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# Portland's Exiles: Pricing Out African Americans

Henry W McGee, Jr.



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# Portland's Exiles: Pricing Out African Americans

## Whites Displace Black Neighborhoods Despite Declining Racial Prejudice

**Henry W. McGee, Jr.\***

Displacement of Blacks by unprejudiced whites who are willing to live next door to people of color continues to plague African Americans who suffer disrupted neighborhoods. African Americans in Portland, Oregon in the period between 1990 and 2000, were displaced by whites who moved to Northeast Portland because of significantly lower house prices, a consistent characteristic of Black neighborhoods. Hitherto insulated from inflated house prices because of racial prejudice, African Americans developed businesses and social institutions over the decades in which they were able only to purchase homes in Portland's Black "ghetto." A sea change in racial attitudes has led white home seekers, for decades unwilling to move into black neighborhoods (but quick to leave neighborhoods in which Blacks moved), to buy property in what had been an overwhelmingly African American neighborhood. As whites have found bargains in Northeast Portland, many Blacks have moved to Portland's eastern suburbs in order to find affordable housing, far from their

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\* Professor of Law, Seattle University, and Professor Emeritus, UCLA. The author is indebted to Alex Wilford, Seattle University School of Law Class of 2011 for his indispensable and painstaking work in generating the census material in Section II, without which this article would not have been possible.

traditional neighborhood, separated from downtown Portland only by the Willamette River.

“Portland pretends like there’s no racial issue. There is a very, very, very strong racial issue.” Roslynn Hill, African American real estate developer, and President of Roslyn Hill Development Co. Nov. 2008.

## I. Introduction

In a recent article on the displacement of Seattle’s African American community, the study determined that there were multiple economic and social impacts on the area in Seattle which forced whites to move to inner suburbs, which increasingly are home to low income people of color.<sup>1</sup> This study of Portland, Oregon’s African American community, often, if erroneously collectively referred to as the “Albina area,” examines the displacement of Blacks from proximity to downtown to exile and isolation outside the city limits, a fate shared with Seattle’s working class and less affluent African Americans.<sup>2</sup>

After a summary of the origins of Portland’s Black community, and the segregation and disinvestment it suffered until the community had seriously deteriorated, this study examines the reactions of residents to the gentrification of the community, referred to as the Albina area, after a city incorporated in 1887 in an area annexed by Portland in 1891.<sup>3</sup> An examination of the

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<sup>1</sup> H.W. McGee, *Seattle’s Central District, 1999-2006: Integration or Displacement?*, 39 URB. LAW. 167 (2007).

<sup>2</sup> In the period under consideration, despite the passage of the Fair Housing Act in the 1950s, the area known as “Albina” included several, but contiguous neighborhoods that included “Albina” itself, as well as Boise, Elliot, Humboldt and Irvington.

<sup>3</sup> Portland State Univ. Urban Studies and Planning Dept., *History of Albina Area*, (Winter, 1990).

census of 1990 and that of 2000 relative to Northeast Portland's Black neighborhoods/area exposes the gulf between income and educational level of in-moving whites and the neighborhoods of African American residents. To say the least, the Blacks of Portland, living nearly adjacent to downtown (though on the other and east side of the Willamette River which splits the city between East and West), have suffered grave disadvantages, and were ironically isolated until a reduction in racial prejudice and the proximity of their neighborhoods to the center of the city caused their property values to soar, rising beyond the reach of the overwhelming number of African Americans in the city.<sup>4</sup>

The following section of the study is devoted to analysis of the 1990 census and that of 2000.<sup>5</sup> Prior to that consideration is given to an examination of the impacts of urban renewal which was followed by disruption of the residential areas of the African American community as well as its social and economic activity.<sup>6</sup> Of notable consequence to the withdrawal of urban space from Blacks was the construction of major public facilities such as a sports arena and hotel on the site of the one of oldest Black churches in Oregon,<sup>7</sup> at the south end of the rectangular area which constituted the contiguous African American neighborhood. Thereafter, east of the arena, and slightly north, a mammoth shopping area known as the Lloyd Center was constructed.

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<sup>4</sup> It will not go unnoticed that those property values have plummeted in 2008 and 2009, a factor that might or might not stem from the influx of whites into the area. See P. Goodman, *A Downturn Wraps a City In Hesitance*, N.Y. TIMES, Mar. 27, 2009, at A1. "Portland, a metropolitan area of 2.2 million people, affords an idea window onto the spiral of fear and diminished expectations assailing the economy. . . . [I]n recent months, Portland has devolved into a symbol of much that I wrong. Housing prices have fallen more than 14 percent since May 2007. . . . Foreclosures more than tripled last year . . ."

<sup>5</sup> Most African Americans agree that the neighborhood is significantly white, and that the change occurred in the 1990s. For example Allyson Spencer, a long-time consultant to the City of Portland on issues of Urban Development, and presently an Administrative Assistant to a County Supervisor in the County in which Portland is located, declared, "I think it's the 90s when you start seeing the change, 1990 to 2000." (on file with author)

<sup>6</sup> West Coast cities excluding of course Los Angeles and, until recently, San Francisco, have very low percentages of African Americans. See C. Dougherty, *The End of White Flight*, WALL STREET JOURNAL, July 19, 2008 at A1.

<sup>7</sup> The church, indeed historic, was organized in 1862 when it met at the home of a parishioner. The church, First African Methodist Episcopal Zion, torn down to make room for the arena, was built in 1916 on the site of a 1883 house of worship.

