

## Chapter 6

# Shaping and Managing Portland's Metropolitan Development

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Modern cities share a number of common spatial problems arising from the dynamics of their development. Dean Rugg in a perceptive book on urbanism has listed a number of such geographic challenges to cities. Among these are:

- Organizing political space, especially in metropolitan areas where small size and fragmentation are evident.
- Forming a stable relationship with the physical environment.
- Establishing a consistent land use and growth policy.
- Preserving the central city in the face of suburban expansion.
- Coping with intraurban transportation problems.

*--(Rugg, 1979, p.4)*

The Portland metropolitan region can be said to have confronted these problems in a number of imaginative ways. It has established a clearly delimited urban growth boundary, a metropolitan service district, a regional transportation commission, and a local government boundary commission. Through these institutions as well as other bodies and cooperative agreements, it has simplified a very complex pattern of local governments, created an area-wide comprehensive planning process, and taken a regional approach to provision of urban services that has preserved the primacy of the central city and fostered access to it.

### *THE CHARACTER OF THE PORTLAND METROPOLITAN REGION*

The chartered City of Portland occupies less than a third of the territory and has barely a third of the population of the built-up and integrated urban agglomeration that can be called the Portland metropolitan region. In contrast to European cities which tend to be "overbounded" with substantial rural lands within city boundaries for potential urban growth, American cities are "underbounded," with areas of urban housing and facilities extending outward from the central city's limits for many miles in all directions.

The outer zone of suburban development in Portland began to emerge at the end of the 19th century with the establishment of streetcar lines and later spread with vigor in the automobile-oriented period following World War II. The building of freeways and other highway improvements made it possible to live long distances from work and from cultural and recreational facilities. Jobs and facilities also began to move out from the central city. In addition to the attractiveness of outlying areas for living, households and enterprises found that land costs were very much less, as were restrictions affecting building costs.

The result was the transformation of American cities, including Portland, from compact, coherent, centrally focused

entities into diffuse urban agglomerations that are multi-nodal, multi-connected social systems (Berry, 1967). The outer reaches of such systems are indeterminate mixtures of urban and rural elements, not unlike the frontier zones between countries in the premodern world with their intermixtures of cultural influences and their internal dynamic momentums (Kristof, 1959, 269 ff.).

The underbounding of American cities has been a principal factor in the urban challenges listed in the Introduction. Underbounding has also had other kinds of impacts. Thus, Portlanders have an image of their city as a modest place of some 366,000 persons, based on the 1980 Census Bureau count of population posted on signs marking the city limits. They would be more impressed if they were sensitive to another, more geographically realistic compilation by the Census Bureau -- the "urbanized area." Using a complex formula based on more or less contiguous urban development, the Bureau recorded 1,026,144 persons living in the Portland urbanized area of 347 square miles in 1980. Even this figure misses at least 100,000 additional commuters to Portland from outlying settlements that are essentially bedroom communities.

The suburban sprawl of Portland and other cities has not generally been seen as a desirable urban form, despite the apparent wide-spread life satisfaction of persons living within the zone. Among specific criticisms of sprawl are the high costs of providing urban-type services to scattered clusters of houses, the potential public health problems from reliance upon wells and septic tanks, and the underutilization of land as urban-based investors leave acreage idle to minimize their property taxes. The increase of the value of rural land by speculative bidding, moreover,

tends to make farming unprofitable for farmers seeking to continue a traditional way of life. The break-up of large tracts of forest and agricultural land by suburban housing clusters is also seen as a threat to wildlife and a sense of rural community (Scofield, 1963, 64 ff.).

#### **THE URBAN GROWTH BOUNDARY: REDUCING A FRONTIER ZONE TO A LINE**

Concern about the consequences of unbridled urban encroachment upon rural areas was a principal motivation for the creation of the Oregon State Land Conservation and Development Commission (LCDC) by Oregon's state legislature in 1973. This body established a set of goals and objectives for land use management in the state. These included a requirement that each of the 36 counties establish a comprehensive land use plan based upon state-wide guidelines. Border-to-border land use planning was finally achieved in May, 1986 when Grant County in the eastern part of the state had its plan approved by the LCDC.

