

Chapter 7

Changing Residence in a Changing City

Richard Lycan

Department of Geography and the
Center for Population Research and Census
Portland State University

Portland is similar in many ways to other American metropolitan areas of similar size. It is crisscrossed by freeways built during the 1960's and 1970's and dotted by suburban shopping centers and office parks. Recent housing developments have been mainly around the periphery although there has been considerable recent housing development in the central city areas. Portland, like many west coast cities, is a relatively new city so that pre 1900 buildings are generally considered to be historically significant. Older housing was mainly built in the 1920 - 1940 period. After World War II population has expanded around the historical central city into what were surrounding rural areas, transforming the countryside and rural service centers.

In 1986 the incorporated Central City of Portland included about thirty percent of the population of the four county metropolitan area (Figure 7.1 and Table 7.1). Suburban cities in the surrounding metropolitan area contain significantly more population in aggregate than Portland, the central city. Gresham, Lake Oswego, Oregon City, Beaverton, and Hillsboro were significant centers of commerce, industry, and housing in their own right prior to the development of fast highways linking them to the central city. Today they contain shopping facilities, meeting most needs of the residents and providing considerable employment opportunities

in retailing, services, office employment, and manufacturing.

Portland has demonstrated many demographic trends which are similar to those in other similar size metropolitan areas. Some that will be described in this chapter are the geographic impacts of declining birthrates, the passage of the post-World War II baby boom population through various types of housing habitat, and the effects of high interest rates upon housing choice during the 1970's. Although Portland's experience is similar to that of other cities the geographic impacts of these phenomena are often highly concentrated in certain areas of the region.

One feature of Portland which is unique is the perception of the liveability of the city and its surrounding region (See Chapter 13). To better understand the popularity of this city we will examine the migration linkages between Portland and the rest of the United States during recent decades. A second view of residential quality issues will be provided by examining the reasons that Portland residents have provided for moving between the City and its suburbs and between various neighborhoods in the city.

Another feature of Portland which is of special interest is the application of rigorous laws, many enacted during the 1970's, impacting land use in Oregon. Suburban growth has been contained to some degree and channelized. The

Population Distribution for 1985

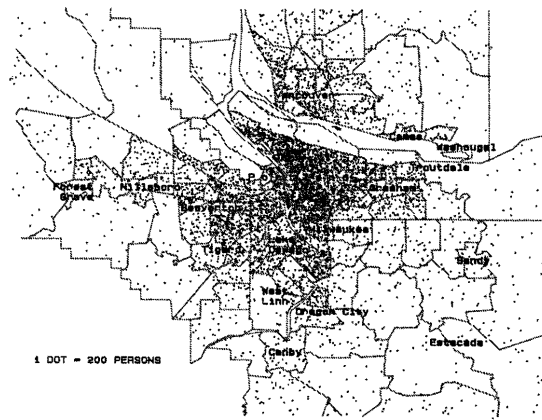


Figure 7.1: Population distribution for the Portland metropolitan area for 1985 (Base map from Metropolitan Service District; data from Metropolitan Service District, 1985; Oregon Center for Population Research, 1985).

changing distribution of population will be examined as will forecasts of future population for the metropolitan area. The unifying theme is the interrelationship between population distribution, residential choice, and housing and employment opportunities.

DEMOGRAPHIC LINKAGES TO OTHER PLACES

One way to understand the nature of a place is to know how it is related to other places. Measures used by geographers to illuminate the nature of places include the geographic patterns of trade flows, daily commutation to work, and vehicle movements. The following section examines migration of population between the Portland metropolitan area and other portions of the United States. The source of these

data is the U.S. Decennial Censuses of Population and Housing for 1960, 1970, and 1980 and will be for persons who moved across county boundaries during the five year periods preceding the Censuses (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1961, 1972, 1982). Demographers usually make a distinction between moves that occur within counties and moves between different counties. For moves within counties people are usually moving for various personal or housing related reasons while the longer moves usually involve relocation to a new labor market area.

The total numbers of persons shown by the Census to have moved between counties in Oregon and between Oregon and other states of the United States was approximately 271,000 for the 1975-80 period (Table 7.2). The actual number of movers was somewhat greater since some persons may have moved to Oregon from another state, say Ohio, and moved back during the five year period. The 1975 to 1980 period was one of rapid population growth for the Pacific Northwest, generally, and for Portland in particular (Morrill, 1981).

Table 7.1. *Population of incorporated cities (U.S. Census Bureau, 1962, 1972, 1982; state of Oregon, 1985, and state of Washington, 1985)*

Area	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985
Clackamas County						
Barlow	86	98	105	110	105	100
Canby	2,168	2,901	3,813	5,675	7,680	7,750
Estacada	957	1,002	1,164	1,620	1,500	1,735
Gladstone	6,237	1,002	3,854	8,120	9,575	9,750
Happy Valley	-	-	-	1,435	1,495	1,465
Johnson City	-	-	-	400	375	390
Lake Oswego	8,906	1,220	14,561	19,400	22,630	2,420
Milwaukie	9,099	1,420	16,379	18,030	17,930	17,375
Mollala	1,501	1,599	2,005	2,760	3,020	3,100
Oregon City	7,996	8,300	9,176	12,460	14,730	1,450
River Grove	-	-	-	320	320	310
Sandy	1,147	1,350	1,544	2,060	2,960	3,530
West Linn	3,933	4,600	7,091	8,860	11,440	12,950
Wilsonville	-	-	-	1,230	3,035	3,700
Unincorporated	71,028	110,508	106,396	120,420	146,205	182,175
County total	113,058	134,000	166,088	202,900	243,000	248,200
Multnomah County						
Fairview	578	759	1,045	1,405	1,745	1,850
Gresham	3,944	5,400	12,378	21,000	33,230	37,480
Maywood Park	-	-	-	1,065	845	825
Portland	372,476	382,000	382,619	375,000	370,000	379,000
Troutdale	522	600	575	2,500	5,990	6,890
Wood Village	822	900	1,533	2,605	2,290	2,595
Unincorporated	144,471	165,341	158,517	144,325	148,200	133,160
County total	522,813	555,000	556,667	547,900	562,300	561,800
Washington County						
Banks	347	411	430	440	495	495
Beaverton	5,937	11,400	18,577	22,150	32,080	33,950
Cornelius	1,146	1,377	1,903	2,660	4,550	5,050
Durham	-	-	410	330	705	720
Forest Grove	5,628	6,550	8,275	10,200	1,160	11,750
Gaston	320	320	429	452	470	560
Hillsboro	8,232	11,000	14,675	19,160	28,000	30,520
King City	-	-	1,427	1,980	1,855	1,830
North Plains	-	-	-	820	720	930
Sherwood	680	772	1,396	1,750	2,400	2,685
Tigard	-	2,203	5,302	10,075	14,900	19,960
Tualatin	359	380	750	3,241	7,700	10,350
Unincorporated	69,588	87,587	104,346	117,642	152,765	149,200
County total	92,237	122,000	157,920	190,900	247,800	268,000
Clark County (Washington)						
Battleground	888	1,126	1,438	2,116	2,774	3,256
Camas	5,666	6,050	5,790	5,990	5,681	5,560
La Center	244	258	300	420	439	380
Ridgefield	823	956	1,004	1,039	1,062	1,110
Vancouver	33,103	38,000	42,788	46,500	42,834	42,760
Yacolt	375	600	488	545	544	545
Washougal	2,672	3,250	3,388	3,500	3,834	4,150
Unincorporated	50,038	64,760	73,258	88,890	135,059	145,639
County total	93,809	115,000	128,454	149,000	192,227	203,400

