Rose Quarter:
I-5/Broadway-Weidler Project

Environmental Justice Interviews
*Summary and Findings from Interviews with 17 African American community members*

Portland, Oregon

February 16, 2017
Rose Quarter: I-5/Broadway-Weidler Project Environmental Justice-Oriented Interviews

Summary of Findings

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Executive Summary
This is a summary of findings from the Environmental Justice-Oriented Interviews for the Rose Quarter: Interstate 5/Broadway-Weidler Project. ODOT staff conducted initial interviews with members of the African American community to gain a better understanding of the following items during the project’s upcoming environmental review and public involvement phase:

- The project area’s history.
- How to meaningfully engage communities of color and low-income populations (populations that were disproportionately impacted with prior Rose Quarter area developments).

The interviews were conducted in advance of the formal public involvement kick-off, so as to use the respondent’s feedback to shape the project direction.

This summary notes the interview process and individuals engaged, and documents the direct feedback provided, mostly verbatim, by the interview respondents. The following topics were discussed and are summarized herein:

- History of the Rose Quarter area.
- How the Rose Quarter area has changed and the drivers for such changes and demographic shifts.
- Perception of public agencies relative to prior projects in the Rose Quarter.
- Public outreach recommendations, including setting expectations, messaging, venues/events, and agency participation.
- Project approach suggestions, including what organizations and communities to engage and how, as well as potential partnerships.

The interviews revealed several key themes relative to establishing a successful community engagement process, as well as setting up the project for success in its future design and construction phases. The primary recommendations are as follows:

- Listen to the community, including their discussions of the project area’s history and ideas for project design and development.
- Set clear expectations. The agency and community roles and responsibilities need to be clear, with one voice and a clear vision. Define agency roles and responsibilities and be transparent. Some project elements will be under ODOT’s jurisdiction, while others will be the City of Portland’s responsibility. The public should understand the specific roles and what each agency can and cannot do.
- Involve people of color in current and future project phases. For example, community events/forums should be facilitated by a person of color. Future project design and construction phases also should ensure inclusion of minority-owned firms/businesses.
- Understand that this is a unique project due to:
  - The construction of the lids and the new space they create
  - It is a joint ODOT/City project and includes at least engaging with two or more City bureaus
  - The project area is a geographically and historically sensitive area that will require a different approach. The project sponsors should engage communities of color and low-income populations early in the process and provide a meaningful feedback loop for incorporating the communities’ input into the project.
FAQs and Background

Who conducted the interviews and how were they conducted? Interviews were conducted in person by Megan Channell, Principal Planner and I-5: Rose Quarter project manager, and Shelli Romero, Public Policy and Community Affairs manager. Both Megan and Shelli were present for the majority of interviews, with a few conducted independently by Shelli. These interviews were intended to scratch the surface; however, it’s necessary to have conversations with many more people. Interviewees were highly encouraged to be very honest and forthright. The report has been generated to protect anonymity and respect confidential and sensitive nature of content.

How did you choose who should be interviewed? Individuals selected for interviews represent a cross section of people from the private, public and non-profit industries. The interviewees have knowledge, background and experience with the project area as African Americans and/or individuals who have studied and researched this project area and impacts to the African American community. Most of the people interviewed have history with the Rose Quarter and are Generation X, baby boomers or older. Some of the interviewees are working or have worked for public agencies as employees or consultants and provided some advice based on their experience. Many are considered community, civil rights, equity, and civic leaders and advocates.

What organizations are represented as part of those folks you interviewed? Of those interviewed, some chose to represent themselves as individuals and others chose to represent an organization, or both. They are listed by name and affiliation. The responses are not linked to the specific interviewees – due to the sensitivity of some of the interview questions – to protect confidentiality and encourage sincerity and honesty.

Who developed the questions? The questions are included (see Attachment A) and were developed by Shelli Romero and Megan Channell, with help from Mike Mason in the ODOT Major Projects unit and Jeff Buckland in the ODOT Geo/Environmental unit. They were based on some of the questions developed and utilized in the Environmental Justice outreach for Outer Powell Safety Project. We found people were willing to talk with us honestly. Some people answered all the questions and others focused more on a few questions. We utilized follow-up questions for clarification and information.

A brief introduction to the project via email and in person was provided by ODOT staff before starting the interview questions.

Who will have access to this report? This information will be made available to the project team and its consultants with ODOT, the City of Portland, FHWA and others.

Why do this early outreach targeting the African American community? This geographic area has a long history and is sensitive to people who were adversely impacted or in some cases displaced due to eminent domain attributed to urban renewal, the developments of the Rose Quarter, Memorial Coliseum and Emanuel Hospital, as well as the construction of I-5. African Americans, other people of color, and low-income populations were disproportionately impacted. The project team will need help understanding the community’s perspective early on in the project process. There is a need for the project team to understand this history and to learn how to effectively engage communities of color in this project. These findings will identify project risks, inform and shape the project and influence the project approach.

When were the interviews conducted? Between Mid-December 2016 and February 9, 2017
How many people were interviewed? 17

Who was interviewed? (though affiliations are listed below, some chose to represent themselves or other organizations)

2. Joyce Harris, Education NW and African American community activist.
3. Multnomah County Commissioner Loretta Smith, District 2, N/NE Portland.
5. JoAnn Hardesty, NAACP and private consultant, used to live in this area that was gentrified.
6. Pastor Matthew Hennessee, Vancouver Avenue First Baptist Church.
7. Andre Baugh, vice chair (former Chair) of the City of Portland Bureau of Planning & Sustainability Commission and private consultant.
9. Michelle DePass, Portland Housing Bureau and community activist, long-time resident (her grandparents owned a home off of Williams and Hancock).
10. Stephen Greene, Private sector, former PDC Project Manager who did work in this area.
11. Serena Stoudamire, representing herself, works for Governor Kate Brown and has experience working with the Emanuel Hospital expansion.
13. Judith Mowry, City of Portland Office of Equity and Human Rights, background with the area and African American community through being a facilitator for the Restorative Listening project (five years of stories about gentrification including what happened and who was harmed).
15. Jeanna Wooley, private consultant and in depth history/background with the area.
16. Tony Coleman, individual, ODOT employee.
17. Brenda Triplett-Coleman, individual, ODOT employee.

Attachment B includes several news articles that further describe the history of the Rose Quarter to supplement the interview findings.

History of Area, Drivers for Changes, Shifts in Demographics & Contributing Factors

There are several themes that emerged. The responses fell into these eight categories: 1) Vanport and the Shipyards, 2) Legacy Emanuel Hospital, 3) Rose Quarter/Moda Center, 4) Interstate 5, 5) Veterans Memorial Coliseum, 6) Redlining and Real Estate, 7) Urban Renewal and 8) Other. Impacts and consequences, as well as shifts in demographics, also are summarized.

Vanport and the Shipyards

- People owned homes and the inner eastside was the only area African Americans could live. The shipyards increased the African American population tenfold due to the need for shipyard workers. After the war ended, African American residents were encouraged to leave and return back to the South where they had originated. Then the Vanport flood happened. The powers that be of that era wanted to “keep the African American problem contained’ and limit them to a particular area. This information is validated in the City archives and there is a report written by Jeanna Wooley that should be read.
Summary of Findings

- Changes in demographics due to Vanport: you should watch “Local Color,” a 1.5 hour OPB movie.

Legacy Emanuel Hospital
- Emanuel was the last big change and the most visible. Its physical presence is a reminder.
- Pertaining to Emanuel, there are two empty lots sitting vacant for the last 20 years to allow for further hospital expansion – it is the historic meet up location for Good ‘n the Hood. Let’s do something with those parcels of land. Let’s develop housing, both rental and homeownership.
- The Emanuel reconciliation was a big deal and part of that was a mural but no real reparation for displacement. There were many complex conversations in the community.
- Emanuel project was a good thing and a bad thing. It was really bad for renters because they were given a sizable financial incentive (five times the existing rent rate) to move wherever they desired. But after the five years, the financial incentive was no longer in effect and they could not afford to live in their existing unit. Families were displaced to the same or different area and those who owned homes were provided with funds to relocate and buy a nicer and larger home elsewhere. There were negatives and positives that resulted for homeowners with regard to Emanuel.
- Emanuel was a slap in the face of gentrification. Before Emanuel, that strip of land adjacent was condemned for residences because of “low ceilings and claw foot tubs.” Both the City and Emanuel played a role, as well as developers and buyers interested in purchasing homes for lower than their future value in light of Emanuel development.
- The Emanuel Reconciliation was a big deal. The mural that was created at Emanuel – there was nothing in that project that acknowledges reparation for their role in displacement and gentrification. Emanuel was the last urban renewal project in this area.
- Emanuel publicly apologized but PDC never owned up to the gentrification they caused.
- Emanuel honored the history as a financial contributor.
- Emanuel was the beginning of the end. It obliterated housing and was never replaced. There was a one-for-one replacement requirement for every home (the homes that housed families) that was never complied with. PDC was involved and PDC and Emanuel were complicit.
- Every development effort devastation the Black community.
- There was no recompense with Emanuel. In fact, the Emanuel atrium showcases faces and stories of those displaced in a way to redress the problem or right the wrong. It is unacceptable.

Rose Quarter/Moda Center
- There were a lot of promises made by the Trailblazers and the City of Portland to involve people. There were issues of triple counting minority contractors who did work on some of this development. The numbers were inflated to seem higher than what they actually were. All the promises made were broken. Harm was done to businesses that believed the promises made. Drake/Turner was a joint venture and they eventually went out of business. People really did not get an opportunity to work on these projects (Rose Quarter) and they should have. Businesses inside the Rose Quarter (the vendors) had some opportunities, but it was very little in the end.
- This area was the center of the City (NE to NW Portland) prior to the Rose Quarter.
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Summary of Findings

- The Rose Quarter set goals for minority participation and jobs and I do think they did meet them.

Interstate 5 (I-5)
- I-5 cut the community in half. This is a very sensitive area. It is an area that has experienced a lot of change and changes in demographics. The first African American church was where the Coliseum is now. I-5 separated and tore apart the community, dispersing people. People were forced out of their homes and businesses were forced to shut down. The community was disintegrated and people could no longer walk to relatives homes and did not get help to move into a new home. Their homes were acquired via eminent domain and many lost the value of the home. Trust was lost. Trust has never been built since. There were not jobs offered to people for the past development projects.
- It is a changing place and demographic. The Portland Housing Bureau’s preference policy is being applied in this area.
- The Urban League study says, “We don’t want to return” in reference to the African Americans who were displaced.
- I-5 brought fear of the unknown and divided people. The freeway brings disrepair and disillusionment and the other side was in better shape than NE Portland.
- Broadway/Hancock got cut off by I-5.
- Both the Coliseum and I-5 destroyed the African American community.
- ODOT and I-5: part of the freeway acts in the mid-to-late ’50s, which divided the community and created a huge gash, splitting poor and Black communities because people and government wanted the land because it was a great location.

Coliseum
- Prior to all the change of people in the area, people enjoyed entertainment and once the Coliseum moved in, there was a love/hate relationship with that structure.
- The Coliseum was a major project that separated people and tore apart the community, dispersing people.
- The veterans’ preference for the Coliseum is pretty strong. They won’t accept anything other than what is there now. They call it the Veterans American Coliseum. There is no agreement from all interested parties about what the Coliseum could be. It is a non-starter.
- Coliseum provided new opportunities for some to move.
- Friends and family of mine lived in this area for years. The Coliseum displaced people. Displaced people were given a modest stipend which was not enough to buy another home elsewhere.
- The Coliseum displaced people and people were unhappy. Poor people were displaced. African American men had worked on the railroad and on foundries and were now being displaced. Emanuel came in and more displacement happened. People watched their friends being moved out and displaced to East Portland. I am unsure if they were compensated for their move.
Redlining and Real Estate

- Homes became blighted and targeted for urban renewal. Public officials made decisions that impacted people without a lot of political power. Redlining was a big deal.
- Urban blight. We have to figure out how to make investments to increase housing, homeownership, retail development and create jobs and do it without displacing people. These are all factors we need to consider and we need to do something about. Can people who live here now continue to live here later?

Urban Renewal

- The City and PDC actions targeted this area for urban renewal.
- Urban renewal: There were policy drivers, such as eminent domain. My grandfather’s mother was given some small amount of money to move as a result of Emanuel Hospital, I-5 and the Memorial Coliseum. Did these developments really contribute to the common good? The freeway was bad news. These wrongs need to be righted.
- Urban renewal adversely impacted jobs, housing and businesses.
- The first casualties of displacement were renters and some homeowners who were bought out at a much lower rate than the value of the property would be afterward.
- The subject of gentrification has included complex conversations in the community.
- Former Mayor Charlie Hales recently led a bus tour around Portland looking at the displacement of African American residences and businesses.
- African Americans lost their homes. There were displaced by urban renewal. This was a systematic removal of people of color from the area and it appears to happen every 20 years. This area is now White upper-middle class and is the “new downtown.” There is extreme resentment and frustration. For 25 years the community has been asking for this to be rectified.
- I have been a witness to affordability changes in the neighborhood which brought about urban blight on Union Avenue which is now Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd. The changes have impacted housing affordability, resulted in gentrification and increased housing costs.
- Urban renewal can be devastating for homeowners and people in their declining years. The value of homes appreciating rapidly combined with homeowners being retired with modest incomes meant that increased property taxes got out of control and when that knock on the door came for someone to buy them out, they took advantage of it because they could no longer afford to live here anymore.

