

East Portland Placemaking Plan Background Reports

**To inform the planning and public engagement of the
East Portland Placemaking Plan**

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CONTENTS

<i>Glossary.....</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Abbreviations.....</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>Executive Summary.....</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>African and African American Historical Context.....</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>Gentrification Background Report.....</i>	<i>18</i>
<i>Best Practices for Ameliorating Gentrification Impacts.....</i>	<i>27</i>
<i>Placemaking: Principles and Practices.....</i>	<i>36</i>
<i>Research Review on the Impact of Bus Rapid Transit on Property Values</i>	<i>41</i>
<i>References.....</i>	<i>46</i>

Glossary

Displacement – The market-driven relocation of individuals, groups and/or communities from their historical dwelling place. Includes not only the physical displacement of households, but also the displacement of culture, neighborhood characteristics and services. Displacement is closely coupled with gentrification and primarily impacts communities of lower economic means.

Equity – A social goal defined by justice, fairness, inclusiveness and participation. Equity includes the consideration of historical disadvantage, marginalization or unequal opportunity in the determination of what is fair, right and good.

Exchange value – The value of a good or service that is derived from its ability to be exchanged for other goods (or money) in an open market. Exchange value is by definition *relative* to the value of other goods.

Gentrification – A process at the neighborhood scale and larger, by which continued new investment affects changes in neighborhood culture, property values and the economic class of neighborhood inhabitants. Investment can be driven by the public sector, by individual “entrepreneurial” real estate investors, or by the concerted efforts of a real estate and development “growth coalition”.

Growth coalition – A term coined by Harvey Molotch and John Logan to denote pluralistic groups of elite players in the urban environment who share the objective of continued economic growth and urban renewal/expansion. Traditionally recognized members of the growth coalition include developers, real estate agents, financial institutions, politicians and the media.

Inhabitant – Anyone who lives in a place, city, neighborhood, etc. The word *inhabitant* is used here instead of the word *citizen* because the former is more inclusive. Use of the word “citizen” implies a special set of rights and privileges that are only enjoyed by those with legal or institutional recognition.

Placemaking – A practice in which community members and relevant stakeholders engage in land-based projects to enhance livability, social fabric, neighborhood beauty, or other shared community values.

Project geography – The area of East Portland that is the focus of the East Portland Placemaking Plan. It is defined by five census tracts bounded by SE 122nd Ave to the west, SE 162nd to the east, SE Powell Blvd and Foster to the south and SE Burnside and Stark streets to the north.

Rent gap – The difference between the market value of an *existing* land use and its *potential* value if put to another use.

Root shock – The social, cultural and psychological impact felt by communities that are displaced from their traditional homes, either by gentrification, disaster, war or other forces.

Use value – The value of a good or service that is derived from its direct use. Alternately, the value of a good or service that the direct users place upon it. Use value is *intrinsic* to the use of a good or service, and is not relative to the value of other goods.

Abbreviations

<i>BRT</i>	Bus Rapid Transit
<i>CBD</i>	Central business district
<i>CCC</i>	Coalition of Communities of Color
<i>CLT</i>	Community land trust
<i>EPAC</i>	East Portland Action Committee
<i>EPAP</i>	East Portland Action Plan
<i>EPPP</i>	East Portland Placemaking Plan
<i>ICULA</i>	Interstate Corridor Urban Renewal Area
<i>LULU</i>	Locally undesirable land use
<i>MFI</i>	Median family income
<i>NEDS</i>	Neighborhood Economic Development Strategy
<i>NHS</i>	North/Northeast Neighborhood Housing Strategy
<i>NPD</i>	Neighborhood Prosperity District
<i>NPI</i>	Neighborhood Prosperity Initiative
<i>PAALF</i>	Portland African American Leadership Forum
<i>PCI</i>	Per capita income
<i>PDC</i>	Portland Development Commission
<i>PG</i>	Project Geography
<i>TIF</i>	Tax Increment Financing
<i>TPP</i>	The Portland Plan

Executive Summary

The East Portland Placemaking Plan (EPPP) aims to engage African Americans in East Portland in community building, placemaking and participatory planning. The African American community in East Portland is largely comprised of households that have been displaced by years of gentrification in North Portland. In attempting to engage this community and the unique issues and challenges confronting them, we must also take account of the entrenched historical race-based discrimination they have faced in our city.

This background report deals with a number of topics relevant to the goals of the EPPP. First, we examine the history of African Americans in Portland and the legacy impacts of race-based discrimination, marginalization and institutional injustice. We then look into the issue of gentrification in order to gain a clearer understanding of its underlying dynamics. Next, policy tools and interventions are examined that can help to ameliorate the impacts of gentrification, with special attention paid to *placemaking* as a community-based practice to confront both physical and cultural displacement. Finally, a literature review is conducted regarding the documented impacts of public transportation investments on property values, since impending transportation investments and urban renewal in the EPPP project geography are likely to give rise to gentrification pressures in the near future. This background research will inform the ongoing public engagement and planning efforts of the EPPP planning team.

Summary of Findings

- *The history of African Americans in Portland is largely defined by a long legacy of race-based discrimination and entrenched institutional injustice. Planning efforts and policy interventions that aim to reverse these still-persistent trends should take full account of this unsettling history.*
- *African American culture in Portland has historically been built upon robust engagement in civil society and grassroots political activism.*
- *Gentrification-led displacement is rooted in differences of economic **class**, which often have strong overlapping inequities grounded in **race**. Our society's failure to successfully engage in public discourse around both race and class weakens our ability to directly mitigate the impacts of gentrification.*
- *While gentrification manifests in a variety of different forms, **public investment** has historically been a fundamental driver of gentrification.*
- *Successfully addressing gentrification-led displacement will require forward-looking policy tools aimed at identifying the possible future impacts of public investment and urban renewal.*
- *Gentrification-led displacement does not only entail the **physical** displacement of families and community, but also **cultural** displacement of neighborhood character, local services and amenities, and cultural artifacts grounded in place.*
- *Placemaking can be a powerful practice for engaging communities in participatory land-based planning, and can help post-displacement communities cope with the intergenerational effects of physical displacement, cultural loss, and "root shock".*
- *The literature pertaining to the impacts of Bus Rapid Transit and other public transportation investments clearly show a tendency of such investments to increase property values and cost of living at the neighborhood scale.*

African and African American Historical Context

African Americans have endured a long history of institutionalized discrimination in Oregon. Some of the earliest constitutional amendments in Oregon were designed to limit the Black population in the state, and formal, institutionalized discrimination persisted well into the second half of the 20th century. In 1922, Oregon elected governor Walter Pierce, a member and supporter of the Klu Klux Klan, and it wasn't until 2000 that racist and discriminatory language was removed from the state constitution.

By 1900 about 1,100 African Americans lived in Portland, with most living in the North Burnside district near the Portland Hotel, a major employer of African American residents. African American culture, local businesses and civil society organizations thrived during this time. While there had always been de facto forms of race-based housing discrimination in Portland, the practice became institutionalized in the 1920s. The Portland Realty Board adopted a new code of ethics impeding the sale of homes to racial minorities in White neighborhoods. "Residential security" or "redlining" practices drove most African American in the North Portland neighborhoods known widely as the Albina district today.

Portland's role as a major hub for the shipbuilding industry during WWII brought several thousand African American workers into the city. In the four years between 1940 – 1944, Portland's Black population increased by 20,000 individuals. In order to accommodate this rapid influx of workers, 10,000 temporary residences were built in one square mile of flood plain land along the Columbia River, soon to be known as Vanport City. Only a few years after the end of the war, Vanport City was completely decimated by a large flood. The African American workers there would almost all eventually settle in and around the Albina district. Much of North and Northeast Portland had become deeply defined by local African American businesses, cultural services and civil society. The unique identity of African Americans in Portland was deeply connected to place and geography in North Portland.

From the 1950s to the 1970s, urban renewal programs in Portland—as with most of the U.S.—appeared to follow patterns of racial bias. City leaders declared the Albina District in a stage of advanced blight and from the 1970s to the 1990s homes and businesses in North Portland were bulldozed to make room for a growing downtown office district, light industry, warehouses, highways, as well as the expansion of institutions such as Emanuel Hospital, Portland State College, Memorial Coliseum, the Civic Center and the Lloyd Center. These public investments helped to lend investment appeal to the area, and private investors and individual homebuyers began to take notice.

Between the years of 1990 and 2007, the African American population in North Portland declined by nearly 40%. Most of these displaced African Americans settled either further north, even into Washington, or dispersed towards the east. The intergenerational impacts of displacement are still fresh in the lives of these African American families, as they cope with loss of social fabric, economic hardship, uprooted lives and a deep loss in their historic place-based culture. Meanwhile, the issues underlying public investment-led displacement have only recently made their way above the radar for planners and policymakers. While these policies must on the one

hand ensure that *future* investments do not drive the same type of displacement witnessed in North Portland, there is an equally important need to help those families and communities that have *already been displaced* cope with the myriad and long-lasting impacts of displacement and “root shock”.

Gentrification Background Report

Gentrification is a multi-faceted process that can take many different forms. Investment is at the root of this process, which can take the form of either public investment (urban renewal); individual “entrepreneurial” investment by homebuyers; investment by developers, real estate agents and other members of urban “growth coalitions”; or a combination of these sources. Also central to most notions of gentrification is the concept of the “rent gap”. This concept simply describes that land is not always fully capitalized—there is often a gap between the *existing* use of land/real estate and the *potential* uses to which it might be put. Gentrification begins when such rent gaps exist at a neighborhood scale, and investors seek to transform the area so as to capitalize upon its full potential value.

Over and over again, history has shown that the largest rent gaps are found in low-income neighborhoods where poverty is concentrated geographically. Middle and upper-class investors—the “gentry”—invest in these “up-and-coming” neighborhoods and areas of “investment value”, displacing existing, lower income inhabitants. Thus, gentrification entails widespread cultural transformations that are strongly rooted in class-based preferences and differences in economic class. These aspects of *cultural gentrification* entail widespread changes in the business structure, local services and amenities and transformation of aesthetics and urban form. While cultural gentrification generally occurs over time in fits and starts, it can also be a speculative investment strategy, whereby developers and real estate interests strategically transform neighborhood characteristics and cultural artifacts in hopes of appealing to the aesthetic preferences of middle and upper class homebuyers.

Policy interventions that aim to ameliorate gentrification and its displacement impacts face numerous challenges. On the one hand, the “gentrifiers” that drive displacement are simply individuals (or groups of individuals) pursuing a fundamental right to participate in the free market and actualize their aspirations. Furthermore, some of the neighborhood improvements that can accompany gentrification—like enhanced cleanliness; modernization and remodeling improvements; enhanced access to goods and services—are probably fundamentally desirable to almost all urban inhabitants. The problems of gentrification and displacement should not, therefore, be thought of as being *inevitably* coupled with investment and urban improvements in general. There is thus a distinct need for policy interventions that enable any and all locations in a region to enjoy the benefits of modernization, economic opportunity and neighborhood improvements *while at the same time ensuring that affordability, livability and diversity of cultural and economic class are maintained*. When the overlapping inequities that are grounded in race and historic race-based discrimination are considered, the policy imperative must include what a recent study called, “an inclusive development paradigm with a racial/ethnic equity lens” (Bates, 2013).

Best Practices for Ameliorating Gentrification Impacts

Because gentrification can set in motion a broad spectrum of social, economic and cultural impacts, not all policy intervention strategies are likely to address all types of impacts. If the policy priority is to safeguard affordability and housing justice, then one set of interventions will be appropriate, while efforts to protect against *cultural displacement* will likely entail different types of policy interventions. The current section deals with policy interventions that show promise for retaining housing affordability in gentrifying neighborhoods, while the following section on *placemaking* examines practices that can help to retain cultural integrity in the face of gentrification.

Our research found a number of planning strategies and policy interventions that can help to maintain housing affordability and access to housing opportunities. While these strategies are examined in greater depth in the pages below, in this summary section we will only briefly review a handful of the options available:

- *Inclusionary Zoning* – Inclusionary Zoning (IZ) requires developers to make a percentage of new housing developments available to low and middle-income individuals. IZ laws can hedge against displacement in areas experiencing growth, since increases in property values will be offset if the appropriate affordable housing ratio is set the IZ program. While IZ is currently not permitted in Oregon, the state legislature is currently considering a bill that would enact IZ laws in the state.
- *Housing Trust Funds* – Housing Trust Funds (HTFs) are distinct funds established at the city or state level with a dedicated revenue stream used to purchase and maintain affordable housing. HTF programs are generally flexible, as funds can be used for either direct assistance to low-income homebuyers, grants and/or low-interest loans for non-profit developers, and other affordable housing services. This flexibility can enable the provision of affordable housing to keep pace with market conditions and the shifting nature of community housing needs.
- *Publicly provided housing and land banking* – Publicly provided affordable housing has a nearly 100-year history in the U.S. Public housing does more than perhaps any other affordable housing tool to dampen market forces that might otherwise derail affordable housing ventures, while even the most popular market-based approaches often involve time limits after which the property can be rented and/or sold at full market value.
- *Community Land Trusts* – Community land trusts (CTLs) are private, non-profit corporations created to provide secure and affordable land and housing to community members. CLTs impose strict limitations upon the use of land, and involve fairly complex repurposing of land. CTLs can be very impactful when they purchase land in gentrifying areas, allowing residents the opportunity to stay in their neighborhood even while surrounding rents might skyrocket.

- *Limited equity housing co-ops* – Limited equity housing co-ops (LEHC) can help facilitate community ownership of housing while lowering barriers to entry for lower-income participants. LEHCs have immense potential to build social fabric and a greater sense of empowerment and community ownership, and the cooperative ownership model increases chances that co-op members will act as advocates themselves, and contribute some sweat equity towards their shared resource

Placemaking: Principles and Practices

While the practice of placemaking can be viewed through multiple different lenses, the planning team of the EPPP views placemaking as a participatory practice, where community-building, cultural and artistic expression and place-based community assets are the focus. From this perspective, placemaking is meant to strengthen the connections between community members and the places they share, and to enhance community pride in their shared space. It involves the design, planning, and management of shared land resources, and the articulation of community values, culture and diversity.