Table 7.2. *Migration between Portland and other regions of the United States (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980 Census of Population and Housing. Data summarized from public use sample).*

Origin or Destination	In Migration To:			Out Migration From:			Net Migration For:		
	Clack.	Mult.	Wash.	Clack.	Mult.	Wash.	Clack.	Mult.	Wash.
Northeast	1,372	4,980	2,551	527	2,231	407	845	2,749	2,144
East N. Cent.	1,961	4,442	3,086	436	2,087	705	1,525	2,355	2,381
West N. Cent.	1,161	3,700	2,109	567	2,083	542	594	1,617	1,567
S. Atl. & S.E.	1,094	3,643	1,945	448	3,058	814	646	585	1,131
West S. Cent.	398	2,565	1,673	407	2,134	628	-9	431	1,045
Mtn. N.	973	2,576	1,750	737	2,789	941	236	-213	809
Mtn. S.	1,430	4,768	2,928	1,176	3,828	1,431	254	940	1,497
Aka. & Ha.	641	1,991	820	345	1,642	388	296	349	432
Total California	7,646	14,373	11,229	2,327	9,666	2,971	5,319	4,707	8,258
Los Angeles	2,293	3,750	2,927	416	2,387	587	1,877	1,363	2,340
Sacramento	357	768	577	392	116	479	-35	652	98
San Diego	527	1,483	749	281	1,147	341	246	336	408
San Francisco	1,968	5,387	3,918	793	3,175	1,275	1,175	2,212	2,643
Subtotal	5,145	11,388	8,171	1,882	6,825	2,682	3,263	4,563	5,489
Rem. Cal.	2,501	2,985	3,058	445	2,841	289	2,056	144	2,769
Total Washington	2,968	10,074	4,810	3,180	17,041	3,941	-212	-6,967	869
Seattle	989	2,794	1,481	868	4,429	1,535	121	-1,635	-54
Spokane	281	981	453	127	715	258	154	266	195
Tacoma	216	1,205	485	202	1,180	339	14	25	126
Vancouver	716	2,079	730	685	6,493	926	31	-4,414	-196
Subtotal	2,202	7,059	3,149	1,882	12,817	3,078	320	-5,758	71
Rem. Wash.	766	3,015	1,661	1,298	4,224	863	-532	-1,209	798
Total Oregon	32,387	33,434	31,253	20,156	57,301	18,695	12,231	-23,867	12,558
Clackamas	N/A	9,086	3,298	N/A	20,583	3,397	N/A	-11,497	-99
Multnomah	20,583	N/A	23,366	9,086	N/A	6,943	11,497	16,423	27,920
Washington	3,397	6,943	N/A	3,298	23,366	N/A	99	-16,423	N/A
Subtotal	23,980	16,029	26,664	12,384	43,949	10,340	11,596	-27,920	16,324
Rem. Ore.	8,407	17,405	4,589	7,772	13,352	8,355	633	4,053	-3,766

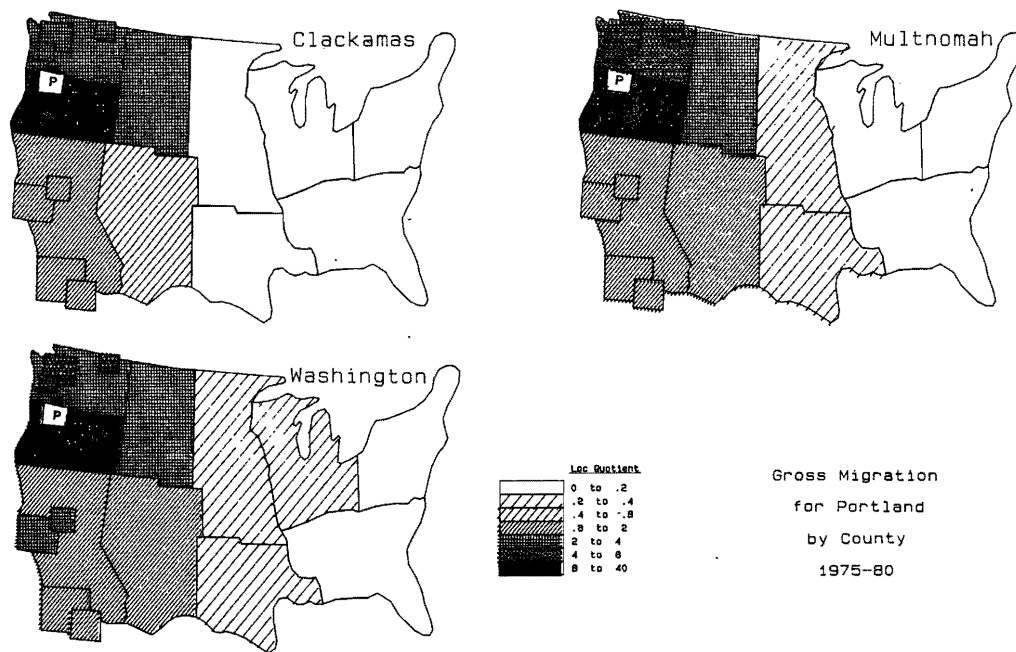


Figure 7.2: Gross migration between Portland and other U.S. regions for 1975 - 1980. Gross migration consists of total numbers of migrants moving between Portland and each other region of the U.S. Values shown are normalized as location quotients based on population of the U.S. regions. Values greater than 1.00 indicate higher levels of interaction. Values less than 1.00 indicate lower levels of interaction. U.S. Census of Population: 1980, special tabulations of the Public Use Micro Sample, 1983).

Nearly 36,000 more persons moved to the three Oregon counties in the metropolitan area during the 1975-80 period than moved away (Table 7.2). However, Multnomah County, including mainly the central city of Portland, lost approximately 18,000 persons through

outmigration while suburban Clackamas and Washington counties gained a total of 54,000 persons, including about 20,000 from Multnomah County (Table 7.2).

Gross migration is greater between Portland and nearby areas than with distant ones (Figure 7.2). For example, the movers between California and Oregon are more numerous compared to California's population than is the case with the Northeast or Southeast regions of the U.S. However, the regional exchange of population for the three metropolitan counties shows patterns of considerable diversity (Figure 7.2). If one expresses gross migration as a ratio of total migration then more rural Clackamas County has lower gross migration to and from distant regions than does more urban Multnomah County and industrially expanding Washington County (Figure 7.2).