Other

- The medians down Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard.
- Lack of education. If folks were financially savvy, this would have never happened.
- Poverty and displacement, but also in the ’80s, crack cocaine. Followed by the Coliseum, Emanuel, and Vanport.
- Misinformation.
- Use lessons learned from the redevelopment effort regarding Trader Joes. It did not go well.
- White folks are using the history of this area to get what they want out of area projects.
- African American people did not feel empowered. History shows us they could not oppose what was happening in their neighborhood because they could lose their job, their houses could get torched and they had to prioritize the safety of their family, children, etc. Any pushback could result in family dismantlement. African Americans had no power.
Impacts and Consequences

- This area was a thriving jazz district. There was a social club on Williams near Emanuel. There was an area along Williams with clubs (near where the Urban League is now) called Jumptown, where people danced the jitterbug. There were dance halls, too. There was club called the Cotton Club. Black folks lived here and businesses thrived. People lived and thrived here. This area was all African American.

- This was an area you could walk to get services, such as Chuck’s Market on Williams, dry cleaners, dentist offices, doctors, insurance agents, butchers, a post office; everything you needed was in walking distance. You could walk to get everything you wanted, needed and there was a sense of community. People knew one another, not just neighbors, but the store and business owners. That all changed with the construction of I-5 and all the development. People also got around by bike, but once I-5 went in, that no longer was the case. Dr. Unthank was known in this area and there were several Black dentists. Unthank Park is named for Dr. Unthank.

- There is sadness about the history of this area. There is concern about the neighborhood anytime there is an effort under foot to make improvements. The area needs to be serviceable to everyone. It is painful to look at how families who owned businesses and homes were cut out of the community.

- Three was a pride about this area by Black families. Everyone knew everyone. It was a resilient area. Grandparents, generation of today’s Gen Xers, these were the folks who were cut out.

- Prior to gentrification, for example, there was no garbage service on Albina. An African American man started a garbage company and picked up garbage every two weeks and everyone knew him.

- The area has poor air quality and no real elected leaders. Public transit inequity exists in the area and this inequity has been built into redevelopment.

- How investments were made were detrimental to African Americans and there is deep seeded anger, frustration, pain and disappointment.

- The Coliseum, Emanuel, I-5 and I-405 broke up families. The two (I-5 and I-405) freeways, Emanuel and the Coliseum all played a role in pushing out African Americans.

- The Albina Community Plan: This was a plan that all the governments signed off on, but the plan has never been realized. We were asked to participate and volunteer our time. We put our reputations on the line for this plan. We gave our voice. A document was created, but never acted upon.

- Horrible things come out of these decisions. History tells us in spurts and blurs that the result is devastating. Deliberate decisions were made to bring a certain amount of leisure and entertainment to the centrally-located area, but they had a devastating impact on the African American community. It was done on purpose and resulted in displacement.

- Growing up in a strong residential community was great. There are a lot of community scars due to improvements made at the expense of the African American community. Right now, the scarring of bringing people back via the City’s housing preference policy is exacerbated because some do not want to come back.

- It is the area where there is a lot of work being done by the City of Portland on the housing preference policy. One of the problems is that many displaced do not want to return.

- Displacement had both positive and negative impacts. Most of the displacement happened from 1990-2000. Displacement was a mechanism to buy up and increase wealth for some African American families that were displaced. There was voluntary vs. involuntary displacement. There
were real estate practices in place that played both a positive and negative role in displacement in N/NE.

- Greed. Some called it progress, but it was greed. The development of these structures (Rose Quarter, Memorial Coliseum and Emanuel Hospital) represented change. Changes are OK if done right. There was no respect for diversity and a real lack of inclusiveness.
- There is an Urban League study that the project team should utilize as research for this project.
- This area is referred to as a “Sacred Space.” It is known by others via this term, which was coined by former Senator Avel Gordly. There are challenges related to this space and you do not want to make similar mistakes as to those made in the past.
- This area has generated money into the economy.
- Past objectives for development moved people out utilizing eminent domain. Often “Grandma’s house” was subject to eminent domain. Some African American folks felt that they got sold out by their own because some folks chose to take the money and move out, move elsewhere.
- We used to be able to walk and bike everywhere in the neighborhood.
- There used to be more African Americans in the neighborhood and more homeowners and businesses.
- North Portland on Mississippi has really changed. Many in this area worked two to three jobs to make ends meet. You could get everywhere you needed to go – to church, school, to the store – it was a very walkable area.
- Development agencies, model cities and banks invested in this area to the detriment of others.
- Gentrification, urban renewal, Emanuel, I-5, Housing Market, redlining (racial segregation and economic concentration and confluence). Dr. Unthank and poor folks were all living in the same area. There was economic mobility thanks to the G.I. Bill.
- Unthank Park was a playground and then became afflicted with gangs and drugs.
- There has been no investment in schools and transit in this area.
- This project is not about restitution. We must go above what is the norm to recognize the past, but we cannot change the past.
- We do not want to become like the Westside.
- We cannot change the past; we should focus on the future. ODOT should ensure we are communicating this message consistently.
- There is some sense of reparation, acknowledgement of past harm, culturally rich and specific to African American places that reflect the culture through the built environment in the project.
- People remember things the way they remember things. It is very emotional for some members of the community.
- With every development, regardless of private or public, promises were broken resulting in a systematic obliteration of the African American community in this area.
- The area of Vancouver/Williams used to be very vibrant.
- There has been no or very little effort in this area resulting in a positive impact when it comes to the economic impact/jobs. The development and redevelopment eviscerated the African American community. If any efforts were made, they were negligible.
- Where the Coliseum and I-5 sit today, that was the Black community. We kept getting moved north.
- Property ownership in the Vernon neighborhood turned whole blocks from Black-owned properties to White-owned properties. Developers and others made property purchases and sat on them to await the right time to put the properties on the market and make a killing. This changed the face of the community.
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- Police corruption is a known fact in this area. The police were complicit in doing their part at the same time as the government and private developers were destroying the community.
- The way that the community changed and was impacted was by design, resulting in more accidents, prostitution and dope dealing.
- The descendants of people who were wronged carry the burden today. They have the possibility of wealth getting taken away (unable to buy homes or establish businesses).
- The Albina Community Plan had a robust public process. Promises were made but no follow-through.
- People felt so disenfranchised because people had things done to them (gentrification) and not done with them. Government and private developers were not up front and honest.

Shifts in Demographics

- There are many more African American businesses in NE than ever before, but they are spread out in multiple areas and are non-retail related. There are 11 Black businesses in Vanport Plaza. Mt. Olivet has a huge congregation in Beaverton and champions diversity. They also have a large piece of property by Schuyler and a congregation there, too. Churches in this area are now more diverse and not just with African Americans, more multi-cultural.
- The average age for people of color is a younger demographic. The average age of African Americans is 31, 27 for Latinos and 41 for Whites. This means that many families of this demographic will have school age kids. Take this into consideration when devising and implementing outreach.
- Portland is cheaper than San Diego and Seattle, but Portland has been hit harder by recessions and hit differently. We had a 30 percent growth in every census, but we also get hit harder. We have a big share of baby boomers that moved from the suburbs to the City and in a recession people migrate to cheaper places. We have a younger demographic.
- In 2000-2010 the City of Portland got two-years younger. Fifty-four percent are eligible to retire from the City of Portland today.
- My perspective is that there are fewer Black businesses today than there were back in the day. Also, this area used to be very walkable. Now there are few Black folks left.
- Today, the area more represents middle-to-upper income White people.
- Boise-Eliot area may be 50 percent Black, but the project should look at school demographics.

**What is the public perception from folks in this area or with the African American community specific to ODOT, PDC, and City of Portland?**

The following comments are provided as directly stated by the interviewees.

- PBOT, PDC and ODOT are at risk because they all have a history in this area that is not viewed as very good.
- ODOT has a worse reputation than Portland. All of the disparity studies conducted and nothing changes.
- PDC is terrible. ODOT won’t get beat up as bad.
- PDC’s reputation is mud.
- I don’t hear a lot about ODOT or the City.
- PBOT is not a good communicator or good at outreach. They do not communicate changes and those changes come quickly and unexpectedly and compromise the safety of others.
- ODOT: community wise there is not a lot of animosity.
PDC has it worst as well as PHB and the mayor’s office.
- PDC is seen as not valuing multi-cultural efforts as much as they should. They have a reputation of not being a partner and do not see the benefits to relationships.
- I have nothing nice to say about ODOT. I have not been given a reason to think nicely about ODOT.
- PDC is pretty bad. You cannot undo damage overnight.
- The community paints all government with the same brush – not in a positive way.
- The City and ODOT are not viewed well. But the City is viewed more by some as not having trust with the community.
- ODOT, the City and PDC are all looked at with a level of mistrust by the community. They come to us afterward and don’t care what we think. Lack of jurisdictional coordination results in community suffering.
- ODOT is known for mission of safety.
- Planning has a slightly better/improved reputation.
- PDC has the worst reputation but is reforming the most quickly.
- ODOT’s reputation is not good as the word is ODOT has not taken advantage of involving Black contractors over the years and comes up with excuses.
- City of Portland is not good.
- PDC is not good and even worse because they have been involved in nearly every development/redevelopment and did the heavy lifting resulting in displacement.
- PDC’s reputation is mixed. There are positives and negatives.
- The City of Portland is mixed. Portland Bureau of Transportation and Portland Housing Bureau and Portland Police Bureau have not been good. Intentions of past Mayors were the desire to do a great job and keep people together. What do we do today? We raise property values and force people out.
- ODOT is the single most recipient of federal dollars and those dollars are not translating to enough jobs in terms of contracting opportunities. From the contractors’ perspective on the outside looking in, there is a real lack of opportunity.

Outreach Thoughts
Themes that emerged from our interviews in this area include transparency, what organizations and communities we should we be talking to, places to hold meetings, what level of agency participation is warranted for this project, perspectives on hosting community forums, and developing clear sideboards and setting expectations with public and stakeholders.

Stakeholder Engagement and how do we reach them?
- Talk with people who breathe and live in the community.
- Involve smaller businesses first.
- The angriest and loudest will be people who moved here after 2005.
- Go to faith based organizations such as churches to talk to people who are still here.
- Talk with the affordable housing community.
- Remove barriers to participation: Provide childcare and make location convenient.
- Target families in the N/NE Williams and Lombard areas. Figure out who really lives in the area you are working in. You will find that those who still live in this area still like to patron local businesses and they utilize these businesses and they like to walk. People like to walk and we need more spaces available to walk. Take what the public says into consideration.
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Summary of Findings

- Reach out to Highland Church. They have a community room. With gentrification, many African Americans relocated to Parkrose and are in that area.
- At events you must have food.
- African Americans and people of color – all groups should be targeted.
- Throughout the project utilize ambassadors, African American newspapers, project websites, places and publications that target low income and African Americans. Employ online open houses.
- Seek out African American planners.
- PAALF (Portland African American Leadership Forum) is all over Portland but has an inner N/NE focus in the urban renewal area. We focus on anti-displacement, impacts on affordable housing, right to return policy, education. PAALF is a catalyst in this work and we push on to others and focus on leadership development.
- Consider outreach with groups that bring African Americans together from a cross sectors and agency leaders, community members like PCRI, Urban League, SEI, PAALF financial capabilities (program targeting folks ages 25 to 45) and the Elders Council (new this year).
- Engage Boise-Eliot neighborhood association, SEI.
- Identify every home within “x” amount of radius to engage and inform.
- When this project is further along, give a presentation for the Board of the NAACP to learn about and comment.
- Utilize the pastors to speak to congregations such as New Hope (Unthank area) Walter Hills, Life Change and Marantha, the AMA and Mt. Olivet.
- If you want to engage more Black folks, you need to hold the event at the Elks Club and invite select members of the Black community so they can help draw out others. Engage organizations like the Black United Fund and philanthropic community, sororities and fraternities.

Places/Venues for Meetings

- The Elks Club is a good place to do outreach and to hold meetings (over 50 percent suggested this). Elks Club is symbolic and would mean a lot to folks if you used it as a venue.
- Elks Club is a good venue.
- The Elks club has a rich history. It was the only place where service men could go during segregation.
- There are not any real gathering places any more in this area, except for maybe the Elks Lodge. ODOT and the City must be intentional about targeting African Americans for engagement.
- Do not host events at Emanuel.
- Good ‘n the Hood (suggest by 8 interviewees).
- Juneteenth (suggested by 4 interviewees).
- African American Alliance for Homeownership (AAAH) Home Buying Fair (suggested by 5 interviewees).
- Tubman Middle School (suggested by 3 interviewees).
- Highland Church (suggested by 3 interviewees).
- Utilize churches, Emanuel Auditorium, Red Cross, Rose Quarter and Elks Lodge.
- Go where the people are: Highland Church.
- Churches, especially Mt. Olivet on Schuyler (they own half a block).
- Locations to hold public meetings are The Elks Club, Mt. Olivet and Urban League.
- Urban League, Coalition of Communities of Color, NAMC, MCIP.
- The Urban League Senior Center is very active. You should do a focus group with them.
Rose Quarter: I-5/Broadway-Weidler Project Environmental Justice-Oriented Interviews
Summary of Findings

- You should hold events at African American owned businesses like June Key Delta House. The Gordly House is an African American Cultural Center on Williams that involves a partnership with PSU, OHSU, and the Elks Lodge.
- Host joint meetings in buildings specific to public housing.
- Perhaps co-host event with African American organizations and schools (Boise-Elliott and MLK schools).
- Partner with the African American health coalition and their annual walk.
- The Gathering, a grouping of older African American people who convene informally and share stories and a meal every January.
- The newer development across from New Seasons may be a good outreach venue for the project for small group meeting.
- There are different methods of outreach. You should utilize the atrium at Emanuel over SEI. Elks Lodge would be a good location, the Urban League, Charles Jordan Community Center, etc. Perhaps a presentation of the history of race with NAACP and Urban League.
- Events could be held at Emanuel atrium and at New Song Church which is within the urban renewal zoning expansion area.