Because social fabric can to some extent be grounded in a *particular place*, placemaking can help post-displacement communities to reconstruct a sense of place, to recreate bonds with neighbors, and to share in the emblematic expression of culture and community. Specific actions for placemaking should focus on a clearly defined land resource—ideally one that is in public ownership or community trust. A short list of specific actions for placemaking might include the creation of public art, community management of shared land resources, and/or a land use that is directly relevant to community (like a community garden in a food desert).

Placemaking has been shown to be a powerful tool in communities experiencing displacement as a result of disasters, violence or conditions of war. The abrupt uprooting of communities in such instances creates not only psychological trauma, but also a sense of “root shock” as families and individuals move to new places, conditions and cultural contexts. Gentrification-led displacement can create a similar sense of uprootedness and “root shock”, albeit in a decidedly less extreme context.

Research review on the impact of Bus Rapid Transit on property values

Finally, our background research included a review of the literature pertaining to the impacts of Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) investments on property values, and thus cost of living. As the project geography of the EPPP will soon be home to a new BRT transit line, we are interested to know if public investments in BRT in our project geography are likely to increase the cost of living over the medium and long term.

While this question is examined at length in our full report, it will suffice to say here that our findings unequivocally showed that public investments in transportation services tend to increase the value of land near and around the investment geography. The research dealing specifically with BRT investments has shown property value increases in almost every case, though the overall number of studies is still fairly few. We also examined a few studies pertaining to the property value impacts from general public investments in infrastructure improvements. This

research suggests that public investments in services and amenities *of any kind* tend to increase cost of living, whether through increased taxes, system development fees, or enhanced desirability of the investment location. This realization adds to the importance of a forward-looking approach to public investment, where the possible impacts of gentrification are anticipated and dealt with *a priori*. In any case where gentrification and displacement impacts will likely—or even plausibly—result from public investments, planners and policymakers should have robust plans in place to ensure affordability, livability and the historical cultural integrity of place.

Conclusion

Most of the African Americans living in the PG of the EPPP have moved there as a result of displacement from North Portland. This community—as well as *all* inhabitants living in the project geography of the EPPP—could benefit immensely from economic development, investment in neighborhoods, access to jobs, and enhanced services and amenities. These goals should not be seen as inevitably driving the displacement of households, culture, neighborhood services and entire groups (classes) of urban inhabitants. While Portland has recently committed to some promising policies and planning goals aimed at addressing gentrification-led displacement, the true virility of these policies, and the true extent of the political will behind them, will be tested in the years to come.

Some of the social fabric that African Americans had built over generations in North Portland was partially lost in their displacement from their traditional neighborhood. While recent policies aim to address these historical injustices by inviting some displaced households to *return* to North Portland, this plan will only impact a minute percentage of the people who were historically displaced by gentrification. There thus remains an exigent need to engage *post-displacement* communities in placemaking, grassroots organizing, and practices to help cope with “root shock”. The EPPP aims to forge a small beginning towards these aims.

BR1. African American Historical Context Report

BR 1.1. Introduction

This paper summarizes the historical context of African American populations in the state of Oregon, with a focus on their history in the city of Portland. African Americans have endured more than a century's worth of racial exclusion, political and economic marginalization, and systematic and institutional neglect. For any human group, such experiences can produce negative intergenerational psychological, social and emotional effects.

The brief review presented here is of critical importance to understanding the historical roots of current-day challenges faced by African American and African communities in Portland. This research is meant to inform the planning and outreach of the East Portland Placemaking Plan (EPPP). As none of the planning team for the EPPP is Black or African American, our sensitivity to these historical realities will be deeply important as we engage Black residents in the project geography. We have also conducted research pertaining to the existing conditions of African Americans in Portland (**section EC 1**), as well as basic demographic research pertaining to the project geography (see **section EC 3** regarding project geography).

BR 1.2. Oregon Black Exclusion Laws

Prejudice and discrimination against Black people were legally sanctioned by the earliest White settlers in Oregon. Willamette Valley settlers passed a law prohibiting slavery in 1843. The historical reasons for this law are likely discriminatory, since the absence of slavery limited the in-flows of Black individuals. The state constitution was amended in 1857 so as to prohibit “Negroes, Chinamen, Kanakas, and Indians” from settling in Oregon, which was still a U.S. territory at the time (City of Portland, 1993). The Oregon Donation Land Act of 1850 lured White settlers, many of whom likely saw appealing economic implications in the anti-slavery constitutional mandate, since it implied no economic competition from slave owners. Some racist settlers also may have preferred Oregon since the absence of slavery would ensure minimal interaction with Black people (Gibson, 2007). The language denying “Negros, Chinamen...”, etc. the right to live in Oregon was not removed from the state constitution until the year 2000 (Rector, 2010).

BR 1.3. Late 19th and early 20th century

While Oregon's exclusion laws were not vigorously enforced, they did limit Black migration to the territory, as compared to neighboring California in the late 1800s and early 1900s (City of Portland, 1993). Many municipalities in Oregon upheld “sundown laws” requiring African American residents to stay indoors after sunset. Despite the exclusionary propensity of Oregon law, a small number of African Americans did settle in Portland. A few African Americans owned land and businesses, but employment opportunities for most were limited to domestic and service work. The completion of a transcontinental railroad in the 1880s and the Portland Hotel in the 1890s also brought new jobs in the service sector. These jobs helped stimulate modest growth in Portland's Black population, and gave rise to a small Black middle class as well.

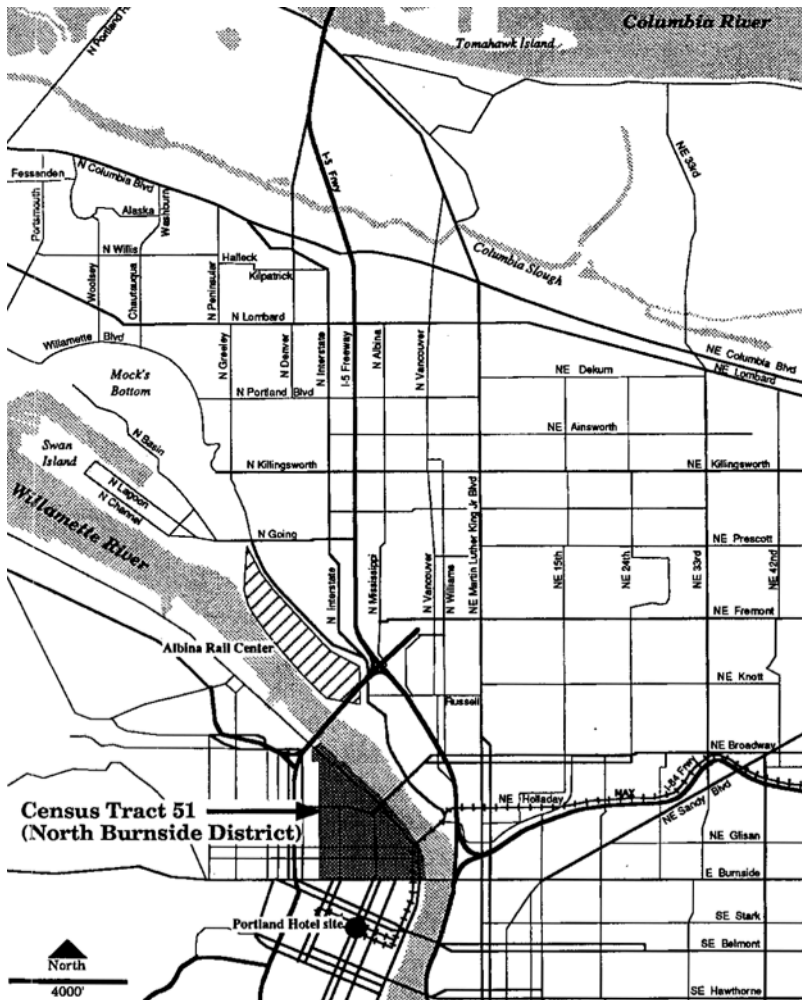


Figure 1.1. Map of North Burnside district (census tract 51) where Portland's African Americans were largely concentrated in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. From City of Portland, 1993.

By the 1900s, most Black residents in Portland were living on the west side of the Willamette River in order to be close to jobs at the railroad and hotel (figure 1.1.). The geographic concentration of Portland's African American population also led to the concentration of African American establishments and cultural centers. Churches played an important role in the spiritual, economic, educational, political and

social lives of Portland's small Black community (City of Portland, 1993). Community leaders rose from the ranks of churches to speak out against racially driven discrimination in housing, employment, and criminal injustice (City of Portland, 1993). Local businesses and African American civil society groups like women's clubs, political groups and fraternal lodges reinforced social and cultural fabric. In 1914, a chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People opened in Portland (Rector, 2010).

The evolution of a thriving African American civic life in Portland transpired amidst persistent discrimination and prejudice from many of the city's White residents. The Klu Klux Klan thrived in Oregon. Its membership is estimated to have been between 14,000 and 20,000 members in 1920 (Rector, 2010), while the African American population of the entire state at that time was only 2,144 (City of Portland, 1993). The Oregon state legislature included several Klan members, and their influence sustained a steady stream of racist legislation at the state level. A Klan member, Walter Pierce, was elected governor of Oregon in 1922 (METRO, 2015). In 1927, African Americans were granted the right to vote in Oregon.

BR 1.4. Housing segregation

Most of Portland's African American residents could buy or rent homes almost anywhere in the city prior to 1920, excepting a few areas where restrictive covenants and exclusionary clauses prohibited sale of certain parcels of land to non-whites (City of Portland, 1993). Many White neighborhoods had been vocal about keeping African American families from buying homes in their area, while realtors regarded concentrations of non-Whites as a risk factor decreasing property values (Gibson, 2007).

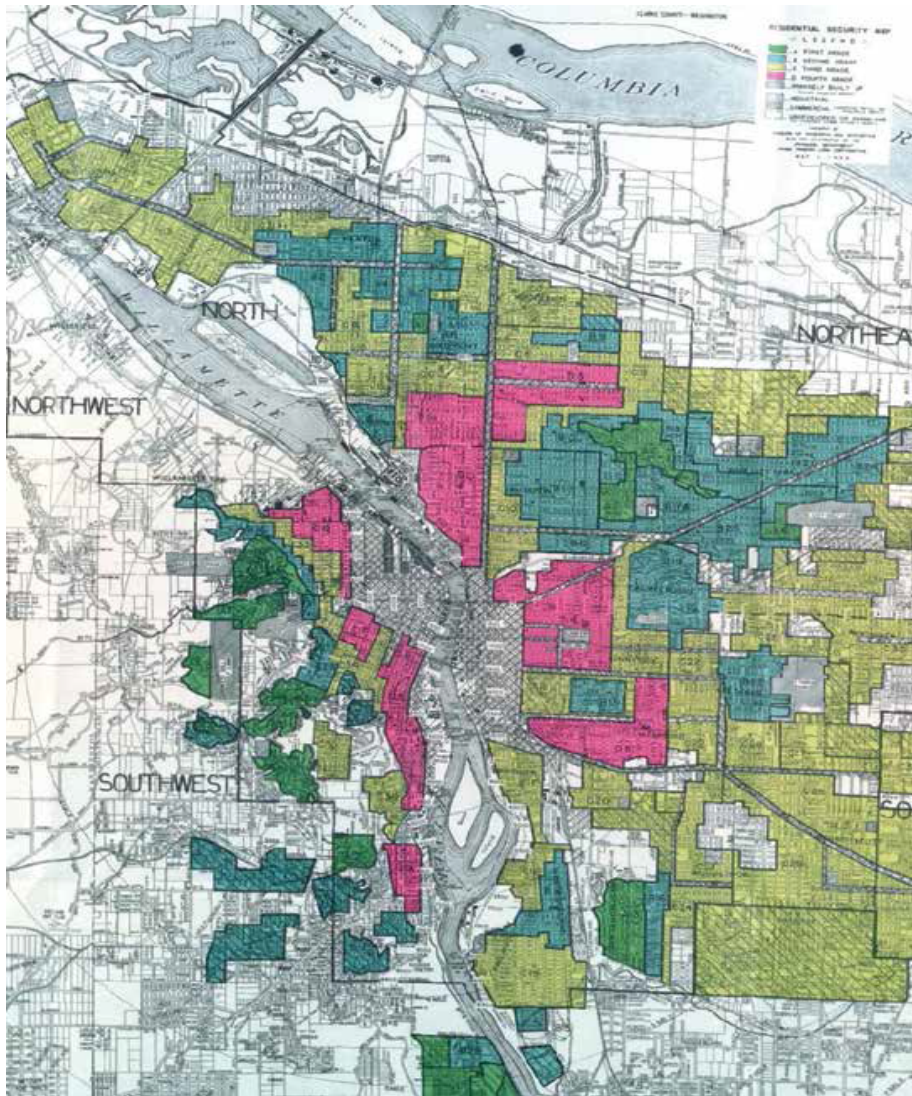


Figure 1.2. 1932 “redlining” or “residential security” map of Portland.

By 1920, the Portland Realty Board had adopted a new code of ethics that would strongly dissuade the sale of homes to racial minorities in White neighborhoods. “Residential security” or “redlining” maps, demarcated neighborhoods into four categories of investment quality (**figure 1.2.**), and African

American families were funneled (“redlined”) into lower category neighborhoods. By 1940, a majority of Black households lived near the industrial areas on the east side of the Broadway Bridge, widely known today as the Albina District.

BR 1.5. World War II and the Black Population Boom

In 1941, the Oregon Shipbuilding Company established a manufacturing site on the east bank of the Willamette River just a few miles south of the Columbia River. In order to supply the demand

of warships during World War II, the corporation recruited labor in nearby rural areas, but still faced a severe shortage. The shipbuilding industry advertised in neighboring states, eventually recruiting roughly 23,000 African American workers (City of Portland, 1993; Gibson, 2007). Portland's Black population increased by 20,000 individuals in the four years from 1940-44 (Miller, n.d.).