For some regions net migration to or

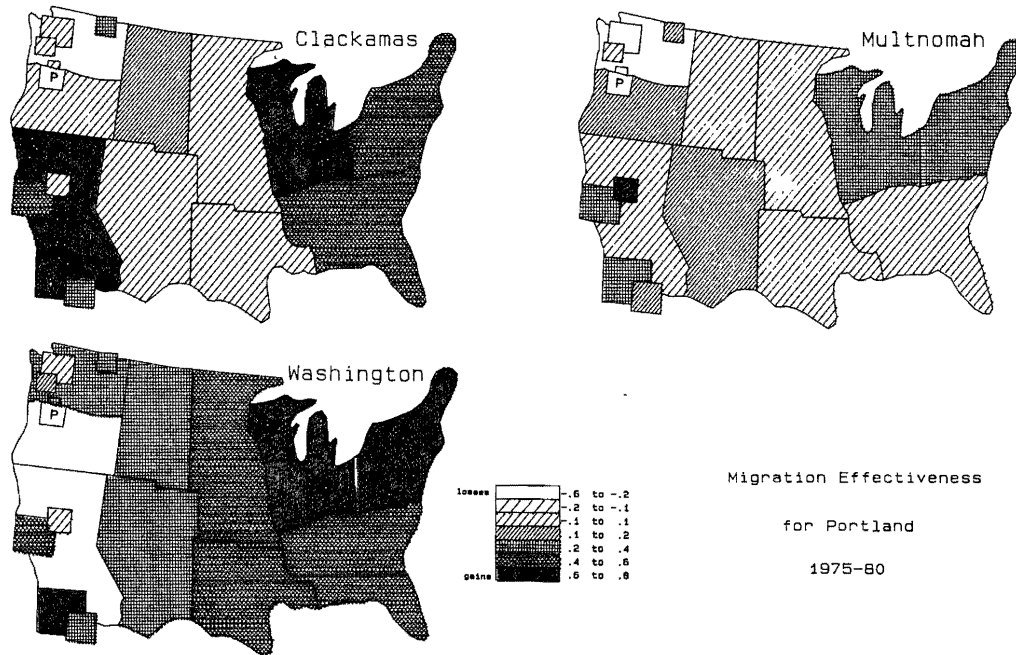


Figure 7.3: Effectiveness for migration between Portland and other U.S. regions for 1975- 80. Migration effectiveness consists of the ratio of net migration to gross migration. Large values indicate that the net shift of population by migration is large compared to the total number of movers. Positive values indicate areas from which Portland gained population. Negative values indicate areas to which Portland lost population (*U.S. Census of Population: 1980, special tabulations of the Public Use Micro Sample, 1983*).

from Portland is quite large compared to the total numbers of movers. During the 1975-80 period migration was especially effective in shifting population from California and the East to Portland (Figure 7.3). Moves between Portland

and the Rocky Mountain region and other areas of Oregon, while numerous, did not result in much net shift of population (Figure 7.3). Growth in Washington County resulted in effective migration from most areas of nearby Washington State, but generally more urban Multnomah County lost population to areas in Washington state.

Prior to the 1975-80 period different migration linkages prevailed between Portland and other regions. The cartogram for the 1955-60 period shows Portland losing considerable population through migration to California and the Southwest as well as to the Seattle- Tacoma region (Figure 7.4). During this same period Portland gained large numbers of persons from a northern tier of states extending from the Rocky Mountains to the Great Lakes. This was a time of slow economic growth in Oregon. Many young persons leaving school in Portland headed south for brighter

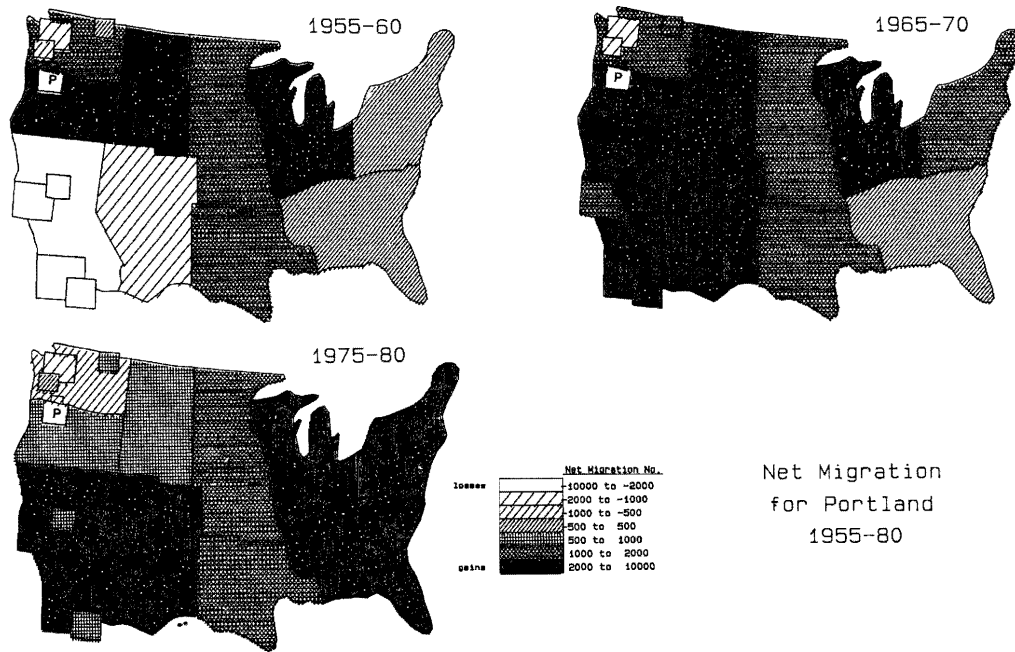


Figure 7.4: Net migration Between Portland and other U.S. regions for the periods 1955 - 1960, 1965 - 1970, and 1975 - 1980. Values are for net migration, the difference between the numbers of movers from each region to Portland and from Portland. Where the values shown are positive they indicate the numbers of migrants gained by Portland from each region. Where they are negative they show losses (*U.S. Census of Population*, special tabulations from the Public Use Micro Sample for 1975 - 1980 and from the reports on Migration between State Economic Areas for the 1955 - 1960 and 1965 - 1970 periods).

horizons in California. The net result was balanced, with population losses approximately equaling gains.

The 1960's resulted in a dramatic

change in these patterns, especially with respect to California where Portland gained migrants during the 1965-70 period from California. The same gains resulted from most other regions of the U.S., with the exception of the Seattle-Tacoma area (Figure 7.4). This turnaround can be attributed to growth and diversification in the Portland economy. There was more reason to move to Portland - and less reason to leave.

The trends of the 1960's were accentuated during the 1970's (Holden, 1974). California continued to lose population to Portland through migration. Seattle and non-metropolitan Washington State gained population from Portland (Figure 7.4). A new development was an increasing number of movers from Eastern regions and a decreasing number from the Rocky Mountains - Great Lakes regions (Sanders and Long, 1987). These latter areas had been a stable source of immigrants to

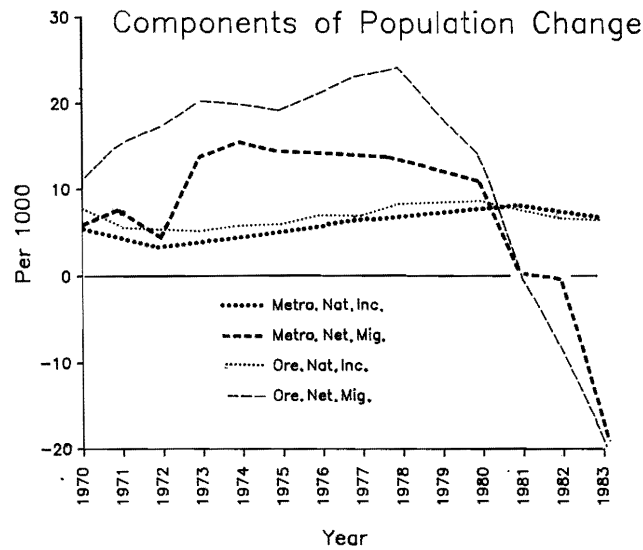


Figure 7.5: Components of population change for Portland for 1970 - 1983. Natural increase is the net of the numbers of births minus the number of deaths. Net migration is the net of the numbers of in-migrants minus the number of outmigrants (Estimates by the Oregon Center for Population Research and Census, various dates during this period).