The LCDC guidelines included a requirement that outer territorial limits be designated for the growth of cities. Such an approach had never before been tried in the United States. The establishment of an "Urban Growth Boundary" (UGB) was based on objectives of (1) reducing urban sprawl; (2) providing a degree of choice in the land market; (3) efficiently providing public facilities and services; and (4) preserving future urban land for efficient development at a later date (Metropolitan Service District, undated).

Responsibility for determining the Portland metropolitan region's urban growth boundary was assigned to the existing Metropolitan Service District.

It adopted a boundary in November 1979, based on work carried out by its predecessor agency, the Columbia River Association of Governments. Opposition to the concept was immediate and strong. Ultimately it prevailed in the courts, and a UGB was adopted in 1984 (Figure 6.1). The Urban Growth Boundary in effect reduced Portland's broad fringing zone to a sharp line of discontinuity, just as shell-like international boundaries replaced interactive frontier regions in 18th and 19th century Europe (Kristof, 1959).

### THE FRAGMENTATION OF GOVERNMENTS

As noted above, the chartered City of Portland constitutes only a fraction of the area and population within the metropolitan UGB. Inside of the boundary the numerous housing subdivisions, industrial parks, shopping centers, and other urban settlements are provided services by a multiplicity of jurisdictions of incorporated cities and so-called "special districts" to fulfill single-purpose governmental functions. Moreover, the metropolitan region is fragmented among two states and at least four counties, a legacy of the mid-nineteenth century when the Oregon country was partitioned into smaller, more convenient areas for local governance.

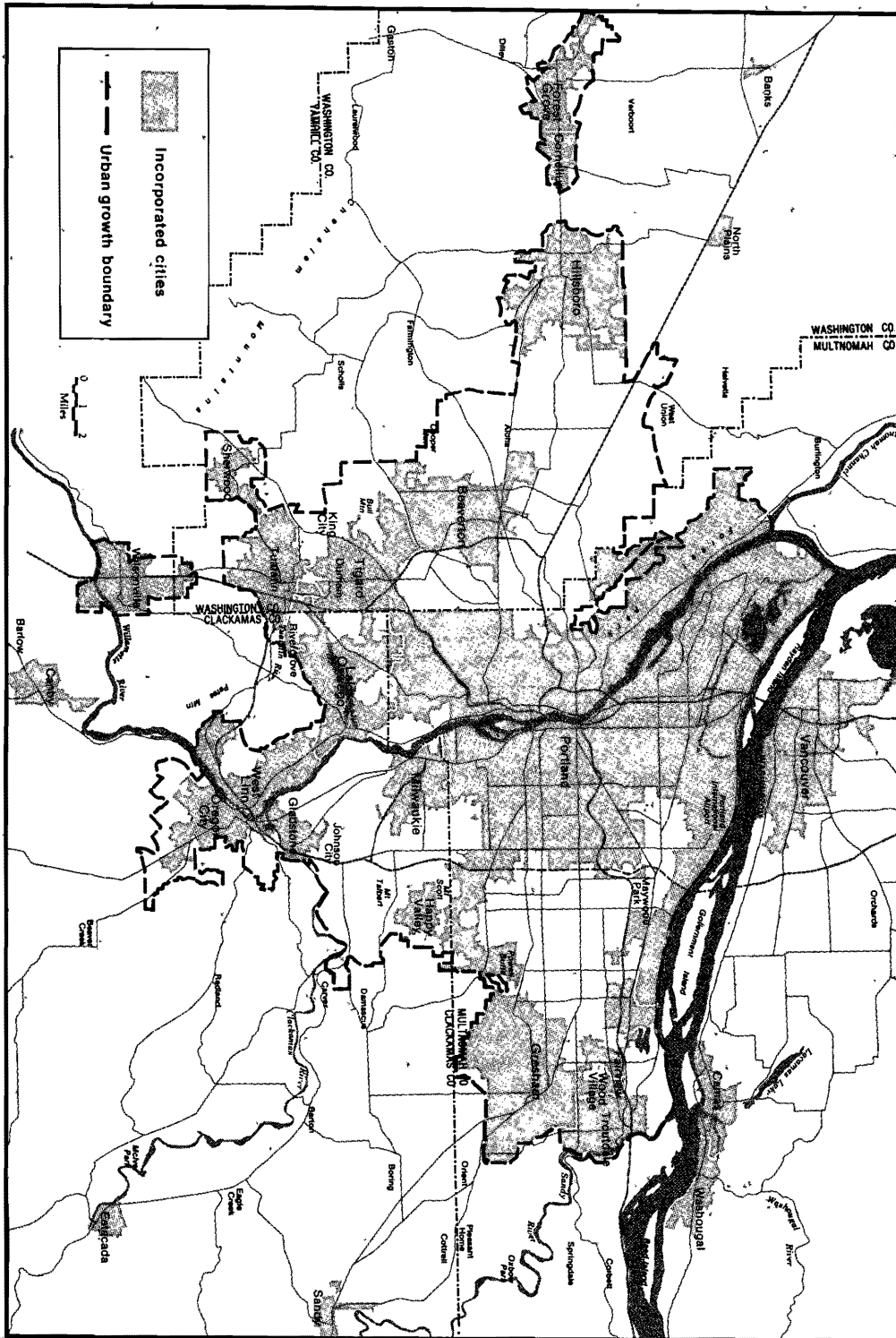
As one of its initial acts the provisional government of Oregon in 1843 divided the settled areas south of the Columbia into four "districts": Champoick (later Marion), Clackamas, Twality (renamed Washington in 1849), and Yamhill. Rivers were used as conveniently described boundaries for these administrative units. The term "county" legally replaced "district" in 1845, when three new units were established in Oregon Territory: Clark