That was followed by the construction in what was the eastern mid-section of the Black neighborhood, a large hospital named Emmanuel. Finally, the article provides some observations about the trajectory of the city's population growth in light of its Growth Boundary Line.<sup>8</sup>

## II

### **Portland: 1990 – 2000 Census -- The Decade of Population Displacement: Northeast Portland's Black Neighborhoods**

In the article “Dealing with neighborhood change,” Kennedy, Maureen, and Paul Leonard (“authors”) define gentrification as “the process by which higher income households displace lower income residents of a neighborhood, changing the essential character and flavor of the neighborhood.”<sup>9</sup> In formulating this definition, the authors describe gentrification as “an imprecise and politically charged term” that can have a racial component, especially when higher income white households replace lower income minority households in neighborhoods that once experienced “white flight” and urban renewal.<sup>10</sup>

The authors stress three key features of their definition. First, gentrification requires the involuntary displacement of those “original” residents from their neighborhood due to rapidly

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<sup>8</sup> For recent comment on the boundary line, See C. Abbott and J. Margheim, *Imagining Portland's Urban Growth Boundary: Planning Regulation as Cultural Icon*, JOUR. AMER. PLANNING ASSOC., Vol. 74, No. 2 at 106 (2008).

<sup>9</sup> Kennedy, Maureen, and Paul Leonard. 2001. *Dealing With Neighborhood Change*. Washington DC: Brookings Institute.

<sup>10</sup> *Id.*

rising rents, increases in property tax bills, or non-just-cause evictions.<sup>11</sup> Second, gentrification requires physical and socio economic components, which result in an upgrading of the neighborhood, particularly the housing stock.<sup>12</sup> And finally, gentrification must result in a changed to the unique social fabric of the neighborhood.<sup>13</sup>

The authors distinguish “gentrification” from “revitalization” and “reinvestment.” They describe “revitalization” as “the process of enhancing the physical, commercial, and social components of the neighborhoods and the future prospects of its residents through private sector and/or public sector components.”<sup>14</sup> “Reinvestment” is “the flow of capital into a neighborhood primarily to upgrade physical components of the neighborhood.”<sup>15</sup> These terms are distinguishable because gentrification does not automatically result when higher income residents move into lower income neighborhoods, nor does economic development—revitalization—necessarily imply gentrification.<sup>16</sup> Higher income residents can move in at a scale too small to displace original residents, and residents may leave for a variety of reasons in a revitalizing neighborhood.<sup>17</sup>

While the authors distinguish gentrification and stress key aspects to their definition, their focus is not on “race.” Displaced African Americans in Northeast Portland, OR, often referred to as the Albina area might find the lack of emphasis ironic. For example, the anecdotal study in Part IV of this article suggests that gentrification is at best a deeply conflicted process and at worst an experience which is sorrowful, and often charged with resentment. Nonetheless, in the

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<sup>11</sup> *Id.*

<sup>12</sup> *Id.*

<sup>13</sup> *Id.*

<sup>14</sup> *Id.*

<sup>15</sup> *Id.*

<sup>16</sup> *Id.*

<sup>17</sup> *Id.*

authors' analysis, gentrification is a missed phenomenon.<sup>18</sup> A more benign, possibly class-skewed view could point to aspects of the Albina Area gentrification suggestive of the author's view of gentrification.

These findings—taken together—arguably confirm that, among other things, (1) the changing demographics of the Albina area are primarily the product of gentrification, cultural or otherwise, and (2) have benefited economically those African Americans able to survive the influx of Euro Americans, even as they absorb the cultural impacts that accompany the changing demography and sociology. For the displaced, however, gentrification has negative impacts, even if difficult to quantify. Thus, the “benefits” of gentrification in mainstream terms are uneven across the population cohorts.

The displaced might very well challenge the benefits of cultural gentrification. The people who are displaced rarely, if ever, reap the benefits of newly revitalized, redeveloped neighborhoods. This article contrasts the Brookings Institute study's insights as research benchmarks and heuristic devices with a point of view which encompasses the perspective of the displaced. At all events, cultural/racial gentrification is at best a complicated event for African American residents who face the dilemma of being forced to relocate because of rising rents<sup>19</sup> or accepting an anticipated windfall from the sale of their homes and moving from Northeast Portland to areas far from downtown Portland, indeed, in some cases, outside the city limits.

The following census analysis of this article is divided into the following components:  
(1) an examination of the racial composition of Oregon, with particular attention to the cities of

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<sup>18</sup> *Id.*

Portland, Fairview, Gresham, Maywood Park, Troutdale, and Wood Village; (2) a demographic overview of Northeast Portland neighborhoods, emphasizing differences over time in racial identification, housing tenure and value, education attainment, and household income; and (3) an assessment of migration patterns to, *inter alia*, the Fairview, Maywood Park, and Gresham areas to which displaced African Americans are moving.

A complete and comprehensive analysis of the shifting demographics of Northeast Portland Area remains to be accomplished. This analysis is confined to an overview of salient demographic changes in the decade framed by the 1990 and 2000 censuses, the critical years in the transformation of the area from a section of the city in which Blacks were largely confine, to neighborhoods that experienced both a decline in the African American populations as well as the emergence of an inter racial section of city.

It must be admitted that interviews of African American residents, most of whom were professionals or entrepreneurs, revealed a pervasive lack of agreement over exactly what the geographic boundaries were of Black Portland. For the most part, there were different estimates of the extent of the African American areas of Northeast Portland, though at some point, all agreed that there were vast areas from which Blacks were excluded either as owners or tenants. Thus, the census net in this article was cast over an area in which the number of whites might well be over represented, but capturing as much of the African American population as possible. One virtue of this strategy was that it swept far beyond the studies that have preceded it, including the path-breaking article by Dr. Karen Gibson of Portland State University.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Karen J. Gibson, *Problems of Racial Justice in Portland, 1968-2008: Revisiting the City's "Kerner Report,"* June 1, 2008.

## A. Census Analysis Methodology

The following is the statistical study upon which much of the analysis of the other sections of this article turns, commencing with the study's methodology. Note that for purposes of the census discussion, the racial terminology white and black is used *en lieu* of the words "Euro American" and "African American," which appear elsewhere in this article.