Oregon for several decades. Migration to Portland from more distant regions probably resulted from the diversification of the Portland economy and the demand for workers with special skills needed by the instruments and electronic industries.

The rapid growth of Portland's population that occurred during the 1970's came to a rapid halt after 1980. The national recession and high interest rates resulted in a decline in demand for Oregon forest products which resulted in direct (such as in sawmilling) and indirect (such as in banking) ad-

verse economic impacts in Portland. The natural increase in Portland's population (the numbers of births minus the numbers of deaths) was quite stable between 1970 and 1985 showing a gradual increase through the decade as the children born during the post World War II baby boom had their own families (Figure 7.5). Net migration for Portland and the remainder of the state rose during the early 1970's and remained high until about 1979 when it began to drop precipitously. By 1981 net migration was zero and by 1982 the loss through migration equaled the gain through natural increase. By 1983 both Portland and the remainder of Oregon were losing more persons through outmigration than were gained through natural increase (Figure 7.5). Both the Portland and the overall Oregon populations declined. Data are incomplete for more recent years, but suggest the beginnings of a recovery.

What can be said about the kinds of persons moving to the Portland metropolitan area from other regions?

Persons who move can be of any age and socioeconomic class. Many younger households migrate when they have few or no children. As families collect more possessions and children they move less often. However, retirement age results in relocation for some persons, sometimes to a new community, sometimes to nearby housing that better meets their needs.

There are some distinctive contrasts between the households that moved to the central city from other regions and those moving to suburban areas of Portland (Lycan et al, 1978). Generally, persons moving to the central city (Portland) are younger and less economically established than are movers to suburban areas (Table 7.3). Also, movers to the central city include a large portion of single person households and

one parent households whereas households moving to suburban areas are more often families with children. The differences in these migration streams is largely a result of different housing opportunities in central city and suburban areas, but they also reflect the more complex process of selecting a neighborhood and residence in a central city type neighborhood where the condition of the structure, the social composition of the neighborhood, and the quality of the schools may be more difficult to ascertain for a newcomer.

The residential locations that people choose when moving to Portland are quite varied including both central city and suburban areas (Figure 7.6). Persons moving to a new city often are unable to search for housing at their leisure but must decide where to live after a

Table 7.3. *Characteristics of movers to Portland city and suburb areas (Lycan, 1977)*

<u>A. Age of Head of Household</u>		
	Movers from Outside SMSA (percent)	
Age	To City	To Suburb
18 & under	8.9	5.2
19-24	10.0	6.6
25-34	36.6	32.8
35-44	8.9	14.8
45-59	16.7	31.1
60 & over	18.9	11.5
<u>B. Household Income</u>		
	Movers from Outside SMSA (percent)	
Income (\$000)	To City	To Suburb
Under 5.0	21.8	14.0
5.0 - 7.4	11.4	5.3
7.5 - 9.9	9.2	5.3
10.0 - 14.9	20.7	33.3
15.0 - 19.9	13.8	15.8
20.0 - 29.9	19.5	10.5
30.0 - 39.9	3.4	8.8
40.0 & over	.0	7.0

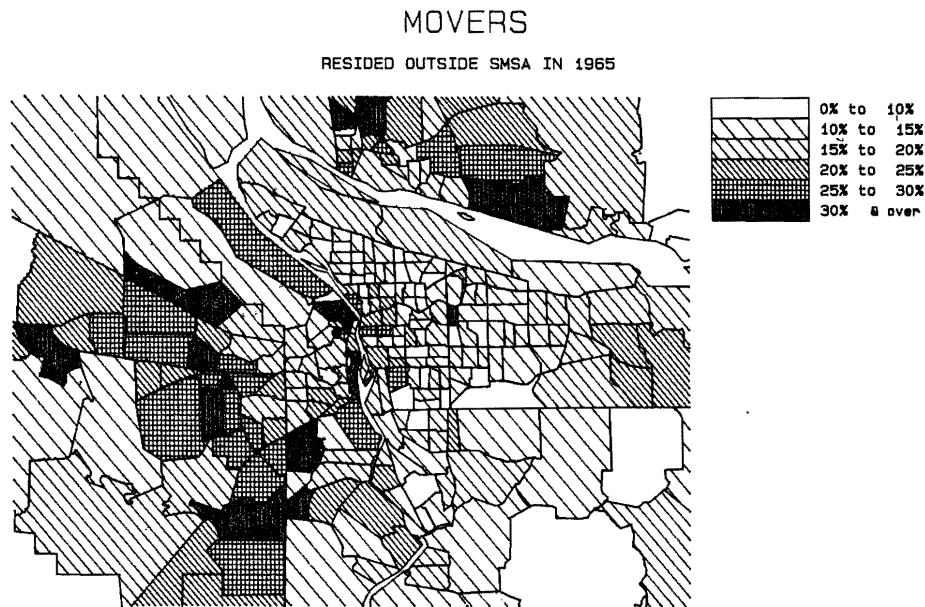


Figure 7.6: Persons who resided outside of the Portland metropolitan area in 1975. Areas shaded in darker tones indicate concentrations of immigrants from outside the Metropolitan Area U.S. *Census of Population: 1980, Census Tracts, 1983*).

few days of looking. The locations within the metropolitan area that contain the largest proportion of residents who moved in from outside include areas near downtown but also suburban areas where there are large numbers of apartments or where new housing has been constructed (Kirshenbaum, 1972; Newwitt, 1984).

POPULATION SHIFTS WITHIN PORTLAND

Each year tens of thousands of persons relocate their residence within the metropolitan area. These moves take place mainly as a result of life cycle changes such as leaving the parental home, marriage, the birth of children, and ad-

justing to lessened housing needs with departure of children and with death and divorce. Changing economic circumstances also may cause or facilitate a change in residence (Simmonds, 1968). Among the four counties of the Portland Metropolitan area the largest streams of movers are between Multnomah County and the three other more suburban counties (Figure 7.7). The direction of the net migration during the 1975-80 period was clearly away from Multnomah Co. and toward the suburbs. The exchange between the three suburban counties only was at a much lower level and it did not result in much redistribution of population. The moves between urban and suburban areas tend to result from differing housing needs of smaller and larger families. The young, the elderly, and other smaller households generally move to more urbanized regions while middle aged larger households with children tend to move to the suburbs (Table 7.4). A move from one suburban

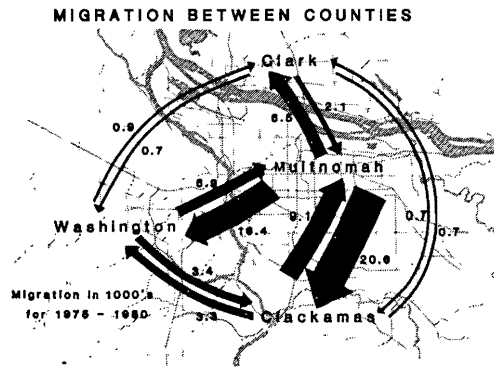


Figure 7.7: Migration between counties in the Portland metropolitan area, 1975 - 1980 *U.S. Census of Population: 1980, special tabulations of the Public Use Micro Sample, 1983*).

area to another yields much the same range of housing possibilities. Also, people tend to search for new housing in areas that they are familiar with, if possible. Persons living in one suburban county often are not very familiar with housing opportunities in other distant suburbs.