County north of the Columbia, Clatsop south of the mouth of the Columbia, and Polk in the mid-Willamette Valley. Multnomah County was carved out in 1854 from the Columbia River frontage of Clackamas County and the Willamette River frontage of Washington County (Roberts, 1985, pp. 318-334).

The new Multnomah county had less than 1,500 residents. The fast-growing city of Portland was designated its seat, and its location on the west bank of the Willamette led to abandonment of that river in favor of the crest of the Tualatin Mountains as the western boundary of the county. These empty and difficult-to-cross "West Hills," as they are now universally termed by Portlanders, were certainly a much more appropriate local government divide. Contrary to popular perceptions, rivers are among the least desirable bases for boundaries. They have always been easier to cross by boat and by bridge than have hills or mountains by roads and rails. As will be detailed below, one of the Portland metropolitan region's greatest problems of planning and development derives from the decision in 1853 to separate the new Washington Territory from Oregon using the Columbia River as a boundary. Southwestern Washington State, from Vancouver to Centralia to the Pacific, remains much more tributary to Portland than to Seattle, yet cannot easily be coordinated in any planning and development of the Portland metropolitan region as a whole.

The establishment of Oregon counties was in keeping with the general process of American local government formation

**Figure 6.1:** Incorporated cities and the urban growth boundary (UGB) of the Portland metropolitan region.



in the 19th century. Outer limits were most often based on considerations of half-day travel by horseback to county seats. There was little to indicate the coming massive urban transformations of the 20th century. Unfortunately, by the time such transformations did occur, counties had assumed a degree of permanence that frustrated any attempts at consolidation or other reform.

Although the West Hills were breached by a corduroy log road early in the history of Portland, they constituted an operational and psychological barrier to urban expansion westward into Washington County well into the 20th century. For the first half of its history Portland was identified solely with Multnomah County. By the time transportation improvements had led to an expansion of Portland-tied settlements across the West Hills into Washington County and southward into Clackamas County, a host of institutions and other bodies had evolved whose cumulative effect was to reinforce existing county identities and to resist change in them.