### 1. THE CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING

Before advancing the analysis, a brief note on the Census of Population and Housing is in order. The United States Census Bureau, the agency responsible for conducting the Census of Population and Housing, is mandated by the United States Constitution to undertake a full, decennial enumeration of the United States population for the purpose of producing congressional apportionment counts.<sup>21</sup> These 100 percent enumerations, also known as the short-form questionnaires, are required by law to collect basic information on the United States population such as name, household relationships, sex, age, race, and housing tenure. In addition to these full population counts, and for non-apportionment purposes, the United States Census Bureau also carries out a complimentary Census of the Population and Housing, which uses a sample of the people and households nationwide. These more comprehensive surveys, known as long-form questionnaires, are comprised of questions relating to educational attainment, employment status, household income and earnings, value of housing unit, and racial/ethnic identification. It is sample-based data gathered from these long-form questionnaires that inform this report.

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<sup>21</sup> U.S. Const. art 1, § 2 specifies the mandate and duties of the United States Census Bureau, including, but by no means limited to, the content of the Housing and Population Censuses and the procedures involved in the administration of these.

## 2. THE CENSUS PROCESS

For the purpose of mailing out questionnaires, the United States Census Bureau, in collaboration with local government of the United States Postal Service, maintains an up-to-date address list of all households with city-style street addresses. In 1990 and 2000, more than four-fifths of households received questionnaires by mail. The remaining, often rural, households had questionnaires delivered in person. The United States Census Bureau also sent out follow-up postcards to remind those who had not returned completed questionnaires.

## 3. CONSIDERATIONS IN WORKING WITH CENSUS DATA

Although the census questionnaires have remained fairly consistent over time, a few important changes were made to the 2000 questionnaire. Of particular consequence for the present study was the modification of the question on race, which in 2000 was changed not only to allow respondents to select one or more racial categories, but also to invite respondents to write in their own preferred racial identification. Using two different formats for the “race” question—fixed-choice in 1990 and open-ended in 2000—may affect, but certainly not completely undermine, the comparability of the responses to that question between 1990 and 2000.

## 4. THE GEOGRAPHY OF NORTHEAST PORTLAND

The census block map on page 8 illustrates the study area in Northeast Portland, described by some as the Albina area, though, as indicated, a majority of Portland’s residents

tend to refer as all of the African American neighborhoods as “the Albina area. As indicated, some of the literature about the area, including that of newspapers, confines “Albina” to a much smaller enclave to the southwest of the area under consideration in this article.<sup>22</sup> If Portland formed a near-perfect square, then Northeast Portland would encompass the much of one quarter of the city.<sup>23</sup>

The Western edge of the study area is confined by the Interstate Highway 5. However, the other parameters are more irregular. The northern reaches of the Black residential neighborhoods follows Lombard to Columbia Boulevard and then veers slightly to the southeast to 33rd Street. 33<sup>rd</sup> Street then continues southward toward Thompson Street, which defines the eastern boundary. The southern boundary is mostly defined by Thomson Street, which only continues to Williams Ave where the boundary jumps north to Russell Street.

## 5. TERMINOLOGY AND DEFINITIONS<sup>24</sup>

The following section provides a brief description of most of the variables used in this census analysis. These descriptions are primarily based on the definition of the variables employed and made available by the United States Census Bureau.

**Age.** The age classification is based on the age of the person in complete years. The age of the person usually was derived from their date of birth information.

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<sup>22</sup> Karen J. Gibson. *Bleeding Albina: A history of Community Disinvestment, 1940-200*. Transforming Anthropology 2007 Vol. 15(1).

<sup>23</sup> See schematic representation of the areas of Portland in the map which follows the detailed map of NE Portland, page 13.

<sup>24</sup> Available at <http://www.Census.gov/prod/cen2000/doc/sf1.pdf>; app.B.

**Housing Unit.** A housing unit is by the United State Bureau of the Census defined as:

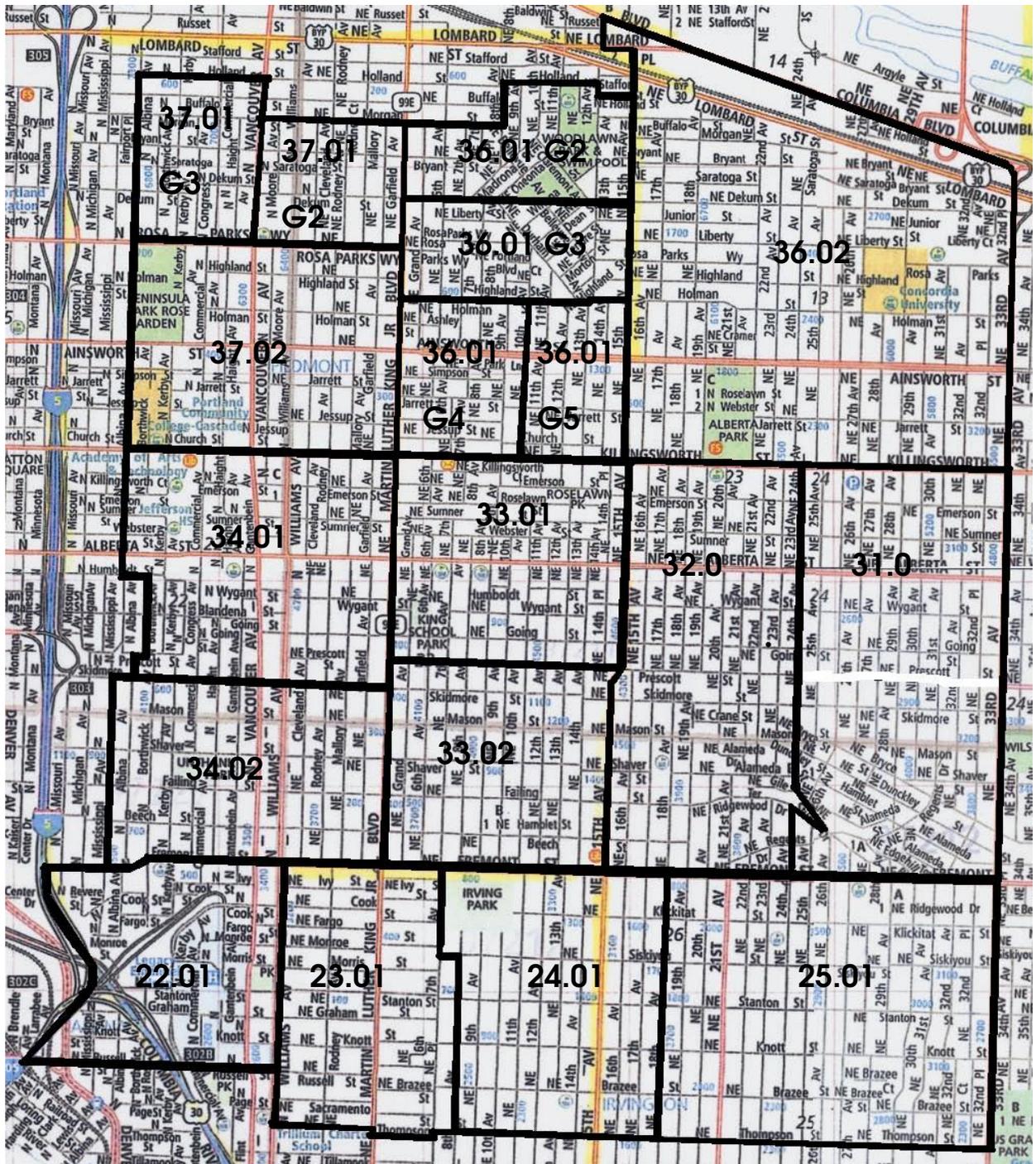
- A residential structure (such as an apartment, single family home, or mobile home);
- A portion of a structure wherein a household lives separately from other households that may occupy the structure;
- A structure with direct access from the outside or through a common hall this is not part of anyone else's living space.
- 