The motivations of persons moving between various areas of the metropolitan region are diverse but display some distinctive patterns (Figure 7.8). Generally all classes of persons who moved cited various cost and space factors related to their present and previous residence as being important in the decision to move and in the choice of a new residence (Lycan et al 1978). Persons moving to the suburbs often mentioned crime rates and the inadequacy of police protection as reasons that influenced them to move from the city. These persons also tended to mention the physical

Table 7.4 Characteristics of movers within Portland metropolitan areas (Lycan, 1977).

A. Age of Head of Household		Percent Movers by type		
Age		City to City	City to Suburb	Suburb to City
18 & under		5.6	4.9	
2.4				
19-24		10.7	4.9	13.5
25-34		45.1	50.0	43.6
35-44		16.5	15.7	15.8
45-59		10.8	12.8	15.1
60 & over		11.3	11.7	9.5
B. Household Income		Percent Movers by type		
Income (\$000)		City to City	City to Suburb	Suburb to City
Under 5.0		21.8	14.0	9.2
5.0 - 7.4		11.4	5.3	6.7
7.5 - 9.9		9.2	5.3	11.7
10.0 - 14.9		20.7	33.3	19.2
15.0 - 19.9		13.8	15.8	21.7
20.0 - 29.9		19.5	10.5	20.0
30.0 - 39.9		3.4	8.8	5.0
40.0 & over		.0	7.0	6.7

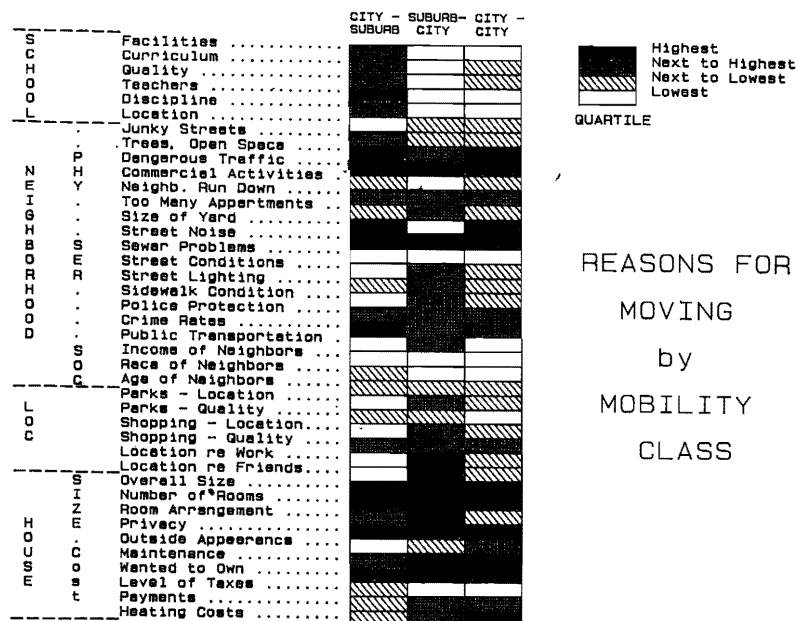


Figure 7.8: Specific reasons for moving within Portland from a previous residence. Based on a survey of 400 persons who moved between 1972 and 1977. Darker areas on the diagram indicate reasons indicated by the respondents to be most important (Lycan et al, 1978, *Residential Mobility Study for Portland, Oregon*).

features of their neighborhood such as trees, open space, maintenance of the neighborhood, noise, and intruding commercial activities as being important in their decision process. The quality of schools also was a critical factor for some people leaving the city for the suburbs (Figure 7.8). Of course many persons moving from the suburbs to the city did not have school age children and would not be expected to give much weight to this factor. Persons who moved from the suburbs to the city and those who moved within the

city more frequently mentioned the convenience of access to shopping, friends, work, and parks. Persons moving to or within the city more often mentioned the quality of city improvements and services such as street maintenance and lighting and public transportation as reasons for moving (Figure 7.8).

If the diverse reasons cited above are grouped into a small number of categories and the results mapped one can get a kind of bird's eye view of the reasons Portlanders gave for moving (Figure 7.9). Housing structure (space and condition) was universally important as was housing cost, except that it was mentioned less often in several high income districts in Southwest Portland and in moderate income districts in North and outer Southeast Portland. Inaccessibility of work place, shopping, and urban amenities was an important reason for leaving (except in the same regions described above in the

discussion of housing costs). Schools were an important reason for leaving only in several North Portland districts. (Figure 7.9). The social characteristics of neighborhoods seemed not to be an important reason for leaving, but the map shows that those who thought it to be more important lived in inner city locations. The quality of services was an important reason for leaving for many persons, but not for some living in the Southeast and Southwest areas of the City. Finally, neighborhood physical environment was an important reason for leaving (Figure 7.9). For example, people moving from the city to the suburbs tended to mention poor maintenance of housing and yards and the littered conditions of streets.

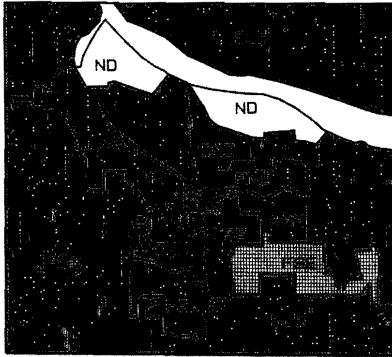
NEIGHBORHOOD DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES

Some demographic changes are highly visible. Suburban expansion results in new buildings and roads which change the landscape. To a lesser extent the demolition of older housing and its replacement by commerce or office type activities is noticed, although once demolished these areas may soon be forgotten. Other demographic changes are even more subtle, especially where there is little physical change. For example, the changes in the numbers and ages of children in certain areas of Portland have resulted in major shifts in the demands for education; this results in the need to revise attendance area boundaries and in some cases the closing of recently built high schools. An example of the way in which age structure can be an indicator of other changes can be seen in the increasing numbers of children in older neighborhoods where increasing numbers of black families have recently settled.

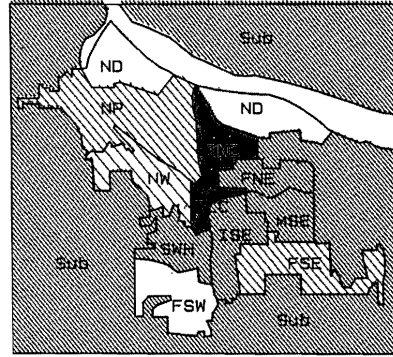
One important national trend that has affected Portland is the decline in the birthrate. The suspected reasons for this decline have been described in detail both in the professional demographic literature and in the popular media (Glick, 1984; Bloom, 1986). Generally they are thought to include the increased use and acceptability of contraceptive methods, the increasing participation of women in the labor force, and a number of broad social and economic issues concerning the value of larger families. These trends have affected Portland in much the same way that they have affected other cities. The average household size for the incorporated city of Portland declined sharply between 1960 and 1980 (Oregon, Center for Population Research and Census, 1977; U.S. Census Bureau, 1971, 1981). The average number of persons living in single family units declined from 3.09 in 1960 to 2.68 in 1980, with especially rapid declines occurring during the 1970's (Table 7.5). This is reflected in a reasonably simple pattern of peripheral decline and central city increase (Figure 7.10A). The increasing single family household size is somewhat misleading, however because it occurs in areas with relatively small numbers of single family housing units (Figure 7.10B). A significant pattern of increasing household size can be seen in the census tracts to the north of the central city area where younger black families have replaced older white families as houses became available on the for sale or rental market (Figure 7.10A).