Not the least of these were officials and employees of county governments who saw their positions threatened by change in the status quo. They provided successful opposition to expansion efforts by chartered cities as well as to any possible county mergers. Such resistance also appeared when modification of boundaries was proposed. As recently as 1964, the town of Cascade Locks was unsuccessful in its attempt to transfer itself from Hood River County to Multnomah County.

Like the present counties, the several cities in the Portland metropolitan region are also primarily the legacy of settlement patterns and transportation conditions of the mid-19th century. Portland had emerged in the 1850's as the winner

among several rivals for the role of central city in the future Columbia-Willamette metropolitan region. Although Fort Vancouver had been operating for more than three decades before Portland was platted, it could not match Portland's dynamic growth. Also failing to keep pace was another rival, Oregon City, a thriving community harnessing the falls of the Willamette at the head of maritime navigation. Just downstream was Milwaukie, whose good harbor and fewer navigation hazards could also well have given it primacy over Portland, but did not.

Both Oregon City and Milwaukie benefitted from being near the terminus of the easiest passage for grain wagons from the Tualatin Valley to reach the Columbia-Willamette waterway. Their advantage was lost to the younger settlement of Portland, however, when merchants there built the corduroy road across the West Hills which substantially reduced travel time.

The 19th century saw the emergence of several additional urban settlements in the region. Some were associated with wood processing and other industrial development along the Willamette, including East Portland, Albina, Sellwood, St. Johns, and Linnton. As their populations grew and their economic and other linkages with Portland increased, they were merged with the burgeoning city through annexations that were then a matter of discretionary law-making by the state legislature. More distant from the Willamette River, other towns emerged to serve growing farm populations. These include Gresham, Sandy, and Troutdale in Multnomah county and Beaverton, Hillsboro, and Forest Grove in Washington County (see map frontis).

The City of Portland had been able to annex desirable contiguous urbanizing

areas rather easily during the 19th century through its political influence in the state legislature. Its success ended abruptly in 1906, however, when the legislature granted "home rule" to incorporated cities. Among other effects, this legislation required a citizen vote on any proposed annexations. Over the following half century most communities on Portland's fringe voted to create or maintain their own separate units of government rather than be absorbed by the central city (City Club of Portland 1986).

In more recent times the number of incorporated cities in the Portland metropolitan region has grown through the establishment of several urban entities to meet specific local problems and to benefit from laws requiring the state to share alcohol tax and certain other revenues with incorporated cities. Thus Maywood Park on the northeastern fringe of Portland was created in 1969 in a vain attempt to thwart a projected by-pass freeway through its hitherto unincorporated housing area. The City of Durham was established by its residents to resist a major truck assembly plant proposed for an open site in the vicinity of this Washington County settlement. State revenues were a motivation for the creation of Johnson City in 1966 in the area of a mobile home park in the southeastern borderlands of Portland. Happy Valley was incorporated in Clackamas County to thwart commercial development and protect the community's exclusively residential character (City Club of Portland, 1968).

As housing developments mushroomed in unincorporated areas after World War II, the new suburbanites as often as not remained outside of any incorporated areas, however. Their needs for urban services such as water supply, sewage, and fire protection

were met generally by the establishment of ad hoc special districts. By the mid-1960's more than 300 special districts had been created in the Portland metropolitan region.

### PROBLEMS RESULTING FROM THE MULTITUDE OF GOVERNANCE AREAS

Because of heavy dependence upon property taxes, cities and counties in Oregon have vied with each other to attract new development within their boundaries. This has led to charges that local governments were weakening their construction standards and offering other costly inducements for private developers to build new housing and shopping centers within their jurisdictions and thus increase their property tax returns. Cities and counties also found themselves in competition for limited federal and state funds for improvements in roads, sewers, and water supplies.

Frictions among the several counties and cities have hampered efficiency and good government in many ways. Their separate police forces, fire departments, and other administrative bodies have long run into problems due to jurisdictions that terminate abruptly at city limits or county lines.