Level of Agency Participation: What level of agency participation is warranted for this project?
Over 50 percent of respondents noted the importance of involving high-level agency staff during the community engagement process. Specific statements included:
- If you have some sort of listening session or forum, high-level decision makers should be present and authentically engaged, including elected officials and high level administrators.
- Use forums and listening sessions and get high level representatives there from ODOT and the city.
- Higher levels need to hear from the community. The community needs to hear how ODOT and the City will avoid these mistakes going forward.
- High levels. They need to show up for the whole time and they need a role, need to participate, interject.

Community Forums
Feedback regarding hosting community forums was mixed. Specific statements included:
- Forums are a good idea. You have to acknowledge the past but focus on the future.
- Consider a bit of a vent session but be clear it is not just venting. Come ready to talk about the project and lay down sideboards. Get all the concerns out.
- Set parameters. Is this project Information only? Make no promises. If you are seeking input and direction, then state that. Avoid “We Hope to or Aspire to.” Those are just words.
- Host a community forum and engage high level people from ODOT and the city to participate. They should be the decision makers that are present to listen. Target your outreach to avoid majority white rooms.
- What is the audience’s role and what are elected/appointed leaders role. They need to listen and not talk the party line.
- Explain how you will use feedback. Are you able to answer yes/no on the spot, or when/how will you loop back? If the audience and area is all White, how will you continue to hear other voices going forward?
Rose Quarter: I-5/Broadway-Weidler Project Environmental Justice-Oriented Interviews
Summary of Findings

- People will share concerns pertaining to this project. The agencies must articulate that you do not intend to replicate the past sins and that nothing is a done deal.
- Listen to their feedback. Make them feel that you want their input. Look for themes. Be up front, such as, “We cannot do “x” for “x” reasons, but here is what we know about those things. Here is what we can do.”
- Everyone will be thinking about the things they have no control over. So, you need to listen to them, acknowledge their voice and make them feel listened to. Respond strategically and aim to bring people together.
- Utilize a person of color as facilitator(s) and that person should be African American.
- Local facilitators should be used.
- Forums should be tightly facilitated (with strong sideboards to guide conversation and action towards future vision).
- If you decide to do forums, they must be tightly facilitated. One good idea is to have whoever is facilitating have ODOT officials explain that they interviewed people in the African American community and here’s what they heard – provide a summary of this report as a way to acknowledge the past and then introduce the project. Letting people vent though is going to get you nowhere fast.
- Consider a roundtable discussion with organizations in a panel format to include Unite Oregon, NAYA and the immigrant/refugee communities.
- You need to establish a small group to bounce ideas off of. Make them your partners in the project.
- An advisory group is a good idea, but you must explain what their role is clearly and it should be diverse to include businesses, residents and bicyclists.
- Consider focus groups and listening sessions.
- Listening sessions that are held in a church community room on Russell or at SEI that includes high level decision makers with the city and ODOT (3).
- If you host a forum, you will get stuck in the past.
- Don’t do a forum. You cannot fix the past. Forums will rile up folks who will say, “What are you doing? Where are you going?”

Setting Expectations and Defining Sideboards
When asked how to create a meaningful community engagement process, all respondents highlighted the importance of setting clear expectations with the public and defining the project/process parameters. Specific statements included:

- Do not over promise. Make no promises, but have level of understanding of what you can or cannot do and be clear with limitations.
- Set parameters (do this early on).
- Lay out non-negotiables as part of your outreach strategy (do this early on).
- Set sideboards and manage expectations.
- Focus your public meetings on a finite track.
- Agencies must do their job and set up-front clear sideboards.
- Design potential solutions and vet with the community.
- Consider how we preserve and provide a real benefit. What will it take?
- Be clear on what ODOT’s role is vs. PHB and PDC. “Here is what we do and our level of connection.”
Rose Quarter: I-5/Broadway-Weidler Project Environmental Justice-Oriented Interviews
Summary of Findings

- Be clear about what ODOT’s sideboards are around business development, wealth creation, housing and the connection of those things. Be very clear with the community to set the expectations.
- There will not be consensus among stakeholders (not even within the African American community) for this project when it comes to economic development and housing. Get a vision before you do a lot of outreach. ODOT/City, what are you trying to do? And then mold that vision as you go along.
- Be clear about what you want first or it can result in a nightmare.
- Lock agreements into the NEPA/environmental process. You want NEPA and the community both to say yes to the outcome.
- Understand what has happened and keep it from occurring. ODOT should be clear about what they can and cannot do.

Transparency
All respondents also highlighted the need for a transparent, public process. Specific statements included:

- Make it easy to get involved with the project.
- Always be real and up front. Do not try to hide anything.
- We need people working on this project that know how to talk to people in the community. Be real and work both sides.
- Acknowledge that the people who are here now are not those who are coming. Be up front
- ODOT and the City must show and take action each step of the way. It will cost less in the long run.
- Be visible. Keep the project visible and retain a consistent project manager.

Messaging
The majority of respondents stated that messaging will be a critical factor for project success. Specific statements included:

- Messaging is CRITICAL. This is more a redevelopment/redesign project than a transportation project.
- Communities of color are relational. The city, ODOT and PDC are more transactional, which does not work.
- Utilize Facebook platforms (spaces and links) including organizations that have their own Facebook pages such as NAACP, residents, business community, N/NE Business Association, Albina Ministerial Alliance and Urban League and post information.
- Utilize the 1480AM dial to engage people.
- There is not going to be agreement among all the African American community. We are diverse within our group – diversity of thought, philosophy, history etc.
- Create a culture of this project that says we apologize and create a mission statement that reflects the credo of every agenda in its tagline.
- Stare right into the project and learn from the past. Gather and listen, work toward consensus, work together.
- The project team should be prepared to have honest up-front conversation with the entire community about this project.
- There is an opportunity to help repair the area and relationships.
There is more diversity of thought in the African American community. It’s not a monolithic community. We are not only talking about African Americans. We have many families in this area that are mixed, so create your outreach efforts to reach everyone.

It will be hard to get people to engage because perhaps it is a generational thing. People have to put their hands on what we are talking about.

The outreach needs to focus on relationship building. We are relational.

There is no single African American community – we are not monolithic. We come with different world views and perspectives. Do not listen to only the loudest voices. Ensure your outreach and listening is balanced. You can acquire information and more voices through partnerships with culturally specific organizations. Do not assume we are all going to agree, because we won’t.

Focus on the opportunity and the benefit piece.

We need to see Black faces as part of the project.

Messaging is important. The safety message will resonate.

Stay true to what you are doing now. Have good intentions. Be serious but remember, staff are not the decision-makers. Decisions will be made with others/directors within the organizations.

Look to repair trust and provide opportunities.

Be forward thinking.

Ask yourselves what types of approach or benefits can this project bring? Try to ensure it helps and does not harm the communities.

What is ODOT’s view of this project? Do not let ODOT’s views get hijacked by the past.

The messaging is important and must be one of inclusivity. African Americans should be a priority in the planning and deciding of what gets implemented.

The redevelopment of the Rose Quarter should tie together housing, economic development, jobs and more. It is likely the car lots on Broadway may be impacted. Look at this as a redevelopment project.

Consider what kind of organization you want to be. Do you want to be a learning organization where decisions are made collaboratively with knowledge? Take a look at PBOT who had to step back on the N. Williams project. They finally heard the community from a historic perspective. The process system-wide is the issue and you need to leverage it to change outcomes.

What should the project team consider?

Outreach Tactics/Structure and what are we asking of folks?

Be clear about what you are asking of the community. What’s the time commitment? Break down the process, and if there will be advisory committees and their role. Include voices that need to be heard and be that liaison to decision-makers for the project.

Get involved with surrounding businesses.

You need to engage the Soul District.

Sometimes it’s the smaller groups that are the most effective in outreach.

Leave the door open to reach us via email. Always follow-through and get back to people.

A small, mainly people of color, advisory committee would be a good idea.

Follow TriMet’s example on Interstate MAX to do business outreach during construction.

Keep ongoing communication with stakeholders.
We are not monolithic. We are all different. Just because we are Black does not mean I speak for the African American community. We are diverse in our understanding and experience.

Form an advisory board that remains closer to the project and keep it small. The church at Vancouver and Williams, where people will live in the community. Feel free to drop Serena Stoudamire’s name when you reach out. These churches have bigger churches and congregations attracting hundreds of multi-cultural parishioners each week. They have been involved in gang outreach efforts and formed a group called We Care. The younger pastors group is called 1145.

You should build a small advisory board made up of about 5 people in the African American community who can guide you as the project advances.

Organizations have a long-term connectedness in this area including many elders. Empower people to ask for what they want and avoid just going to any gatekeepers. Get to the people.

Don’t identify any one gatekeeper to access the community. Don’t exclude poor people.

Schedule meetings at a location, time and place that are convenient. Provide childcare, food and $25 Fred Meyer gift cards.

Make events intergenerational.

Look for some early easy wins such as utilizing a splash page on a website, Sending SMS/Text alerts, utilize mobile apps to reach local folks.

Utilize all social media tools: webpage, Facebook, The Portland Observer, The Skanner, go to places where you can connect with people.

A ‘majority communities of color’ advisory board is a good idea, but ODOT and the City must listen to them. If they feel you are not listening, they will feel discounted. Your advisory committee should help people understand the expectations and sideboards. The project will be discredited if the advisory group is utilized or viewed as just a token group.

Create a small advisory committee to hold ODOT and the City accountable to ensure you stay true to the project and the people.

Canvassing door to door will be important.

Consider smaller, little gatherings.

Provide free food utilizing neighborhood and minority caterers such as Mississippi Chef (caters).

Utilize what is already there in the community and seek to partner.

ODOT and others need to know the history. Watch the OPB production of “Life Every Voice.”

Check out the documentary “Forums Sing the Blues.” It is a jazz documentary and also hits on Vanport. You will hear directly from the people in testimony about what has happened.

Look for upfront partnerships and LISTEN. People will demand a lot and you need to be able to clearly respond and have all agencies at the table. Articulate your principles and work with those principles to mold it to more or less.

Project Approach & Partnership Opportunities

- What about the funding? Can part of the money be distributed to benefit the community? Is there money for a new building or to build something in our community? Can the project owners access or make money off of the improvements? Can we build some additional community capacity back in with this project?

- Add a few pilot projects and work with the Disadvantaged Business Enterprise (DBE) community to do a piece. Consider joint ventures and mentorship opportunities such as Colas and R&H.

- Utilize the tool of a joint venture.
I worked on a project via Emanuel – the more recent expansion when Vera Katz was in office. Through that project, we put on a construction fair. I had all the big primes there with booths and all the subcontractors were invited along with Legacy, OHSU, CAWS. There was food and a reception and I told the primes what Emanuel expected and I told the subs to seek out what is available and to have their game on. Out of that effort people got jobs. They were part of the project and Legacy Emanuel was able to tell that story. There was no opposition in the community.

Right the wrong. Be intentional. Be inclusive. Include people who are medium-to-low income.

What about some partnerships with the project and energy justice? There is a collaborative called Just Energy that includes Verde, NAYA, NAACP, 350 Degrees PDX (climate justice), Sierra Club and Coalition of Communities of Color that are building a coalition around climate justice. They will work on a 1 percent business tax on retailers generating $20 million or more in sales within the City of Portland to support workforce development, clean energy. If the tax passes, it will generate $200-400 million every year available to invest in new energy such as weatherization for low income workforce training and businesses.

Ensure no displacements (housing or businesses).

We can ensure equity and be a catalyst for equity – ODOT has the opportunity to be a leading star and to bring part of the community back.

Workforce Development, Wealth Creation & Contracting

Be prepared to explain how the project will use MINORITY businesses, not just women-owned and small businesses.

Develop “x” number of scopes and fill in with certified firms. Break down into scopes of work to employ more minority firms as a way for capacity building.

Look at the county labor agreement specific to the county courthouse.

Workforce and jobs, contracting people should be included in the projects and the team should look for ways to identify specific benefits for contracting, jobs, partners in development. Maybe there should be two blocks set aside for the Soul District. There should be concrete opportunities.

Add a training program that targets journey-level folks and incentivize graduation and success.

Contractors will make big money. Make every step intentional and be inclusive of equity groups because of the history. Ask yourselves, “How can we address the equity on this project?”

Contracting, including education and training dollars to train apprentices.

