Equity Audit of the proposed Portland Plan

Washington County

Washington County completed an opportunity mapping project for their 2010-2015 Consolidated Plan Update. They used a Housing Benefits framework (see Figure 5) to guide their opportunity mapping efforts and address the locational value of housing as a connection to needed resources. The effort began following the release of the Coalition for a Livable Future's Equity Atlas 1.0. The Community Development Department felt that the Equity Atlas data was not sufficient for the purposes of informing the County's locational value policy, specifically in addressing the barriers to accessing housing's benefits due to the lack of income/wealth and impediments affecting protected classes. The Department undertook opportunity mapping in order to aid in discussion around where to invest, what to invest, and how to invest in communities of relatively "high" and "low opportunity."

Washington County created maps of four indicators of opportunity: Quality Schools, Healthy Environments, Proximity to Public Transportation, and Access to Services (see Table 6 for indicator list). Each indicator is based on one to three datasets. The County also created a composite map of all indicators. Currently, Washington County uses the opportunity maps in several ways. During workshops the County holds for Community Development Block Grant and HOME funds applicants, the maps are used as a tool to explore HUD compliance, as well as to address the locational value of proposed projects. On the application itself, the County asks that applicants rank the proposed project in terms of opportunity as identified by the maps. If the project is not ranked “high,” then the applicant must provide justification for the siting of a particular project.

Figure 5: Housing Benefits Framework (Washington County)



City of Portland

The Portland Housing Bureau (PHB) initiated an opportunity mapping project following a 2011 study of fair housing conditions, which directed Portland, Gresham, and Multnomah County to “develop opportunity mapping as a foundation of housing policy development” and to “tie the mapping into the update of Portland’s Comprehensive Plan and Location Policy” (Consolidated Plan, 2011-2016).

Table 6: Indicators Used in Opportunity Maps around the Region

	Portland Housing Bureau	Washington County	Portland Region (Kirwan)
Childhood Education/Quality Schools	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Achievement Index Rating (Elementary-High Schools) • High School Graduation Rates • Proximity to Schools evaluated as Access and Achievement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Math and Reading Proficiency • Free or Reduced Lunch Eligibility 	4th Grade proficiency Student to teacher ratios Student poverty Teacher Qualification Adult Educational Attainment Promotion rate
Employment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Density of higher-wage industries in 1-mile radius • Density of lower-wage industries in 1-mile radius • Proximity to Adult Education Resources 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • N/A 	Job growth 2005-2009 Proximity to employment Proximity of businesses Population on Public assistance Unemployment Rate
Transportation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proximity to Transit • Density of Sidewalks • Density of Curb Cuts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to Public Transportation within .25 mile of stop 	Mean commute-to-work time
Healthy Living	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proximity to food sources • Proximity to Parks/Natural Areas/Senior (District) Centers • Proximity to Health Care Providers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to Parks and Trails • Availability of Sidewalks • Density of Grocery Stores, Produce Markets, and Farmers Markets 	Proximity to parks and open space Proximity to toxic waste sites
Other	Access to Family Wage Jobs: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of family-wage jobs within 60 min. (via mass transit) 	Access to Services: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proximity to Hospitals and Community/Intermediate Care Clinics • Density of Child Care • Density of Services (e.g. senior centers, youth centers, libraries, free hot meal providers, food box centers, DHS offices, Head Start locations) 	Neighborhood Quality: Crime Home ownership Residential vacancy Neighborhood poverty rate

Working in partnership, PHB and the Bureau of Planning and Sustainability (BPS) sought input from stakeholders and technical advisors, and ultimately created maps that highlighted five key categories of opportunity. These were Childhood Education, Employment, Transportation, Access to Family Wage Jobs, and Healthy Eating Active Living (see Table 6 for indicator list). The City also created a composite map of all five indicators. Community feedback influenced how and when to weight some indicators over others.

The opportunity maps largely informed the Draft Opportunity Analysis (PHB, 2013), which PHB developed to better understand the effects of place on their work. Of the many recommendations in the analysis, opportunity mapping was mentioned as a lens to inform spending on program and policy efforts. This included how to direct spending for housing preservation, homeowner stabilization investments, and the homelessness plan in Multnomah County.

5.2 Outcomes of Opportunity Mapping

In 2009, Kirwan completed a report looking at the role of GIS and mapping in addressing issues of social equity, neighborhood-level poverty, and community health through university-led initiatives. The purpose of the study was to better understand how GIS technology can effectively help communities to diagnose problems, perform research, make decisions, and implement actions. Through this exercise, Kirwan found that it was difficult to find examples of a policy change that was directly attributed to a mapping initiative, given that mapping is typically one tool used in broader advocacy campaigns and that policy change is the result of multiple actions. Compared to policy change, it was more common for mapping to guide changes in service provision. Kirwan's experience with opportunity mapping shows that mapping had the most direct impact on policy outcomes in cases involving litigation or those where mapping was done for a public agency with a specific goal or directive in mind. Overall, Kirwan found that the use of GIS to advance social justice has been effectively used in the field, although it is still relatively new.

In addition, Kirwan noted that few evaluation techniques are in place to assess the correlation between mapping and policy change, and there are no consistent benchmarks to measure and compare the success of one mapping initiative to another. Most organizations engaged in equity-related mapping efforts have a hard time understanding the impact of a mapping effort and do not devote significant resources to tracking quantifiable measures (Kirwan, 2009). There are also indirect effects, as the public dissemination of opportunity maps often leads to unintended positive outcomes as other advocacy groups circulate and use the products for their own purposes, as described further below. For these reasons, the study concluded that impact evaluation must take a wide perspective to capture the range of direct and indirect effects that mapping can have on equitable policy outcomes (Kirwan, 2009).

An example of successful outcomes based on this evaluation approach is the Austin region, where the Community Coalition for the Homeless utilized opportunity maps to bring together stakeholders from the fields of public health, education, housing, public transit, and community development. They used the maps to initiate discussion on what interventions were needed to provide Austin's marginalized residents and communities with opportunities to succeed (Kirwan,

2009). Other groups not participating in the initiative have since requested the data for their own use in decision-making processes.

Similarly, in the case of CLF's Equity Atlas, various organizations have contacted CLF about using the atlas. For example, a healthcare cooperative had CLF train their receptionist staff to use the atlas in order to better understand community-level conditions, since they are the first point of contact for new clients (Interview with Scotty Ellis, 2013). Another example of how the atlas contributed to direct policy change is when CLF led a discussion on equity with the Multnomah County Human Services Department, which led staff to realize the full extent of need in East County and ultimately expand their service area (Interview with Scotty Ellis, 2013).

Functions and benefits

Based on a review of the literature, mapping serves three primary functions for organizations engaged in planning and policy-making:

1. Maps are effective visualization tools that can inform plans, decisions, and policies.
2. Mapping exercises can serve as a tool for involving the public and stakeholders in planning and decision-making processes, encouraging two-way exchange of knowledge.
3. Public participation in mapping exercises can build community capacity for advocacy.

Like pictures, maps can speak a thousand words. Relative to statistics and other data-heavy methods, maps are typically easy to understand. Maps brought into meetings can dramatically change the tone of discussion or identify new issues or solutions (Kirwan, 2009). GIS offers the added benefit of spatial analysis, encouraging a better understanding of place and the discovery of relationships in ways that static maps and other methods cannot (Talen, 2007). Tools like the Equity Atlas provide a starting point for conversations that lead to a better understanding of patterns and correlations, which can then feed into problem solving and policy-making (Interview with Scotty Ellis, 2013).