For county areas outside of incorporated cities, urban-type growth was accompanied by a proliferation of special districts for water, sewage, street lighting, schools, fire protection, and even parks and recreation. Seldom did the boundaries of functionally different districts coincide, leading to a complex network of combinations of districts for the assessment of taxes, which was a county government responsibility. Although counties collected and transmitted special district taxes, they had no other supervisory or coordinating role. Indeed,

even at the state level there was no such role, other than the requirement for districts to file annual financial reports with the Secretary of State.

The small size of these districts often meant substantial underutilization of basic staff. For the metropolitan region as a whole there was unnecessary duplication of personnel and facilities for delivering services. Lack of coordination led to many problems. More than once a county road crew completed the repaving of a street, only to find the new asphalt torn up the next month by excavations of the local sewer or water district.

#### **RESOLVING PROBLEMS ENGENDERED BY GOVERNMENTAL FRAGMENTATION**

The negative consequences of the multitude of governments in the Portland metropolitan region have long been evident. The consolidation of the City of Portland with Multnomah County has several times been proposed as a remedy. However, in 1919, 1927, and 1974 electorates failed to approve ballot proposals for such consolidation. Although city/county consolidation has failed at the polls, several other remedies to Portland's local government fragmentation have been successfully instituted. These include creation by state or local authorities of: (A) The Port of Portland, (B) County Service Districts, (C) The Metropolitan Planning Commission, (D) The Portland-Vancouver Metropolitan Transportation Study; (E) The Columbia Region Association of Governments, (F) The Metropolitan Service District, (G) The Tri-County Metropolitan Transportation District, and (H) the Local Government Boundary Commission.

##### **A. The Port of Portland**

A successful attempt to meet a pressing metropolitan-wide need occurred in

1891 when the state legislature created the Port of Portland, with a taxation district embracing all of Multnomah County. Its assigned task was to dredge the Willamette and Columbia rivers and to maintain a navigable channel to the Pacific Ocean. The Port's responsibilities and area base have been expanded over the years. It came to develop and operate ship repair yards, industrial parks, and airports (see Chapter 10). In 1970 the separately managed public docks of the City of Portland were put under the Port's authority. In 1974, in recognition of the growth of the urban region, the Port district's territory was expanded to include Clackamas and Washington counties.

##### **B. County Service Districts**

Problems associated with the proliferating number of special districts on Portland's urban fringe were addressed by the state legislature in 1955. An interim committee was ordered to investigate the provision of urban services in unincorporated areas. Out of the committee's findings emerged legislation that permitted counties to create special county service districts to take over the activities of several single function special districts and develop zoning and other services. While this legislation brought greater order to the provision of services for urbanizing fringe regions and reduced special districts in the Portland metropolitan region nearly by half, it added substantially to the tasks and costs of county governments -- particularly to Multnomah County, where the bulk of urban growth had been occurring. It also had the counterproductive effect of stimulating growth in the fringe zone without effective planning guidance.

### **C. The Metropolitan Planning Commission**

The need for some type of area-wide comprehensive planning process was well appreciated by local officials and planners, who banded together in 1957 to form a voluntary Metropolitan Planning Commission composed of one officeholder from each county plus the City of Portland. Not only did the Commission's efforts bring some order into the region's haphazard growth, but they also provided a persuasive unified vehicle for garnering increasingly available federal funds for planning and developing improved public services for urban communities. Although Clark County and the City of Vancouver participated in the Commission's activities, they were precluded by Washington law from contributing financially to the program.

### **D. The Portland-Vancouver Metropolitan Transportation Study**

The metropolitan region's mutual transportation problems were specifically addressed two years later with the creation of the Portland-Vancouver Metropolitan Transportation Study (PVMTS). This body had representatives from Multnomah, Washington, Clackamas, and Clark counties and their cities, plus the Port of Portland and other agencies of each state. The PVMTS was a response to a federal requirement that requests from local governments in metropolitan areas for federal highway and mass transit funds must be approved by an area-wide planning body. It took inventory of the region's traffic characteristics and problems, and evaluated proposals for improvement.