The city was ill prepared to accommodate and serve the large influx of defense workers. Housing was scarce and the city was not responding quickly enough to the shipbuilding industry's demands for worker accommodations. Black migrants were excluded from the housing market and forced to squeeze into spare rooms, while others slept in taverns or makeshift accommodations in the Albina District (City of Portland, 1993). To address the housing shortage, the U.S. Maritime Commission along with shipyard executives decided to build temporary defense worker housing. Ten thousand units were constructed in



Figure 1.3. Ariel view of Vanport City. From City of Portland, 1996.

one square mile along the Columbia River flood plain just north of Portland's city limits. This makeshift settlement soon became known as Vanport City (City of Portland, 1993).

Vanport City provided housing to both African Americans and White shipyard workers; mid-1945

population figures show that 20.4% of Vanport's population was Black (City of Portland, 1993). However, Housing Authority officials drew clear boundaries of color to segregate Black households from non-Blacks (Gibson, 2007) (City of Portland, 1993). Despite segregated housing, public spaces in Vanport were non-discriminatory.

As the war drew to an end, shipyard orders began to decline, workers were laid off and defense workers were encouraged to leave the city. Many Black workers, however, chose to stay in Vanport City and make their home in Oregon after the war ended (Oregon Historical Society, 2003).

In the spring of 1948, a combination of heavy rain and warm temperatures produced massive snowmelt and rain runoff in the Columbia River and the Columbia Slough. As Vanport City sat in a floodplain between these two water bodies, it was highly vulnerable to flood from the rising waters. At about 4 pm on May 30, 1948 the dike protecting Vanport from flooding gave way, and the city, which now sat 15 feet below the river's level, flooded dramatically.

Vanport City was swept away, leaving and left more than 16,000 flood victims homeless (City of Portland, 1993). Black residents were forced to stay in temporary housing, and, as they slowly resettled in Portland, residential segregation patterns persisted. The majority of African Americans were funneled into the Albina District (Gibson, 2007). By 1950, nearly half of Portland's existing African American population resided in the Albina District, which also became the area where poverty was most concentrated. Meanwhile, Whites followed public and private capital investment out of the N/NE neighborhoods and into the suburbs (Gibson, 2007).

BR 1.6. Post war, civil rights and urban renewal

After WWII, few African Americans were able to find jobs outside of the service-oriented professions or the railroad industry, even those with a college education (City of Portland, 1993). In response to this, Portland's Urban League chapter worked to integrate African Americans into the mainstream by breaking down employment barriers. The Civil Rights Movement also brought about legislative advances that slowly began to reverse institutionalized discrimination in Oregon. In 1949 the federal Fair Employment Act was complemented by state-level legislation in Oregon prohibiting discrimination in vocational, professional, and trades schools. Anti-miscegenation laws were repealed, and public accommodation laws enacted (City of Portland, 1993). These legal protections helped to open up opportunities for African Americans, though employment and housing discrimination persisted for decades.

As with much of the nation, urban renewal policies in Portland during the 1950s and 60s appeared to follow racist and discriminatory logic. As the majority of White households had fled to the suburbs, local government and the real estate coalitions began to neglect inner-city neighborhoods (City of Portland, 1993). Despite community efforts to promote rehabilitation and stop indiscriminate renewal, city leaders declared the Albina District in a stage of advanced blight and made plans to convert the heart of the Black community into commercial, industrial, and institutional uses (Gibson, 2007). Homes and businesses were bulldozed and residents displaced to make room for a growing downtown office district, light industry, warehouses, highways, as well as the expansion of institutions such as Emanuel Hospital, Portland State College, Memorial Coliseum, the Civic Center and the Lloyd Center (City of Portland, 1993). The era of urban renewal hit racial minorities hard throughout the U.S., and the impact on African Americans living in the Albina District was brutal indeed.

A growing discontent emerged between African Americans and city officials, with the lack of tangible benefits from urban renewal, and clear disruptions in their everyday quality of life (City of Portland, 1993). A race riot in 1967 sparked dialogue with city officials and black youth in order to solve priority issues. In the same year, the city was awarded funding to run the Model Cities Program, which would engage black residents in a planning process to define issues



Figure 1.4. African American residents protesting the expansion of Emanuel Hospital's expansion in 1973. The project displaced a significant number of Albina district residents. From *The Oregon*

History Project, <http://www.ohs.org/education/oregonhistory/>.

negatively impacting community well-being (City of Portland, 1993). By the 1970s, the city recognized that the inner-city could be reused as residential areas and the Model Cities Program spurred additional innovative programs that aimed to improve the quality of life for black residents in the Albina District, including the rehabilitation of several hundreds of housing units (Gibson, 2007).

BR 1.7. Disinvestment, Gentrification and Displacement

During the 1980s, the suite of issues confronting African Americans in Portland closely mirrored those impacting urban Blacks throughout America. Unemployment, population loss, housing abandonment, drug addiction and gang warfare contributed to the deterioration of everyday quality of life, and by the early 1990s, real estate speculation and the first signs of gentrification emerged in the Albina District (Gibson, 2007). The 1990s was the first time in 50 years that the Albina population grew, and the racial composition of the neighborhood began to shift as new White migrants bought and rehabilitated many of the inexpensive homes in the Albina neighborhood (Gibson, 2007). Soon, the process attracted systematic reinvestment by financial institutions and the public sector. The city implemented more aggressive building code enforcement, the creation of an urban renewal district, and a light-rail project on Interstate Avenue, all of which primed the area for reinvestment. Soon, the “rent gap” (**section BR 2.4.**) between the *existing* and *potential* uses of properties was large enough to attract speculative real estate investment.

African American households in the Albina District resisted this wave of gentrification, and many sought to buy the homes they had long lived in as renters. However, as was eminently publicized

by the Portland press, the lending practices of banks had long segregated against African American applicants. Awareness of the problem grew to the point that city officials were forced to take action, and they pressured banks to make financing available for African American homeownership. The wave of gentrification sweeping over the North and Northeast neighborhoods of Portland had taken its toll, however. Between 1990 and 2010, 38% of the African American residents living in North Portland had moved (**table 1.1; figure 1.5.**), assuredly almost all of them as a result of gentrification.

BR 1.8. Conclusion

The field of opportunity has never been level for African American communities in Portland, and there is every indication that the prevailing public, social and economic institutions in the Portland region continue to regenerate this inequitable paradigm (**section EC 1**). Exclusion, discrimination, demoralization, and neglect are major themes that have remained consistent throughout the history summarized here. The above narrative focuses on African American history in the city, though Black African immigrant and refugee population is steadily growing in

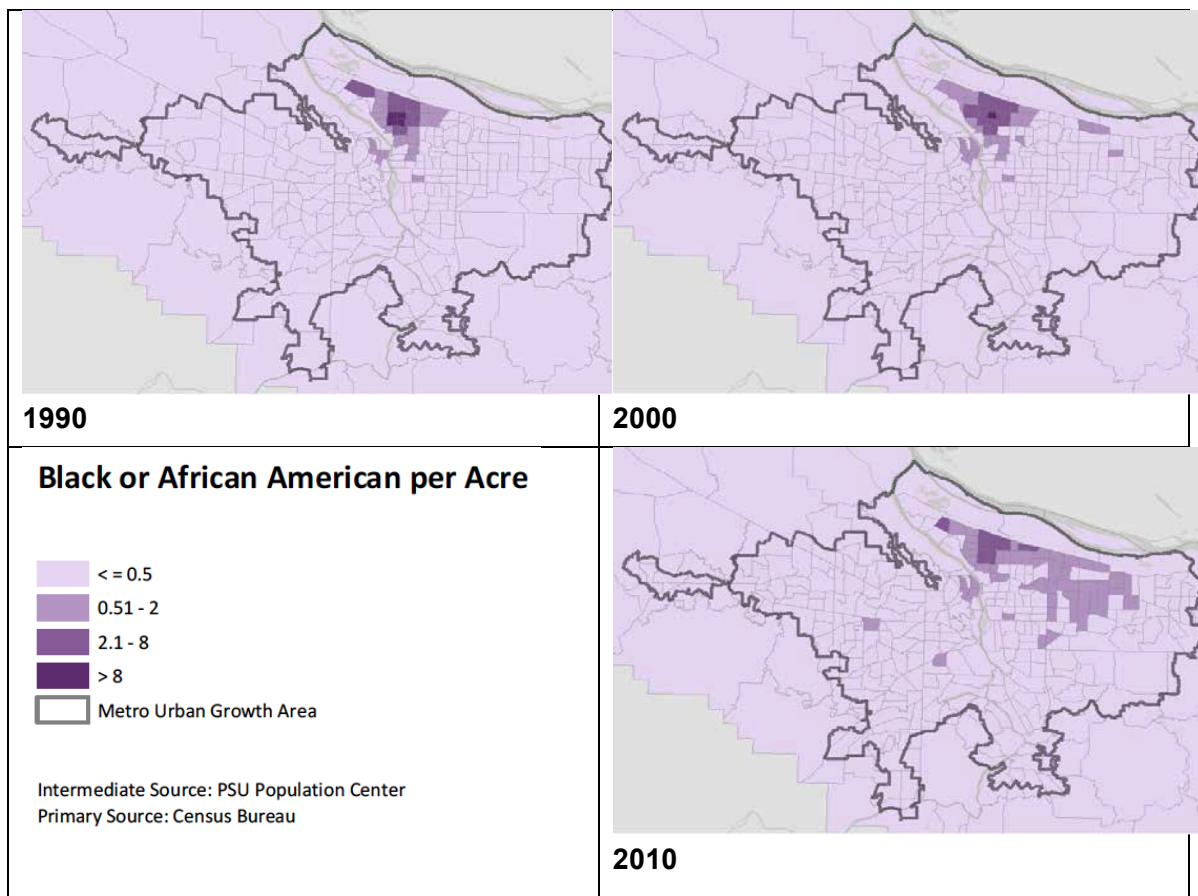


Figure 1.5. Shifts in spatial distribution of African American population in Portland, 1990-2010. From, METRO, 2015.

Table 1.1. *Change in number of African Americans in Oregon, Portland Metro, Portland and North Portland, 1990-2005-07. From Urban League, 2015.*

	1990	% of Oregon total	2000	% of Oregon total	2005-2007	% of Oregon total
North Portland	22,821	50.7	20,547	38.5	14,196	23.1
Remainder of Portland	10,021	22.3	13,848	26.0	19,701	32.0
Remainder of PDX metro region	4,666	10.4	9,031	16.9	15,316	24.9
Remainder of Oregon	7,474	16.6	9,899	18.6	12,343	20.1
<i>Oregon total</i>	44,982	100	53,325	100	61,556	100

Portland as well. As they are born and raised here, the children of these African immigrant families are likely to face many of the same challenges as members of the Black community in Portland. **Section EC 1** details the current state of African Americans and African immigrant and refugee communities in Portland.

This report was prepared to inform the planning team of the East Portland Placemaking Plan of the deep histories and ongoing realities of the African American community in Portland. This awareness compels us to adopt a forward-thinking approach to the planning profession in hopes that we can steer the unsettling dynamics recounted above towards equity, racial justice and a genuine spirit of social reciprocity.

BR2: Gentrification Background Report

BR 2.1. Introduction

The topic of gentrification has evolved into an often contentious debate in the fields of urban planning, local politics, equity-based discourse and public life in general. The double-edged nature of the topic makes it difficult to plan for: on the one hand, investment, employment opportunities and beautification of the urban environment is highly desirable for all urban inhabitants. On the other hand, the concomitant outcomes of displacement of existing residents, cultural hegemony and increased cost of living often lead to decisively inequitable outcomes.

This paper briefly explores the topic of gentrification, its history, multi-faceted meaning, and its role as a topic of research and academic debate. Gentrification is explored in the context of the project geography of the East Portland Placemaking Plan (EPPP), where impending public investment in transportation infrastructure is likely to increase property values, neighborhood desirability and ultimately drive gentrification. (**sections BR 5 and EC 3**),

BR 2.2. What is Gentrification?

A simple, generic definition of gentrification is impossible; different observers emphasize different key attributes, driving forces and central actors in their definitions of gentrification. In zooming out slightly from the thicket of debate and contested meaning, a few key elements are always found among the varying concepts of gentrification. First, gentrification involves *investment* in a previously blighted, underinvested or dilapidated section of the urban environment. (While many debate whether gentrification is a strictly urban phenomenon, or can also occur in rural regions, this distinction is not important to this paper). Second, *housing* is at the core of gentrification, and thus, *people* and their housing needs. Third, *culture* is an important element to all definitions of gentrification, though its role varies greatly between definitions. Fourth, gentrification is not ontologically consistent without considerations of *class*, though not all observers and commentators are explicit about the class dimensions of gentrification. Finally, the ultimate result of gentrification almost always includes widespread *displacement* of previous/historic and *lower class* inhabitants of the gentrified neighborhood. Thus, the five key elements in our definition of gentrification are:

- Investment in hitherto aged, blighted or dilapidated areas;
- Shifting dynamics in the housing market;
- Urban class dynamics playing out in the urban housing market;
- Displacement of lower class residents;
- Cultural transformation

BR 2.3. Classical and consumption (demand)-driven gentrification

While some authors trace the emergence of gentrification as far back as Haussman's reconstruction of Paris or early industrial Germany (Smith, 2010), most literature references the mid 20th century as the rise of gentrification. In the earliest definitions of gentrification (classical gentrification) the key aspect of investment was always thought to come from waves of individual homebuyers—*individual entrepreneurial investors* (Glass, 1964). This classical definition of

gentrification emphasizes the role of the *gentry*—the more economically enabled class of urban inhabitants—capitalizing upon low-priced housing in blighted neighborhoods (Brown-Sarancino, 2010).