Opportunity mapping, specifically, is a powerful tool for identifying systemic community-based disadvantage, spatial racialization, and strategic intervention points (Kirwan, 2009). Opportunity maps place equity challenges in a geographical perspective, contextualizing neighborhood conditions in relation to the city and region. While it can be challenging to engage people in abstract planning processes, particularly at a city scale, opportunity mapping provides a venue for engaging communities by helping to visualize findings and localize issues.

Kirwan has also learned that opportunity mapping is a good entry point for uniting diverse coalitions of stakeholders including public, private, and non-profit actors (Kirwan, 2009). Opportunity mapping is intended to provide a comprehensive framework that allows for constructive conversations around issues of equity. Kirwan states that “to talk about opportunity is to talk about the assets and challenges that people experience within a community” (Kirwan, 2013). Through collaboration in the map-making efforts, stakeholders come together and begin to recognize the interconnectedness of opportunity structures. Tremoulet found this during the effort in Washington County, claiming “creating these maps was a community-building experience that promises to have benefits that go beyond the maps themselves” (Kirwan, 2013).

Limitations

Data issues

One of the major challenges for community-based organizations to affect policy change is access to “accurate, appropriate, and current data” since the products are only as good as the data that went into them (Kirwan 2009). Data limitations ultimately affect the credibility of the map and can consequently weaken the possibility for policy change. Creators of opportunity maps must take care to use quality data in terms of reliability and validity. In the case of the Portland mapping effort, modeling was used to develop relatively complicated datasets for the opportunity maps. BPS has a large staff with many specialists dedicated to GIS, economics, and transportation, among others. The longer process allowed for incorporation of more technical data, but the City anticipates updating the maps every three years or so. Not every city has the capacity or expertise to conduct such analysis while also keeping maps up-to-date with the most recent and reliable data.

Technical capacity of user groups

Outcomes of equity/opportunity mapping also vary in terms of who is using the tools and products. GIS is considered a very “top-down” method for data analysis and “is heavily biased toward a scientific agenda and the expert culture” (Al-Kodmany, 2000, p. 227). Developing and analyzing maps requires a certain baseline level of knowledge and skills, as well as access to the technology. The scientific nature of GIS can undermine efforts at inclusivity, which is a key aspect of equity planning. Interactive, web-based tools add to the complexity. For example, CLF was worried about the user-friendliness of their atlas tool, since the functionality can be fairly complex and not as accessible for the untrained person (Ellis, 2013). To address this issue, they provide trainings to interested user groups, as well as tutorials on their website. Even with static opportunity maps, some training for different user groups on how to interpret and utilize the maps would help ensure effective and inclusive use of the products.

Individual indicators versus composite index

Another challenge with using opportunity mapping to advance equity objectives is that composite maps can hide meaningful data (Besser, 2013). For example, an area may have high transit access to jobs but a low concentration of jobs, making it rank in the middle on the Economic index. In addition, the specific measures used in the opportunity maps can exacerbate certain qualities of a place. For example, using test scores to reflect school quality could paint a different picture than if high school graduation rates were used. For these reasons, there is the constant need to remember that indicators are proxies for conditions on the ground and maps are representations of reality.

Polarizing and stigmatizing effects

Opportunity maps can imply that places are one of two qualities: low or high (good or bad). Kirwan even notes: “We generally know an opportunity-rich neighborhood when we see one: a place that provides access to quality schools, healthy food and recreational options, stable and supportive housing, sustainable employment, and strong social networks” (Kirwan, 2013). In contrast, opportunity-deprived communities have under-resourced schools, grocery stores with overpriced and low-quality food, higher rates of crime, poorer health outcomes, and conditions that limit access to employment opportunity and advancement (Kirwan, 2013). In reality, places have a blend of positive and negative characteristics that can facilitate or inhibit opportunities for different

population groups within that place. It may seem easy to picture places that are the worst or best off, but using a dichotomy may encourage people to think issues do not apply to their neighborhood because they cannot relate to either description. Users must be aware to not let labels undermine the intention of the maps.

Furthermore, there is potential for stigmatizing places labeled as “low opportunity”, which could have very detrimental effects on the neighborhoods and populations that regional equity planning is intended to benefit. Regional mapping of socioeconomic indicators essentially allows for redlining of areas with problems (Al-Kodmany, 2000, p. 226). When using GIS, “care must be taken to ensure that technology does not disempower already marginalized communities” (Al-Kodmany, 2000, p. 227). Depending on the indicators used, the methodology could “double-ding” a community for concentrations of poverty (ABAG experience). The potential for stigmatization came up during development of the Equity Atlas, which is part of the reason CLF uses the term “access” because it refers more to the place rather than to the people occupying the place, making it less abrasive (Interview with Scotty Ellis, 2013).

Potential to over-simplify

Mapping exercises have the potential to over-simplify the causes of poverty due to emphasis on spatial factors at the expense of structural factors that seem to have stronger explanatory power in social/economic outcomes (Chapple, 2004). Therefore, planners should be cognizant of opportunity mapping’s draw towards using geographic-oriented interventions and recognize when it may be more appropriate to address structural factors or use population-based interventions.

Environmental determinism

By focusing on the geospatial distribution of opportunity structures, there is a danger of falling prey to ‘environmental determinism’ by suggesting that these physical disparities are themselves the cause of inequality rather than result of systemic processes of political economy and historical structures of discrimination. This is an important distinction, because if one is to approach geospatial distribution as the *cause* and not an *effect*, then this would suggest that disparities can be remediated simply by correcting the inequitable distribution without needing to address historical processes and systemic structures that produce inequalities.

Qualitative data

At times, planners using mapping analyses tend to rely heavily on quantitative data and find it more difficult to collect, analyze, and integrate qualitative information. Similarly, GIS struggles with “analyzing social information, such as values, belief systems, and traditions” (Sieber, 2000, p. 786). While some issues are not appropriate for spatial mapping and analysis, experiential data is often needed to give meaning to the quantitative data (Talen, 2007). This is particularly relevant to equity planning, because mapping the social environment is inherently more political and fuzzier than mapping physical features. For example, it is difficult to display concepts such as “cultural competency” because locating places where education on cultural competency occurs does not capture its meaning. Therefore, a remaining challenge to advancing equitable policies is incorporating the qualitative/experiential data that provides necessary supporting evidence.

In developing a “bottom-up GIS” approach, Emily Talen has found that “participatory” approaches to mapping can reveal important qualitative information such as issues related to boundaries and activity areas, when compared to perspectives revealed using more conventional methods (Talen, 2007). Participatory mapping involves the active involvement of community members in the creation and analysis of maps. It has typically been used in processes that involve envisioning, design, or problem-solving.

Scale

A common theme among all studies on equity/opportunity mapping is the importance of scale. In Talen’s study, for example, “residents indicated that they traveled to many different parts of the region not only to get to work but also to buy their groceries and do other shopping and service-related activities” (Talen, 2007, p. 607). While this reflects the regional nature of our daily lives, that fact is often devalued and overlooked due to the constraints of jurisdiction-based land use planning. Therefore, equity/opportunity mapping at a regional scale offers a venue for facilitating dialogue about issues at different scales in ways that other planning methods cannot.

Social vs. physical indicators

Both Washington County and Portland deviated from the Kirwan methodology in that they focused on using indicators on physical infrastructure, almost entirely removing social environment indicators (other than school performance). The inclusion of average student achievement by school implies “school quality” is a fixed characteristic of the environment, rather than something that reflects dynamic social and political factors such as demographics, neighborhood conditions, and in-school resources. In contrast to Portland, Washington County included “children in poverty” as a sub-indicator of school quality. According to Tremoulet, Kirwan concluded that this indicator has the strongest correlation with other indicators of opportunity based on many regression analyses, reflecting that neighborhood conditions are linked to poverty in mutually reinforcing relationships. Therefore, not including social indicators likely misses important characteristics of the neighborhood environment and regional context that affect opportunity. The attempt to depoliticize the maps by focusing only on physical infrastructure and “school quality” only gets at part of the story.