### **E. The Columbia Region Association of Governments**

Subsequently, Congress required similar local coordination of requests for federal funds for sewers, water systems, urban renewal, housing, and other improvements. Councils of Government (COG's) embracing entire metropolitan regions were established by local governments to meet this obligation. Portland's COG was the Columbia Region Association of Governments (CRAG), which was instituted in 1966 using the personnel, facilities, and research accomplishments of the Metropolitan Planning Commission. CRAG's governing body and activities also involved Clark County, Washington.

The Metropolitan Planning Commission had taken inventory of the region's development and had given perspective on the area's problems in land use and transportation. Its voluntary nature, however, had meant it lacked authority to actually impact the planning of the region except by moral persuasion and the threat of negative appraisal of applications for federal funds. Its successor, CRAG, had greater authority to encourage sound regional development, particularly because federal guidelines required CRAG's endorsement of funding of water and sewer systems. The PVMTS played a like role in evaluating local and state initiatives for road and highway improvements. Both agencies had only limited teeth to encourage cooperation between governments and to implement the area-wide plans they prepared, however.

### **F. The Metropolitan Service District**

Despite the establishment of CRAG and PVMTS, the isolation of the region's multitude of governments from each



other and the frictions among them continued to present problems for coordinated development. In the 1960's a Metropolitan Study Commission created by the Oregon State Legislature had recommended that a Metropolitan Service District (MSD) be established by the legislature with authority to assume responsibility for providing region-wide services. The local League of Women Voters had earlier proposed such a service district (League of Women Voters, 1960). The study commission also recommended the creation of a Metropolitan Boundary Commission to pass on annexations, new special districts, and other local government changes in the region.

A Metropolitan Service District with a wide range of powers eventually was created by the legislature in 1979 and approved by a popular referendum. It was the first such area-wide organization in the United States to have an elected council and executive director. Metro took over the functions and personnel of CRAG and was given expanded authority to offer metropolitan-wide services, with police powers and the right to levy property and income taxes as well as to issue bonds.

In addition to its role in administering the Urban Growth Boundary, Metro (as the new agency came to be termed) has three other principal functions: (1) it continues the transportation planning activities of CRAG, including approval of local government requests for federal highway funds; (2) it is responsible for the disposal of solid wastes; and (3) it manages the 60-acre Washington Park Zoo, which was acquired from the City of Portland. It also is empowered to provide the area it serves with water supply, trunk sewers, libraries, exhibition facilities, public transportation, jails, sports arenas, and parks. However, it has not been strong enough politically

or financially to take over these activities from the existing local governments. Metro has, however, recently accepted responsibility to construct and operate a new Convention Center approved by voters in the metropolitan region.

### **G. The Tri-County Metropolitan Transit District**

Another area-wide organization is the Tri-County Metropolitan Transit District (Tri-Met), which was established in 1969 to replace failing bus companies in Portland and its Oregon suburbs. It has forged a unified transportation network throughout the three county area and has planned and constructed MAX, a new electric light rail line connecting downtown Portland with the eastern suburb of Gresham. Although Washington state laws and regulations preclude inclusion of the urbanized area of Vancouver and suburbs within the transportation district, Tri-Met has created what appears to be a satisfactory working relationship with C-TRAN, the public transportation authority for Clark County.

### **H. The Local Government Boundary Commission**

Governance of the Portland metropolitan region has been simplified not only by the assumption of area-wide functions by special regional agencies, but also by a significant reduction in the number of special district governments, particularly through the activities of the Portland Metropolitan Area Local Government Boundary Commission. This body was one of three created in metropolitan areas of the state in 1969 to control and improve the structure of local governments by an impartial review of proposed creations of units or changes of existing boundaries. The Salem area commission has

since been abolished, but those of the Portland and Eugene regions continue to operate. The original Portland area commission embraced Columbia County in addition to the metropolitan counties of Multnomah, Washington, and Clackamas. In 1979, however, Columbia County was deleted from commission jurisdiction because of its predominantly rural character.