The earliest models of urban form and demographics place immigrants, poor populations and racial minorities living in the urban core around factories or other centers of capitalist production (Engles, 1872/1975). (**figure 2.3.**). Some of this “proletarian housing” was devalued stock that had initially been constructed as housing for urban economic elites. Around the middle of the 20th century, middle and upper-class aspirations broadly shifted “from suburban to urban aspirations” (Glass, 1964). Some primary aspects of these cultural and generational shifts were, a) feminism and greater presence of women in the workforce; b) lower birth rates; c) increasing respect for and tolerance of racial diversity; d) aesthetic shifts in home attributes; e) macroeconomic employment shifts towards white-collar urban job niches.

Because of the central role of consumer preferences and cultural values in this model of gentrification, classical gentrification closely parallels most notions of “demand-driven” or “consumption-driven” gentrification. Here, cultural changes are a *driver* of gentrification, while in other models, the gentrification process is seen as driving cultural transformation. The dynamics underlying this model of gentrification are summarized in figure 2.1. below:

MACRO SHIFTS IN CULTURE/VALUES → DEMAND FOR CLASSIC URBAN PROPERTIES → INCREASING REAL ESTATE VALUES IN GENTRIFYING NEIGHBORHOODS → DISPLACEMENT OF PREVIOUS, POOR AND LOWER CLASS INHABITANTS.

(**figure 2.1.**). (→ = drives)

BR 2.4. Production (supply)-driven gentrification

Notions of production-driven gentrification overlap with the above discussion in myriad ways, but place capitalist and laissez-faire market dynamics squarely at the center of the gentrification process. Here, the model of gentrification is epitomized by the work of Neil Smith (Smith, 1979) Park & Burgess (1925) and Homer Hoyt (1933). Central to this *supply side* perspective is Smith’s notion of “rent gap”, which closely parallels Hoyt’s concept of “land value valleys”. According to this model, when a property or an entire neighborhood is not fulfilling its “highest and best use”, the market will capitalize on the gap between the existing value and the potential property capitalization (**figure 2.2.**). Usually, the rent gap is understood to be fueled by aging properties whose location (land) values gradually outweigh the values derived from the current, actual property attributes.

The early work by Burgess (1925) emphasized the relationship of property values to the central business district (CBD). His classical model was based on early urban development and placed the “factory zone” at the heart of the CBD, with the urban working class close to the factories and single-family dwellings at a comfortable distance from the factory zone (**figure 2.3.**). This very general conceptualization reflects the broad arrangement of land uses prior to what Hackworth and Smith term “first wave gentrification” (Hackworth & Smith, 2000).

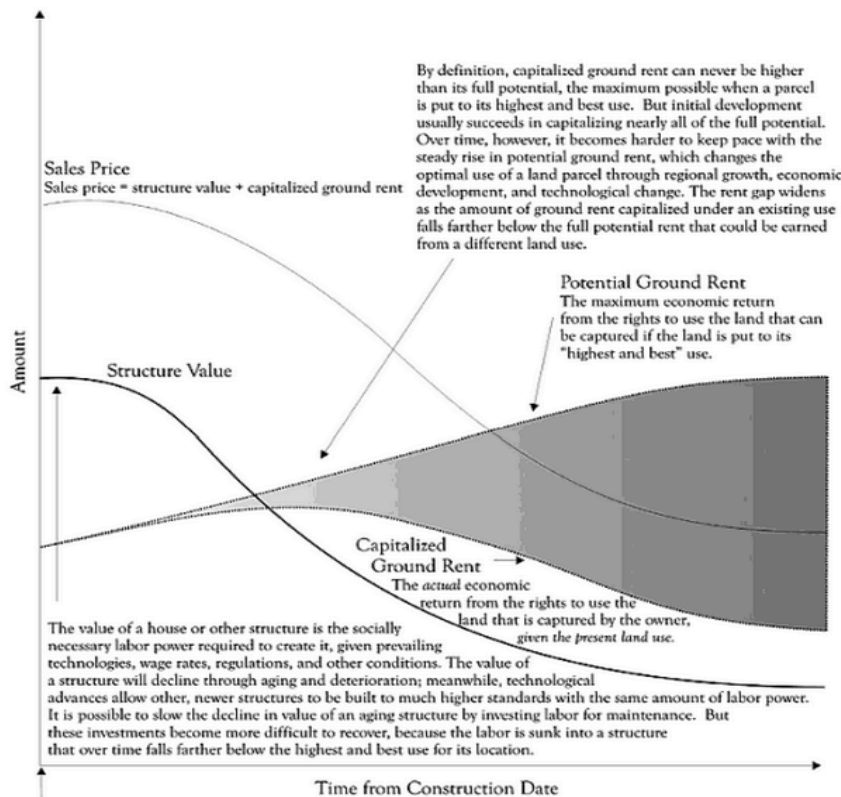


Figure 2.2.
Explanation of the "rent gap". From Lees et al., 2008.

The age of the urban housing stock in a given location is another important element in this market perspective of gentrification. For a number of reasons, older housing units that are occupied by inhabitants with curtailed means to invest in improvements will prove most vulnerable to gentrification (Brown-Sarancino, 2010).

Urban economic models describe a housing "ladder", with the uppermost rungs comprised of newer housing units inhabited by the wealthiest residents, while the lower rungs of aging units gradually fall to lower income urban inhabitants. The project geography of the EPPP was almost entirely developed in the years after WWII, and contains a large share of older housing units primed for redevelopment (**figure 2.5**). This aging housing stock, coupled with two urban renewal areas in the project geography greatly (PG) enhance the likelihood of gentrification and redevelopment in the PG.

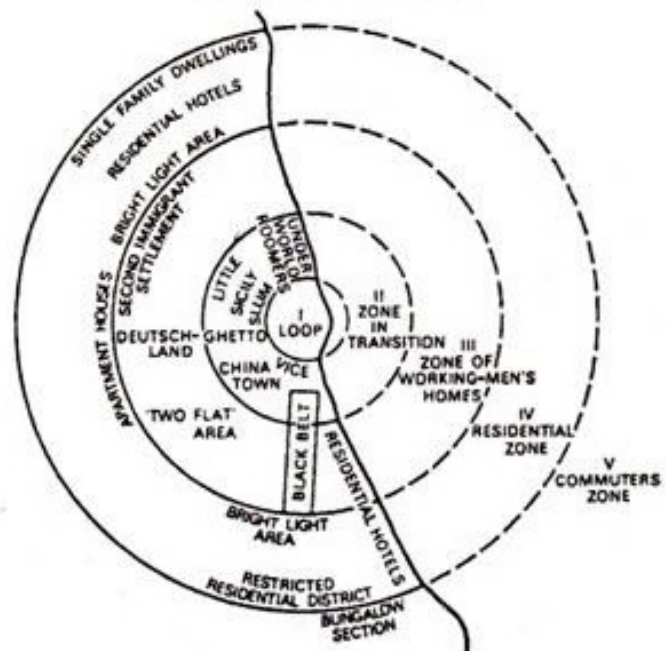


Figure 2.3. *Burgess' classic model of concentric zones near CBD. From Burgess, 1925.*

Note that market-driven models of gentrification generally tend to regard *cultural change* as a *consequence of gentrification*, rather than a force driving gentrification as in classical gentrification. A general model of supply-side or market-driven gentrification can be summarized as such:

CHANGING PATTERNS IN URBAN LAND USE AND/OR AGING, UNDERUTILIZED PROPERTIES → URBAN RENT GAP → INCREASED DEMAND FOR LOW-COST URBAN PROPERTIES → INCREASING REAL ESTATE VALUES IN GENTRIFYING NEIGHBORHOODS → DISPLACEMENT OF PREVIOUS, POOR AND LOWER CLASS INHABITANTS → SHIFT IN NEIGHBORHOOD CULTURE. (figure 2.4.)

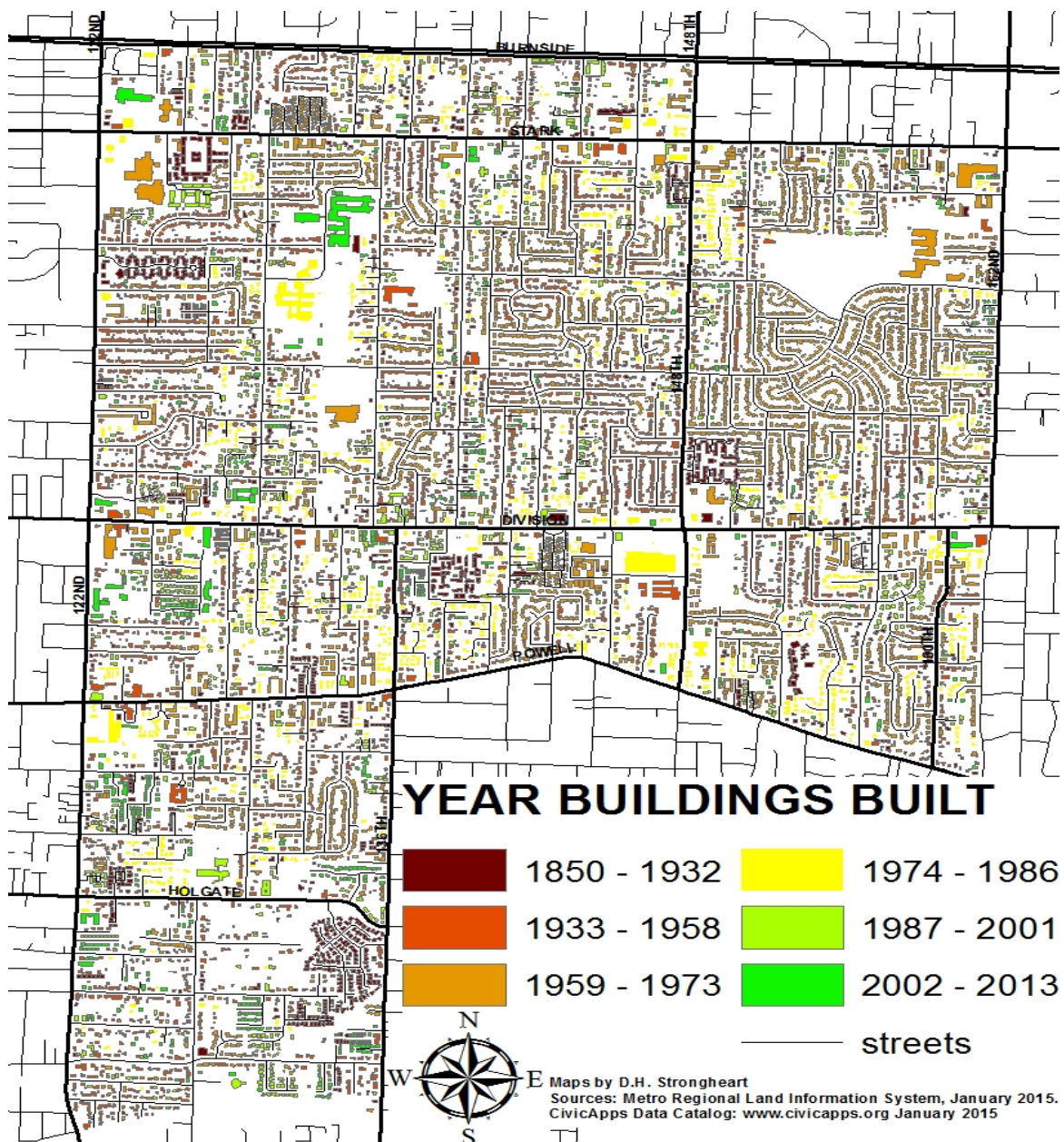


Figure 2.5. Age of buildings in project geography.

BR 2.5. Growth machine driven gentrification

Some commentators emphasize the role of “growth coalitions” in the process of gentrification. Here, the dynamics of gentrification illustrated in figure 2.1. would largely hold true, but “cultural values” would be replaced by “growth coalition” as the originating driver of gentrification. The notion of the *growth coalition* evolved from Harvey Molotch’s notion of the “city as growth machine” (Molotch, 1976) and Molotch & Logan’s subsequent book “Urban Fortunes”, (Molotch & Logan, 1987) which introduced the concept of growth coalitions.

Growth coalitions are pluralistic groups of elite players in the urban environment. Despite varying interests in other areas, these diverse players unanimously share the overarching goal of *growth* in the urban environment. The urban growth machine is comprised of the following key players:

- *Politicians and public sector actors*, whose personal, political or institutional interests are often advanced by ongoing urban expansion, population growth and economic growth;
- *Business elites*, whose business interests serve to be bolstered by expansion of the scale of urban economic activity;
- *Local media*, whose interests in achieving greater circulation of media artifacts (newspapers, web-based media, etc.) overlap with interests in overall urban growth;
- *Utilities and special districts/governments*, whose de facto (quasi judicial) political power relies on the annexation of rural communities and the expansion of services and infrastructure (power, utilities, etc.) to a greater number of urban inhabitants.

Here, the growth machine is seen as the primary “gentrifier”, while consumption/demand models of gentrification emphasize individual entrepreneurial investors as such. The growth machine is seen as operating in a concerted if not partially uncomfortable alliance among various members towards the overarching agenda of urban growth and expansion. Strategic agendas of growth are pursued collectively, and take the familiar form of efforts to lure key corporate interests to the urban environment, efforts to, for instance, attract special events (like the Olympics) to a city, or efforts to redevelop or annex certain geographies in or near the urban boundary.

From a growth machine perspective, public sector decisions of urban renewal and investment are not neutral in a socio-economic or class-based sense. The investment risk calculus employed by the public sector in resource allocation decisions have historically viewed minority and lower class neighborhoods/populations as liabilities or barriers to the overarching goal of growth (Gabriel & Rosenthal, 1989). The model of gentrification supplied by the growth coalitions is as follows:

STRATEGIC INVESTMENT DECISIONS BY GROWTH COALITION → CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN STRATEGIC LOCATIONS → INCREASED DEMAND FOR RENEWED URBAN PROPERTIES → INCREASING REAL ESTATE VALUES IN GENTRIFYING NEIGHBORHOODS → DISPLACEMENT OF PREVIOUS, POOR AND LOWER CLASS INHABITANTS → SHIFT IN NEIGHBORHOOD CULTURE. (figure 2.6.).