Engagement

A key lesson learned in both cases of Portland Washington County was the need for broad public engagement. Washington County was an early adopter of opportunity mapping and relied heavily on an intern and a small technical advisory group that convened over one summer. Community leaders were disappointed that the County did not involve them in the process of selecting indicators and interpreting the maps because it reinforced a top-down approach. In addition to engaging the public, the County learned that they should engage stakeholders that might use the maps to leverage funding or to create action strategies in their own work. Portland’s efforts were much more involved than Washington County’s, as it incorporated feedback from focus groups and took the draft maps on “roadshows” to obtain community input. The input largely informed the weighting of indicators in the final maps.

6.0 HOUSING POLICY

Gresham's Housing Policy update was designed to promote housing types in locations that will best leverage the City's community development objective, to guide the City's partnerships with housing providers and developers, and to direct the City's use of federal housing resources. One of the 46 new action measures was to initiate an Opportunity Mapping program. The main objective of this opportunity indicator mapping project is to help the City look at housing options in Gresham specifically by spatially assessing indicators of opportunity.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide background information for recommendations in the *Opportunity Framework Plan* (complementing the *Opportunity Analysis Report* housing section), as well as future applications of opportunity mapping to housing policy implementation. The chapter begins with an overview of the role of housing in shaping health and opportunity. It then briefly discusses the state of housing in Gresham, based on a Housing Study completed in 2012 as a precursor to the updated housing policy. The Gresham context section also describes the City's housing-related services and applicable federal housing policies and programs. Lastly, it examines other opportunity mapping projects in the region in order to surface potential lessons learned for completing this project in Gresham.

6.1 Housing and Opportunity

Housing choice is fundamental to opportunity because it is the foundation for a healthy and productive life, and where one lives matters in terms of access to the resources that meet basic needs. The impacts of housing on individual and community health vary based on several dimensions including: ownership, availability, price/affordability, quality of the housing structure/property, and location/neighborhood context. All of these relate to housing stability as the overarching need.

Ownership

Homeownership is the primary source of wealth for most Americans. The level of wealth/income affects individual health by enabling access to more resources. Homeownership can lead to other benefits such as increased college graduation rates of children whose parents own their home (Williams & Collins, 2001; Galster et al, 2007). However, it is difficult to attain homeownership for lower income households, and historic and institutionalized practices such as redlining and predatory lending have contributed to a large gap in homeownership between people of color and the white population. While it is illegal for sellers and lenders to discriminate against potential buyers based on race, the legacy of historic and institutionalized racial discrimination continues to impact current homeownership rates.

Mortgage lenders have a history of giving underserved and minority communities more costly loans than they qualify for, which leads to increased foreclosure rates (Squires, 2007). It has been shown that increased foreclosure rates have been associated with an increase in violent crimes in declining neighborhoods (Immergluck & Smith, 2006). Others have noted that the stress and

disruption of mortgage defaults and foreclosures may result in negative impacts on people's health (Cohen, 2011).

Availability and affordability

People who cannot or choose not to own homes must rent, making the availability of rental housing that is affordable to a range of incomes a necessity in all communities. However, increasing rents indicate a limited housing supply relative to demand, which squeezes renters, especially those in the lower income brackets. In many communities, even full-time workers can be priced out of the housing market. Many families in the subregion are forced to choose between high housing costs and long commuting distances (Sullivan, 2004). "The inability of low income people to afford housing is a market failure" (Gunn, 2004, p. 76). Governments at various scales have responded to the market failure by subsidizing housing through vouchers, public housing authorities, incentives to developers, and grants to nonprofit developers and property managers.

The presence of subsidized or "naturally affordable" market-rate housing does not guarantee that residents will be able to afford their rent. Even though programs such as the Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) help to create reduced rents, many residents still end up paying more than 30% of their income towards housing (Williamson, 2011). This condition is referred to as "cost burdened", which impacts health and well-being by causing emotional and financial stress among other reasons (Cohen, 2011). Conversely, living in affordable housing may improve health outcomes by freeing up resources for health care and healthy food, rather than trading these needs for rent checks (Cohen, 2011).

A serious consequence of insufficient affordable housing is the rise in homelessness. Another outcome is the need for families to "double up" or live in crowded situations. Crowding increases exposure to stressors and infectious disease (Cohen, 2011; Cardoso et al, 2004). Meeting demand for affordable housing would alleviate crowding, leading to improvements in both physical and mental health.

Quality of housing

Evidence shows that the physical structures of homes can have negative health impacts (Thomson, et al, 2003). Causal factors include temperature, indoor air quality (i.e., dust, allergens, neurotoxins, and dampness), and even design, which affects safety, stress, and mental health (Thomson et al, 2003). Low-priced housing on the market is often poorly maintained, as property owners may not capture enough rent to cover the costs and/or do not perceive the value in upgrades. Therefore, health impacts related to adverse housing conditions are compounded because lower income households are disproportionately affected by poor housing quality, yet have fewer resources to cope with health problems and fewer choices to move somewhere else that is affordable. On the other hand, well-constructed and managed housing has been shown to reduce health problems associated with poor quality housing by limiting exposure to allergens and other dangers (Cohen, 2011).

Location and neighborhood context

Lower value homes tend to be concentrated spatially, as owners that do not invest in maintenance cause spillover effects on their neighbors. In other words, disinvestment by one owner can cause property values to decline in the surrounding area, resulting in neighborhood change over time. Since owner-occupied households tend to make basic investment in their homes if they have available capital, higher homeownership rates are positively correlated with neighborhood stability, while absentee landlords are known for being less attentive to their properties.

There is evidence that the social context of an individual's housing situation such as poverty rate of the neighborhood directly affects health and well-being (Cohen, 2011). Neighborhood poverty rates have documented impacts on student success and achievement, particularly high school graduation rates and future earnings. (Galster et al, 2007) High school graduates are less likely to get a job after school if they are from a neighborhood with high poverty. (Turner & Acevedo-Garcia, 2005)

Many subsidized housing units are built in areas with high rates of poverty, which can perpetuate the concentration of poverty (Freeman, 2004). "Stable housing in an unstable neighborhood does not necessarily allow for positive employment and child education outcomes" (Millennial Housing Commission, 2002). Housing vouchers are intended to move families to areas of opportunity (Freeman, 2004). Studies have shown that residents who moved from areas of highly concentrated poverty to areas of low concentration of poverty experienced improved psychological and physical health. (Orr, et al., 2003) However, many families choose to stay in place when offered the chance to move to "higher" opportunity areas. This reflects the importance that many families place on living near friends and family, or in areas that are culturally familiar and comfortable to them. These bonds of existing social relationships can have a protective influence in areas of concentrated poverty.

Many of the health effects based on neighborhood context are related to the inability to access resources, which is the basis of this opportunity mapping project (PolicyLink & Kirwan Institute, 2012). The remainder of this report focuses on how housing location affects access to healthy food, parks, jobs, education, services, and transportation options, which in turn further affects opportunities to access resources. In addition, exposures to environmental hazards is an important factor when evaluating the role of housing in shaping health and well-being.

The importance of housing choice is exemplified in this statement from the Massachusetts Fair Housing Plan, "the opportunity to choose where one lives is essential to endow individuals and families across a spectrum of race, ethnicity and disability with the opportunity to have a choice in the selection of schools, access to job opportunities and an ability to engage as full equal members of their community."