The reasons for these changes include: (1) the national decline in birthrates, (2) postponement of the starting of families by many women (3) families with children opting to live in suburban locations for space and educational

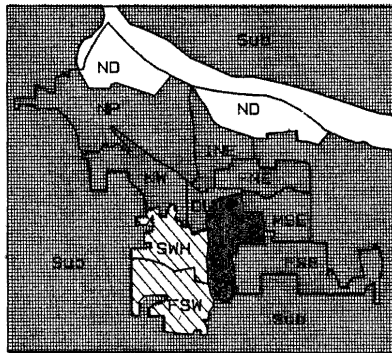
Housing - Structure



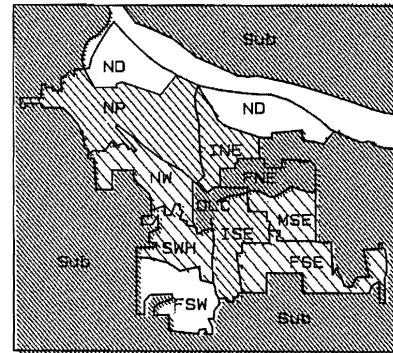
Housing - Costs



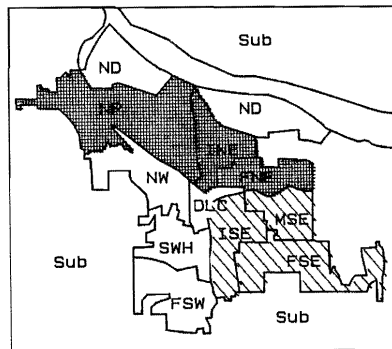
Physical Environment



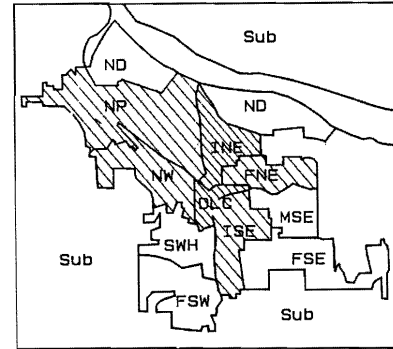
Location



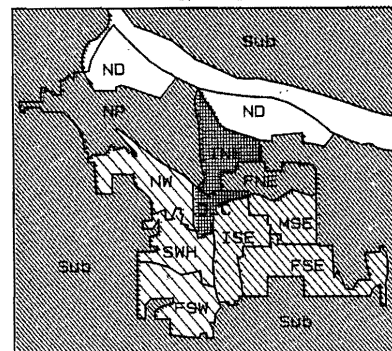
Schools



Social



Services



Reasons
for
Leaving

most important

least important



- NE - Northeast
- NP - North Portland
- NW - Northwest
- NE - Inner Northeast
- ISE - Inner Southeast
- MSE - Mid Southeast
- FSE - Far Southeast
- SWH - Southwest Hills
- Sub - All Suburban Areas

Table 7.5. <i>Average household size for city of Portland (U.S. Census Bureau 1962, 1972, and 1982 and State of Oregon, 1977)</i>					
Type of Unit	Year				
	1960	1970	1974	1976	1980
Single Family	3.09	2.98	2.77	2.71	2.68
Multiple Family	1.70	1.67	1.65	1.69	1.62
Overall	2.80	2.56	2.38	2.33	2.31

reasons, (4) the effects of high interest rates in keeping younger families from buying homes in established city neighborhoods, and (5) the high rate of divorce and separation, resulting in more one person and one parent households (Russel, 1981). The geographical implications of these changes include spatially changing demands for various types of human services, especially pre-school through high school education and health care. Inner city hospitals have closed or have been converted to specialized functions such as drug and alcohol treatment. Generally the demand for maternity and related services has shifted to the suburbs, although the proximity of Emmanuel Hospital in northeast Portland to the black community with its many younger families is an exception to this trend.

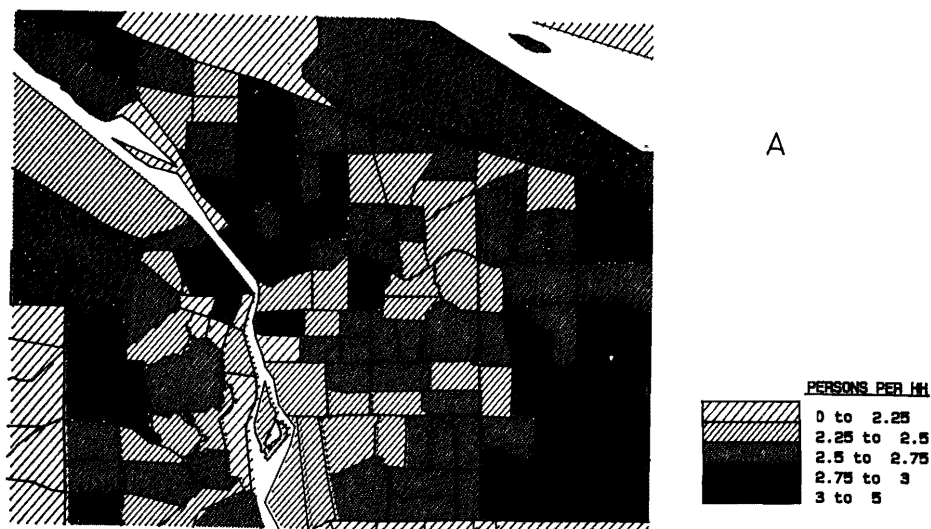
Another national pattern which has had important impacts on Portland is

the maturing of the post World War II "baby boom" generation (Robey and Russel, 1984). These children, born in the years following 1945, were in their late thirties to early forties during the 1980's. Consequently they were at a point in their lives when they were shifting residences in order to have space to raise an expanding family. This was a difficult time in some respects for this group because the high mortgage rates made it difficult for them to purchase homes. During the latter part of the 1970's immigration to Portland also put pressure on the housing market and decreased the range of choice for house rental or purchase. One benefit of the local 1980's recession was to lower housing occupancy rates and create more rental opportunities for this group.