The Boundary Commission has authority over all cities in the three counties and over most special districts except school districts. Supervised districts include governmental units established to provide water supply, sewerage, park and recreation facilities, street lighting, vector control, and rural fire protection. Commission review is required for each of the following actions involving local governments:

1. Incorporation, dissolution, merger, or consolidation of cities or of special districts.
2. Adding a function to a special district.
3. Annexations to or withdrawals from cities or special districts.
4. Transfers of territory between cities or special districts.
5. Establishing or expanding privately-owned community water and sewerage systems.
6. Extension of water or sewer lines by cities and special districts to areas outside of their boundaries (Portland . . . Boundary, 1982, p.6).

In reaching decisions the Commission is guided by legislative mandate to prevent illogical boundary extensions, to assure adequate services while maintaining the financial integrity of units, and to make certain that any new units or boundary changes are consistent with local comprehensive plans and state-wide planning goals.

The Boundary Commission has been

responsible for substantial reductions in the numbers of special districts under its jurisdiction, although many districts have been consolidated by local actions. Thus, Washington County created a Unified Sewerage District out of 23 former special sewer districts in its urbanized eastern section.

The successful contributions of the Boundary Commission towards halting the increase of local governments and ultimately in reducing their numbers is directly related to the Commission's ability to control the provision of water and sewerage services. By being able to deny the unwarranted expansion of essential urban facilities, the Commission plays a major role in implementing the area's comprehensive plans, particularly the maintenance of urban growth boundaries.

#### COOPERATIVE LOCAL GOVERNMENT AGREEMENTS

In addition to the several area-wide agencies that have been formed to provide and/or coordinate urban services, the problems of governmental fragmentation have also been ameliorated by a number of agreements among local units themselves. The creation of the Metropolitan Planning Commission is one such manifestation. A particularly noteworthy intergovernmental action has been a recent agreement between Multnomah County and the cities of Portland, Gresham, and Troutdale for joint construction of a new sewer system in east Multnomah county. This region of predominantly glaciofluvial gravels has long held the dubious distinction of being the single largest unsewered urbanized area in the United States.

Multnomah County has recently contributed to simplification of governance in Portland's suburbs by deciding sharply

to reduce its provision of services to unincorporated communities. Prompted by financial pressures, it announced in early 1983 that it would reduce to minimal rural levels its police protection, planning, parks and recreation, and other activities. In effect it terminated the county service district that had itself been created to reduce the tangle of special districts on the urban fringe.

Residents affected by the change in county policy were encouraged to meet their service needs by annexation to an existing incorporated city. Portland and Gresham have both developed aggressive annexation campaigns that have resulted in substantial growth of territories and populations. However, a court challenge to the methods used in annexation has placed a substantial part of recent annexations in doubt.

In reaction to Multnomah County's withdrawal from providing urban services and to the pressures for joining an incorporated city, a movement evolved in 1980 in mid-Multnomah County to create a new city of Columbia Ridge through annexation of unincorporated areas to the minuscule city of Wood Village. Its purpose was clearly to maintain the region's admittedly minimal existing urban service levels instead of becoming a part of a more comprehensive urban government with proportionately increased taxes. The high costs to convert a cesspool and septic tank system to sewers to meet the urban standards of Portland or Gresham was a matter of particular concern to local residents. The new city proposal was denied by the Boundary Commission on the grounds that the projected new entity would be unable financially to mount an adequate range of urban services.

#### **AGENDAS FOR THE FUTURE**

The territorial and demographic

growth of the Portland metropolitan area has been accompanied by a haphazard evolution of governance units. The inherent conflicts, redundancies and inefficiencies of the area's numerous cities, counties, and special districts have been recognized and addressed by a concerned citizenry and legislature, as well as by the local governments themselves. Their efforts have led to a more smoothly working system of governance. Nevertheless, much remains to be done to provide an efficient and equitable government system.