Stability

The lack of housing that is affordable to the full range of household incomes leads to the displacement of residents due to rising rents and the need for some households to move around frequently to find the cheapest housing. Housing instability causes stress and related health impacts. It also impacts school performance for children, as moving schools multiple times leads to

poor performance and educational outcomes (Cohen, 2011). The provision of affordable housing is critical in ensuring stability for individuals and families. Further, stable and affordable homeownership may positively impact mental health by increasing the control that homeowners have over their physical environment and minimizing the disruptions associated with frequent, unwanted moves. While stable housing is a basic need, the nature of the housing market and other structural factors like the economy make it challenging for many families to obtain.

6.1 Gresham Housing Context

Gresham City Council recently adopted an update of the City's housing policy in the Comprehensive Plan, as set forth in the 2011, 2012, and 2013 Council Work Plans. The Housing Policy update resulted in a long-term strategy for meeting and investing Gresham's housing needs. Gresham's Housing Policy update was designed to promote housing types in locations that will best leverage the City's community development objective, to guide the City's partnerships with housing providers and developers, and to direct the City's use of federal housing resources. The City seeks to be more proactive in the siting of new housing and amenities to support the livability of neighborhoods. The Housing Policy acknowledges that "livability" can mean many things but it commonly includes values such as: pedestrian-friendly building/site design, transportation options, proximity to parks, and access to grocery stores, entertainment, schools, libraries, and employment.

This section briefly summarizes findings from the 2012 Housing Study which was conducted as a precursor for the Housing Policy Update. We specifically include information about Rockwood as a focus area because the Map Gresham project is taking an in-depth look at Rockwood and surrounding areas. We then look at current implementation of housing policy, specifically around federal funding, fair housing, and rental housing inspection.

Housing study findings

Demographics

Gresham has gone through rapid demographic shifts between 2000 and 2010. Most notably, there are more renters, and the growth in renter-occupied households has outpaced the growth of ownership households. The percentage of families fell slightly in Gresham, however Gresham has more families and larger households as compared to the Metro area. Gresham has falling relative incomes that in 2012 were 11% lower than the Metro area median. The percentage of Gresham's foreign-born population is growing, and increased diversity is reflected in the 33% of total new population added between 2000 and 2010 being foreign-born. The Housing Study concluded that these trends can be expected to continue into the future, indicating a sustained demand for inexpensive rental housing and larger units.

Ownership and rental housing

The study found that in 2012, Gresham's ownership housing had experienced price increases. The city has an estimated 4-month inventory of for-sale homes, indicating a tight supply. The rental market shows increasing rents (estimated at a 12% increase since 2009).

Foreclosures

Gresham is also characterized by higher rates of distressed and foreclosed homes comparable to other parts of the subregion. The percentage of owner-occupied homes in Oregon which are underwater is 19%, with an additional 5% being “near negative equity.” According to Zillow data of estimates of the percentage of homes with a mortgage which are underwater, east Multnomah County has many distressed zip codes. In Gresham, there is more distress in the Rockwood and Central City neighborhoods. These neighborhoods are part of zip codes where the rate is above 40%, rated within the top 20% of most distressed zip codes nationally. The impact of high rates of distressed housing on the housing market is reduced mobility in the local housing market, and reduced sales activity. For those distressed homeowners that are forced to sell for a loss, they are selling their homes at a significant discount which drags down average sales prices and home values.

Opportunity Mapping Framework in Fair Housing Plan (2011):

Siting housing so it maximizes access to opportunity for residents needs to be based on factual evidence to justify investments in areas with potentially higher land and construction costs. Opportunity Mapping can give the factual framework on which to base decisions about investments in economic development, public infrastructure and affordable housing that benefit historically disadvantaged communities. Opportunity Mapping is a tool that provides a visual narrative and common language for planners and decision makers across jurisdictions to make coordinated investments in housing, and investments that increase a household’s access to “opportunity.” The central value of a map created with the community is that it tells the story of what is happening in our communities in terms of both its assets and deficits. Assets may be historical buildings, long term residents, small businesses and social networks; deficits may be environmental pollution, deteriorating housing stock or a lack of jobs. The mutual understanding achieved through mapping supports decision-making, builds consensus and translates into improved program design, policy development, organizing, and advocacy. Involving the community in Opportunity Mapping will require an investment in staff and a time intensive process that would require re-prioritizing resources.

Federal housing policies and programs

Fair housing and consolidated planning

Currently, Gresham is a part of a consortium with the City of Portland and Multnomah County through which the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) distributes funds for the HOME programs. Gresham receives CDBG funds directly from HUD. HUD requires a Consolidated Plan and Fair Housing Plan for grantee jurisdictions. This planning process is initiated with an “Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing Choice,” (AI) which satisfies the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) requirement for each state and local government to analyze impediments to fair housing choice and take appropriate actions to overcome the effects of impediments identified through that analysis. In the 2011 AI, the consortium found that:

1) “There is inequity and segregation in neighborhoods that lack good access to public transit, schools, grocery, even sidewalks. This can disproportionately affect those with disabilities, low-income, communities of color, and immigrant and refugee communities”; and

2) “There are neighborhoods which are rich in resources such as access to quality transportation, education, food, healthcare, recreation and housing. Those communities are also often segregated and would benefit from policies that break up the patterns of segregation”.

In response, one of the recommendations was to: develop opportunity mapping as a foundation of housing policy development to illustrate areas of Multnomah County where there is limited access to opportunity; and advocate for prioritizing resources, including transportation resources, to these areas to increase opportunity and equity.

HUD funding

The current City process for allocating CDBG and HOME funding involves screening applicants that qualify under HUD’s requirements, then reviewing the proposals through different review bodies: community development staff, financial staff, and the Community Development & Housing Subcommittee (CDHS). The CDHS is a citizen advisory committee that provides guidance to the Planning Commission and City Council. Finance staff evaluates the proposal’s budget and long-term sustainability. The review process is based on City Council priorities by category and Consolidated Plan priorities. Reviewers rank each project using criteria, and average scores are calculated through an online grant management system. The CDHS then reviews the scores and develops a recommendation for the Council. The Council typically adopts the recommended allocation.

HUD requires that funds serve low and moderate income populations, which means the housing units have to be offered to these populations at affordable rates or infrastructure projects must be constructed in areas where at least 50% of the population is low-moderate income (based on census tracts and a given radius around the project site). Housing projects can also qualify under “slum and blight” or “emergency” purposes. The Council priorities are a breakdown of the percentage of funds for each of four to five project types such as economic development, housing, and municipal infrastructure.

The City’s GIS department currently has a CDBG pre-qualification layer, but the data is no longer up to date and staff does not use it. In addition, staff does not feel that there is an easy way to identify what services exist in a given area, such as transit, cultural centers, and grocery stores. Staff ends up pulling several maps to evaluate projects against HUD requirements, including environmental review under the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA). In sum, HUD processes are complicated and staff would appreciate any tool to help streamline them (Interview with Lori Wells). Wells and Harper suggest that opportunity maps could help with spatial analysis for location-based qualifications. They also noted that the maps would need to be updated at least annually, suggesting a partnership with GIS staff to ensure future updates.

City of Gresham Rental Housing Inspection Program

The City of Gresham runs a Rental Housing Inspection Program to ensure that residential rental properties are maintained to minimum standards of fire, health, and life safety. In December of 2007, the City Council voted to create the program, which has become a model for other communities.

Program staff conducts mandatory inspections on residential rental properties throughout the year. The City randomly selects the properties to inspect in a given year and provides property owners, managers, and tenants notification of inspections three weeks in advance. An apartment complex counts as one rental property, and inspections occur in some or all of the units depending on its size in order to provide for a statistical sample. Property owners receive sample checklists, codes, and resources for keeping properties up to code, and residents are asked for consent to inspect their unit. It is the first mandatory citywide program in the state of Oregon.