BR 2.6. Cultural displacement

As mentioned above, some models suggest that shifts in culture are a *result* of gentrification, while others view cultural transformation as a major *driving force* of the process. Whatever the perspective, the gentrification process clearly entails a shift in place-based culture.

Neighborhoods that evolved according to specific historical, ethnic, racial and cultural arrangements experience rearrangement on all fronts. This process usually transpires at a gradual pace initially, with entrepreneurial investors (individuals/ households) creating demand for particular goods and services within the neighborhood. The basic model of cultural displacement can be simplified into the following steps:

- a) The infusion of new, usually upper and middle-class inhabitants introduce new values and cultural norms into a community;
- b) Local businesses begin to cater to new cultural norms. Given the economic class dimensions of gentrification, catering to the new norms of the “gentry” often involves higher profits;
- c) The real estate sector takes note of early-stage gentrification, and begins to “brand” the neighborhood according to the gentrified cultural norms. A concerted effort is thus made to capitalize on the culture of gentrification.

As gentrification often has strong racial undertones, the nexus of race, ethnicity and culture becomes important in attempting to address cultural displacement. Here, the right to *place* is intertwined with the right to cultural identity *in place*, the right to express cultural *heritage* linked to place, and the right to derive cultural *meaning* from place. The widespread displacement of African Americans from North Portland entailed a strong element of cultural displacement; while many Black community members still remain geographically located in North Portland, many elements of Black culture that were historically embodied by that geography are gone.

In a practical sense, cultural displacement can mean that local, neighborhood shops, grocery stores and gathering places that were deeply integrated into the history and culture of a place are slowly replaced and made “culturally obsolete” through gentrification. During our field research for the EPPP we spoke with more than one individual who said that, while they *live* in North Portland, they come to East Portland to shop for groceries, etc., since they can no longer afford to shop at the stores in their neighborhood. This is a powerful example of how cultural displacement can reinforce patterns of alienation and inequity, leaving residents with an eroding sense of place, belonging and social fabric.

Questions of cultural displacement are of equal importance to those of geographical displacement in the context of gentrification. Planners and policymakers should work towards a model of public investment and urban renewal that expands opportunity, access and beautification for all urban inhabitants, while allowing existing cultural identity and historical neighborhood artifacts to remain intact. If tools and practices are identified that can help to strongly ameliorate cultural displacement, the chances for equitable public investment will be greatly bolstered. Enabling—indeed, *reinforcing*—the culture and ethnic heritage of place while also expanding opportunity is at the heart of strategies that aim for “inclusive development” (section BR 3.2.).

Section BR 4.7 (below) briefly examines cultural displacement within the context of mitigating impacts from gentrification, while **section BR 5** deals with *placemaking*, which is the primary practice identified by the EPPP planning team to address and mitigate cultural displacement.

BR 2.7. Relevance to the East Portland Placemaking Plan

None of the abovementioned models of gentrification hold true in all instances. In some instances, the tenets of one model will appear to prevail, while other situations will appear to contradict the very same

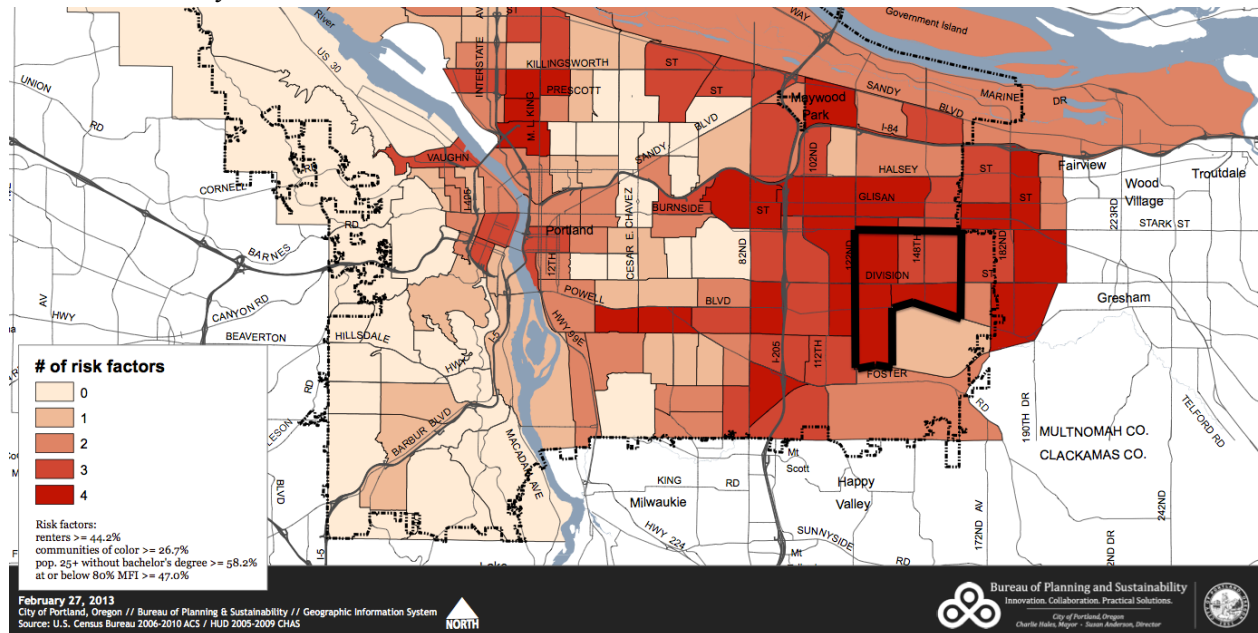


Figure 2.7. City of Portland gentrification study. Updated from Bates, 2011. PG outlined in black.

assumptions. More often, a mixture of the abovementioned forces drive gentrification, none of which can be discerned as being dominant (Brown-Sarancino, 2010). In planning practice, the underlying driving forces of gentrification must be understood as best as possible if any successful intervention is to be made to steer the urban investment process towards a just and equitable outcome.

Impending urban renewal and bus rapid transit (BRT) investment in the geography of the EPPP (**section BR 5**) suggest that gentrification pressures are likely to eventually increase property values and drive displacement of existing residents. **Section BR 5** details the empirical research regarding the impact of BRT and similar public transportation investments on residential property values. The City of Portland's recent update of a gentrification risk study confirm the risk of gentrification in the project geography (PG) (**figure 2.7.**). The EPPP planning team views the possibility of gentrification and displacement in the PG according to the dynamics below:

URBAN RENEWAL AND PUBLIC INVESTMENT DECISIONS → INCREASED ACCESS TO URBAN SERVICES, AMENITIES AND INCREASED PROPERTY DESIRABILITY → INCREASED DEMAND FOR PROPERTY IN PROJECT GEOGRAPHY → INCREASING REAL ESTATE VALUES → DANGER OF DISPLACEMENT → ??? (**figure 2.8.**)

It is clear that the public agencies responsible for the resource allocation decisions in the PG are aware that the project may drive, or at least increase risk of, gentrification. Pursuant to Executive Order 12898 of Title IV of the federal Civil Rights Act, METRO is currently preparing a report on the environmental justice impacts of the Powell-Division Bus Rapid Transit Project, which will not be published until after the East Portland Placemaking Plan is complete.

The PG may possess some attributes that will help it resist the forces of gentrification. First, a good deal of multifamily housing units exist in the project area (**figure 2.9.**). This large portion of multifamily units

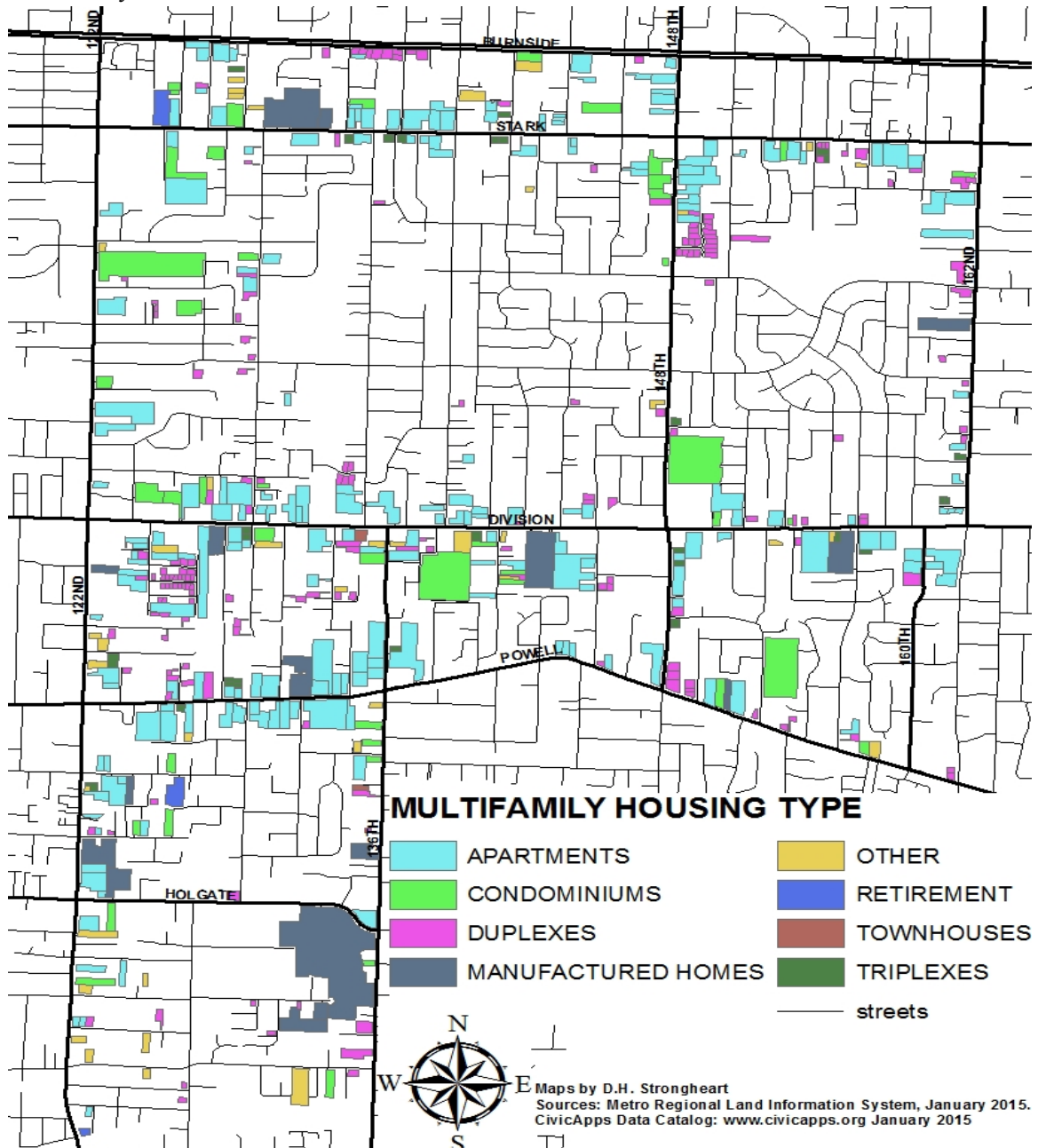


Figure 2.9. Multifamily housing types in project geography.

may ensure that relatively affordable housing remains PG available for a long while. Second, the sheer distance from currently gentrifying neighborhoods suggests that the PG may not gentrify in the near term, and that other neighborhoods comparable in age and character that are closer to downtown Portland may gentrify first¹.

On the other hand, field research in the PG (**section EC 3**) suggests that some neighborhood attributes may coincide with those generally thought to increase the desirability of properties and, thus, property values. For instance, most sections of the PG contain affordable homes, above average lot sizes, biking infrastructure and mature tree canopy, all of which are likely to enhance property values. Nearby views of Powell Butte—and hiking and recreation access to the same—to the south of SE Division may combine with transportation investments to make the geography that much more desirable to property investors.

BR 2.8. Conclusion

Public investment in the urban environment, urban renewal and investment in transportation infrastructure should not be regarded as an inherently negative activity. All populations within a city and its suburbs have reason to desire improved access to urban amenities, modernized infrastructure and improved economic opportunities. The difficulties at the heart of gentrification have to do with housing and livability—in particular the *affordability* of neighborhoods in the years and decades after the initial public investment.

The geography relevant to this paper, extending from SE Stark to Holgate (N to S) and SE 122nd to 168 (W to E), is a beautiful area with a number of unique intrinsic attributes. The neighborhoods encompassing this area have become receiving geographies for African American populations displaced by recent gentrification in North Portland, and also for African immigrants new to Portland. As the impending public investment in the PG appears to be inevitable, planners and decision-makers will have to implement well-considered and strategic policies to ensure that this investment does not set into motion unbridled forces of gentrification and displacement.

¹ The question of which locations gentrify first, and *why*, is a complex and largely intractable question. For an excellent review, see Brown-Saracino, 2010.

BR 3: Best Practices for Ameliorating Displacement Impacts of Gentrification

BR 3.1. Introduction

This paper seeks to identify proven examples of tools and practices to help ameliorate the displacement impacts of gentrification. Based on reviews of the literature and contributions of experts and practitioners, we identify a number of policy interventions that appear to have been successful in practice towards impeding displacement. This background research will help to inform the policy alternatives and community engagement dimensions of the East Portland Placemaking Plan (EPPP).

Existing and future public investment in our project geography has the potential to become a driver for gentrification and displacement. Empowering the African American community in East Portland to successfully organize and resist potential displacement is a key focus of the EPPP, and informing this community of the policy tools that have potential to safeguard their place in the community will be an important aspect of a successful planning and engagement process for the EPPP. Furthermore, because African American communities are highly likely to overlap with low-income groups (**section EC 1**) the sustainable provisioning of affordable housing options is of central importance to the EPPP.