Workforce and local hiring. Workforce benefits at the apprentice level and up.

Jobs for people in the community, workforce training, housing and development that is affordable.

If you are not active with the Association of General Contractors (AGC), you do not get ODOT work.

Give people jobs and opportunities. Break off contracting opportunities into pieces so minority firms can get a piece of the work.

Utilize historically underutilized businesses specific to the creation of jobs, construction contracts and apprentices. You can specify zip codes as to where to acquire workers which can include areas outside the project area and can utilize City of Portland data to identify these zip codes. You can also designate an area as a hub zone, which is a federal designation where you can recruit workers and contractors from a given area to work on the project.

There should be significant business development and support for business opportunities.
Rose Quarter: I-5/Broadway-Weidler Project Environmental Justice-Oriented Interviews
Summary of Findings

- You are not going to rebuild what was there before in this area. Ask yourself, “How can we create wealth?” This project should be about wealth creation, preserving people in their homes, investments and businesses. When you do construction, include local workers and look for ways to infuse some economic development back into the community.
- Workforce and contractor/subcontractor opportunities will be key.
- This project is about wealth creation. It is about looking at minority community wealth creation through requiring the RFP stipulate a high percentage of minority workers and contractors. The DBE program can and should set higher goals for the project. Look at joint ventures to include Hispanic, African American developers to boost percentages.
- Be clear about what are the financial opportunities to benefit the community. Have some real opportunities to plug them into. Maybe a partnership with OAME in Delta Park. They have weekly meetings with contractors and partner with NAMC and PBDG.
- Business opportunities to generate revenue for public interest. Partnership with BICEP, and a community organization to meet a need in the community.
- For developers, be clear and lay out parameters and expectations of the project owners for this project. Acknowledge here is our policy for the I-5: Rose Quarter project and look at lessons learned for I-5 Delta Park, Interstate and SW Corridor. Work with ODOT’s Office of Civil Rights (OCR) on this.
- Utilize temporary help to do outreach, such as on the job training by the Urban League Young Adult Network to help shape the area.
- Look at providing a percentage of the project go to minority contractors.

Key Challenges/Barriers
- The N/NE Coalition of neighbors is against density and new people moving in.
- People in this area are overwhelmed by the amount of growth and fear of change.
- There will be community discord vs. working together. That is a given.
- We are a relationship oriented community. Your organizations have no relationship with the community and are looking to exact a community impact.
- Folks close in to the Coliseum will feel squeezed by a world above the lids that they don’t participate in.
- On the N. Williams project that the City initiated, the City had its own ideas and tried to convince us as stakeholders via a public process by presenting unattractive options to get the community to the option the City wanted. We felt manipulated from start to finish.
- Government is at a tremendous disadvantage given the history and the recent projects gone awry such as N. Williams.
- PBOT’s financial contribution is of concern. If the price tag on this project continues to increase, so does PBOT’s share. So what does PBOT not invest in that also has a transportation equity benefit in other parts of the City? Council members will be engaged as well as Planning Commission. This is not ODOT’s fight, but it does have to be figured out.
- Environmental Justice is a risk. There are lawsuits out there such as in Houston on the highway widening project catering to freight. There was a finding folks “could be displaced.” It is a 1-mile-long highway widening and the project team did not address the 1-mile radius in each direction and is now paying a hefty financial price to address replacement.
- Consider jobs, contracting, development, housing, and bike lanes, and traffic impacts.
- There may be resistance for this project to look and feel like downtown.
Rose Quarter: I-5/Broadway-Weidler Project Environmental Justice-Oriented Interviews
Summary of Findings

- ODOT is not accustomed to initiating projects like this, where there is so much history, emotion and animosity. We must be prepared to listen and acknowledge at several levels of the agency.
- There is no predicting who is going to be vocal and how vocal. But it does not matter, just be clear about what you will do.

What about bikes?
As the project proposes bicycle facilities, including the Clackamas Bicycle and Pedestrian Overcrossing, several respondents provided feedback on bicycling and the current focus on active transportation.

- Not everyone rides a bike. In fact people do not like bikes in this area.
- N. Williams is a mess. Who was this project for exactly? There are more back-ups. Most African Americans get around by transit and car. Across the board, this was a shared sentiment.
- People hate bikes. The bike lane on Williams where you have one lane of auto traffic has resulted in congestion at peak hours. There is new development and they are still building
- Bikes are seen as an imposition of fulfilling bike cultures needs in certain areas.
- There is a market study for County site relative to move bike riders in NE and it indicates that young professionals have a higher bike ridership.
- Some people who live in the community do not own bikes.
- This project may be an opportunity to make it safer for bikes, but bikes need to abide by the rules of the road and stop at stop signs and signals. And they should pay a fee for being users of the road.
- Perhaps the project could look at a reduced rate for bike share for whatever is developed atop the lids to encourage utilization of bike share.
- Bicyclists are seen as a bringing gentrification.
- Black people do not do bikes. Bikes are cultural and an urbanite thing.
- N/NE hates bikes.
- There will be possible conflicts with bikes.
- Williams was just plain bad. Removal of the travel lane on Williams causes more congestion. People should be able to cycle, but Blacks do not get around by bike. So Williams, for our community did not make any sense.
- Ninety-eight percent of the cyclists are White.
- Most Black folks get around via public transportation or car.
- The N. Williams bike lanes are a sore spot for people. People who bike have attitudes.
- People of color have attitudes about bikes, saying that most bicyclists are white and that cyclists have attitudes, cuss people out, don’t abide by the rules of the road and have a sense of entitlement.
- Bikes should have license plates.
- The issue of bikes in N/NE takes on a racial tone. The arrogance of bicyclists is offensive. It takes on a “we are the ones here now and we will win this thing,” in reference to how the N. Williams project was implemented.
- People’s perception of bikes is not very good. The majority of African Americans are not avid bicyclists. There is too much transportation happening in this area with competition from all modes including bicyclists, pedestrians, transit and cars.
- Cars back up regularly in this area.
- Many bicyclists are extremely rude and do not act as if anyone matters other than themselves and they do not abide by any rules of the road.
Rose Quarter: I-5/Broadway-Weidler Project Environmental Justice-Oriented Interviews

Summary of Findings

- I am a polite driver and give others consideration and yet I am challenged because I have to pull out far on a side street because of parked cars and bicyclists to make turn movements. I have to nose out far to see if a bicyclists is actually coming. It is scary. I am scared I may unintentionally hit a bicyclist.
- Bicyclists and some pedestrians have a righteous indignation that they have the right to own the street regardless of the color of light per the signal.

Future Partner Opportunities

At least 3 interviewees mentioned the potential partnership with the proposed Coliseum development:

- The Coliseum is going to get remodeled and financed by the Portland Winterhawks. Let’s look at the remodel of the Coliseum to create a memorial for the red tails, African Americans who fought in the war. They were pilots that had to fly as a unit because of segregation. There are also others to honor such as those who fought in the Korean and Vietnam War. Maybe a monument would also be appropriate. Maybe PDC or the Winterhawks could subsidize it?
Attachment A

Interview Questions
Area History / Perspective

1) Tell me about your background and history with N/NE Portland and the Rose Quarter area?
2) What can you tell us about the history of the Rose Quarter area? Was there a presence of more African American residents and businesses than there are today? Can you explain what that area was like historically?
3) What were the drivers for changes and shifts in demographics, and what were the contributing factors in your opinion?

Personal/Organizational Interests

4) Tell us about the organizations you work with/for and efforts you support. Who do you serve and what issues are you passionate about?
5) Do you find your work and efforts to be concentrated into one or several geographic areas? If so, where?
6) What services and programs does your organization provide and administer and who is your target clientele?

Targeted Outreach

7) What do you see as gathering events/places that attract people you serve where we might have a presence for project outreach?
8) ODOT has a budget for attending community events where we get the word out about our Rose Quarter project. What events should we attend if we want to reach the African American, other non-White communities, and/or low-income communities? Do any of these gathering events/places take place within the vicinity of Rose Quarter?

Messaging & Feedback

9) How do we talk about our project in a way that compels people to listen and engage?
10) How do we do meaningful outreach that attracts people to learn about the project and to provide input?
11) What do you see as effective ways for us to report back on how your community’s input has been incorporated into the project planning and decision-making process?

Project-Specific Input

12) What barriers do you think we face for this project and how do we overcome them?
13) What are any specific concerns or interests you see emerging from the African American community for this project? What are opportunities or pitfalls you see for the project and do you have ideas on how to capitalize or minimize/avoid them?
14) What do you think, given the history of the Rose Quarter area, we should be prepared for in terms of shaping this project in a way that makes the African American community feel included and valued and that the project, process and design is one that they can accept and/or embrace?

Other

15) What other advice do you have for us?
16) Are websites, electronic media, Facebook effective?
Attachment B

Relevant News Articles on Rose Quarter History
Thelma Glover worked the phones.

In the living room, a spotless space with good light and four dozen photographs, she used the cordless to dial a friend. The call went to voicemail.

"This is Thelma," she said. "Is someone going to pick me up? I don't have no way to get there."

Glover needed a ride to the bank, the grocery and Mt. Olivet Baptist Church, where she's been a member for six decades. She had stopped driving three months before. At 98, she supposed, it was time.

"Hello?" she said into another answering machine. "Don't forget me."

Glover carried a wooden cane from room to room but leaned on it only once. Even at her age, she's too stubborn to stoop.

Before she gave up the 1964 Chevy Malibu wagon, Glover made regular trips to her old North Portland neighborhood just to look at what she lost. She drove down Williams Avenue and imagined the jazz clubs that used to dot the stretch. She curled along Commercial Avenue, peered up at the hospital high rise that replaced her house.

"That was my first home," she said. "I was living close to everything that I was accustomed to. But they came and took the place. I had to give up my life."

Hers had been a quintessential black experience. She came to Portland from the South in 1941, expecting a better, safer community. Instead, Glover found what African Americans in Chicago and Detroit and San Francisco did: Black communities anywhere were expendable.

Government officials across the country penned African Americans into less-desirable areas. Later, when white people wanted the land, planners declared the communities blighted and forced African Americans out.

The bulldozers came for Glover and 200 other families -- mostly black -- in 1970 when Emanuel Hospital officials decided they needed their properties. Glover found a place in East Portland, eight miles and two interstates from her church, her bank and her friends. She has given it 45 years, but the pink-and-white house at the end of a cul-de-sac has never felt like home.

She put down the phone, smoothed her wig and adjusted two necklaces around the pink cowl-neck sweater she guessed no one
would get to see. Without a ride, she couldn't even visit the neighborhood that held her best memories.

Most cities haven't tried to make amends for the ways they systematically pushed black people out of neighborhoods. But last year, Portland leaders decided to try. They announced a multi-million dollar program aimed at bringing back people pushed or priced out of close-in neighborhoods. This winter, they'll begin doling out down payments.

Glover won't get one. For her, it's too late.

**The Great Migration**

Glover's life began exceptionally. Her family owned 40 acres in North Louisiana at a time when most black farmers were sharecroppers. She attended Grambling State University, then known as the Louisiana Negro Normal and Industrial Institute, the first year it awarded teaching certificates to black women. If the girl in Glover's graduation photo hoped for success, the straight line of her mouth conceals it.

"Black people in Louisiana didn't smile then," she said.

Those were the days of Jim Crow laws and the Great Depression. More African Americans were **lynched in nearby Caddo Parish** between 1877 and 1950 than all but one other county in the United States. Black men struggled to find work.

When she married Cephas Glover in 1940, the soldier suggested they do what black people across the region were doing: Flee.

More than 1.4 million African Americans left the South that decade. Most from Louisiana headed to California or Oregon. In the 1940s alone, Portland's African American population increased tenfold, from 2,000 to 20,000.

The Golvers were among the first. The train ride took four days. There was no air conditioning, Glover said, and the conductor kept the windows closed in their car. They arrived dirty and sweaty with no place to stay. The hotels and restaurants near Union Station posted signs in their windows: "We cater to white trade only."

Portland, the Golvers soon learned, was no promised land.

Cephas labored on the railroad. Portland didn't employ black teachers then, so Thelma toughed it out in jobs she hated. She worked for Meier & Frank, praying every morning her mother would never learn the department store made her wear a black-and-white maid's uniform.

Only one landlord would rent to them. They spent their honeymoon living with 12 other African Americans near the foot of the Broadway Bridge. The second-floor apartment didn't have running water, Glover said, so all 12 took turns bathing in the same tub of water.

"I was afraid I would get germs," she said. "I lived like that, because that's where we had to be."

They looked for their own place. Glover wouldn't have children until they owned a home. But the Portland Realty Board forbade its members from selling to blacks or Asians. Banks also refused to lend African Americans money for mortgages.

The discrimination was so prevalent that in 1942, industrialist Henry Kaiser platted an entirely new city, Vanport, to house African Americans who came to build ships for World War II.

The Golvers moved into Vanport, erected on a Columbia River floodplain, in 1943. The walls were so thin Thelma Glover could hear
her neighbors whispering next door.

She worked in a cannery and in a rich couple’s home. She saved pennies in a jar.

By the fall of 1945, they had saved almost enough to afford a house the newspaper ad described as a home. The wood frame on North Commercial had five bedrooms, an enclosed porch and apple trees in the backyard. It was $4,990 and just a block from Emanuel Hospital.