Properties that do not pass the inspection due to a violation receive a follow-up inspection after 30 days. If at this inspection the violation has not been addressed, the property owner is issued a civil penalty warning. After 30 more days, if the violation is still not addressed, the civil penalty is issued. Upon the fourth or any additional inspections, enforcement decisions are made by the Department Director if violations persist. Program staff work closely with owners and property managers to resolve issues as quickly as possible and to avoid penalties.

The City recently changed the program so that properties that are kept in safe and habitable conditions can receive “Habitability Achievement Awards” at the bronze, silver, or gold levels which remove the property from random, mandatory inspection selection for one, two, or three years respectively. An objective of the program change was to help staff focus more time on properties that need improvements, while rewarding owners that keep their properties up to standard through fewer mandatory inspections.

The program has four full-time inspectors and two administrative assistants. During 2013, 126 properties received a Habitability Award, 82% of which were single family rental properties. Only 8% were larger apartment complexes. This partly reflects the fact that single-family residences make up 70% of rental units, even though only about 20% of renter occupied households are in single-family residences. It suggests that single-family rentals are more likely to achieve award status, and overtime a greater share of inspections will occur in apartment complexes that have consistent issues.

There is also a complaint-driven component of the program so tenants can report violations. The City provides access to online resources about tenant rights including links to the Community Alliance of Tenants (CAT) and the Fair Housing Council of Oregon. Of the 2,508 total inspections completed in 2013, 286 were complaint driven.

Of 2,222 mandatory inspections completed in 2013, 74 cases were opened, and 1,610 were resolved. Of the 286 complaint-driven inspections, 27 cases were opened of which 108 were

resolved. Data was not available about the rate of violations and complaints by housing types. Anecdotally, staff reports that mold is more likely to come up as an issue through the complaint driven process, compared to mandatory inspection. Overall, staff feels that they have capacity to meet demand for complaint-driven inspections (with a turnover time of 24-48 hours), as well as to meet the goals for mandatory inspections.

6.2 Local Examples of Opportunity Mapping and Housing

Washington County and the City of Portland have both used opportunity mapping as a process for agglomerating a variety of data sources into a collection of maps, including a composite index map. The housing staff incorporated the resulting maps into locational policies for the allocation of HUD funding. Staff also uses opportunity maps during trainings and workshops for applicants of HUD funding. Applications for purposes other than HUD-related decision-making seem to be limited, although there is potential for the maps to inform spending on other programs such as housing preservation and homelessness.

Washington County

Currently, Washington County uses the opportunity maps in several ways. During workshops the County holds for CDBG and HOME funds applicants, the maps are used as a tool to explore HUD compliance, as well as to address the locational value of proposed projects. On the application itself, the County asks that applicants rank the proposed project in terms of opportunity as identified by the maps. If the project is not ranked “high,” then the applicant must provide justification for the siting of a particular project.

Tremoulet claims that non-profits in the County find the maps especially useful in their work, as they have successfully served as a tool to leverage grant funding. Tremoulet noted that it is important to support projects in areas of “low” opportunity while also encouraging affordable housing projects in areas of high opportunity. She said that is likely the maps will help encourage renovations and service delivery growth in areas of lower opportunity, rather than new housing which might further concentrate poverty. She concluded that the maps are most useful to first ask informed questions and then balance trade-offs. If operating under the principle of “do no harm,” opportunity maps can inform policy and development decisions at a city and/or regional scale that seek to promote opportunity, rather than limit it.

City of Portland

As described in Chapter 5, the Portland Housing Bureau (PHB) developed opportunity maps to enhance their understanding of the effects of place on housing, as well as to inform spending on program and policy efforts related to housing preservation, homeowner stabilization investments, and the homelessness plan in Multnomah County.

Unique to Portland is the combination of opportunity maps with gentrification/displacement risk overlays. As neighborhoods are invested in, displacement often occurs. It is important that PHB keep a critical eye on areas of “low opportunity”, identifying areas with a high risk for displacement as critical areas to build more affordable housing for current residents so that they are not priced

out in the future. However, it is also important that PHB programs and policies do not further concentrate poverty in areas of “low opportunity” that experience chronic disinvestment.

The City recognizes that targeting investments for new affordable housing in areas of “high opportunity” is more expensive and difficult to finance, leading to fewer applications and units constructed. As a result, PHB has approved several projects in areas of lower opportunity, as an exception to the Location Policy. PHB seems to be using the maps as another tool for evaluating the merit of affordable housing projects, but the maps are not substantially impacting decisions, as financial factors are still taking precedence over the location policy.

6.3 Summary and Implications

Based on staff feedback and our analysis, we conclude that opportunity maps can serve as a viable tool to aid in the evaluation of projects, similar to Portland and Washington County. Key pieces of advice for moving forward with this project included:

- The maps should compile useful information in easy and accessible ways.
- Rather than adopting a strict location policy based on the maps, they should be used as one tool to help staff and the citizen subcommittee make recommendations for federal funding allocations.
- Maps and underlying data are not perfect, as they can over-state trends and mask important information. Staff might also consider revising the existing criteria used to score projects, in order to better reflect spatial characteristics.

In a 2009 study, Kirwan found that opportunity mapping has had the most direct impact on policy outcomes where mapping was done for a public agency with a specific goal or directive in mind. This suggests that staff and advocates in Gresham could use the maps in targeted ways to inform a range of policy updates and changes. Over the long-term, opportunity maps could be one tool for shifting thinking and might ultimately affect future policy updates.

We believe that the most promising potential the maps have is to paint a picture of access and barriers to various opportunities across the city. The opportunity mapping project will help characterize what residents currently utilize and additional needs in terms of physical and social resources, and how those uses and needs differ across the city.

7.0 FOOD ACCESS PROJECT

The 2014 Council/Commission Work Plan includes a Food Access Project, which responds to general community interest in healthy, affordable, and nearby grocery options and specifically a natural grocery store. The initiative's primary objectives are: 1) to identify where there are areas without grocery stores, and identify strategies to address this issue, and 2) attract and incent natural grocery stores in Gresham. The Opportunity Plan will address the first objective by providing initial mapping and analysis of possible "food deserts." CCP will also explore community preferences and concerns related to food access, which will provide insight into defining the issue in the Gresham context. Topics that may surface include: transit connections to existing grocery stores, culturally-specific food options, urban agriculture, farmer's markets, and the accessibility of healthy, fresh, local, organic, and affordable retail options.

This work will inform the Policy Development Report for the Food Access Project. The *Opportunity Framework Plan* will include alternative strategies for the City to consider during the next phase of the initiative. The opportunity maps and associated analysis will also provide useful information to community groups, which may help strengthen existing efforts to increase access to healthy food for all communities in Gresham.

The purpose of this section is to provide background information and methodological considerations for using opportunity mapping as a tool to inform the analysis of food access. This section includes a summary of literature on food justice and access.

7.1 Food Access Literature

Studies have shown that lack of access to healthy food, also referred to as "food insecurity," can have negative impacts on a person's physical and mental health, affecting opportunities to make a living. Some of the harmful effects that food insecurity can have include: tooth decay, behavior problems, low birth weight, obesity, diabetes, and limited cognitive functions such as inability to concentrate (Cook & Jeng). Conversely, food *security* has a direct link to quality of life by promoting health and the ability to participate in his/her community's education and employment systems.

Food insecurity can affect the health of entire neighborhoods or population groups. However, as discussed below, communities are becoming more aware of the disparities that they face in accessing healthy food. We use the term "access to healthy food" in reference to the right of all communities to purchase, grow, or sell affordable, fresh and nutritious food that is culturally appropriate and promotes living wage jobs and a healthy natural environment (Just Food). In addition to promoting individual and public health, food security supports community prosperity.