Of particular concern is the provision of needed new or revamped area-wide services. Thus, the metropolitan region clearly needs a modern sports stadium. The existing one is old, small, and lacking in parking facilities. Owned and operated at a loss by the City of Portland -- like the Center for the Performing Arts, the Auditorium, and the Coliseum -- the present stadium represents yet another instance of subsidy by the citizens of the City of Portland to an institution utilized and enjoyed by residents throughout the metropolitan region. One solution to relieve an increasingly unfair burden on Portland taxpayers is to follow the precedent of the Portland Zoo, and transfer responsibilities for maintenance and expansion of region-wide public facilities to the Metropolitan Service District. In fact, a November, 1986, favorable vote to build a convention center to be operated by the service district is an encouraging development in this direction. However, Metro itself lacks sufficient political and financial support to take on many new responsibilities at this time.

In March, 1986, the City Club of Portland addressed the problem of governmental fragmentation by recommending a merger of the three principal Oregon counties into a super county (City Club of Portland, 1986). The proposal would

retain the pattern of cities to provide public services that are local in character. However, it would subordinate Metro, Tri-Met, and the Boundary Commission to the new regional county so that officials elected from throughout the area could establish priorities and guidelines for the provision of regional services. It was not deemed useful to place the Port of Portland under the new merged county government. The club's recommendation has yet to be endorsed or actively pursued by political figures or citizen advocates in the region.

The establishment of the urban growth boundary and the various institutions and agreements for planning and providing urban services in the Portland region fall short of addressing the total metropolitan problem because they are all limited to the Oregon side of the Columbia River. There is as yet no interstate compact to permit a mutually beneficial coordination of planning and management of services of Clark County and Vancouver with the Oregon portion of the metropolitan region. Short of that, some additional voluntary efforts could be forged comparable to the more-or-less successful CRAG organization and the agreement between the Tri-Met transportation district and Clark County's C-Tran.

The ill-founded decision to use the Columbia River to separate Oregon from Washington territory (rather than placing the boundary through the empty mountainous zone to the north of the river) has left an uncomfortable legacy to the present metropolitan region. Fort Vancouver was certainly more easily accessible in the mid-19th century to the settlements along the lower Willamette than were the area's agricultural lands, which almost entirely lay west of Portland's West Hills; similarly, present-day Vancouver via the Interstate 5 and

205 bridges over the Columbia is more easily reached from downtown Portland than is Hillsboro to the west or Gresham to the east.

The principal problem of area integration is not one of accessibility or even of administrative authority. It is rather a territorial discontinuity in what might be termed the "economic climate" of taxation systems. The State of Oregon derives its revenues primarily from an income tax, and local government units are heavily dependent on property taxes. State and local governments in Washington, on the other hand, operate primarily with funds from sales taxes.

The result is that it is less costly to maintain homes and enterprises on the Washington side of the river and it is cheaper to purchase goods on the Oregon side. Consequently, Clark County in recent times has had a disproportional share of residential and industrial development within the metropolitan region, particularly since the completion of a second freeway bridge across the Columbia that permitted easier access to the rest of the metropolitan region. Many employees and executives of firms in Oregon have increasingly found it desirable to maintain homes on the Washington side. At the same time, Hayden Island, just across from Vancouver on the non-sales tax Oregon side of the Columbia, has one of the area's highest volume supermarkets and one of its most successful shopping centers. Both states lose a significant amount of revenue as a result of individuals manipulating the contrasting systems of taxation.

The Columbia River boundary also precludes taking an area-wide approach to solving the principal remaining regional problems of air pollution control and solid waste disposal. This boundary

has perpetuated the same types of duplicated efforts and rivalries that until recently plagued the many jurisdictions within the Portland Urban Growth Boundary. Thus, the separate state-created port authorities for Portland and Vancouver have engendered unnecessary competition for present and potential industrial customers that reduces their revenues and probably harms the position of the region in contesting with its rivals elsewhere on the Pacific Coast.

While these and other problems resulting from fragmentation of local governments remain, the Portland metropolitan region nevertheless can take pride in the establishment of a series of innovative institutions and cooperative endeavors that have significantly reduced numerous ill effects associated with urban underbounding and sprawl.

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