The Golvers secured an off-the-books loan and rented the house out while they paid it off. To earn cash faster, Thelma and Cephas left Vanport and worked as live-in domestics for a Jewish couple in Southwest Portland. A few years after they left, a flood destroyed Vanport.

By the time the Golvers moved into their home in 1948, Thelma was 30. She visited a doctor to ask about finally having children.

"But I had a growth as big as an orange," she said. "I couldn’t have them anymore."

The Golvers spent their 30s and 40s blocks from jazz clubs and black churches. They hosted parties in the living room and picnics in the yard. They kept the hedges trimmed. They grew tomatoes and collard greens. They finished the basement and built a garage.

"We had put lots of money in it," Glover said. "It was fixed up nice."

Then, in 1970, two white men showed up at her door. The city had declared the neighborhood "blighted," they said. The hospital needed the land.

Thelma Glover, her husband and all her friends had 90 days to leave.

Booted

The story was similar across the country. Throughout the 1950s and ‘60s, city leaders from San Francisco to New York leveraged a new federal program called "urban renewal" to transform areas they considered slums. In Portland and elsewhere, those neighborhoods were often home to African Americans.


Eliot, the inner-city neighborhood where Glover lived, was 70 percent black when Portland leaders began eyeing it for redevelopment.

Plans to seize Glover’s home and others had taken shape in 1960, years before the men came to her door. Emanuel Hospital leaders told Portland planners they wanted to expand. Consultants found 55 acres -- land occupied by black homes and businesses -- that the hospital thought it needed for new facilities.

The community was home to barbecue restaurants, record stores and grocery shops. Photos from the time show the Golvers and their neighbors kept their homes looking immaculate.

But urban renewal gave Portland planners the power -- and the money -- to bulldoze. Portland detailed everything wrong about the neighborhood in a 1966 federal grant application. The community contained high rates of substandard housing and unemployment, officials wrote.
"This area contains the highest concentration of low-income families and experiences the highest incidence rate of crime in the City of Portland," they wrote in the application. "Approximately 75 percent to 80 percent of Portland's Negro population live within the area."

Portland officials deemed Glover's neighborhood "beyond rehabilitation." In 1970, the federal government offered $5 million to demolish and rebuild.

Glover and others tried to fight. They formed the Emanuel Displaced Persons Association to petition to keep their houses. Glover served as treasurer. They hired lawyers and accused city leaders of lying about how much housing was available for African Americans in other parts of the city. They asked to be paid more for the homes they were losing.

"I just didn't think we got the money we should have," Glover said.

Portland paid $5,000 for her land. Glover said, about the same she and her husband had paid 25 years earlier, before they added the garage and redid the basement.

Two years later, the Emanuel Displaced Persons group surveyed the old neighborhood. The federal money had run out, and the hospital decided against immediate expansion. Twenty-two blocks -- including Glover's lot -- sat empty.

"What's maddening is people could have stayed here," chairwoman Ina Warren told The Oregonian in 1973. "The community is destroyed forever."

Starting over

Even in the 1970s, Glover said, Portlanders weren't keen on integration. Some African Americans bought homes in Northeast Portland. But the only place the Glovers could find was on an East Portland cul-de-sac with no streetlamp posts.

"It was dark, dark," she said. "They called this 'out in the rural.' I was the onliest black out here."

For the first time, Thelma Glover lived in a white neighborhood. She was 53.

The neighborhood wasn't in city limits when they moved in. Even now, East Portland has fewer sidewalks and public transit options than the inner city.

Little things annoyed her. The dining room looked into the kitchen; proper homes kept them separate, she believed. And the living room was too small to host a party. But the couple made do. They decorated the basement with shag carpet and a bear rug. They built a bar in the corner. Most of her friends didn't have cars, though, so they couldn't visit.

"You can live in a gold house, but there's something missing without your friends and everything," she said. "I'm out here with nothing but strangers."

A few years after they moved in, Cephas Glover died of cancer. Relatives visited, but Glover spent the next three decades more or less alone. She assumed people forgot what happened to black folks like her.

Then in 2011, officials at Legacy Emanuel Medical Center called. The hospital was about to celebrate its 100th anniversary. But first, they wanted to publicly apologize.
Emanuel apologizes

Hospital leaders called it their **reconciliation project**. They spent a year interviewing Glover and others who lost their homes. By then, many had died.

When Emanuel leaders organized **an apology breakfast** in 2012, only four of the 200 who lost their homes could attend. The hospital invited a few dozen black community leaders to fill out the audience.

Glover, then 94, drove herself there. She wore a dress of many colors and had a table in the front.

"I still miss it," she told community leaders who stopped to hug her. "But I’m glad to visit today, and I hope we can get something good going for all of us."

A historian recounted the story. Dr. Lori Morgan, the hospital's chief administrative officer, said it was "past time" to address the demolition.

"It's a part of Emanuel's history," Morgan told the crowd. "It's not a proud part, but it's one that I'm quite determined we are going to own."

Glover didn’t speak, but some black leaders in the audience did. They wanted more than an apology. They wanted reparations.

"I walked into this room knowing you did wrong," said Lolenzo Poe, then board chair of the Urban League. "What's far more important is what you're going to do about it."

Emanuel leaders didn’t offer money. But a few months later, they **affixed 10 giant panels** to the main atrium, detailing the havoc the hospital wreaked.

One 47-x-60-inch panel names every person, including Glover, who lost a home. Another shows a picture of her house in 1969. The lawn is mowed. A tree shades the walkway. A car sits out front, a luxury when everything she loved had been steps away.

In 2012, Glover drove back to look at the exhibit. She ran a finger over the picture of her house. It was a nice gesture, she thought. But it couldn't undo what happened. It didn't bring black people back.

"I'm alone," she said recently. "I like to ride over there and look. But it's not the same, even when I look."

The city atones

The land that Glover left sat empty for decades. Even as other close-in neighborhoods gentrified, Glover's old neighborhood remained a collection of empty storefronts and vacant lots, a place people from Irvington or Alameda drove through on their way downtown.

Emanuel Medical Center eventually expanded. In 2011, it built a state-of-the-art children's hospital on Glover's old block. The neighborhood around it, fueled by a more recent round of urban renewal, has become one of Portland's most desirable for the creative class. The number of black residents continues to decline.

A few years ago, amid criticism that city policies gentrified the heart of the African American community, Portland leaders followed Emanuel's lead and acknowledged they had helped displace hundreds of black families.
Last year, city officials decided to take another, bolder step. They created programs to bring residents back.

Over the next decade, **Portland urban renewal officials plan to spend $96 million** on "right to return" programs for families either pushed or priced out of the inner city. They'll subsidize apartment rentals and help older residents hold on to properties. They'll also provide down payments to buy homes, some of them new, in North and Northeast Portland.

When Portland housing officials announced the first round of down payment grants last May, more than 1,000 people applied for 65 spots. To choose who gets the money, the city created a "preference policy." Applicants are ranked based on the degree that city actions pushed them from the inner city.

"If families have evidence that they had their property taken by the city, they move directly to the top of the list," said Matthew Tschabold, the Portland Housing Bureau's equity and policy manager.

Glover's past should guarantee her a top spot. In meetings announcing the programs, city officials set up posters that showed her old house.

But fliers for the down payments didn't mention the minimum requirements: Applicants must earn at least $31,000 to qualify for a mortgage. Those who earn less can volunteer 300 to 500 hours to help build their homes.

At 98, Glover lives off Social Security, not enough to qualify for a loan in a red-hot market. Though she tries to walk a mile a day, she's not in shape to put in sweat equity.

"So if you don't have nothing they can't help you?" she asked when a friend explained the program last fall. "Do they know the reason I don't have nothing?"

Glover is a joyful woman, given to high-pitched peals of laughter and a gentle teasing of her visitors. She pushes back against self-pity and repeats, often, "I'm just doing the best I can."

But that day, she stewed after her friend left. Hours later, she worked out the math as she washed dishes. Her East Portland home is worth about $250,000 now. Smaller homes in her old neighborhood sell for half a million dollars.

"I heard them say at Emanuel that they didn't do right," she said. "I thought they were going to do something for us. I have to save and skimp and do the best I can. But see, Emanuel and the city doesn't have to do the best they can. They making good money off the property they got from me."

'Do it like I want to'

Just before Christmas, Glover microwaved plates from Meals on Wheels for lunch. She missed fried fish and good salads. She longed for a rotisserie chicken and ice cream.

If she lived close-in, Glover thought, she could walk to the store. The white people on her cul-de-sac were nice, but they didn't take care of one another the way black communities did. Younger African Americans looked after the elders.

Glover ate in front of a television on the kitchen counter. She watched "The View," then stood to wash the plate.

"If I keep living, I'm going to have to have somebody to help me," she said. "Then I wonder can I afford it."

Glover had nowhere to be, so she started on a tour of her photographs. She picked up her cane and headed for the hallway.

She drifted past pictures from Louisiana, portraits from when she and Cephas met. Old friends from Portland beamed from the walls. She stopped to wipe dust off a framed image of her mother. Glover smiled at Cephas, forever smoking a cigar in the bedroom.

"You know how come I put pictures everywhere, on the floor and everywhere?" she said. "So I can see my family and I won't be so lonely. I just do it like I want to."

She left the cane behind and continued searching. She squealed when she discovered a wallet-size image of her old kitchen. Glover shook her head. In the photo, she was smiling.

"Look at me," she said. She stared at her 30-year-old self for a few minutes, a housewife washing dishes, a woman who didn't know what she would lose.

She moved to another room. For all of the hundreds of pictures, she couldn't find what she wanted most: a snapshot of her old home. She knew Emanuel had a photo in its exhibit. Portland keeps a small copy in its archives.

Glover combed her albums but couldn't find one of her own. In the end, the hospital and city had taken hold of Thelma Glover's memories, too.

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Albina 1996: North Williams Avenue, portrait of a once-thriving Portland jazz scene

On Sept. 8, 1996, The Oregonian published a 6,000-word story by reporters Jim Barnett and Steve Suo titled “Albina: Up or out?” The article, serialized here, identified evidence that after decades of neglect and disinvestment, the neighborhoods of inner North and Northeast Portland were on the cusp of frenetic growth in home values and rents.

Sunday at last. The young shipping clerk rushed up North Williams Avenue, past strolling couples, the men’s hair slicked back, the women’s legs swishing forward under their skirts, past musicians gathered on the sidewalk, smoking cigarettes and looking cool, past the smell of sweet baby-back ribs from Mallie’s and through the door to Paul’s Paradise, straight into the tingling vibration of red-hot jazz.

That afternoon in July 1954, when 12 Seattle musicians came to jam at Paul’s, was a zenith for Portland’s jazz scene and for its African-American community.

The shipping clerk went on to become a cop, a television newscaster and a Portland city commissioner. Dick Bogle says the music still has the same effect on him.

But little else is the same. Two decades later, the black community was scattered by urban renewal and ravaged by economic decline. Paul’s was a paradise lost.

"It was always hard for me to understand what happened," says Bogle, 65. "There used to be restaurants and clubs. All of a sudden, as blacks had broken the color line, some of the nitty-gritty stuff we always took for granted disappeared."

Albina has been a central home to Portland’s African-American community since just after World War II. Thousands of blacks, drawn from the South to wartime shipyard jobs, were left homeless by a 1948 flood that destroyed barracks housing in Vanport, along the Columbia River near what is now Delta Park. Many moved where they were steered by real estate agents -- the old city of Albina.

A bustling, independent railroad town in the 1880s, Albina already showed signs of decline. In the teens and ‘20s, the wealthy left their Victorian homes in the urban core for new suburbs accessible by car. The community also was Portland’s first home to waves of European immigrants, who secured a foothold with blue-collar jobs and, by World War II, had moved up and out.

Blacks filled in behind. By 1950, their numbers in Lower Albina had grown about 3,500 while the white population had declined an equal amount.

Although Albina was underscored by poverty and substandard housing, it was, in the '50s, a vibrant community. Black barbershops, dry cleaners and restaurants served neighbors shut out of white businesses downtown. A half-dozen black-owned music clubs stood within walking distance of North Williams, known as "The Stem."

But in the 1960s, the black majority neighborhoods in Albina were tagged as Portland's ghetto. And, in an era of urban policy that was played out across the nation, city leaders devised programs to rid the core of "blight."

To the government, it was urban renewal. To residents facing bulldozers, it was "urban removal."

The prime targets were dilapidated homes and businesses in what are now the Rose Quarter and the Emanuel Hospital complex. Like a modern-day Atlantis, old Albina was swamped beneath a sea of concrete.

Between 1950 and 1980, the number of housing units in Albina's core -- west of 8th Avenue and south of Fremont Street -- declined 57 percent, from 5,072 to 2,169. Memorial Coliseum, built in 1957, and Interstate 5, opened in 1964, each displaced about 300 people.

"We destroyed more enterprise zones than we could ever hope to create -- in the name of progress," says Ed Washington, a Metro councilor who grew up in Albina.

At the height of urban renewal efforts in the early 1970s, Emanuel Hospital wanted to expand. Standing in its way: The historic Albina business district at Williams Avenue and Russell Street.

With $3.7 million in federal money, the Portland Development Commission leveled 22 city blocks, displacing and relocating 162 families.