Only minor, and for the present analysis non-consequential, changes were made in the definition go households between 1990 and 2000.

**Occupied and Vacant Housing Units.** An occupied housing unit is defined as the usual place of residence of a household at census time. In contrast, a vacant housing unit is either not occupied and/or only temporarily occupied at census time. Accordingly, vacant units would include units that are:

- For rent,
- For sale,
- Sold or rented but not yet occupied,
- For seasonal or recreational use,
- Homes for migrant workers, and
- "other" boarded up and/or abandoned.

No changes were made in these definitions between 1990 and 2000.



\*This map depicts the Northeast Portland/Albina area as defined in this article. According to the 1990 and 2000 census, each census tract is divided into a number of block groups (the number of block groups seem to vary with the size of the tract—some tracts in this study included two block groups while others had up to as many as six block groups). In order to be as accurate as possible, the map includes twelve census tracts and six individual block groups, which are individually numbered and labeled.



This map depicts the situation of NE Portland relative to Portland as a whole.<sup>25</sup>

**Race.** The concept of race as used by the Census Bureau reflects self-identification by people according to the race or races with which they most identify. These categories are sociopolitical and anthropological in nature. Furthermore, the race categories include both racial and national origin groups:

- *White.* A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa. It includes people who indicate their race as “White” or report entries such as Irish, German, Italian, Lebanese, Near Easterner, Arab, or Polish.

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<sup>25</sup> Sean Kelly, Map of Portland, Oregon, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Portland.png>.

- *Black or African American.* A person having origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa. It includes people who indicate their race as “Black, African American, or Negro,” or provide written entries such as African American, Afro American, Kenyan, Nigerian, or Haitian.
- *American Indian and Alaska Native.* A person having origins in any of the original peoples of the North and South American (including Central America) and who maintain tribal affiliation or community attachment. It includes people who classified themselves as described below.
- *American Indian.* Includes people who indicated their race as “American Indian,” enter the name of an Indian tribe, or reported such entries as Canadian Indian, French-American Indian, or Spanish-American Indian.
- *Alaska Native.* Includes written responses of Eskimos, Aleuts, and Alaska Indians as well as entries such as Arctic Slope, Inupiat, Yupik, Aluutiq, Egegik, and Pribilovian.
- *Asian.* A person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent including, for example, Cambodia, China, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippine Islands, Thailand, and Vietnam. It includes “Asian Indian,” “Chinese,” “Filipino,” “Korean,” “Japanese,” “Vietnamese,” and “Other Asian.”
- *Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander.* A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Hawaii, Guam, Samoa, or other Pacific Islands.
- *Some Other Race.* Includes all other responses not included in the “white,” “Black or African American,” “American Indian and Alaska Native,” “Asian,” and “Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander” race categories described above. [In 1990,

respondents providing write-in entries such as “multiracial,” “mixed” or “interracial” were included in this category.]

- *Two or More Races.* Starting in 2000, respondents providing more than one race or write-in entries such as “multiracial,” “mixed” or “interracial” were included in this category.

**Tenure.** Tenure was asked at all occupied housing units. All occupied housing units are classified as wither owner occupied or renter occupied.

More information on the terms and terminology of the 100-percent demographic profile data can be accessed from the Census Bureau’s Internet site at [www.census.gov](http://www.census.gov).

## 6. THE DATA EXTRACTION AND ANALYSIS

Planning and preparation for the secondary analysis was carried out in June 2010, with extractions from the 1990 and 2000 Censuses of Housing and Population taking place in summer 2010.

The data, downloaded from the United States Census Bureau website, was compiled at the block group level, which is the lowest summary level available for sample-based census data. According to the United States Census Bureau, block groups range from 500 to 3,000 people, with an intended optimum population of 1,500. For the present purposes of this report, census data from a total of twelve tracts and six individual block groups were included in the analysis.<sup>26</sup> The census data from 1990 and 2000 were compiled in tabular form and analyzed comparatively.

### *B. Census Study Determinations*

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<sup>26</sup> See Table 1.

The first section contains a demographic overview of the State of Oregon in 1990 and 2000, with particular attention awarded to Multnomah County as well as the cities of Portland, Fairview, Gresham, Maywood Park, Troutdale, and Wood Village. The goal of the demographic overview is to provide a context for the subsequent demographic summary of the Albina area in Portland, Oregon.