For these reasons, addressing issues of food access is critical to the discussion of opportunity. It also has implications for the implementation of the Housing Policy, particularly in the siting of affordable housing in areas with good food access. Therefore, food will be an important component of the opportunity mapping project, both to inform the Food Access Project and to support other applications. The following discussion provides insight into the different ways to measure access to

food and a summary of the themes that have informed our methodology, including decisions to include certain indicators in opportunity maps.

7.2 Food Desert Measures

Over the past decade, food access challenges faced by certain urban populations have received increased attention as scholars, policy-makers, and the media have taken an interest in ‘food deserts’ (urban areas devoid of supermarkets). The origin of the phrase ‘food desert’ has been traced to the United Kingdom, where their Nutrition Task Force used the term during the mid-1990s in reference to areas where people face physical and economic exclusion to healthy food (Reisig and Hobbiss, 2000, p138). The concept signifies a shift away from the thinking that dietary practices are the result of individual lifestyle choice, engrained cultural norms, or lack of education around nutrition (Morland et al., 2002). Rather, it reflects new thinking about the influence of structural constraints on diet and nutrition, as supported by studies showing how structural barriers such as the cost of food were impediments to healthy eating for certain populations (Morland et al.). Researchers began to postulate that since the cost of food tends to be cheaper at larger chain supermarkets, affordable food had become less available to poor people living in the inner-cities once supermarkets began their flight to the suburbs. Studies thus began to examine how the *spatial* distribution and location of stores affects dietary choices, and the concept of a ‘food desert’ emerged from this line of inquiry.

However, since the term food desert has entered the lexicon of research and public policy, it has been used inconsistently, referring to a variety of different circumstances. In its most simplified form, food deserts have been defined as “geographical areas... with little or no food retail provision” (Lang and Rayner, 2002). Others have modified this formulation slightly to include or exclude certain types of food retail stores (such as 7-Elevens) in determining food deserts. For instance, Hendrickson et al consider not only the number of food retailers in an area, but also how many people these stores employ, defining a food desert as a neighborhood with “10 or fewer stores and no stores with more than 20 employees” (Hendrickson et al., 2006, p372).

Others have emphasized not just the distance from stores, but the accessibility of stores using various modes of transportation. Acheson (1998) defined food deserts as areas where “cheap and varied food is only accessible to those who have private transportation or are able to pay the costs of public transport if this is available” (cited in Wrigley, 2002). Covenly and Dwyer’s research (2009) on food deserts in Australia suggest that access to independent transportation was “far more important” in determining people’s access to retail stores than was the distance they lived from those stores. Along similar lines, Larsen and Gilliland’s study of food deserts in London Ontario (2008) mapped the location of grocery stores in relation to access to public transportation.

Expanding on these approaches that consider not strictly *distance* from retail stores but rather *access* to food, Jiao et al. (2012) examined both *physical access* of grocery stores (ability to get to the store) and *socioeconomic access* (ability to purchase the food once you get there). They identified food deserts in Seattle by delineating a service area around each store measured by the “ability to walk, bicycle, ride transit, or drive within 10 minutes”, and they also classified supermarkets into

low, medium, and high cost stores (Jiao et al, 2012, p32). By considering the affordability of stores as a measure of access, researchers have also identified ‘food mirages’, or areas where “full service grocery stores appear plentiful but, because food prices are high, healthful foods are economically inaccessible for low income households” (Breyer and Andreae, 2013, p131).

Socio-economic considerations have been used by others in defining what constitutes a food desert by limiting the definition to include only low-income neighborhoods (Powell et al., 2007). For instance, the USDA considers an area to be a food desert only if it is shown to be both an area of *low-access* (“at least 500 people and/or at least 33% of the census tract’s population must reside more than one mile from a supermarket or large grocery store”), and an area of *low-income* (“based on having: (a) a poverty rate of 20% or greater, or (b) a median family income at or below 80% of the area median family income”). This condition is important given that there are many affluent suburban areas across the US that may not have grocery stores located directly in their neighborhood, but which do not necessarily struggle with food access because residents overwhelmingly own cars and have sufficient economic resources to shop at stores outside of the immediate neighborhood.

Other researchers have identified a correlation between food deserts and racial segregation, suggesting that racial and ethnic dimensions of food deserts need to be explored further and included in thinking about how to address food access issues (Powell et al, 2007; Zenk et al, 2005; Moreland et al, 2002). Moreland et al (2002) writes that:

In addition to neighborhood wealth, residential racial and ethnic segregation are structural features of US society. Black Americans face barriers that prevent residential mobility at all income levels, resulting in racially distinct neighborhoods. For this reason we also investigated whether the prevalence of food stores and food service places is associated with the proportion of black residents. (24)

Indeed, the results of their study found that supermarkets were four times more common in predominantly white neighborhoods and mixed neighborhoods compared to predominantly black neighborhoods, whereas convenience stores were less common in white neighborhoods. Similarly, Zenk et al. (2005) found that among the most impoverished neighborhoods, those with higher African American populations were on average more than one mile further away from supermarkets than those with lower proportions of African American residents (p663). McClintock (2011) has critiqued the food desert literature more broadly for limiting itself to geospatial and statistical inventories of the existing conditions without contextualizing these conditions within the historical processes of capital accumulation and the resulting structures of racial and class inequality that sculpt the urban environment.

This reframing of food deserts in terms of mobility, affordability, and socio-economic or racial barriers to food has led some to rethink food deserts in more comprehensive terms of *access* rather than merely distance. Cummins and MacIntyre (2002) have defined food deserts as “poor urban areas where residents cannot buy affordable, healthy food” (p436) - a definition that emphasizes low-income neighborhoods, and which also places an emphasis on both affordability and the

nutritional quality of the available food. Researchers from Portland State University developed a holistic model with which to measure food access in Portland, Oregon (Armstrong et al, 2011). The model considered five variables:

1. Affordability (price)
2. Accessibility (physical access)
3. Availability (sufficient variety for a healthy diet)
4. Awareness (education)
5. Appropriateness (how culturally relevant the available foods are)

In general, we have found that the academic literature has much less to say about what policymakers can do about food deserts than it has to say about what they are and where they exist. Still, we see three broad typologies related to how people have framed the problem of food deserts and what actions could be taken to resolve this problem (Table 7). First, among those who understand food deserts as being areas that lie beyond a certain distance from the nearest grocery, the problem is often explained as being related to the profit motive of large supermarkets that perceive low-income neighborhoods as being not profitable areas to locate a business. When the issue is framed this way, the appropriate response is to attract large chain supermarkets to the underserved neighborhoods by providing sufficient incentives or subsidies. This perspective is exemplified by Larsen and Gilliland (2008), who claims that:

The relocation of supermarkets has been associated with urban development and the physical need for more space, but economic interests were of course the driving force and the fact that major chain stores, from research and experience, typically know where to locate to maximize profit. (...) In order to attract small supermarkets back to the urban core, the municipal government could introduce financial incentives, such as tax breaks or building restoration initiatives.

A second typology is the understanding of food deserts as a question of physical accessibility rather than a measurement of distance to the store, and who consequently tend to see the problem of food deserts as one poorly designed urban form (Jiao et al, 2012; Burns, 2007). In this case, the appropriate and logical response involves rethinking our public transit systems, making our cities more walkable, or by changing zoning codes so as to allow for more mixed-use neighborhoods. As stated by Burns (2007), “If all residents (...) are to have good access to healthy food, there should be improvements in transport systems and support for food shopping for residents without a car or unable to physically access public transport.”