Two years later, Emanuel canceled the expansion, citing insufficient funds.

The wave of construction drove black families further north and east in Albina, which spurred a new round of white flight. The geographic heart of the black community also moved north and centered around Skidmore and MLK.

And in that heart, poverty found a home. Between 1970 and 1990, the poverty rate among Albina families increased from 10.9 percent to 16.5 percent. In the worst pockets, straddling MLK, the rate topped 36 percent in 1990.

Chastened by the past, city officials now are working to recreate a vibrant artery that maintains a strong African-American identity.

The Portland Development Commission has loaned $2.8 million to 61 inner North and Northeast businesses since 1992 -- nearly two-thirds of them owned by African-Americans. The city has issued $204,000 in federal block grants to spruce up store entrances.

Banks are boosting commercial lending. In the late 1980s, the U.S. Small Business Administration guaranteed about $600,000 annually in new bank loans in inner North and Northeast; in the early 1990s, that annual average more than doubled, to $1.4 million.

And after a long slide, the boulevard is pulsing with new life.

Coral salvias and lavender daisies bloom in the garden that gives Roslyn's Garden Coffee House its name. The corrugated aluminum facade of the tiny building on 14th Place went up with an $8,000 city grant. Inside, Roslyn Hill brews lattes with equipment bought with $35,000 of her own money and $32,450 from the city.
Doris’ Cafe, a barbecue spot at Russell Street, opened with a city loan. Steen’s Coffee House next door made it without government help.

And Phyliss Gaines used private funds to open the nearby Vessels, a dinnerware boutique featuring African designs.

"I had an idea, and MLK was the perfect location for it," says Gaines, who also is an assistant vice president and consumer loan officer at Key Bank of Oregon. "The fact that there was a lot of development going on encouraged me."

The sour memory of earlier renewal policy leaves some veteran residents skeptical.

Much of the business property Emanuel acquired remains vacant; the hospital transformed some of the land to parks and affordable housing and hopes to dust off expansion blueprints sometime in the next 30 years. Since the Fred Meyer on MLK closed in 1989, Albina has made do with one major grocery, the Safeway at Ainsworth.

"It ain’t going to work," says barber Willie Harris, 54, who for decades has run businesses in the ragged remains of the old Albina core. "It’s a program again. America don’t operate on no program. America operates on being capitalist, ambitious and educated."

But others think the joint efforts of government and private enterprise can override history.

Back in the ’60s, Paul Knauls Sr. owned the Cotton Club, a music house on North Vancouver Avenue. Now he and his wife, Geneva, run Geneva’s Shear Perfection salon on MLK.

"The avenue is on the move," Knauls says.

NEXT: Portrait of a homeowner
City of Portland reveals plan to ease wounds of gentrification

PORTLAND, Ore. -- It's been dubbed the “right to return,” an unfamiliar concept in a city, all too familiar with the pains of growth.

Portland housing officials confirmed Wednesday they are moving forward with a complex, multifaceted vision in an attempt to ease decades-old wounds of gentrification and prevent new ones.

Among their plans is a program that would give previously displaced families preference when applying for city-owned affordable housing.

“They will move to the top of the line for access to housing that we help fund or down payment on home purchases, in the North-Northeast area,” said housing Commissioner Dan Saltzman.

Video: Housing director on affordable housing

Specifically, the city is focusing on families forced out of their North Portland homes in the 1970s to make room for the expansion of Emanuel Hospital. The complex is now called Legacy Emanuel Medical Center.

“A lot of it’s really just social justice. I mean there are still very real memories of the displacement that occurred,” said Saltzman. “This area has, historically, been sort of the heart of the African American community, and it’s still where people come to worship. There are still businesses they come to patronize, and I think there’s a very real desire, as people are being priced out of that area, there’s a very real desire for families who used to live in that area to return to that area.”

Related: Portland housing prices up 19 percent since 2013

Officials are also zeroing in on those caught in a similar cycle, in the 1950s, ahead of the construction of Veterans Memorial Coliseum.

“You’re talking about a community of people who have been impacted by their roots,” said Bishop Steven Holt. “If you uproot a tree, what happens? If you don’t replant it, the tree is going to die.”

For Holt and his family, the policy is personal.

He says his mother and aunt were forced out of their North Portland home, to make room for the Emanuel Hospital project.

Related: Can Multnomah Village stay small?

Holt, who now works with the city on housing issues, says the wounds run deep.
“You're impacting relationships. You're impacting friendships. You're impacting a sense of community and identity,” he said. “It is almost a direct inference that says 'you're not wanted here.'”

“It's not a homerun, but it's getting on base,” Holt continued about the new policy.

He says he doesn't plan to take advantage, but he hopes others do.

“It's good work. It's just hard work, and it's ongoing work. We're not going to solve the pain of yesterday. It's not going to happen,” Holt said. “But we can try to make some things right for tomorrow and today.”

The city will spend $96 million over 10 years to execute the plan.

If you believe you or your family should be considered under the city’s ‘preference plan,’ contact the office (https://www.portlandoregon.gov/saltzman/) of Commissioner Dan Saltzman.

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Urban renewal had decimated Portland's African American neighborhoods before. But, in 2000, city leaders promised this time would be different. This time, they said, money spent in North and Northeast Portland would benefit the poor, the elderly and people of color.

Sixteen years later, that still hasn't happened.

"We over-promised and under-delivered," said Kimberly Branam, the executive director of the Portland Development Commission, which oversees the city's urban renewal projects. The plan's intended beneficiaries, Branam said, "were, in fact, those who were most harmed."

White developers leveraged that city cash into multimillion-dollar apartment projects, and rising prices pushed African Americans and poor white people out. And now, Branam said, the city has five years and $32 million left in its Interstate Corridor Urban Renewal Area to make amends.
The money will be spent helping African American businesses and homeowners, adding to millions of dollars already set aside to help those who were displaced. Still, the city's pledge might not be enough.

While Portland's housing and economic development agencies have funneled $159 million into the area since 2000, private investors pulled in by a new TriMet MAX line have spent nearly $1 billion bringing offices, restaurants and high-end housing to what was a neglected and deteriorating place.

"What impact we thought we would have has really been dwarfed by these major market forces," Branim told more than 100 African Americans gathered at a Northeast Portland church in October.

The $32 million might not make a noticeable difference, Branim told the crowd, but city leaders had learned from the past. This time, they would do better, she said.

Audience members shifted in their seats. They'd watched promises crumble before. Would this time be any different? And even if it was, was it too small to matter?

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Urban renewal is a complex tax-collecting tool with a simple premise: City officials redirect property taxes into "blighted" neighborhoods, hoping to kick-start growth and seed long-term revival.

Over time, Portland's African Americans learned to associate urban renewal with a darker truth: When cities pledge to make neighborhood improvements, they often end up pushing existing residents out.

City leaders used urban renewal in the 1960s to build Veterans Memorial Coliseum, evicting thousands of African Americans in the process. They used it in 1970 to kick another 300 North and Northeast Portland homeowners out when Emanuel Hospital leaders proposed an expansion.

That "negative legacy" still lingered, city leaders acknowledged when proposing another round in 2000. But officials had learned their lessons: They wouldn't evict North and Northeast Portlanders. They would help them thrive.

Urban renewal dollars paid for the MAX Yellow Line and improvements at Dawson Park. They helped build condos and affordable housing on North Killingsworth Street and a food cart pod in Kenton.

Some of those projects, including the Vanport Square on Northeast Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard, did benefit ethnic minorities.

Property values soared. But the city's promise to help minorities prosper didn't pan out: Between 2000 and 2013, the median income for African Americans still in the neighborhood decreased 31 percent, to $24,322.

By 2014, more than 10,000 African Americans had left the inner city. The city-funded "better" neighborhood was also unmistakably whiter.

When city leaders offered a $2.4 million discount to developers hoping to build a Trader Joe's on a vacant lot at Northeast Martin Luther King Jr. and Alberta, African Americans said that was the last straw.

The dust-up became national news. Conan O'Brien joked about it in a monologue, and Trader Joe's pulled out.

In the aftermath, Mayor Charlie Hales promised to spend $20 million on new affordable housing or help for existing homeowners. A year later, Hales said the city would spend $67 million more to subsidize affordable housing in the the Pearl District and parts of North and Northeast Portland.

Money for both proposals, Hales said, would come out of the city's urban renewal budgets. That left less money for small business loans and projects such as improving North Lombard Street.
Development officials who had banked on having $60 million to spend in the Interstate corridor now had only $32 million. Before moving forward with the reduced budget, they studied the work they’d done since 2000.

"We found over and over and over again," said Tory Campbell, the interim economic development director, "that the African American community has been by far the most disadvantaged in all of those efforts."

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In early 2016, the development commission appointed 11 people - 10 of them African American -- to script a plan for the area's remaining millions.

They tapped Roslyn Hill, who turned a blighted stretch of Northeast Alberta Street into an arts district, and Stephen Green, a venture capitalist working to rebrand the inner city as a "Soul District," along with other business and civic leaders.

The group proposed spending $2 million in grants and $6 million on loans to help property owners fix up homes and businesses. They suggested setting aside nearly $2 million to help people build in-law cottages in their yards and more than $10 million for "vibrant, culturally relevant spaces."

City leaders presented a near-final draft at two meetings in October. Free food lined one wall. Posters depicting the harm urban renewal had dealt African Americans in 1970 stretched along another.

"We have been really upfront about our past," Branam said. "We're not delighted with ourselves and the $32 million. This feels like the work that needs to be done."

The meetings showed how challenging that work could become without more trust. Conversations stalled when city workers used acronyms unfamiliar to the crowd. But what the attendees lacked in wonky know-how, they made up for with lived experiences.

City officials scrapped one goal - awarding $2.5 million to business owners who commit to hiring minorities - after black attendees suggested it wouldn't work. They’d had bosses who’d hired minorities to fulfill a pledge but then did nothing to help them succeed.

A proposal to use some money on loans instead of grants worried others, Campbell said, because loans require collateral.

"What happens if it doesn't work?" Campbell, an African American business owner himself, asked a crowd attending the second meeting. "I can do what?"

"Lose my house," many called back.

"Very legitimate concerns," he said. "And it's based on a history, too, right?"

"Mmmhmm," audience members said.

Loans would allow the city do more with the smaller budget, he explained. The $32 million wouldn't go far if they gave it all out in grants.

"If you get a loan then pay it back," Campbell said, "those dollars are reinvested to create more opportunities beyond just yourself."

At the previous meeting, audience members had warned against spending $10 million on big "culturally relevant" projects. They feared the city would build an African American history museum.

"If that's how you feel, we will roll with that," Campbell said. "But I wanted to pause and say what we are talking about is places where there is business, where the property and things there are owned by black folks or folks of color."
With that, he broke the crowd into groups to pore over the plan. In one church classroom, about a dozen people met to evaluate the line items. The crowd was skeptical the money could close the gap between whites and African Americans.

Locally, the group said, they faced repeated discrimination. They talked about racism that persists in construction unions and the struggle felons face finding work. They said the state didn’t employ enough African Americans in its civil rights division.

A woman groused about black people who sell their homes to white people. Another said Portland’s black population is too spread out now to limit investment to the inner city. If someone has been pushed out to Gresham, why should they commute to North Portland to open a business?

Dana DeKlyen, a program manager for the development commission, explained that urban renewal money is restricted. The $32 million might make a bigger difference in the underdeveloped eastern stretches of the city, but it has to be spent in same area where it’s collected.

"Where is the Interstate Corridor?" another woman asked. DeKlyen looked around the room, but there was no map showing the boundaries -- a large, but patchy area that stretches from Northeast Broadway Street to St. Johns.

"It starts at MLK," DeKlyen said.

"MLK and what, though?" the woman asked.

As people packed up to go, Hill, the developer who remade Alberta Street, suggested $8 million might not be enough for anchor projects in what have become some of Portland’s hottest neighborhoods. The city spent more to build Vanport Square, the Northeast Portland hub for minority business owners. And that was a decade ago. Land is more expensive now.

"We wouldn't even be able to do one with this cost," Hill said.

"And how many in Vanport are still businesses of color?" a woman asked. "How many sold to white people?"

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GENTRIFICATION SPOTLIGHT: How Portland is Pushing Out Its Black Residents

Between its alarming legacy of racism and its skyrocketing rents, Portland, Oregon, has become one of the country's worst examples of Black displacement and gentrification. What will it take for this hipster heartland to live up to its warm and fuzzy reputation?

Abigail Savitch-Lew (/writers/abigail-savitch-lew) | APR 18, 2016 1:35PM EDT

Anti-gentrification graffiti in Portland, Oregon
Photo: Tony Webster/Flickr
Update on 4-20-16: Portland native Marih Alyn-Claire has notified Colorlines that after months of searching she has found an affordable apartment in the city.

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Marih Alyn-Claire, a Black 64-year-old Portland, Oregon, native, is afraid she will soon be homeless. Last summer, she learned that her rent would rise by several hundred dollars in June 2016, but so far she hasn’t found a decent apartment that she can afford. “I’ve watched the redlining here. I’ve lived through discrimination myself,” she said at an emergency housing forum (https://www.oregonhousingalliance.org/portland-area-emergency-housing-forum/) with state representatives and senators in January. "But I’ve always been able to get a place."