**Table 1: Population Estimate and Racial Identification by Tract and Block Group**

	22.01	23.01	24.01	25.01	31	32	33.01	33.02	34.01	34.02	36.01 G 2	36.01 G 3	36.01 G 4	36.01 G 5	36.02	37.01 G 2	37.01 G 3	37.02
<b>2000*</b>																		
White	103	1310	2005	4159	3326	2417	986	1142	1154	950	342	411	371	278	3025	438	619	1292
Black	175	932	589	141	763	1023	1586	937	1592	1282	432	487	460	521	2189	399	306	740
American Indian	10	34	11	7	41	50	48	50	37	57	12	12	17	16	56	6	9	18
Asian/Pacific Islander	9	40	52	71	105	114	84	53	87	77	28	30	22	17	261	30	68	71
Other race	19	79	12	25	62	181	264	115	249	236	94	78	103	46	177	21	76	35
Two or more races	34	200	113	128	228	210	234	197	190	168	50	62	67	52	401	60	48	129
<b>1990**</b>																		
White	158	806	1786	4434	3538	2255	786	939	719	561	297	346	226	261	3059	484	675	1297
Black	110	1234	939	211	923	1633	1601	1472	1952	1693	478	619	565	655	2707	332	338	999
American Indian	7	37	21	15	56	76	65	52	32	48	22	9	6	10	81	29	21	23
Asian/Pacific Islander	3	33	61	97	146	101	45	27	32	38	28	23	15	23	194	22	55	79
Other race	4	32	20	24	62	91	41	55	46	71	13	38	7	11	116	19	34	45
Two or more races	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

\*United States Census Bureau, 2000 Census (follow “Decennial Census: get data” hyperlink; then follow “1990 Census: 1990 Summary Tape File 1: Detailed Tables” hyperlink; then select block group: select State: Oregon: select county: Multnomah County; select censuses tracts and block groups 22.01, 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02: Add; next, select race: Add: “show results” hyperlink.) \*\*United States Census Bureau, 1990 Census (follow “Decennial Census: get data” hyperlink; then follow “1990 Census: 1990 Summary Tape File 1: Detailed Tables” hyperlink; then select block group: select State: Oregon: select county: Multnomah County; select censuses tracts and block groups 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02: Add; next, select race: Add: “show results” hyperlink.)

**Table 2: The Racial Composition of the State of Oregon 1990-2000**

	1990*		2000**	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
White	2,636,787	92.80%	2,961,623	86.60%
Black	46,178	1.60%	55,662	1.60%
American Indian	38,496	1.40%	45,211	1.30%
Asian/Pacific Islander	69,369	2.40%	109,326	3.20%
Other race	51,591	1.80%	144,832	4.20%
Two or more races			104,745	3.10%
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,482,321</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>3,421,399</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

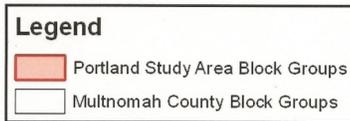
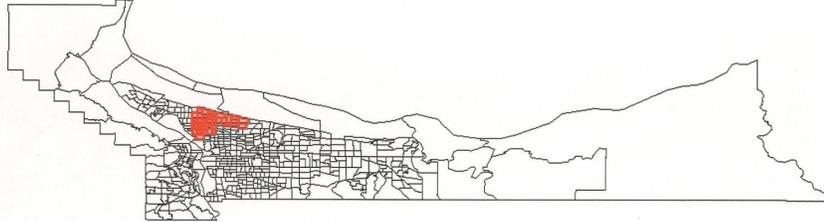
\*United States Census Bureau, 1990 Census (follow “Decennial Census: get data” hyperlink; then follow “1990 Census: 1990 Summary Tape File 1: Detailed Tables” hyperlink; then select State: Oregon: add: Show Results: Race: Add: “Show Results” hyperlink).

\*\*United States Census Bureau, 2000 Census (follow “Decennial Census: get data” hyperlink; then follow “2000 Census: 2000 Summary Tape File 1: Detailed Tables” hyperlink; then select State: Oregon: add: Show Results: Race: Add: “Show Results” hyperlink).

## 1. THE RACIAL COMPOSITION OF OREGON

The racial composition of Oregon in 1990 and 2000 is provided in table 2 above. The most noticeable change is the drop in residents identifying as white (from 92.8% to 86.6%) and the increased proportion of Asians and Pacific Islanders (from 2.4% to 3.2%). The introduction of the “two or more races” category may have had an impact on these changes.

## Multnomah County, Oregon



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (2008). 2008 TIGER/Line - Shapefiles [machine-readable data files]. Washington DC: U.S. Census Bureau

**Table 3: The Racial Composition of Multnomah County, 1990\***

	Frequency	Percentage
White	507,890	87.00%
Black	35,133	6.00%
American Indian	6,734	1.20%
Asian/Pacific Islander	27,326	4.70%
Other race	6,804	1.20%
Two or more races		
<b>Total</b>	<b>583,887</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

\*United States Census Bureau, 1990 Census (follow "Decennial Census: get data" hyperlink; then follow "1990 Census: 1990 Summary Tape File 1: Detailed Tables" hyperlink; then select County: Select State: Oregon: Select Multnomah County: Add: "Show Results" hyperlink).

**Table 4: The Racial Composition of Multnomah County, 2000\***

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
White	522,825	79.20%
Black	37,434	5.70%
American Indian	6,785	1.00%
Asian/Pacific Islander	39,958	6.00%
Other race	26,620	4.00%
Two or more races	28,864	4.10%
<b>Total</b>	<b>660,486</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

\*United States Census Bureau, 2000 Census (follow “Decennial Census: get data” hyperlink; then follow “2000 Census: 2000 Summary Tape File 1: Detailed Tables” hyperlink; then select County: Select State: Oregon: Select Multnomah County: Add: “Show Results” hyperlink).