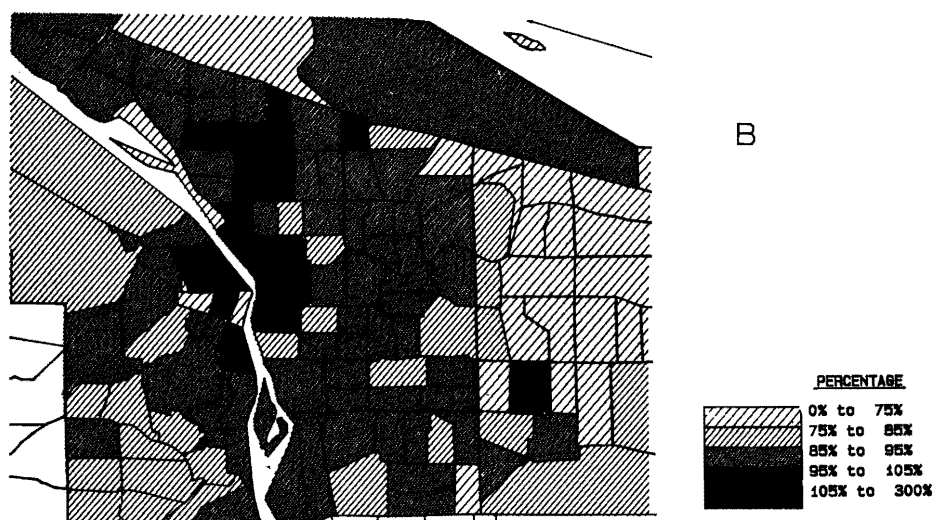
One type of neighborhood that absorbed "baby boom" families during the 1970's and 1980's was the older inner city containing houses build during the 1920 to 1950 period and dotted with small apartment clusters and flats converted from large single family dwellings (Chall, 1984). This is nicely illustrated in the inner city of Southeast Portland in census tract 12.01 which includes portions of the Sunnyside and Buckmann neighborhoods (Figure 7.11). Its inner edge has been eroded by conversion to commercial uses but its outer southeast edge includes a

Figure 7.9: Generalized reasons by Portland planning district for moving from a previous residence. Based on a survey of 400 persons who moved between 1972 and 1977. Darker areas on the map indicate areas of the City where particular reasons were most frequently cited as important (Lycan et al, 1978, *Residential Mobility Study for Portland, Oregon*).

Single Family Household Size - 1980



Change in Single Family Household Size



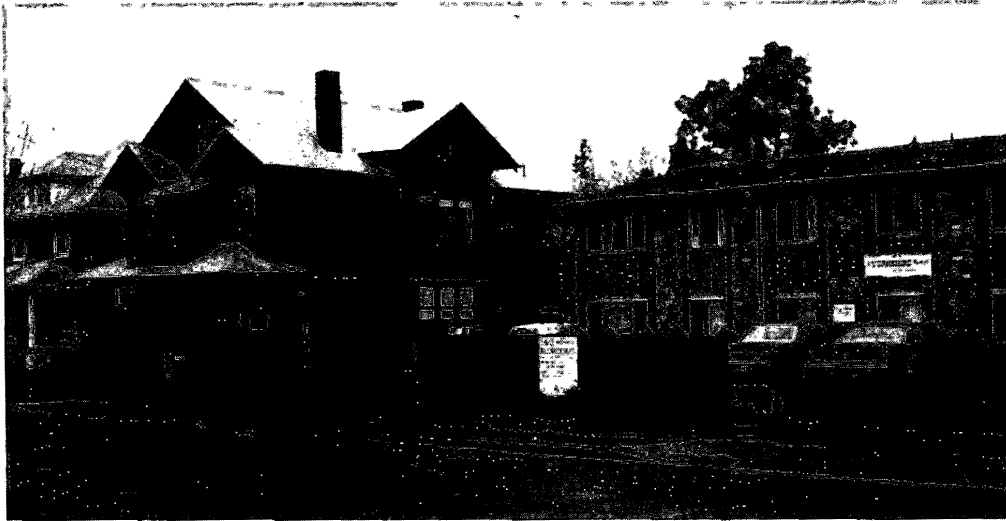


Figure 7.11: A typical inner city area in the Sunnyside neighborhood with a mixture of smaller households composed of young single individuals, families with no or few children, and older persons. This area is one that accommodated many of the baby boom children when they left their parental homes.

Figure 7.10: Single family household size. Illustration A shows the average number of persons per household for single family units. Darker areas on the upper map indicate areas of larger household size. Illustration B shows 1980 single family household size as a percent of 1970 single family household size. Darker areas on the lower map indicate areas of increasing household size (*U.S. Censuses of Population for 1970 and 1980*, special compilations from summary tapes.)

number of well preserved owner occupied single family housing units. The area's population in 1980 included a mixture of diverse age groups (Figure 7.12). The largest number of persons were young single individuals, couples without children, and households comprised of unrelated individuals along with a few families with younger children and a contingent of elderly.

The Sunnyside neighborhood experienced major demographic changes during the 1960 - 1980 period. Some of this change is evident in the number of small apartment clusters that have replaced old single family housing and in the multiple mail drops and entryways in many large old residential structures. The most dramatic change is the large and rapid increase of people in their twenties and early thirties that relocated to this neighborhood during the 1960's and 1970's while at the same time there was a loss in the number of older families and children (Figure 7.13). These changes were largely due to the building of apartments and the conversion of single

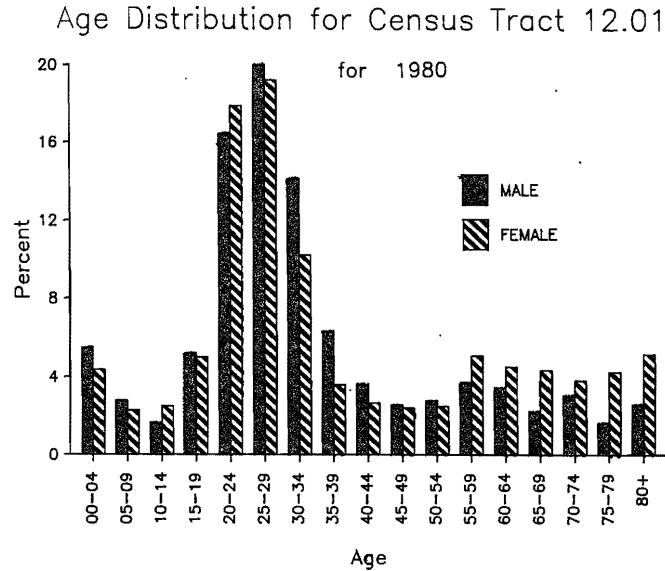


Figure 7.12: Population by age and sex for Sunnyside, an inner city neighborhood. The diagram shows the age - sex composition in 1980 for census tract 12.01. Note the small numbers of families with children and the large numbers of young adults and elderly *U.S. Census of Population: 1980*, special compilations from summary tapes).

SLOWING THE EXODUS TO THE SUBURBS

The loss of population from the central city to the suburbs during the 1970's created a concern on the part of the City's leadership over the potential decline in tax base and a fear that those who remained would be poorer and would require more services (Portland, Housing Task Force, 1977). There also was a concern over the loss of persons to provide leadership and who would be long term residents of the City and would identify their interests with those of the central city. These fears may not all have been well founded (Lycan et al, 1978). The loss in numbers of persons did not equate to a loss in the numbers of households. The declining numbers resulted more from the increasing numbers of smaller households. Younger, smaller households moved to the City and older larger households moved to the suburbs. However, there is no clear evidence

family units to multiple family units during the 1960's. There was not much construction activity in this area during the 1970's, however, so most of the change in age structure reflects different types of households moving into the same housing units. Portland is fortunate to have many such mixed but attractive residential neighborhoods for accommodating the changing housing needs of the population (See also Chapter 5).