Until now.

Alyn-Claire lives on Social Security Disability insurance and pays for part of her housing costs with a federal Section 8 voucher. In recent years, though, Portland rents have skyrocketed and the federal government’s voucher program hasn’t kept pace—leaving tenants like her to shoulder the cost or meet the streets.

There is no one story of displacement in Portland. Among the 30 others who testified at the January emergency housing hearing was a working-class mother pushed out, a copywriter evicted and grappling with doubled rent costs, and a domestic violence service provider having trouble finding emergency housing for clients.
Despite what's happening, Portland is not widely known as an expensive city. Rather, it is seen as a haven for creatives and nonconformists, the place that the popular comedy "Portlandia" famously deemed "the city where young people go to retire." The New York Times encourages tourists (http://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/13/travel/what-to-do-in-36-hours-in-portland.html?_r=0) to “ignore the hype, and indulge in the city’s simple pleasures—from $4 films to a puppet museum” or enjoy “shockingly affordable” (http://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/04/travel/8-portland-ore-meals-for-8-or-under.html) delicious eats. Yet Portland is quickly becoming accessible only to the wealthiest iconoclasts. Since 2010, rents have increased an average of 20 percent (http://www.oregonlive.com/front-porch/index.ssf/2015/03/portlands_rents_rose_at_nation.html), the sixth-fastest rise in the nation after cities like New York and San Jose. In 2015, Portland ranked first in the country (http://www.governing.com/gov-data/census/gentrification-in-cities-governing-report.html) for the percentage of land tracts identified as gentrifying by Governing Magazine.

With rent hikes of more than 15 percent (http://www.oregonlive.com/portland/index.ssf/2015/10/portland_oks_90-day_notice_for.html) in the third quarter of 2015, tenant organizations began calling the months of July and August “the summer of evictions.” There’s been a vast increase in the number of single-person households living in Central City, the urban core—often college graduates attracted by Portland’s relative affordability and hip reputation. And thanks to state laws that prohibit policies used to regulate other pricey cities, Portland tenants are vulnerable to limitless rent increases.

Photo: Abigail Savitch-Lew
Flyer advertising a rally for fair rents in the Northend neighborhood of Portland, Oregon.

**New White Majorities in Traditionally Black Neighborhoods**

The media has paid a lot of attention to the White artists affected by the rent crisis, the “urban pioneers (http://www.golocalpdx.com/news/why-portlands-urban-pioneers-are-moving-to-detroit)” ditching Portland in search of greater affordability and a more authentic cultural scene. But Portland’s people of color—and particularly, Black residents—have been hardest hit.

While White Portland has more than rebounded since the last recession, poverty in the Black community has worsened. From 2000 to 2013, White incomes grew from about $55,000 to $60,000; Black incomes fell from $35,000 to less than $30,000. A report published last April by the Portland Housing Bureau revealed there is not a single neighborhood in the city where an average African-American can afford a two-bedroom apartment.
Black Portlanders suffer enormously from this catastrophic combination of falling incomes and rising housing costs. In 2015, the number of homeless Black people grew by **48 percent**. Though they make up only 7 percent of Portland residents, Black people constitute a disproportionate 25 percent of the homeless population.

While the entire city is facing the stress of rising rents, Portland’s Black community has grappled with gentrification for more than a decade. From 2000 to 2010, the city’s core lost 10,000 Black residents (http://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/index.ssf/2011/04/in_portlands_heart_diversity_dwindles.html). In the historically Black neighborhoods of the Northeast such as King, Woodlawn and Boise-Eliot, Whites became the new majority in most census tracts.

“This is a critical moment for us as a state ... as we’re faced with quite possibly the most far-reaching and devastating housing crisis in Oregon’s history due to unprecedented rent increases,” Katrina Holland, deputy director of the Community Alliance of Tenants, said at the January hearing with politicians. The crisis, she said, ravages “people who look like me, African-American, and Native Americans, on top of generations of racially motivated, dramatic displacements.”

**The Racial Failure of 'New Urbanism'**

The housing crunch Portland is suffering is happening in cities across the country. White millennials, eager to live close to where they work and access the cultural vibrancy of city life, are driving up demand for housing and displace Black and Latino residents from the neighborhoods they helped to build. One study of 11 metropolitan areas (http://www.detroitpeoplesplatform.org/download/land/BlackDisplacement_JSullivan.pdf) found that from 2000 to 2010 there was an increase in the Black population living outside the urban core in each city. While some Black homeowners may sell their houses and leave the city for better opportunities, tenants are often unable to afford to live in rejuvenated neighborhoods. Other Black homeowners are bought out by eager investors, only to find that they are unable to rent or purchase housing elsewhere.
Portland, a city already abnormally White due to a history of racial exclusion and forced removal of Black residents, is a dramatic example of a nationwide problem.

With its municipal compost system and bike-friendly streets, Portland is a model for the nation of “new urbanism”–a vision of thriving neighborhoods with low carbon footprints. Yet some say that the city has failed to invest sufficiently in the livelihoods of Black residents, depriving them of the opportunity to enjoy recent public investments in the landscape.

“If Portland is trying to be this model of sustainable, livable, walkable, 20-minute cities, and it’s not racially diverse and it’s not class diverse, we’ve got big problems about what that means for anywhere else,” says Lisa Bates, a professor of urban planning at Portland State University. “Is it only viable to use public resources to create a favorable environment if you get rid of all the undesirable people?”

Portland officials say they value class and racial diversity, and are making efforts to address the larger city crisis. Last October, the city, along with Los Angeles, Seattle and the state of Hawaii, declared a housing and homeless state of emergency, enacting measures to open new shelters, legalize homeless encampments and set aside funding for affordable housing. In Portland, the ordinance allowed the city to broaden its current focus on homeless veterans to the city’s growing number of women and families with no place to live. Affordable housing advocates recognize the declaration as a step toward addressing the rent crisis.

Yet will Portland actually get to the roots of housing displacement in Portland’s Black community—roots that run deep, that go back centuries?

Photo: Abigail Savitch-Lew
A mural commemorating the 1948 flooding of the Vandport, a Black community in Portland. City officials failed to tell residents that sea levels were rising and the neighborhood flooded. Thirteen people died.

**Jim Crow, Portland Style**

Michelle Lewis, a therapist with connections to Black residents throughout Portland, can see the links between the city’s history of racial exclusion, her clients’ housing instability and her own hardship. Since she and her husband lost their home to predatory lending during the recession, she says, they have been forced to move five times—most recently, beyond the city limits—as a result of rent increases and racial discrimination.

“We’ve felt like nomads,” she says.

Oregon’s first Black residents may have felt similarly. In the 1840s, the territory passed laws prohibiting Blacks from living in the state and punishing those who tried to remain with whiplashes and expulsion. In 1858, Oregon became the only
state in the country admitted with a clause in its constitution excluding Blacks. As a result, Oregon’s Black population grew slowly—and those who stayed navigated Jim Crow-style segregation.

Lewis’ grandfather came to Portland during World War II. During that time, the Kaiser Company imported thousands of Whites and Blacks from across the country to build tanks and cargo ships. White Portlanders, averse to the growing Black population, confined most of the migrants to a new development called Vanport, built on a flood plain by the Columbia River.

“That’s where we had to live at,” Lewis recalls her grandparents explaining. “If you worked downtown, you had to be over in that area by a certain time, or else you could be fined, you could be jailed.” (While there is no official record of the so-called “sundown laws” in Oregon, there is a rich oral history detailing how towns jailed Black people for appearing after dark, especially in southern Oregon.)

After the war, Portland residents wanted to get rid of Vanport and developers hoped to reclaim the property for parkland and manufacturing use. In 1948, they got their wishes: After city officials failed to warn residents of rising river levels, the dikes broke, flooding Vanport and killing 13 people. Lewis’ family lost their home in the flood.

Like many other Black residents of Vanport, the Lewis family settled in the Albina neighborhood of the Northeast, one of the only areas of the city where realtors would sell to Blacks. As White residents fled to the suburbs, banks redlined the neighborhood, depriving Black tenants of the opportunity to obtain mortgages and build home equity, while investors purchased homes with cash and let them sit empty. With the city turning a blind eye and rising poverty, crime and unemployment, White Portlanders began to view Albina as a dangerous slum.

Yet when Lewis looks back on her childhood in Albina, she remembers a close-knit community and good times spent on friends’ porches, climbing fruit trees and playing four-corner kickball. “We would play outside all day ‘til the streetlights
came on,” she recalls. “You could go and knock on your neighbors door—my mom would say, go and knock Mrs. Shirley’s [door], I need an egg. ... You knew everybody in the neighborhood.”

Instead of nurturing this community, the Portland Development Commission launched numerous “urban renewal (http://kingneighborhood.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/BLEEDING-ALBINA.-A-HISTORY-OF-COMMUNITY-DISINVESTMENT-1940%E2%80%932000.pdf)” projects with the purported goal of addressing blight. Aiming to convert the land to commercial and industrial uses, the city displaced hundreds of residents to build a sports arena, expand a hospital, and construct two new highways.

By the 1970s, public outcry against “urban renewal” caused officials to change course: The city let the area remain residential and supported local initiatives to revitalize housing and streetscapes. Yet Black Portlanders were still shut out. White people with higher incomes returned to the Northend, causing rents to rise and uprooting many Black businesses and about one in every four Black residents.

With the loss of many members of this community has come the loss of history, leading to the false perception that Portland is naturally White, or that uncontrollable market forces bear sole responsibility for the displacement. For Lewis, the erasure is painful.

“It’s a horrible feeling, to come to a neighborhood where you grow up in, and have the people there look at you as if you don’t belong,” she says. She recalls Little Chapel of the Chimes, the funeral home where she buried her grandfather.

Little Chapel of the Chimes is now a craft beer pub.

*Find out what Portland’s people of color are doing about the city’s runaway rents in Part 2 of this gentrification spotlight.*
The Racist History of Portland, the Whitest City in America

It's known as a modern-day hub of progressivism, but its past is one of exclusion.
PORTLAND, Ore.—Victor Pierce has worked on the assembly line of a Daimler Trucks North America plant here since 1994. But he says that in recent years he’s experienced things that seem straight out of another time. White co-workers have challenged him to fights, mounted “hangman’s nooses” around the factory, referred to him as “boy” on a daily basis, sabotaged his work station by hiding his tools, carved swastikas in the bathroom, and written the word “nigger” on walls in the factory, according to allegations filed in a complaint to the Multnomah County Circuit Court in February of 2015.

Pierce is one of six African Americans working in the Portland plant whom the lawyer Mark Morrell is representing in a series of lawsuits against Daimler Trucks North America. The cases have been combined and a trial is scheduled for January of 2017.

“They have all complained about being treated poorly because of their race,” Morrell told me. “It’s a sad story—it’s pretty ugly on the floor there.” (Daimler said it could not comment on pending litigation, but spokesman David Giroux said that the company prohibits discrimination and investigates any allegations of harassment.)

The allegations may seem at odds with the reputation of this city known for its progressivism. But many African Americans in Portland say they’re not surprised when they hear about racial incidents in this city and state. That’s because racism has been entrenched in Oregon, maybe more than any state in the north, for nearly two centuries. When the state entered the union in 1859, for example, Oregon explicitly forbade black people from living in its borders, the only state to do so. In more recent times, the city repeatedly undertook “urban renewal” projects (such as the construction of Legacy Emanuel Hospital) that decimated the small black community that existed here. And racism persists today. A 2011 audit found that landlords and leasing agents here discriminated against black and Latino renters 64 percent of the time, citing them higher rents or deposits and adding on additional fees. In area schools, African American students are suspended and expelled at a rate four to five times higher than that of their white peers.

All in all, historians and residents say, Oregon has never been particularly welcoming to minorities. Perhaps that’s why there have never been very many. Portland is the
whitest big city in America, with a population that is 72.2 percent white and only 6.3 percent African American.

“I think that Portland has, in many ways, perfected neoliberal racism,” Walidah Imarisha, an African American educator and expert on black history in Oregon, told me. Yes, the city is politically progressive, she said, but its government has facilitated the dominance of whites in business, housing, and culture. And white-supremacist sentiment is not uncommon in the state. Imarisha travels around Oregon teaching about black history, and she says neo-Nazis and others spewing sexually explicit comments or death threats frequently protest her events.

Violence is not the only obstacle faced by black people in Oregon. A 2014 report by Portland State University and the Coalition of Communities of Color, a Portland non-profit, shows black families lag far behind whites in the Portland region in employment, health outcomes, and high-school graduation rates. They also lag behind black families nationally. While annual incomes for whites nationally and in Multnomah County, where Portland is located, were around $70,000 in 2009, blacks in Multnomah County made just $34,000, compared to $41,000 for blacks nationally. Almost two-thirds of black single mothers in Multnomah County with kids under five lived in poverty in 2010, compared to half of black single mothers with kids under five nationally. And just 32 percent of African Americans in Multnomah County owned
homes in 2010, compared to 60 percent of whites in the county and 45 percent of blacks nationally.

“Oregon has been slow to dismantle overtly racist policies,” the report concluded. As a result, “African Americans in Multnomah County continue to live with the effects of racialized policies, practices, and decision-making.”