The racial composition of Multnomah County from 1990 to 2000 is provided in tables 3 and 4. Similar to the racial composition of the state, the most noticeable change is the decrease in resident identifying as white (from 87.0% to 79.2%) and the increased number of residents identifying as Asians and Pacific Islanders (from 1.2% to 4.0%). Again, the introduction of the “two or more races” category may have had an effect on these changes.

Table 5 on the following page displays the racial composition of Multnomah County cities in 1990: Portland, Fairview, Gresham, Maywood Park, Troutdale, and Wood Village. Table 6 displays the racial composition in 2000. Then, as now, all six cities were predominately white, with considerable minorities of blacks and Asians. Notice that the percentage of blacks in Fairview, Gresham, Maywood Park, and Troutdale rose while Wood Village remained relatively constant and Portland fell between 1990 and 2000. Stated differently, while the percentage of blacks is increasing outside of Portland they are becoming more of a minority within Portland;

indeed, the percentage of blacks quadrupled in Fairview and doubled in Maywood Park (Fairview increased from 0.7% to 3.0% and Maywood Park increased from 0.8% to 2.1%).

Another noticeable, finding of this study, albeit less pertinent given the purpose of the inquiry, is the percentage of Asians in all six cities. In fact, the proportion of Asians to Blacks is now greater in all six cities. Although the previously stated differences in racial categorization (i.e., the addition of the “two or more races” category in 2000) demands caution when comparing racial compositions of these cities, these observed changes provide evidence suggestive of major demographic changes taking place. It should also be noted that the Black population of Portland is, by any measure, quite small, even when compared to Seattle.



**Table 5: Racial Composition of Multnomah County Cities, 1990\***

	<u>Portland</u>		<u>Fairview</u>		<u>Gresham</u>		<u>Maywood Park</u>		<u>Troutdale</u>		<u>Wood Village</u>	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
White	370,135	84.60%	2,255	94.30%	64,027	93.80%	762	97.60%	7,428	94.60%	2,672	95.00%
Black	33,530	7.70%	16	0.70%	740	1.10%	6	0.80%	144	1.80%	25	0.90%
American Indian	5,399	1.20%	30	1.30%	654	1.00%	4	0.50%	48	0.60%	40	1.40%
Asian/Pacific Islander	23,185	5.30%	36	1.50%	1,875	2.70%	7	0.90%	169	2.20%	30	1.10%
Other race	5,070	1.20%	54	2.30%	939	1.40%	2	0.30%	63	0.80%	47	1.70%
Two or more races												
<b>Total</b>	<b>437,319</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>2,391</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>68,235</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>781</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>7,825</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>2,814</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

\*United States Census Bureau, 1990 Census (follow “Decennial Census: get data” hyperlink; then follow “1990 Census: 1990 Summary Tape File 1: Detailed Tables” hyperlink; then select Place: Select State: Oregon: Select Portland: Add: Select Fairview: Add: Select Gresham: Add: Select Maywood Park: Add: Select Troutdale: Add: Select Wood Village: Add: “Show Results” hyperlink).

**Table 6: Racial Composition of Multnomah County Cities, 2000\***

	<u>Portland</u>		<u>Fairview</u>		<u>Gresham</u>		<u>Maywood Park</u>		<u>Troutdale</u>		<u>Wood Village</u>	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
White	412,241	77.90%	5,762	76.20%	74,619	82.70%	687	88.40%	12,061	87.50%	2,336	81.70%
Black	35,115	6.60%	230	3.00%	1,707	1.90%	16	2.10%	262	1.90%	16	0.60%
American Indian	5,587	1.10%	63	0.80%	848	0.90%	7	0.90%	127	0.90%	37	1.30%
Asian/Pacific Islander	35,463	6.70%	288	3.80%	3,250	3.60%	32	4.10%	605	4.40%	56	2.00%
Other race	18,760	3.50%	795	10.50%	6,335	7.00%	3	0.40%	235	1.70%	282	9.90%
Two or more races	21,955	4.10%	423	5.60%	3,446	3.80%	32	4.10%	487	3.70%	133	4.70%
<b>Total</b>	<b>529,121</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>7,561</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>90,205</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>777</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>13,777</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>2,860</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

\*United States Census Bureau, 2000 Census (follow “Decennial Census: get data” hyperlink; then follow “2000 Census: 2000 Summary Tape File 1: Detailed Tables” hyperlink; then select Place: Select State: Oregon: Select Portland: Add: Select Fairview: Add: Select Gresham: Add: Select Maywood Park: Add: Select Troutdale: Add: Select Wood Village: Add: “Show Results” hyperlink).



## 2. RACIAL IDENTIFICATION

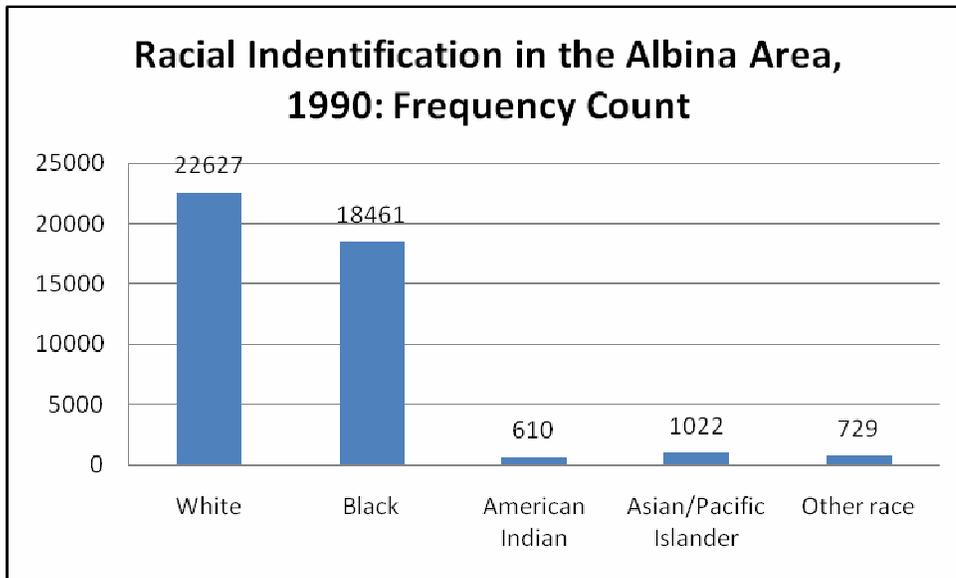
In the period between 1990 and 2000, the total population of Northeast Portland/Albina area increased from 43,449 to 45,035 people, respectively. During this time, the Albina Area's black population declined in numbers from 18,461 to 14,554 individuals, while the white population increased from 22,627 to 24,328.<sup>27</sup>