Rising neighborhood costs of living are a primary impact of gentrification (**section BR 5**) and are usually seen as the primary driving force of displacement. However, gentrification also involves *cultural displacement* (**section BR 2.6.**), whereby key aspects of community culture like local businesses, gathering spaces and tight-knit community fabric are gradually eroded through the infusion of new cultural norms. Given that cultural displacement *and* loss of affordable housing are two key and equally important impacts of gentrification, this section will examine tools and strategies that can help to counter both. For a number of reasons, the EPPP planning team focuses on *placemaking* as a practice for ameliorating cultural displacement, which is explored at much greater length in **section BR 4**. Thus, while acknowledging the equal importance of both cultural gentrification and affordable housing loss, the current section deals primarily with the latter.

BR 3.2. Gentrification and displacement study for Portland

A 2013 study by Professor Lisa Bates offers an in-depth examination of gentrification in Portland, metrics of vulnerability for gentrification/displacement as well as policy recommendations for inclusive and equitable development (Bates, 2013). The study recommends a “market-conscious approach to gentrification”, enumerating a number of principles, including: inclusive planning informed by a racial/ethnic equity lens; anticipatory planning; informed awareness of market forces; and multi-sector collaborative investment to dampen negative impacts from gentrification.

This forward-looking approach to planning for gentrification propounded by Dr. Bates is accompanied by a “toolbox” of policies, derived from a review of best practices nationwide. The toolbox consists of 5 “key elements”, as follows (quoted verbatim):

- 1) A broad community impacts policy that sets clear expectations about promoting positive community impacts and mitigating harms;
- 2) Community Impact Reports for major projects, especially for projects with public funding, to define the potential impacts, costs and benefits and identify possible mitigation programs;

- 3) Community Benefits Agreements, primarily for private projects, that create negotiated agreement between developer and the surrounding community to create a less adversarial review process and provide specific benefits related to the development;
- 4) Inclusionary Zoning through which developers provide affordable units or pay in lieu fees to ensure affordable housing is part of new development;
- 5) Education and Technical Assistance through which the City could do more to promote best development practices for mixed income and affordable/workforce housing, similar to Portland's effort to promote green building.

BR 3.3. Strategies and tools to protect affordable housing

For planners and policymakers focused on equity and equal rights to place, efforts toward the sustainable provision of affordable housing are fraught with complexity, institutional barriers and political and ideological debates. Most affordable housing programs at the municipal level are largely—or solely—funded by federal grants, which come with numerous conditions, limitations and absolute caps on the scale of funding. Furthermore, even the most successful and equitable examples of affordable housing provision are systematically limited by prodigious market forces that drive the allocation of resources in an urban environment.

Deep roots of individualism and mistrust in government still largely define American politics (Fishman, 2000) and no robust political alternative has yet emerged as a serious challenge to this fundamentally laissez-faire approach to resource allocation. Therefore, even the best-case scenarios for affordable housing might be severely limited by the broader capitalist economic framework. When market forces are left unchecked, inequitable outcomes in housing appear to be systematically reproduced.

The success of anti-displacement policy interventions will also depend largely on *what stage of gentrification* is underway in a neighborhood (Levy et al., 2006). A focus on stage-specific strategies for addressing displacement and gentrification suggests an important distinction between three types of housing strategies: 1) affordable housing production; 2) retention of existing housing stock; 3) asset-building and direct assistance approaches. From this view, possibilities for intervention are largely defined by how far along the gentrification process a given neighborhood finds itself.

Table 3.1. *Linkage between stages of gentrification and housing strategies. From Levy et al., 2006.*

	Stages of Gentrification		
	<i>Early</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Late</i>
Affordable housing production strategies	Feasible -- Affordable housing	➔	Constrained -- Mixed-income housing
Affordable housing retention strategies	Feasible -- Retain individual homes	➔	Feasible -- Retain multi-unit housing
Asset-building strategies	Feasible -- Effective	➔	Feasible -- Less effective

An alternate categorization of housing policy interventions is given by the national non-profit organization PolicyLink. This classification, derived from PolicyLink’s extensive *Equitable Development Toolkit* (<http://www.policylink.org/equity-tools/equitable-development-toolkit>) ranks policy intervention options in conjunction with different policy goals (table 2). While tables 1 and 2 present affordable housing options in the broadest of terms, the discussion below examines specific tools in more concrete terms.

Table 3.2. *Suitability of different interventions for achieving policy goals. From PolicyLink, 2008.*

Toolset				
Goal	Regulate private housing market	Create non-profit affordable housing	Increase affordable ownership opportunities	Preserve publically assisted housing
Protect low income renters from displacement	Best fit	Possible	Possible	Best fit
Create new housing	Unlikely	Best fit	Best fit	Possible
Help renters become owners	Unlikely	Possible	Best fit	Possible
Create new community financial resources	Unlikely	Possible	Unlikely	Possible

BR. 3.4. Production of new affordable housing

BR 3.4.1. Inclusionary Zoning:

Inclusionary Zoning (IZ) requires developers to make a percentage of new housing developments available to low and middle-income individuals. IZ can be either mandatory or voluntary, and often includes expiration periods of 10-20 years after which housing prices can revert to market norms. Mandatory approaches tend to produce far more affordable living units, while developers clearly tend to prefer optional IZ programs. In optional IZ programs, developer compliance can be incentivized through offering coveted “perks” like density bonuses, tax breaks, expedited permitting and zoning variances.

Inclusionary zoning programs tend to promote a more diverse home ownership cohort, improved street safety, and improved access to jobs and services for lower-income families (PolicyLink, 2003) (Levy et al., 2006). In addition, IZ laws can hedge against displacement in areas experiencing growth, since increases in property values will be offset if the appropriate affordable housing ratio is set the IZ program. While IZ is currently not permitted in Oregon, the state legislature is currently considering a bill that would enact IZ laws in the state. Passage of this bill

would most assuredly be a paradigm-shifting outcome for the long-term sustainability of affordable housing in Oregon.

Whether voluntary or mandatory, IZ programs tend to rouse substantial resistance from developers, and sometimes from neighborhood coalitions who want to limit affordable housing and multifamily housing in their neighborhoods (Levy et al., 2006). Also, if a mandatory inclusionary zoning ordinance is enacted in one municipality while nearby municipalities retain business-as-usual policies, low-income renters from across a metropolitan region may relocate to the newly affordable municipality. Thus, IZ legislation will be most successful for the long-term if pursued at a regional or statewide scale.

BR 3.4.2. Housing Trust Funds:

Housing Trust Funds (HTFs) are distinct funds established at the city or state level with a dedicated revenue stream used to purchase and maintain affordable housing. The fund is normally administered by a public agency and essentially acts as a subsidy resource for developers for affordable housing provision. HTF programs are generally flexible, as funds can be used for either direct assistance to low-income homebuyers, grants and/or low-interest loans for non-profit developers, and other affordable housing services.

Funding for HTF programs can come from a variety of sources, including:

- Real estate taxes or fees;
- Development fees and exactions, such as system development charges;
- Penalties for delinquent or late payment of real estate excise taxes;
- Interest from government held funds, such as interest on rainy day funds or tenant security deposits;
- Other taxes, such as property tax districts or lodging taxes.

The flexibility of HTF revenues can enable the provision of affordable housing to keep pace with market conditions and the shifting nature of community housing needs. Furthermore, since the HTF fund is not dependent on budgetary appropriations, it can be sustained even in times of large-scale cutbacks in public spending. HTFs have also been shown to do well in leveraging private sector investment after the initial public allocation (Levy et al., 2006).

The HTF model requires more extensive oversight than others, given the complex landscape of funding sources and the need for transparency and efficiency in administering the HTF fund. Also, while the ongoing replenishment of the fund does not require public sector budgetary decisions, HTF programs must be inaugurated through a city council or another voting public body. Initial establishment of the program is thus likely to face intense opposition from the real estate sector and other members of the urban “growth coalition” (**section BR 2.5.**) who form the base of the HTF funding model. Furthermore, the overall *scale* of the inflowing fund sources for HTF is often not large enough to meet the real demand for affordable housing (Levy et al., 2006). In such cases, HTF are often forced to find alternate funding sources through corporate or non-profit contributions.

BR 3.4.3. Tax increment financing

Tax increment financing (TIF) has been a popular tool in affordable housing strategies throughout the U.S. TIF can only be used in aging or “blighted” areas, and is often linked to federally-funded urban renewal and economic development projects. TIF programs are not explicitly or directly defined as affordable housing programs, though they can be combined with existing affordable housing benchmarks and policies to ensure that a certain share of affordable housing is provided

in the urban renewal area (URA). TIF is a very popular financing tool in Portland, and was used to help fund the Bud Clark Commons, which is widely regarded as a model example of combining affordable housing with urban renewal (SEUplift, 2014). In 2012-13, TIF projects in the neighborhoods of Lents, Gateway and Interstate totaled about \$28 million in Portland, and the impending Neighborhood Housing Strategy relies almost exclusively on TIF funds to create affordable housing strategies in N/NE Portland (**section EC 2.4.**).

TIF is a very complex financing tool, involving long-term assumptions of growth within the URA. It is particularly this attribute that makes TIF questionable as an anti-displacement tool: in order to fulfill long-term funding requirements, policymakers are under pressure to ensure that growth is sustained within the URA. Indeed, sanguine assumptions of rising property taxes often underpin TIF programs, and in this regard it seems that policymakers are in fact *hedging their bets* that the URA will gentrify as a result of investment. While empirical analysis does not strongly support the assumptions of rising property values in TIF-based renewal (Dye & Merriman, 2006), the model is nonetheless coupled with assumptions of rising property taxes and may thus be a “wolf in sheep’s clothing” for the long-term sustainability of affordable housing.

BR 3.4.4. Publicly provided housing and land banking

Publicly provided affordable housing has a nearly 100-year history in the U.S. While some major historical blunders have marred public housing programs, they remain an important mix in the options available for long-term affordable housing. Indeed, public housing does more than perhaps any other affordable housing tool to dampen market forces that might otherwise derail affordable housing ventures, while even the most popular market-based approaches often involve time limits after which the property can be rented and/or sold at full market value.

The Portland Home Forward program (formerly the Housing Authority of Portland) is part of the state-led public housing authority, which offers support through both direct public housing provision and Section 8 rent assistance vouchers (<http://www.hapdx.org/>). Because almost all state-led public housing programs are supported primarily through federal dollars, the opportunity to advance public housing programs is circumscribed by federal bureaucratic norms. Furthermore, decade-long trends in public policy appear to be shifting more favorably towards public-private partnerships and/or private non-profit administered housing programs.

It is possible that through the mobilization of broad-based grassroots political support state-run housing programs could assume a more prominent role in the overall landscape of affordable housing, though this would likely require concerted political effort and high-level changes in policy and official legislation. Another option for longer-term public and nonprofit-based affordable housing is the formation of land banks. This strategy involves the allotment of publicly owned land in a reserve “bank” that will be used for affordable housing over the long term. Land banks entail high up-front costs, though the long-term nature of the investment logic can facilitate the procurement of only the most reasonable investments. Land banks do not, in fact require that *new* property is purchased, but can rely on existing stocks of public land where possible (SEUplift, 2014).

BR 3.5. Retention of existing affordable housing

One widely recognized driver of gentrification and displacement is the so-called “rent gap”, whereby existing uses of property are found to produce rents far below what could be obtained through other uses (**section BR 2.4.**). Landlords will often decide that the maintenance costs associated with their property outweigh the lump sum they could get through selling it, or that their property has appreciated enough in value to present an enticing opportunity for profit. The right to realize profits from private property is a foundational element of America’s political

liberties, and is difficult to disregard in any fundamental sense. It should be recognized, however, that when landlords move to capture profits by taking advantage of the rent-gap, they are prioritizing the *exchange value* of their property. If their property includes multifamily, affordable or long-tenured rental units, the existing *use value* derived by tenants must also be recognized. The policies outlined below can therefore be understood as an attempt to reconcile the contradictions present when the same property is valued differently by landlords (exchange value) and tenants (use value).

BR 3.5.1. Rent Control

Rent control is designed to protect tenants from booming rents. This intervention mandates gradual increases in rents, rather than price gouging in times of low vacancy. Rent control laws usually specify a maximum cap on rent, specified timing for the increase of rental rates, and the types of buildings to which the law applies (Levy et al., 2006). While rent control mechanisms fell out of popularity around the 1980s due to broad political shifts towards deregulation and free-market policies, they have recently received increased attention as a means to ameliorate gentrification-led displacement (Levy et al., 2006).

Rent control is a proven tool for ensuring a long-range supply of affordable housing. It has been adopted in some form by virtually every large metropolitan area in the U.S., and has been the brunt of endless criticism (Sowell, 2015) (NMHC, 1996). Most criticisms are based on broad interpretations of macroeconomic dynamics and the purported efficiency of free-market pricing. If implemented well, however, they can secure affordable housing while also ensuring that landlords capture a good return on their investment (Levy et al., 2006).

Rent control laws are likely to be continually subjected to political pressures by property owners and market-oriented organizations. Sustaining such laws may thus require robust political support and/or organized lobbying and political organizing. Landlords are powerful landed individuals who may have the ears of elected officials, and sustained pressure from something like a renters union may therefore be required for the longevity of rent control laws (PolicyLink, 2001). Advocates are likely to have the best success if their advocacy includes transparent analyses of landlord profits and rent price comparisons from cities of comparable sizes.

BR 3.5.2. Preservation of existing federally subsidized housing

Through the federal Section 236 and Section 8 subsidy programs, owners of multifamily units can receive subsidized interest rates and insured loans if units are offered at prices affordable to low-income tenants. The structure of this program enables property owners to reap comparable profits that market priced rentals would yield, while substantively minimizing financial risk (Levy et al., 2006). In 1996, a loophole was introduced to the program whereby owners could prepay mortgages over 20 years and revert to market-based rental prices. Rising real estate prices can incentivize property owners to “opt out” of these federal programs, resulting in a decrease in the number of affordably priced units across the city, and decreased options for low-income renters (PolicyLink, 2002b).

The primary tool available to renters in this situation is grassroots organizing and social marketing to pressure property owners into offering affordably priced units. Successful campaigns can mobilize local political support, and enlist other powerful local political players. Other options include the purchase of the property by tenants through “right to make an offer” provisions, moving towards a housing co-op model, or the passing of statutes and ordinances at the local level to safeguard the affordability of housing for tenants. Alternately, a third-party nonprofit organization can take over property ownership to ensure long-range affordability (Levy et al., 2006).