Whether this history can be overcome is another matter. Because Oregon, and specifically Portland, its biggest city, are not very diverse, many white people may not even begin to think about, let alone understand, the inequalities. A blog, “Shit White People Say to Black and Brown Folks in PDX,” details how racist Portland residents can be to people of color. “Most of the people who live here in Portland have never had to directly, physically and/or emotionally interact with PoC in their life cycle,” one post begins.

As the city becomes more popular and real-estate prices rise, it is Portland’s tiny African American population that is being displaced to the far-off fringes of the city, leading to even less diversity in the city’s center. There are around 38,000 African Americans in the city in Portland, according to Lisa K. Bates of Portland State University; in recent years, 10,000 of those 38,000 have had to move from the center city to its fringes because of rising prices. The gentrification of the historically black neighborhood in central Portland, Albina, has led to conflicts between white Portlanders and long-time black residents over things like widening bicycle lanes and the construction of a new Trader Joe’s. And the spate of alleged incidents at Daimler Trucks is evidence of tensions that are far less subtle.

“Portland’s tactic when it comes to race up until now, has been to ignore it,” said Zev Nicholson, an African American resident who was, until recently, the Organizing Director of the Urban League of Portland. But can it continue to do so?

* * *

From its very beginning, Oregon was an inhospitable place for black people. In 1844, the provisional government of the territory passed a law banning slavery, and at the same time required any African American in Oregon leave the territory. Any black person remaining would be flogged publicly every six months until he left. Five years
later, another law was passed that forbade free African Americans from entering into Oregon, according to the Communities of Color report.

In 1857, Oregon adopted a state constitution that banned black people from coming to the state, residing in the state, or holding property in the state. During this time, any white male settler could receive 650 acres of land and another 650 if he was married. This, of course, was land taken from native people who had been living here for centuries.

This early history proves, to Imarisha, that “the founding idea of the state was as a racist white utopia. The idea was to come to Oregon territory and build the perfect white society you dreamed of.” (Matt Novak detailed Oregon’s heritage as a white utopia in this 2015 Gizmodo essay.)

With the passage of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments, Oregon’s laws preventing black people from living in the state and owning property were superseded by national law. But Oregon itself didn’t ratify the 14th Amendment—the Equal Protection Clause—until 1973. (Or, more exactly, the state ratified the amendment in 1866, rescinded its ratification in 1868, and then finally ratified it for good in 1973.) It didn’t ratify the 15th Amendment, which gave black people the right to vote, until 1959, making it one of only six states that refused to ratify that amendment when it passed.
The Champoeg meetings organized early government in Oregon. (Joseph Gaston / The Centennial History of Oregon)

This history resulted in a very white state. Technically, after 1868, black people could come to Oregon. But the black-exclusion laws had sent a very clear message nationwide, says Darrell Millner, a professor of black studies at Portland State University. “What those exclusion laws did was broadcast very broadly and loudly was that Oregon wasn’t a place where blacks would be welcome or comfortable,” he told me. By 1890, there were slightly more than 1,000 black people in the whole state of Oregon. By 1920, there were about 2,000.

The rise of the Ku Klux Klan made Oregon even more inhospitable for black people. The state had the highest per capita Klan membership in the country, according to Imarisha. Democrat Walter M. Pierce was elected to the governorship of the state in 1922 with the vocal support of the Klan, and photos in the local paper show the Portland chief of police, sheriff, district attorney, U.S. attorney, and mayor posing with Klansmen, accompanied by an article saying the men were taking advice from the Klan. Some of the laws passed during that time included literacy tests for anyone who wanted to vote in the state and compulsory public school for Oregonians, a measure targeted at Catholics.

It wasn’t until World War II that a sizable black population moved to Oregon, lured by jobs in the shipyards, Millner said. The black population grew from 2,000 to 20,000 during the war, and the majority of the new residents lived in a place called Vanport, a city of houses nestled between Portland and Vancouver, Washington, constructed for the new residents. Yet after the war, blacks were encouraged to leave Oregon, Millner said, with the mayor of Portland commenting in a newspaper article that black people were not welcome. The Housing Authority of Portland mulled dismantling Vanport, and jobs for black people disappeared as white soldiers returned from war and displaced the men and women who had found jobs in the shipyards.

Dismantling Vanport proved unnecessary. In May of 1948, the Columbia River flooded, wiping out Vanport in a single day. Residents had been assured that the dikes protecting the housing were safe, and some lost everything in the flood. At least 15 residents died, though some locals formulated a theory that the housing authority had quietly disposed of hundreds more bodies to cover up its slow response. The 18,500 residents of Vanport—6,300 of whom were black—had to find somewhere else to live.
For black residents, the only choice, if they wanted to stay in Portland, was a neighborhood called Albina that had emerged as a popular place to live for the black porters who worked in nearby Union Station. It was the only place black people were allowed to buy homes, after, in 1919, the Realty Board of Portland had approved a Code of Ethics forbidding realtors and bankers from selling or giving loans to minorities for properties located in white neighborhoods.

As black people moved into Albina, whites moved out; by the end of the 1950s, there were 23,000 fewer white residents and 7,000 more black residents than there had been at the beginning of the decade.

The neighborhood of Albina began to be the center of black life in Portland. But for outsiders, it was something else: a blighted slum in need of repair.

* * *

Today, North Williams Avenue, which cuts through the heart of what was once Albina, is emblematic of the “new” Portland. Fancy condos with balconies line the street, next
to juice stores and hipster bars with shuffleboard courts. Ed Washington remembers when this was a majority black neighborhood more than a half a century ago, when his parents moved their family to Portland during the war in order to get jobs in the shipyard. He says every house on his street, save one, was owned by black families.

“All these people on the streets, they used to be black people,” he told me, gesturing at a couple with sleeve tattoos, white people pushing baby strollers up the street.

Since the postwar population boom, Albina has been the target of a decades of “renewal” and redevelopment plans, like many black neighborhoods across the country.

Imarisha says she is often the only black person in Portland establishments. (Alana Semuels / The Atlantic)

In 1956, voters approved the construction of an arena in the area, which destroyed 476 homes, half of them inhabited by black people, according to “Bleeding Albina: A History of Community Disinvestment, 1940-2000,” a paper by the Portland State scholar Karen J. Gibson. This forced many people to move from what was considered “lower Albina” to “upper Albina.” But upper Albina was soon targeted for development, too, first when the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956 provided funds for Portland to build Interstate 5 and Highway 99. Then a local hospital expansion was
approved, clearing 76 acres, including 300 African American-owned homes and businesses and many shops at the junction of North Williams Avenue and Russell Street, the black “Main Street.”

The urban-renewal efforts made it difficult for black residents to maintain a close-knit community; the institutions that they frequented kept getting displaced. In Portland, according to Gibson, a generation of black people had grown up hearing about the “wicked white people who took away their neighborhoods.” In the meantime, displaced African Americans couldn’t acquire new property or land. Redlining, the process of denying loans to people who lived in certain areas, flourished in Portland in the 1970s and 1980s. An investigation by The Oregonian published in 1990 revealed that all the banks in Portland together had made just 10 mortgage loans in a four-census-tract area in the heart of Albina in the course of a year. That was one-tenth the average number of loans in similarly-sized census tracts in the rest of the city. The lack of available capital gave way to scams: A predatory lending institution called Dominion Capital, The Oregonian alleged, also “sold” dilapidated homes to buyers in Albina, though the text of the contracts revealed that Dominion actually kept ownership of the properties, and most of the contracts were structured as balloon mortgages that allowed Dominion to evict buyers shortly after they’d moved in. Other lenders simply refused to give loans on properties worth less than $40,000. (The state’s attorney general sued Dominion’s owners after The Oregonian’s story ran; the AP reported that the parties reached a settlement in 1993 in which Dominion’s owners agreed to pay fines and to limit their business activity in the state. The company filed for bankruptcy a few days after the state lawsuit was filed; U.S. bankruptcy court handed control of the company to a trustee in 1991.)

The inability of blacks to get mortgages to buy homes in Albina led, once again, to the further decimation of the black community, Gibson argues. Homes were abandoned, and residents couldn’t get mortgages to buy them and fix them up. As more and more houses fell into decay, values plummeted, and those who could left the neighborhood. By the 1980s, the value of homes in Albina reached 58 percent of the city’s median.

“In Portland, there is evidence supporting the notion that housing market actors helped sections of the Albina District reach an advanced stage of decay, making the area ripe for reinvestment,” she writes.
By 1988, Albina was a neighborhood known for its housing abandonment, crack-cocaine activity, and gang warfare. Absentee landlordism was rampant, with just 44 percent of homes in the neighborhood owner-occupied.

It was then, when real estate prices were at rock bottom, that white people moved in and started buying up homes and businesses, kicking off a process that would make Albina one of the more valuable neighborhoods in Portland. The city finally began to invest in Albina then, chasing out absentee landlords and working to redevelop abandoned and foreclosed homes.

Much of Albina’s African American population would not benefit from this process, though. Some could not afford to pay for upkeep and taxes on their homes when values started to rise again; others who rented slowly saw prices reach levels they could not afford. Even those who owned started to leave; by 1999, blacks owned 36 percent fewer homes than they had a decade earlier, while whites owned 43 percent more.

This gave rise to racial tensions once again. Black residents felt they had been shouting for decades for better city policy in Albina, but it wasn’t until white residents moved in that the city started to pay attention.

“We fought like mad to keep crime out of the area,” Gibson quotes one long-time resident, Charles Ford, as saying. “But the newcomers haven’t given us credit for it...We never envisioned the government would come in and mainly assist whites...I didn’t envision that those young people would come in with what I perceived as an
attitude. They didn’t come in [saying] ‘We want to be a part of you.’ They came in with this idea, ‘we’re here and we’re in charge’...It’s like the revitalization of racism.”

* * *

Many might think that, as a progressive city known for its hyper-consciousness about its own problems, Portland would be addressing its racial history or at least its current problems with racial inequality and displacement. But Portland only recently became a progressive city, said Millner, the professor, and its past still dominates some parts of government and society.

Until the 1980s, “Portland was firmly in the hands of the status quo—the old, conservative, scratch-my-back, old-boys white network,” he said. The city had a series of police shootings of black men in the 1970s, and in the 1980s, the police department was investigated after officers ran over possums and then put the dead animals in front of black-owned restaurants.

Yet as the city became more progressive and “weird,” full of artists and techies and bikers, it did not have a conversation about its racist past. It still tends not to, even as gentrification and displacement continue in Albina and other neighborhoods.

“If you were living here and you decided you wanted to have a conversation about race, you’d get the shock of your life,” Ed Washington, the longtime Portland resident, told me. “Because people in Oregon just don't like to talk about it.”

The overt racism of the past has abated, residents say, but it can still be uncomfortable to traverse the city as a minority. Paul Knauls, who is African American, moved to Portland to open a nightclub in the 1960s. He used to face the specter of “whites-only” signs in stores, prohibitions on buying real estate and once, even a bomb threat in his jazz club because of its black patrons. Now, he says he notices racial tensions when he walks into a restaurant full of white people and it goes silent, or when he tries to visit friends who once lived in Albina and who have now been displaced to “the numbers,” which is what Portlanders call the low-income far-off neighborhoods on the outskirts of town.

“Everything is kind of under the carpet,” he said. “The racism is still very, very subtle.”
Ignoring the issue of race can mean that the legacies of Oregon’s racial history aren’t addressed. Nicholson, of the Urban League of Portland, says that when the black community has tried to organize meetings on racial issues, community members haven’t been able to fit into the room because “60 white environmental activists” have showed up, too, hoping to speak about something marginally related.

If the city talked about race, though, it might acknowledge that it’s mostly minorities who get displaced and would put in place mechanisms for addressing gentrification, Imarisha said. Instead, said Bates, the city celebrated when, in the early 2000s, census data showed it had a decline in black-white segregation. The reason? Black people in Albina were being displaced to far-off neighborhoods that had traditionally been white.

One incident captures how residents are failing to hear one another or have any sympathy for one another: In 2014, Trader Joe’s was in negotiations to open a new store in Albina. The Portland Development Commission, the city’s urban-renewal agency, offered the company a steep discount on a patch of land to entice them to seal the deal. But the Portland African American Leadership Forum wrote a letter protesting the development, arguing that the Trader Joe’s was the latest attempt to profit from the displacement of African Americans in the city. By spending money incentivizing Trader
Joe’s to locate in the area, the city was creating further gentrification without working to help locals stay in the neighborhood, the group argued. Trader Joe’s pulled out of the plan, and people in Portland and across the country scorned the black community for opposing the retailer.

Imarisha, Bates, and others say that during that incident, critics of the African American community failed to take into account the history of Albina, which saw black families and businesses displaced again and again when whites wanted to move in. That history was an important and ignored part of the story. “People are like, ‘Why do you bring up this history? It’s gone, it’s in the past, it’s dead.” Imarisha said. “While the mechanisms may have changed, if the outcome is the same, then actually has anything changed? Obviously that ideology of a racist white utopia is still very much in effect.”

Talking constructively about race can be hard, especially in a place like Portland where residents have so little exposure to people who look differently than they do. Perhaps as a result, Portland, and indeed Oregon, have failed to come to terms with their ugly past. This isn’t the sole reason for incidents like the alleged racial abuse at Daimler Trucks, or for the threats Imarisha faces when she traverses the state. But it may be part of it.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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From The Web