Stated differently, between 1990 and 2000 the black population declined from 42% of the population to 32% of the population in the study Area. However, the white population increased from 52% to 54% of the total population in that area. In fact, the number of blacks decreased in all twelve tracts and all six block groups comprising in Northeast Portland between 1990 and 2000.

Conversely, the white population increased in seven tracts and four block groups. It was in the outer Albina area (e.g. Tracts and bloc groups 22.01, 25.01, 31.0 36.02, 37.01 G2-G3, and 37.02) where there was no gain in white residents. That is, the white population increased in the central Albina area and constituted a substantial majority in each tract and block group constituting the study area in 2000.

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<sup>27</sup> See Table 1.



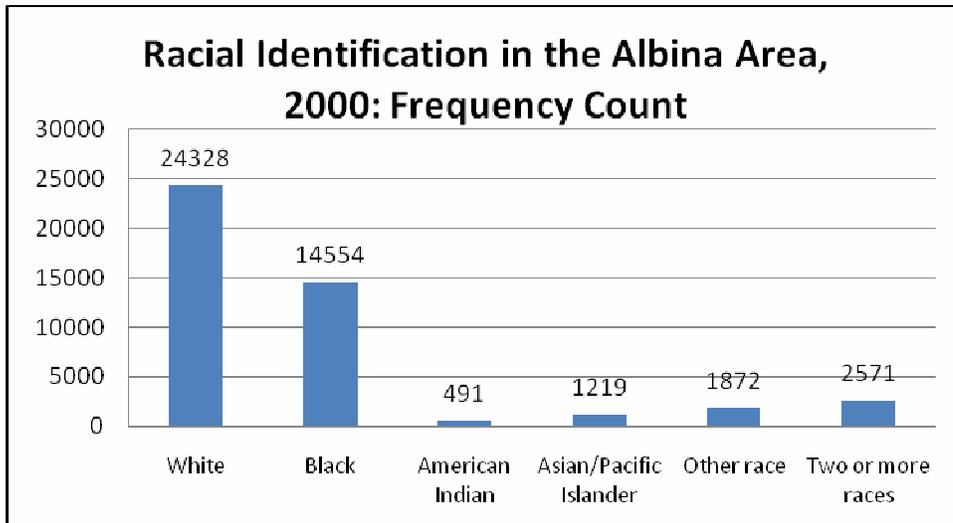
\*\*United States Census Bureau, 1990 Census (follow “Decennial Census: get data” hyperlink; then follow “1990 Summary Tape File 3: Detailed Tables” hyperlink; then select block group: Select State: Oregon: Select County: Multnomah County: select censuses tracts and block groups 22.01, 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02: Add; next, select Race: Add: “show results” hyperlink.)

In line with the above trends in population estimates, the number of individuals identifying as white householders of occupied housing units increased from 6,128 in 1990 to 7,571 in 2000.<sup>28</sup> Conversely, the number of people in occupied housing units who identified themselves as black decreased in the same period -- from 2,967 in 1990 to 2,789 in 2000. Again, the largest concentration of white householders is in the central Albina area.

Collectively, these findings show that a shift in the racial landscape of the Albina Area occurred. In 1990, blacks were the 42% of population in the Albina Area, but by 2000 they were significantly overshadowed by the growing white population. In particular, the central Albina area experienced a significant increase in white residents between 1990 and 2000, with whites constituting a strong majority of the entire Albina areas.

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<sup>28</sup> See Table 6.



\*United States Census Bureau, 2000 Census (follow “Decennial Census: get data” hyperlink; then follow “2000 Summary Tape File 3: Detailed Tables” hyperlink; then select block group: Select State: Oregon: Select County: Multnomah County: select censuses tracts and block groups 22.01, 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02: Add; next, select Race: Add: “show results” hyperlink.)