A third broad typology that we see in the literature are those who define food deserts by measuring access to healthy, affordable food, and who tend to emphasize socio-economic barriers to access. Among this group, attracting large corporate stores to a neighborhood, or transit lines to improve

connectivity is not sufficient if poor people do not have the income required to purchase food from those stores. Rather, what is needed according to this view are approaches to community-based economic development that will provide local jobs and capacity within the neighborhood itself that can support healthy food retail options (McClintock, 2011; Larson et al, 2009; Powell et al., 2007, Zenk et al, 2005; Reisig and Hobbiss, 2000). Reisig and Hobbiss typify this perspective by calling for:

improvement of access to fresh food by stimulating a local food economy which in turn creates employment and training opportunities for local people... supporting local food producers and processors who use locally grown fresh foods and sell preferentially to local people. Community cafes, food cooperatives and community-led stores are other ventures that can lead to employment and skills development while meeting a multitude of needs. (p147)

7.3 Summary and Implications

The literature on food deserts reveals that while there is broad interest in food deserts and in addressing food deserts as a matter of public policy, there is a lack of consensus in the academic literature around what food deserts are, what causes them, and what approaches should be taken to address the issue. The food desert concept has been defined and measured in a wide-range of ways. Broadly speaking, some have tended to emphasize distance of an area to food retail outlets, whereas others have considered the physical accessibility of stores, socioeconomic and racial barriers, affordability and culturally appropriateness of available food, and the nutritional quality of food.

The stakes related to how food deserts are understood and defined is not merely a semantic detail - indeed, how we qualify and quantify food deserts have direct implications for how we propose to address the problem with public policy. Therefore, the first step in addressing food deserts with public policy should be to ask community members and policy-makers how they perceive the issues around food access. Next, stakeholders should work to build consensus around the problem definition and possible solutions.

Table 7: Three Broad Typologies of Food Desert Framing

Definition of Food Desert	Cause	Possible Solutions	Example	Other Authors
A food desert is an area that lies beyond a certain distance from the nearest grocery retailer, or from a large supermarket chain.	The profit motive of large supermarkets that perceive low-income neighborhoods as being not profitable areas to locate a business.	Attract large chain supermarkets to the neighborhoods by providing sufficient incentives or subsidies.	Larson (2008): "The relocation of supermarkets has been associated with urban development and the physical need for more space, but economic interests were of course the driving force and the fact that major chain stores, from research and experience, typically know where to locate to maximize profit... In order to attract small supermarkets back to the urban core, the municipal government could introduce financial incentives, such as tax breaks or building restoration initiatives.	
A food desert is an area that where a segment of the population cannot easily access supermarkets because they do not drive and because the stores are inaccessible by bike, transit, or walking	Poorly designed urban form and transit systems.	Rethink our public transit systems; Make our cities more walkable; Change zoning codes to allow for more mixed-use neighborhoods.		Jiao et al, (2012);
A food desert is an area that lacks access to healthy, affordable food due to structural barriers (socioeconomic, or racial, or both).	Historical processes that have generated socioeconomic structures of inequality	Community-based economic development strategies that create living wage jobs and build capacity within the neighborhood.	Reisig and Hobbiss (2000): Argue for an approach that "improves access to fresh food by stimulating a local food economy which in turn creates employment and training opportunities for local people... supporting local food producers and processors who use locally grown fresh foods and sell preferentially to local people. Community cafes, food cooperatives and community-led stores are other ventures that can lead to employment and skills development while meeting a multitude of needs" (p147).	McClintock, (2011); Larson et al, (2009); Powell et al., (2007), Zenk et al, (2005); Reisig and Hobbiss, (2000).

8.0 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Economic development is the practice of creating wealth through job growth (increasing household incomes) and taxes (increasing funds to provide public goods and services). Ultimately, economic development aims to maintain and improve quality of life for residents. While jurisdictions across the US have practiced economic development for many years, efforts are evolving and increasing in response to economic restructuring and national policies, as described below.

This chapter explains economic development theory and discusses common strategies to improve conditions for households, communities, and cities. It provides context for the analysis of employment opportunities and associated recommendations in the *Opportunity Analysis Report* and *Opportunity Framework Plan*. This chapter could also provide information for strategies resulting from the Community Prosperity Initiative, a 2014 Council Work Plan item.

8.1 Theory and Concepts

Much of economic development practice derives from the “economic base theory,” which states that exporting produced goods and services generates local wealth and jobs through bringing income from outside sources (Leigh and Blakely, 2013). Strategies emerging from this theory prioritize traded sector industries over local serving businesses such as food service, which are not considered as substantial contributors to economic growth and job creation because they mainly involve the re-circulation of money in the local economy. The export and non-export sectors are related through the multiplier effect, which measures new jobs created in the economy from increased economic activity in a given industry (Leigh and Blakely, 2013). The traded sector tends to have a larger multiplier effect because it stimulates demand for local-serving businesses and suppliers. For example, manufacturing has a greater multiplier effect than any other major economic activity, as \$1 spent in manufacturing generates \$1.35 in additional economic activity (US Bureau of Economic Analysis).

Another important concept for analyzing economic activity is “leakage”. This occurs when income leaves the local economy, such as when a local business partners with outside suppliers, when local workers spend money outside the area, or when businesses are owned by outside owners causing profits to leave the area. One popular strategy for reducing leakage and maximizing the multiplier effect is to foster industry “clusters” by increasing the geographic concentration of producers, suppliers, and support services (Leigh and Blakely, 2013). The premise is that concentration leads to synergies such as agglomeration economies (cost savings that result from spatial proximity) and localization economies of scale (benefits from locating near other firms that use similar inputs, labor, information, technology, etc).

8.2 Economic Development Strategies

There have been three general “waves” of economic development strategies in the US (Osgood et al, 2012). These include:

- 1) business attraction

- 2) business retention and expansion
- 3) community-oriented development and small business

Business attraction strategies were first utilized as early as the 1930s and focus on providing financial incentives and assistance to new businesses (or existing ones located elsewhere). Tools include tax abatements, loan packages, land development, and infrastructure investment (Osgood et al 2012). Retention strategies evolved from these practices, in response to job loss that was occurring when firms moved from one place to another. The third and most recent wave responds to capital mobility by focusing on human development and quality of life improvements to create competitive advantage over other places.

Cities often implement all three strategies in varying combinations, although use of business attraction approaches has been increasing. Distressed cities are more likely to use business attraction incentives than wealthier places, reflecting the urgent need to increase jobs and income (Osgood et al, 2012). Public-private partnerships are increasingly viewed as a critical tool for economic development and urban revitalization, particularly as federal revenue sources for infrastructure investment have diminished (Squires, 1994). Public-private partnerships often involve public subsidies in the form of investment in urban infrastructure and/or financial incentives, in exchange for private investment in real estate and/or job-creating businesses. The following sections briefly discuss the outcomes and challenges associated with these economic development tools.

Public infrastructure investment

One tool that the public sector uses to create favorable business conditions is investing in fixed infrastructure such as roads and sewers. They also invest in human capital through education, healthcare, public safety, etc. When businesses relocate to another area, the public investments become underutilized relative to their previous capacity (DeFilippis, 2004). What may seem efficient to an individual firm based on their own cost-benefit accounting, can be very inefficient from a public resource perspective. It can be argued that public investments have had “the effect of liberating capital from places” and furthering capital mobility, because governments fund infrastructure and firms are not financially tied to the place (DeFilippis, 2004).

This is not to say that public investment in infrastructure is not important, but rather to shed light on unintended consequences and risks. DeFilippis suggests that local actors need to make “capital place-bound when it otherwise wouldn’t be” through creating institutions of capital accumulation that are locally owned and controlled (such as banks and businesses).