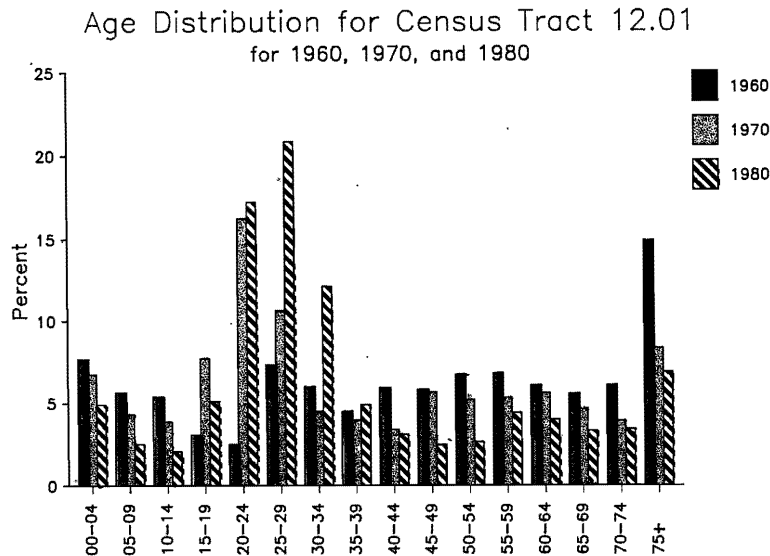


Figure 7.13: Change in age distribution for an inner city neighborhood from 1960 to 1980. The diagram shows the changes in numbers of persons by age category from 1960 to 1980. Note the dramatic increase in numbers of young adults and the decline in numbers of children and older persons (*U.S. Censuses of Population for 1960, 1970, and 1980*; special compilations from summary tapes).

that the City was becoming a refuge for the poor. A survey in 1977 showed that households moving from the city to the suburbs during the 1970's had an average income of \$18,900 while households moving from the suburbs to the city had an average income of \$18,000 (Lycan et al, 1978). While this difference is significant, one must keep in mind that households moving to the city were younger with their peak earning years ahead of them. Also these households were smaller, thus sharing

the average of \$18,000 per household among fewer household members indicating higher per capita levels of consumption.

In any event, the City of Portland under then Mayor Goldschmidt embarked on a comprehensive effort to encourage persons to live in the City of Portland, rather than choosing to move to the suburbs (Portland, Housing Task Force, 1977). The program was multifaceted, attempting to encourage families with children to move to or stay in the City's residential neighborhoods as well as attempting to encourage the building of new housing in the central city areas. Some of the objectives of these programs have been achieved.

There has been considerable construction of housing in the areas close to downtown, including the McCormick Pier, Johns Landing, and other waterfront type areas (See Chapter 3). The increasing numbers of two wage earner families without children and single individuals who desire the special amenities and convenience of this type

of setting made this possible, although public subsidies were required in some cases. In addition, there has been some movement of families with children into older inner city neighborhoods where the residential nature of the neighborhood was preserved. One factor that was recognized as important in encouraging families to move to or stay in the city was the improvement of the quality of the schools (Lycan et al, 1978; Portland, Office of Planning and Development, 1977). Another was the reduction in the threat of crime. Whether these conditions have improved significantly in the city is not clear, but conditions in the suburbs today are not much better. In any case there has been an increase in housing opportunities in central city areas and some movement of families to central city neighborhoods. There are several factors other than conscious policy that have encouraged these trends. The larger number of smaller two wage earner families have made close in locations more attractive to a number of households. The high mortgage interest rates that prevailed during the latter half of the 1970's and the early part of the 1980's decreased the opportunity for families with increased space needs to buy a house in the suburbs.

The degree to which the patterns of residential location have changed in the last 10 years in response to City policies can be viewed by comparing trend projections of population made during the 1970's with what has actually transpired (Figure 7.14). A projection of the population of census tracts for Portland was made by the Center for Population Research at Portland State University in 1975 based on contemporary housing and demographic trends (Lycan and Weiss, 1975, 1979). The projection of historic patterns suggested continuing

rapid suburban development and a continuation of the loss of central city housing due to urban renewal and private redevelopment in central city areas. However, actual 1985 population was greater than predicted in many areas nearby the downtown core area (Figure 7.14). By contrast, actual population growth was much slower in suburban areas than the projection of 1970's trends would have suggested. This indicates that some of the efforts by the City to encourage the building of more central City housing are working. It also suggests that comprehensive plans aimed at containing the spread of population within defined urban growth boundaries may have had some effect on limiting suburban growth. Of course the market factors that limited the construction of suburban single family housing also tended to produce the same result.

PROSPECTS

Today Portland is at an important crossroads in its development. A high level of liveability has been maintained. Portland has many attractive older residential neighborhoods, new downtown housing, and relatively affordable newer suburban housing. However, the growth of the metropolitan area's population has been slow since before 1980. Also as more children are born to the post World War II baby boom generation these families may move from the central city to suburban housing. This may result in a new drain on the human and financial assets of the central city. The key question facing Portland is whether the changes in the metropolitan region's economy toward services and light industry will provide the basis for sustaining economic growth for the region (see Chapter 10). This issue is part of a much broader international issue of the

Forecast as Percent of 1985 Population

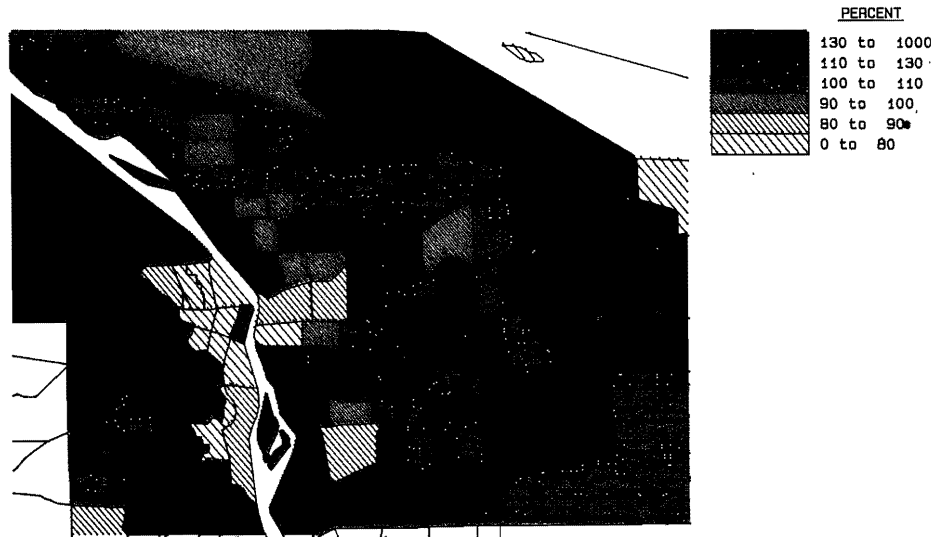


Figure 7.14: Actual and forecast population growth. Areas shown in darker tones on the map contained more population in 1985 than that projected by population and housing trends current during the mid 1970's (Oregon Center for Population Research and Census, 1975, *Population Projections, Oregon Administrative District II and Metropolitan Service District, Census Tract Population Estimates*, 1975).

competitiveness of the American economy in high technology manufacturing and services.

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