BR 3.5.3. Just Cause Eviction Controls:

Just Cause Eviction Controls (JCECs) are laws that protect tenants from eviction except for situations of just cause (such as consistently late rent payments). This policy maintains contracts held between tenant and landlord, and prohibits landlords from evicting tenants in order to receive a higher rent. JCECs act much like rent control, as they protect the rates locked-in by rental agreements, and rent control measures are often combined with JCECs (PolicyLink, 2001a). This tool does not go very far in addressing broader systemic issues of housing vulnerability, since landlords that are incentivized to drive a tenant out could potentially pursue a number of strategic options to convince renters to move. Such strategies would act as de facto evictions, while being masked as normal and defensible behavior.

JCECs will likely work best as a supplementary intervention to other more robust programs. That being said, they are implemented in most of the largest cities in the U.S. (PolicyLink, 2002) and can provide an important buffer for lower-income tenants and disadvantaged populations. Successfully designed JCEC laws should include strong penalties to dis-incentivize landlords from pursuing eviction, such as fines to the city and/or robust compensation for impacted tenants. As with most of the policies reviewed here, the education of tenants is an important dimension of JCECs, and the presence of strong advocacy and nonprofit groups can help to ensure that renters are cognizant of their rights.

BR 3.6. Asset-building strategies

BR 3.6.1. Community Land Trusts:

Community land trusts (CTLs) are private, non-profit corporations created to provide secure and affordable land and housing to community members. In this model, the ownership of the land is separated from the ownership of the housing upon it, with the land being held in trust by the CLT. A long-term lease is granted to the owner of the housing, often for a period of 99 years, with a board overseeing the various details of the cooperative. Because this arrangement decouples the property's equity from the housing, it helps to make less profitable land uses—like affordable housing or farming—more feasible, while the conditions of the trust specify that the property must be kept in the desired use. CLTs involve limits on resale, and limits on the amount of appreciated value that can be captured at the time of sale.

CTLs can be very impactful when they purchase land in gentrifying areas, allowing residents the opportunity to stay in their neighborhood even while surrounding rents might skyrocket. CTLs are also useful in disinvested neighborhoods wherein vacancy and abandonment are rampant, in which case CTLs can help facilitate pride of ownership and property maintenance. The Sabin Community Development Corporation in Portland incorporates CLT into their affordable housing profile, enabling low-income families to lease a home for 5 years, during which time they work to qualify for full purchase of the property (CLF, 1999). CLTs impose strict limitations upon the use of land, and involve fairly complex repurposing of land. Land trusts, however, are one of the most secure arrangements for protecting desired land uses, offering much more substantive protections than zoning or other comparable arrangements (Randolph, 2011).

BR 3.6.2. Limited equity housing co-ops

Limited equity housing co-ops (LEHC) can help facilitate community ownership of housing while lowering barriers to entry for lower-income participants. Like CLTs, this model involves an elected board responsible for finances, oversight and other important tasks. For reasons of scale, the joint ownership model of affordability inherent to LEHCs appears most suitable for multifamily apartment units. A large variety of cooperative organizational structures, however, are amenable to this model (Levy et al., 2006). Inhabitants are able to use the property according

to their needs in most ways, though limits are placed on their ability to resell the property at market value. These restrictions placed on the resale of the property are similar to those found in CLTs, and help to ensure that affordability and the use value of properties is prioritized.

The long-term maintenance of low ownership costs is likely to require some form of subsidization, meaning that the model will most often require a development-savvy board and some sustainability of outside funding. Traditional sources of state and federal affordable housing can sometimes be exploited for LEHCs (Levy et al., 2006). The cooperative ownership model increases chances that co-op members will act as advocates themselves, and contribute some sweat equity towards their shared resource (PolicyLink, 2001b).

LEHCs have immense potential to build social fabric and a greater sense of empowerment and community ownership. In a certain sense, the cooperative ownership model itself is a bold challenge to social relations embedded in capitalist, transactional logic. The success of LEHCs can be greatly bolstered if they are embedded as a key strategy in broader neighborhood and citywide plans, though this is rarely the case (PolicyLink, 2001b). This promising model also faces numerous implementation challenges, including coordination among tenants, the board and financiers, the integration of cooperative ownership models into traditional financing mechanisms, and the social challenges accompanying a participatory organizational structure (Levy et al., 2006). While case studies are usually greatly promising, the implementation of this model is not as widespread as many of the other strategies mentioned above.

BR 3.7. Ameliorating cultural displacement

As mentioned above, gentrification entails not only pressures of physical displacement from home, but can also drive cultural displacement. While there is some debate as to whether cultural transformation is a *cause* or *effect* of gentrification (**sections BR 2.6.**) the fact remains that gentrifying neighborhoods almost always struggle to retain their historic cultural identity.

The forward-looking approach to gentrification propounded by Bates (2013) (**section BR 1**) can largely be seen as a call to dampen cultural gentrification and sustain community belonging in the context of gentrification. Given the hegemony of free-market forces in the 21st century urban United States, impassioned calls for justice and an “*end to gentrification*” presuppose both a straw man perpetrator as well as an illusory and heroic agent of change. The reality of complex urban market dynamics evades such a simplistic description. What is instead called for is an anticipatory systems-based approach that both allocates maximum public resources while also empowering community planning and organizing groups to retain ownership of place.

Neighborhood improvements, urban renewal and improved access to urban amenities should be equitably accessible to all populations, and should not be expected to inevitably force cultural displacement (Mallach, 2008). There is thus a great need to identify policies and principles that eliminate the tradeoff between urban quality of life (livability) and historical cultural neighborhood integrity.

Our own analysis focuses on *placemaking* as a practice for resisting cultural displacement. Placemaking can help a community to articulate and celebrate its cultural assets while creating a resilient cultural fabric resistant to the pressures of displacement. Because of the centrality of placemaking to the goals of the EPPP, it is examined extensively in **section BR 4**.

BR 3.8. Conclusion

Every person everywhere has reason to value clean streets, diverse dining opportunities, good local schools, walkable streets, nearby grocery stores, well maintained neighboring houses and easy access to parks and nature. These amenities are more closely related to basic human well-

being than they are to subjective human values; they do not pertain to “tastes” as much as they pertain to the basic enjoyment of the human sensory experience. Regardless of are color, economic class, or cultural background, we pretty much *all* like to feel well off in a material sense.

Unfortunately, entrenched economic and political dynamics of the urban system repeatedly tend to funnel the best access to these amenities to the more privileged groups who possess a superior ability to “bid” for them in the free market system (CLF, 2007). While we should not deprive *anyone* their right to actualize their goals and values—including the more privileged classes—we must nonetheless do a much better job of ensuring that access to these amenities is distributed evenly across economic groups. Given the powerful overlap between race and economic opportunity, the tools reviewed here can help to empower the African American communities in East Portland in securing opportunity, strengthening social fabric and remaining resilient in the face of gentrification.

BR 4: Placemaking: Principles and Practices

BR 4.1. Introduction

Many African Americans living in East Portland were among those displaced from North and Northeast Portland by gentrification. Field research and background research conducted for the East Portland Placemaking Plan (EPPP) strongly suggests that this African American community is experiencing community fragmentation, a lack of a sense of place and community integration, and is struggling to retain culture and social fabric. This section examines *placemaking* as a practice that can safeguard the culture, priorities and interests of historically marginalized and underrepresented populations. For post-displacement communities adjusting to a new neighborhood, placemaking can help to rebuild social capital, foster ownership and pride in place, and help to integrate the culture and values of new community members into the fabric of their neighborhood.

BR 4.2. What is placemaking?

Placemaking is used in a number of different contexts. Public officials who wish to bolster the economic vitality of their city may engage in strategic placemaking aimed at increasing the desirability of neighborhoods, property values, and private investment. From this perspective, placemaking is understood as a *tool*, community design follows *capital investment*, and the *exchange value* of property is prioritized. When understood in this sense, and in the absence of concerted plans to mitigate gentrification impacts, placemaking can become a strategic *driver* of gentrification and displacement.

More often, however, placemaking is understood in a participatory sense, where community-building, cultural and artistic expression and place-based community assets are the focus. Economic development remains important, though every attempt is made to ensure that the beneficiaries are the community members themselves. From this perspective, placemaking is meant to strengthen the connections between community members and the places they share, and

Model	Placemaking as:	Scale	Community design meant to attract:	Property and place value emphasizes:
<i>Investment-oriented placemaking</i>	Tool	City-wide or urban investment center	Capital investment	Exchange value
<i>Community-oriented placemaking</i>	Practice	Neighborhood scale	Social interaction & community assets	Use value

Table 4.1. Differences between investment-oriented and community-oriented placemaking

to enhance community pride in their shared space. It involves the design, planning, and management of shared land resources, and the articulation of community values, culture and diversity. Here, placemaking is understood as a *practice*, community design emphasizes *social interaction* and *community assets*, and the *use value* of property is prioritized (**table 4.1.**). It is in this sense that placemaking is understood and referenced in this paper.

BR 4.3. Principles of placemaking

While placemaking in practice assumes a variety of different forms, some overarching guiding principles can still be articulated. Based on our research, we have identified the following principles as being central to community-based placemaking:

- Start with community assets, and emphasize diversity;
- Leverage place-based potential, skills, and culture. “The community is the expert”;
- Make a place, not a design;
- Building a vision is just as important as building a place;
- Integrate storytelling with placemaking;
- Involve partners from public, private, non-profit, and community sectors;
- Start with small gains, but think long-term.

A short list of specific actions for placemaking might include the creation of public art, community management of shared land resources, and/or a land use that is directly relevant to community (like a community garden in a food desert).

BR 4.4. Benefits of placemaking

Placemaking efforts can help to increase the livability in an area and to boost economic development. Successful placemaking can improve public safety, environmental quality, and providing housing opportunities for current and future residents. Economic development outcomes can include increasing the rate of local income circulation, reusing vacant and underutilized land, or workforce and job training.

Placemaking is also a powerful strategy for countering the *cultural displacement* that can accompany gentrifying neighborhoods. Placemaking offers opportunities for the reconstruction of social capital, the articulation and celebration of cultural heritage and the instilment of pride in place. All of these benefits can help empower a community to retain and protect its cultural identity in the face of pressures from gentrification.

BR 4.5. Creative placemaking

Creative placemaking happens when arts and cultural activities are at the core of remaking the physical and social character of a place (Markusen and Gadwa, 2010). The ultimate goal is to animate and rejuvenate public and private spaces, structures and streetscapes, as well as improve the viability of small businesses, increase public safety and bring diverse people together to celebrate (Markusen and Gadwa, 2010). Creative placemaking focuses efforts on the nexus between quality of life and the visibility of arts and culture.

In Portland, TriMet led a creative placemaking process with the goal of meeting ridership benchmarks along the Yellow Line. Local artists worked with community members at each station to design artwork to reinforce community identity. After 15 years, TriMet has exceeded ridership goals along the Yellow Line, attributing the station design process as an important contributor to success (Markusen and Gadwa, 2010).

A review of numerous case studies of creative placemaking found several common factors in determining success. First, successful creative placemaking efforts tend to possess strong leadership in the form of an initiator who demonstrated commitment to the place and its distinctive character with innovative vision and drive (Markusen and Gadwa, 2010). The “cultural worker” is a primary agent throughout the creative placemaking process offered by Markusen and Gadwa. Art professors, librarians, advertising managers, reporters, writers, and jewelers among others are listed as occupying this cultural worker category.

Other aspects of creative placemaking can include:

- A placemaking strategy tailored to the specific neighborhood;
- Effective mobilization of public will and the support and active participation of local arts and cultural leaders;
- Private sector buy-in, and a broad spectrum of partnerships from other groups.

BR 4.6. Placemaking in post-disaster communities and diasporic placemaking

The Root Shock Institute seeks to raise awareness of the critical need for mindfully re-rooting people after upheaval. “Root shock” is the traumatic stress that is suffered when people lose all or part of their emotional ecosystem (Fullilove et al, n.d.), and is often prevalent in post-disaster recovery efforts. In such scenarios, the rebuilding of human communities can be forgotten among competing needs to insure physical safety; create temporary respite; and find new schools, housing, and income opportunities for people far from their original home (Fullilove et al, n.d.). Immigrant and/or refugee communities may have lived through root shock and disaster-related psychological trauma.

In order to address root shock, Fullilove and colleagues identify several interventions to help re-knit social connections at the multiple levels of family, neighborhood, city and region. These interventions have been distilled from multiple case studies of post-disaster recovery throughout the globe. The first intervention focuses on making connections among organizations. Most citizens are engaged with one or more organizations, and by focusing on repairing ties at the organizational and network level victims of disaster may sooner resume daily life. The Internet is likely to be helpful in the recreation of connections among organizations.

Fullilove and colleagues also emphasize the importance of engaging every citizen in envisioning the future. In post-disaster situations, this activity can give hope to people feeling deep loss and can help connect people to others who have faced similar calamity in the past and have survived. Finally, the authors found that holidays and festivals were important to the healing process. Not only are they opportunities to congregate with people who share similar local or cultural traditions, but there is also an element of the passage of time and the cycle of life.

According to Knapp (2014), *diasporic placemaking* is a set of socio-spatial practices whereby uprooted people plant new cultural and material roots. Knapp proposes that a new era of citizen planning for community self-determination and interdependence lies before us, and that placemaking efforts should ultimately be concerned with shifting the powers of urban storytelling, analysis, and decision-making power into the hands of society's most underrepresented and marginalized members.

The diasporic placemaking framework provides an avenue for planners to pursue just sustainability by helping marginalized groups to navigate public bureaucracies and politics. The ultimate goal is community empowerment through storytelling, analysis, and the unification of disparate experiences to forge a new home (Knapp, 2014). Knapp's theory is based on a conceptualization of "spatial consciousness," which is rooted in the understanding that space is socially constructed and therefore can be deconstructed and reconstructed according to different socio-spatial logics, including emancipatory ones (Soja, 2010). The foremost problem involves understanding current conditions and preventing the continuation of injustice, though acknowledging historic injustices and ameliorating them is also important. Knapp (2014) argues that the transferring of skills and power through the process of placemaking is critical to advancing spatial justice.