Response: Invest in locally-owned and democratically-managed businesses

Cortese uses the term “locavesting” to represent the act of supporting community-rooted businesses (2011). Compared to outside-run corporations, spending at and investing in local businesses has a large multiplier effect, as there are linkages to other local suppliers and less leakage of income from the community. Cortese demonstrates that local-owned businesses to succeed – also called “economic gardening” – is more cost-effective than subsidizing national corporations, and even small increases in locavesting will spur job creation and diversify risk at the

community level. Local businesses reflect the cultural diversity of a place and contribute to the vibrancy of the commercial environment. Local businesses also contribute to the resiliency of a local economy, since being place-bound makes them less mobile, especially during economic downturns (Cortese, 2011).

One way to help make capital more place-bound is to ensure that public dollars target enterprises that are democratically owned. Two specific models of locally owned and controlled organizations are cooperatives and Employee Stock Ownership Plans (ESOP). Cooperatives are either worker-owner or consumer-owned businesses that generally adhere to principles of cooperation, democracy, and equality. They typically retain much of their wealth and control in the local community (Gunn, 2004).

An ESOP provides employees with an ownership interest in the company. Studies show that ESOPs pay higher wages, provide more retirement benefits, and often perform better than competitors (Alperovitz, 2006). The increased control over production and marketing (due to a local management team and Board) seems to improve the efficiency of production and sales processes, while greater participation has been shown to increase productivity (Alperovitz, 2006).

An example of both the cooperative, worker-owned models is the Evergreen Cooperative in Cleveland, Ohio, which is based on the Mondragon Cooperative in Spain. Their strategic approach is to develop businesses to supply anchor institutions such as hospitals and universities, as well as create green businesses that fill a niche market and leverage public policies (Alperovitz et al, 2010). They provide business services to the network of companies, allowing for shared use of resources and collaboration.

Financial incentives

Cities use tools such as tax abatements to attract businesses and real estate development in places that market actors are not investing in otherwise. Studies have shown that providing financial incentives does not always result in economic benefits and often contribute to increased competition between cities that weakens public benefits (Osgood et al, 2012). In other words, reliance on subsidies to attract and retain firms has the potential to undermine the local government's ability to provide the infrastructure and services that are necessary for a strong economy such as availability of skilled labor (Squires, 1994). This can lead cities to compete with each other to provide the most attractive incentive package. Furthermore, subsidies tend to most directly benefit well-capitalized commercial interests and not necessarily the local people that are most in need of wealth creation (Squires, 1994).

Response: Accountable development

As with public investment in infrastructure, financial incentives are important tools for economic development, but local governments need to be careful and strategic in their application. Although they should be aware of the degree to which incentives generate intended outcomes, a study found that only about 30% of localities in the US analyze the effectiveness of their business attraction strategies (Osgood et al, 2012). Distressed areas, in particular, should examine the interactions of economic development policies and effects on overall goals (Osgood et al, 2012).

One way to help ensure public benefits result from public subsidies is to implement “accountable development” practices, which involve transparent negotiation processes and written agreements with monitorable and enforceable conditions (Good Jobs First). Where possible, agreements should address local needs such as living wage jobs accessible to the local population, health benefits, training and advancement opportunities, child care services, public spaces, and/or workforce housing (Good Jobs First).

Other recommended responses to risks associated with relying on financial incentives include: adopting a diversity of strategies, preparing a written economic development plan, use network building, and working with local business to understand their needs (Osgood et al 2012). Localities that prepare a written economic development plan are more likely to link their budgeting process to economic development priorities, while network building can be a valuable tool to combat declining economic conditions (Osgood et al, 2012). It is common to partner with chambers of commerce, county government, and economic development corporations (Osgood et al, 2012).

Community-oriented strategies

The most recent wave of economic development focuses on small businesses, the workforce, and communities, recognizing the importance of quality of life and human capital in growing and maintaining a strong economy and healthy society (Leigh and Blakely, 2013). This wave also includes tools like:

- investing in transportation and urban infrastructure that improves quality of life for residents as well as businesses
- implementing environmental sustainability programs
- social justice initiatives
- providing wrap-around services such as affordable housing and childcare

Small business development

The premise of this strategy is that small businesses are the core of the US economy and anchor of communities. They generate a disproportionate amount of revenue relative to their capital market activity and contribute about half of the nation’s GDP and employment, as well as most of its innovation (measured in patents) and new job growth (Cortese, 2011). Evidence shows that small businesses are more likely to have positive effects on local economies in terms of charitable giving, healthier tax base, and civic engagement (Cortese, 2011). They are more likely to be accountable to local interests compared to larger companies whose executives and management are often removed from the communities in which their stores, offices, and factories are located (Cortese, 2011). Small businesses also tend to be more nimble and responsive to market changes (Cortese, 2011).

A common tool that local governments use to support this sector of the economy is to provide a “small business center,” where entrepreneurs and owners can go for technical assistance and services. Cortese demonstrates that limited access to capital is holding small businesses back, as traditional sources (family, banks, etc.) are drying up and venture capital is increasingly favoring later stage start-ups. This indicates that financial resources and assistance will be key to maintaining small businesses, in addition to services provided by local governments.

Workforce development

Workforce Development, also referred to as human resource development, involves fostering connections between employment needs of industry and job preparation processes, or linking workers and employers (Leigh and Blakely, 2013). Methods include: customized job training programs; publicly-provided incubator space for entrepreneurs; enforcing conditions for local hiring when providing subsidies to employers; and programs that provide skill building services and job placement assistance.

Community economic development

Community economic development (CED) is the process of improving economic conditions in terms of individual prosperity and the community's quality of life as a whole (Temali, 2002). In contrast to citywide strategies, CED focuses on the neighborhood scale and serves distressed neighborhoods (Leigh and Blakely, 2013). It responds to uneven development by filling gaps, where mainstream capital has neglected or abandoned, and seeks to increase the social benefits of economic activity accruing to marginalized communities (Gunn, 2004). CED methods are intended to catalyze business and job creation, help build community capacity to organize and advocate, and attract additional resources to places impacted by uneven development (Temali, 2002). Community development corporations (CDCs) and other organizations often provide services such as childcare and housing, in addition to economic development functions (Gunn, 2004; Leigh and Blakely, 2013).

Two key strategies of the CED approach include commercial district revitalization and microbusiness development. Revitalization uses real estate development and urban design tools to improve community pride, attract higher income visitors and residents, and increase incomes and tax base. Tools include: storefront and streetscape improvements; marketing support for local businesses; special events; parking management; and creation of community gathering spaces (Temali, 2002).

Microbusiness development is aimed at pulling together funds and create organizations that retain wealth within the community (Temali, 2002). It benefits the community by employing local residents (and thus increasing incomes), helping to meet local retail needs (reducing the need to travel out of the neighborhood for goods and services), and contributing to the tax base.

Microbusiness development can also dovetail with commercial revitalization strategies by helping to match new businesses with available space, filling otherwise empty commercial space and providing community gathering spaces. This strategy requires a range of financial, legal, economic, and business management knowledge. The public sector can offer funding, legitimacy, technical assistance, and other resources to micro-businesses. Still, one challenge is that few micro-businesses are likely to have the "total package" that banks require such as strong business experience, equity, or credit history, one tool for providing financing is the creation of a loan fund (Temali, 2002).

With all CED strategies, partnerships with community-based organizations are very important, as they are perceived as "experts at reaching people" (Temali, 2002). CED planning processes are helpful for data-gathering as well as building partnerships.

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Interviews

André Tremoulet, Portland State University, February 13, 2014

Betty Dominguez, Home Forward, March 7, 2014

Community Development and Housing Subcommittee Meeting, City of Gresham, February 20, 2014

Jessica Harper, City of Gresham, March 7, 2014

Laurie Wells, City of Gresham, March 7, 2014

Mario Palmero, Gresham City Counselor, March 11, 2014

Scotty Ellis, Coalition for Livable Future, November 25, 2013

Uma Krishnan, Portland Bureau of Planning and Sustainability, February 19, 2014