Scholars generally agree that transformative racial and spatial justice can be achieved in placemaking if residents who are directly and disproportionately impacted or historically marginalized are at the center of the planning process and are the direct and substantive beneficiaries of development outcomes (Knapp, 2014). Knapp outlines several key lessons for planners to use in seeking to achieve spatial justice. First, planners must investigate community agency-making, self-determination, cooperation and interdependence for a deeper understanding of the *politics* of diasporic placemaking (2014). Second, planners should reevaluate their terms, metrics and goals to align more directly with the terms and visions of marginalized communities (Knapp, 2014). Third, planners must redefine the "equity lens" and its application by approaching planning practice holistically, collaboratively, and through an asset-based community development lens (Knapp, 2014). Fourth, planners must invest the time required to develop strong partnerships and the type of skills needed for community building. Rather than privileging the technical aspects of the work, soft skills such as relationship building and interpersonal communication must be honored (Knapp, 2014).

BR 4.7. Conclusions

The different placemaking frameworks presented in this report provide valuable insight as to how placemaking can be integrated into the broader goals of the planning process. The relevance of this research to the EPPP is multifaceted. First, African American communities currently living in East Portland who have been displaced from the North of the city through gentrification are likely experiencing some level of "root shock". Our field research and the anecdotal accounts of several African Americans in East Portland confirm the presence of community fragmentation, loss of social fabric, and struggles to re-integrate into the East Portland community. Thus, community-building and placemaking practices could likely go a long way towards re-rooting displaced members of the African and African American population into the East Portland geography.

Second, the principles of placemaking reviewed above can provide a useful framework for the community engagement aspect of the EPPP. Review of existing planning documents like the East Portland Action Plan (**section EC 2.2.**) and the Regional Equity Atlas (CLF, 2007) confirm a number of issues in East Portland for which placemaking could provide an empowering grassroots practice. Through focusing on community assets, shared visioning, storytelling and cross-sector collaboration the outcomes of the EPPP will be likely to be more robust and long-lasting.

Finally, the placemaking process has a unique ability to honor cultural uniqueness and empower communities to reconnect their culture to place. Simple actions like public art projects, community events or the rehabilitation of shared public space can help new neighborhood members and post-displacement inhabitants recreate a sense of place in their new neighborhood geography. By incorporating personal expressions of their cultural into these projects in some way, post-displacement and immigrant communities are empowered as unique contributors to the diverse community fabric of their neighborhood.

BR 5: Research review on the impact of Bus Rapid Transit on property values

BR 5.1. Introduction

There is a great deal of anecdotal and/or qualitative support for the notion that BRT services increase nearby land values (BTI, 2008; Perk and Catalá, 2009). Furthermore, there is extensive evidence that public investment in infrastructure of any sort tends to increase proximal property values (Bhatta & Drennan, 2003) (Haugwout, 1997). However, to date there have been only a small handful of empirical studies examining the impact of BRT investment on real estate prices (Deng and Nelson, 2011).

This question is of particular importance to the East Portland Placemaking Plan (EPPP), since the potential of BRT investment to impact property values along the project geography (**section EC 3**) could become a major driving force of displacement over the long-term. A review of the literature pertaining to the impacts of BRT on property values is given below. Given the dearth of research on the topic, studies examining the effect of *general* public infrastructure investments on property values are also examined. A brief discussion of other potential BRT-related impacts concludes this section.

BR 5.2. Bus Rapid Transit

A new transit project is being developed along SE Division Street and SE Powell Boulevard with the goal of providing more regular bus service at faster speeds than existing transit. The project will run from Gresham to downtown Portland and is slated to begin as early as 2020. Background documents also state the goal of bringing “important investments to Gresham, East Portland and Southeast Portland” (METRO, 2014). Portland’s METRO government, who is overseeing the project, has determined that it will take the form a bus rapid transit (BRT), as initial research deemed that other possible modes, like rail transit, were less appropriate.

BRT has been implemented in a number of cities in the U.S., and many more throughout the world. In practice, BRT operates very much like rail service, usually traveling in a dedicated lane separate from cars and trucks. BRT service is usually given special traffic privileges and right-of-ways for crossing intersections, and may also have its own traffic signals (BTI, 2008). The busses themselves are usually given unique design features, and modernized bus stops to help “brand” the bus so as to increase public adoption of BRT.

For the Powell-Division BRT line, transit stops will more closely resemble MAX stations, being better lit than most bus stops with regularly updated schedule and route information. The investment will also entail improved sidewalks and safer road crossing near the new stations. The BRT busses will be larger and have multiple doors for passengers to board at the same time, while rates and transfers will be the same as busses and MAX trains.

BR 5.3. Methods for determining BRT impact on property values

A great number of methods can be deployed in trying to determine the influence of public transportation amenities on property values. While these methods are too numerous to list here, the Transportation Research Board's guidebook on *Economic Impact Analysis of Transit Investments* (TCRP, 1998) provides a thorough review.

Almost all of the studies examined here use multiple regression statistical methods, or *hedonic* methods. This appears to be the most widely used method in the planning literature. A few cases employ economic impact assessment methods to determine the post-hoc impacts that followed initial investments in BRT or other transportation infrastructure. One study by Haughwout (2002) uses econometric statistical models. While a few meta-analyses have been consulted here, the methods used in each constitutive study were not determined.

BR 5.4. The impact of BRT on property values

BR 5.4.1. Studies in the U.S.

In their study in Pittsburgh, Perk and Catalá (2009) found that proximity to BRT did enhance property values. Their in-depth empirical analysis found that single-family homes that were 100 feet within a BRT station were valued approximately \$9,745 more than homes 1000 feet away. Furthermore, properties adjacent to stations saw private construction investments of \$300 million in the first 12 years after the Pittsburgh BRT opened, while other properties in the Pittsburgh region had more modest economic gains (FTA, 2004).

Cleveland's Healthline Euclid Corridor BRT is widely celebrated as a monstrous success (Hellendrung 2012; McFee 2009) and has attracted \$114 of private investment for every public dollar invested in the BRT (Hook et al. 2013). Perk et al. (2012) conducted a study on Boston's Silver Line BRT and found that properties near a Silver Line station were worth 7.6% more than the mean value for properties in their study.

A non-peer reviewed study from the University of Oregon found that, for each walking minute closer to the EmX BRT stop, property value increased by 0.18-0.11%, depending on the statistical models employed (Hodel & Ickler, 2012). Finally, in one of the few studies that does not clearly show a property value premium for residential properties near BRT stations, Cervero and Duncan (2002) found that in Los Angeles, while *commercial* properties near BRT were generally more valuable, proximal residential properties were shown to be of less value than more distant ones.

BR 5.4.2. Studies outside the U.S.

A great deal more research on BRT capitalization impacts pertains to settings outside the U.S. While these cases are likely to have limited transferability to a U.S. context, they are worth briefly examining here.

Levinson et al. (2003) found that a BRT project in Ottawa, Canada catalyzed about \$675 million in private investment near rail stations in the 7 years after its inauguration. These types of market-driven secondary impacts are likely to be a substantial dimension of BRT's longer-term impacts,

and indirect investment impacts of this sort could easily become drivers of gentrification at some future point.

The majority of existing studies examining the impact of BRT on property values have transpired in the context of developing countries. Looking at the well-established BRT system in Bogota, Colombia, Rodríguez and Mojica (2009) found property capitalizations between 13 and 14% in neighborhoods where BRT service was expanding. In the same city, Rodríguez and Targa found that property values declined between 6.8 and 9.3% for every 5-minute increase in walking time from a BRT station.

In Seoul, South Korea, Cervero and Kang (2009) found that residential properties close to BRT stations were 5-10% more valuable, while proximal commercial properties had values 3-26% higher. In Beijing, Deng and Nelson (2010) found that properties near BRT stations increased in value 2.3% faster than other properties, while real estate agents attributed a 10-25% premium to properties near the stations.

BR 5.5. Capitalization of public expenditure on general transportation projects, infrastructure investment and transit-oriented development

While studies examining the impact of BRT on property values are still relatively few, a great deal more studies have looked at the impact of rail or other public infrastructural expenditures. In a meta-analysis examining property capitalization for 4 types of major transit modes, Zhang (2009) shows that most studies found evidence for positive transit proximity premiums, with only a few reporting negative impacts. Across all studies examined, the author found that LRT and MRT exerted the most impact (up to \$38-\$62 per home/meter away from transit), while the absence of substantive consistent studies for BRT made their overall impact unclear.

Another meta-analysis examining the impact of rail transit on property values found that, when distances across studies were standardized to a ¼ mile distance from rail, residential properties within the ¼ mile zone were on average 4.2% more valuable, while commercial properties within the zone were an average of 16.4% more valuable (Debrezion et al., 2007).

Without a doubt, the overall signal from empirical research is that public transportation investment exerts an upward pressure on residential property values, and probably a more significant influence on values for commercial properties. Table 5.1. summarizes the studies examined in a meta-analysis by Martínez and Viegas (2009). Their results, much like those from Debrezion's meta-analysis mentioned above, show a clear positive impact in almost all cases.

Still other studies have examined the general effect of public infrastructural improvements on property values. Using a spatial equilibrium econometric model, Haughwout (2002) compared 33 U.S. cities and found that public infrastructure investments resulted in property value windfalls to nearby households. In another paper, Haughwout (1997) shows that these benefits likely extend to distant suburban home values as well.

Table 5.1. Results from a meta-analysis of the capitalization of various public transit modes. From Martínez and Viegas (2009).

Case and location	Impact on	Impact
Atlanta, Georgia	Office rents	Positive
Baltimore, Maryland LRT	Not stated	Unable to identify
Buffalo, New York	House prices	+4-11%
Boston, Massachusetts	Residential property	+6-7%
Chicago, Ill MTA	House prices	+20%
Dallas, Texas DART	Commercial rents	+64.8%
Dallas DART	Property values	+25%
Lincoln, New Jersey	Residential property	Positive
Los Angeles, California	Property values	Higher values
Miami, Florida	House prices	+5%
New Jersey SEPTA rail	House prices	+7.5-8%
New Jersey PACTO rail	House prices	+10%
New York	Not stated	Positive
Pennsylvania SEPTA rail	House prices	+3.8%
Portland, Oregon	House prices	+10%
Portland/Gresham, Oregon	Residential rent	>5%
Portland Metropolitan Express	House prices	+10.5%
San Diego, California	Not stated	Positive
San Francisco/Bay Area BART	Property values	Positive
San Francisco/Bay Area BART	Residential rent	+10-15% / +15-26%
Santa Clara County, California	Commercial and office	+23-120%
Santa Clara County	House prices	+45%
Santa Clara County	Residential rent	+15%
St. Louis, Missouri	Property values	+32%
Toronto, Canada METRO	House prices	+20%
Washington, DC	Residential rent	Positive

Haughwout's findings are important for the discussion on gentrification, since the value of an *entire city's* real estate can increase with public infrastructural investments, creating an upward pressure on properties throughout the region. They are also consistent with economic theories of “infrastructure-led development”, which see public investment and urban renewal as a prime driver of long-run private sector urban economic development (Agénor, 2010). Essentially, the public sector sends a “signal” to the private sector of what might be the next good location for investment, and the private sector responds. This dynamic is something of a self-fulfilling prophecy, and has important implications vis-à-vis equity and gentrification.

BR 5.6. Other potential economic impacts from BRT

According to the Federal Transit Administration (FTA, 2004) there are three types of transit-related economic impacts that are generally recognized. While the FTA clearly frames these

impacts through an economic lens, considering these impacts through a social and equity lens can yield insight as well. According to FTA, the three types of transit-related impact are:

- *Generative impacts* - produce net economic growth and benefits in a region such as travel time savings, increased employment and income, improved environmental quality, and increased job accessibility. This is the only type of impact that results in a net economic gain to society at large;
- *Redistributive impacts* - account for locational shifts in economic activity within a region such that land development, employment, and, therefore, income occur at transit stations along a route, rather than being dispersed throughout the region;
- *Transfer impacts* - involve the conveyance or transfer of moneys from one entity to another such as the employment stimulated by the construction and operation of a transit system financed through public funds, joint development income, and property tax income from development redistributed to a transit corridor through station development (FTA, 2004).

The sanguine assertion that *generative* impacts have a net economic gain to society must be tempered by considerations of equity, since it is possible that the distribution of those benefits might be highly imbalanced and favor some groups over others. Indeed, another FTA document (1998) acknowledges that developers, “may garner most or all of the benefit” of public transportation investments, and that, “[t]he leverage of tenants...may be somewhat diminished by the attractiveness of building space with good access to transit”. As developers are best positioned to capitalize on the rent gap, the *exchange value* they place on the land is more likely to triumph over the *use value* placed on it by existing residents.

While the FTA’s notion of *redistributive* impacts clearly entails the diversion of commercial and economic activity from one place to another as a result of transportation investments, a reshaping of the social and economic geography of the investment location can also result from the investment. When the longer-term potential for displacement is considered, redistribution can mean not only *who* benefits, but also *who is there*—and *who is not* there—to benefit. The main potential of a BRT investment to affect *transfer* impacts on homeowners is via increased property taxes or system development charges resulting from the investment.

BR 5.7. Conclusion

For most of the studies examined here, public investment in BRT has been shown to have a tendency to increase adjacent property values. The property value increase is directly derived from an increase in market demand—individuals bidding in the market to live in that location. As property values rise, increased property taxes and system development fees are also likely to accompany public investment in BRT or other infrastructure. The rising cost of *homeownership* in the form of taxes and fees, and the rising cost of *renting* resulting from increased desirability of location create a convincing link between public infrastructure investment on the one hand and displacement and gentrification on the other. Given the eminent implementation of a BRT service through the heart of the East Portland Placemaking Plan (EPPP) project geography, a full understanding of the potential impacts of this investment is of central importance to the EPPP.

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