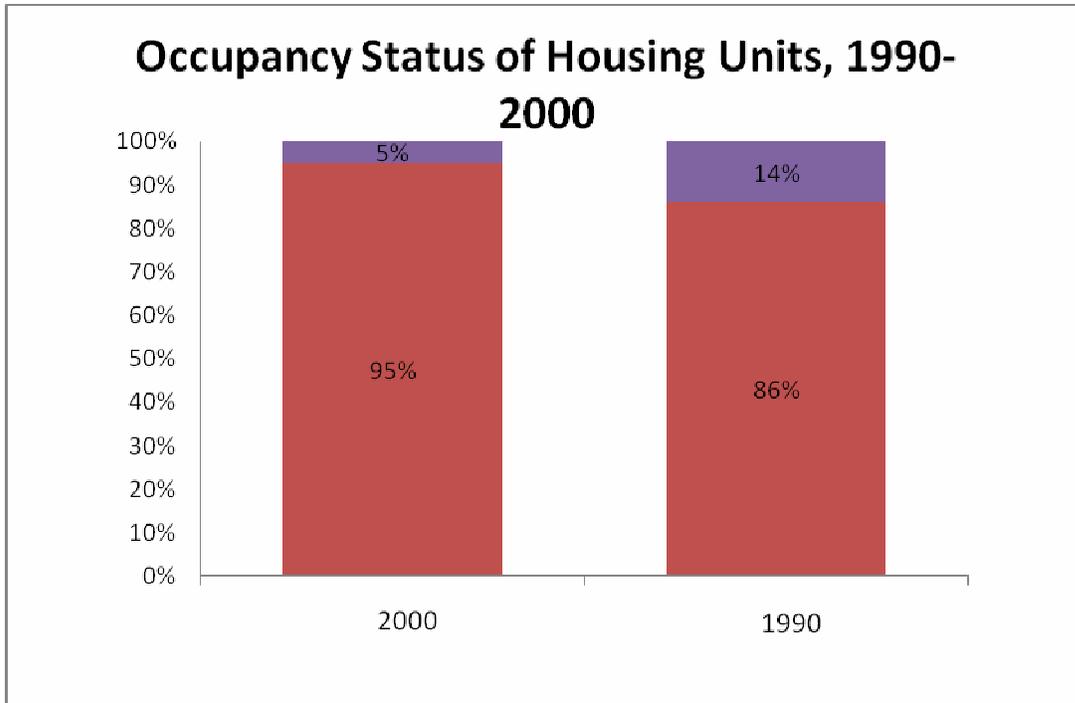
### 3. HOUSING STRUCTURE AND TENURE

The number of housing units in the Albina area increased from 12,466 units in 1990 to 18,344 in 2000, netting a total of 5,874 additional housing units during this time period. According to the bar graph on the following page, the percentage of those units being occupied also rose considerably between 1990 and 2000—from 86% to 95%, respectively. The number of owner-occupied housing units increased as well— from 9,387 in 1990 to 11,119 in 2000— and renter-occupied units slightly decreased—6,433 in 1990 and 6,247 in 2000.<sup>29</sup>

In examining the breakdown of renter and owner-occupied housing units by race an interesting pattern emerges. As shown in Table 6, the percentage of black owner-occupied housing units decreased from 31.6% in 1990 to 25.1% in 2000. In marked contrast, the percentage of white owner-occupied housing units slightly increased from 65.3% in 1990 to

<sup>29</sup> See Table 6 and 7.

68.1% in 2000. Equally noticeable, the percentage of black renter-occupied housing units decreased from 50.8% in 1990 to 41.7% in 2000.<sup>30</sup>



\*United States Census Bureau, 2000 Census (follow “Decennial Census: get data” hyperlink; then follow “2000 Summary Tape File 3: Detailed Tables” hyperlink; then select block group: Select State: Oregon: Select County: Multnomah County: select censuses tracts and block groups 22.01, 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02: Add; next, select occupancy status: Add: “show results” hyperlink.) \*\*United States Census Bureau, 1990 Census (follow “Decennial Census: get data” hyperlink; then follow “1990 Summary Tape File 3: Detailed Tables” hyperlink; then select block group: Select State: Oregon: Select County: Multnomah County: select censuses tracts and block groups 22.01, 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02: Add; next, select occupancy status: Add: “show results” hyperlink.)

<sup>30</sup> See Table 7.

**Table 6: Frequency of Owner-Occupied Housing Units 1990-2000, by Race**

	1990*		2000**	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
White	6,128	65.3%	7,571	68.1%
Black	2,967	31.6%	2,789	25.1%
American Indian	79	0.8%	59	0.5%
Asian/Pacific Islander	163	1.7%	201	1.8%
Other race	50	0.5%	137	1.2%
Two or more races			362	3.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>9,387</b>		<b>11,119</b>	

\*United States Census Bureau, 1990 Census (follow "Decennial Census: get data" hyperlink; then follow "1990 Summary Tape File 3: Detailed Tables" hyperlink; then select block group: Select State: Oregon: Select County: Multnomah County: select censuses tracts and block groups 22.01, 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02: Add; next, select tenure by race of householder: Add: "show results" hyperlink.) \*\*United States Census Bureau, 2000 Census (follow "Decennial Census: get data" hyperlink; then follow "2000 Summary Tape File 3: Detailed Tables" hyperlink; then select block group: Select State: Oregon: Select County: Multnomah County: select censuses tracts and block groups 22.01, 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02: Add; next, select tenure by race of householder: Add: "show results" hyperlink.)

**Table 7: Frequency of Renter-Occupied Housing Units 1990-2000, by Race**

	1990*		2000**	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
White	2,816	43.8%	2,815	45.1%
Black	3,271	50.8%	2,605	41.7%
American Indian	126	2.0%	126	2.0%
Asian/Pacific Islander	126	2.0%	155	2.5%
Other race	94	1.5%	242	3.9%
Two or more races			304	4.9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>6,433</b>		<b>6,247</b>	

\*United States Census Bureau, 1990 Census (follow "Decennial Census: get data" hyperlink; then follow "1990 Summary Tape File 3: Detailed Tables" hyperlink; then select block group: Select State: Oregon: Select County: Multnomah County: select censuses tracts and block groups 22.01, 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02: Add; next, select tenure by race of householder: Add: "show results" hyperlink.) \*\*United States Census Bureau, 2000 Census (follow "Decennial Census: get data" hyperlink; then follow "2000 Summary Tape File 3: Detailed Tables" hyperlink; then select block group: Select State: Oregon: Select County: Multnomah County: select censuses tracts and block groups: 22.01, 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02 Add; next, select tenure by race of householder: Add: "show results" hyperlink.)

In summary, renter and owner-occupied housing units rose from 12,466 units in 1990 to 18,344 in 2000, for an additional 5,874 housing units during this time period. In the same time period, the number of black owner-occupied housing units decreased from 31.6% in 1990 to 25.1% in 2000, and black renter-occupied housing units decreased from 50.8% in 1990 to 41.7% in 2000. This contrasts with the increase in white owner-occupied housing—from 65.3% in 1990 to 68.1% in 2000, and renter-occupied housing units, which decreased by one housing unit—from 2,816 in 1990 to 2,815 in 2000.

#### 4. EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Another notable trend, undoubtedly reflecting the continued disadvantage of the Black population, is in the level of educational attainment reported in Northeast Portland. Generally, the population of the Albina Area reported achieving higher levels of education in 2000 than in 1990.

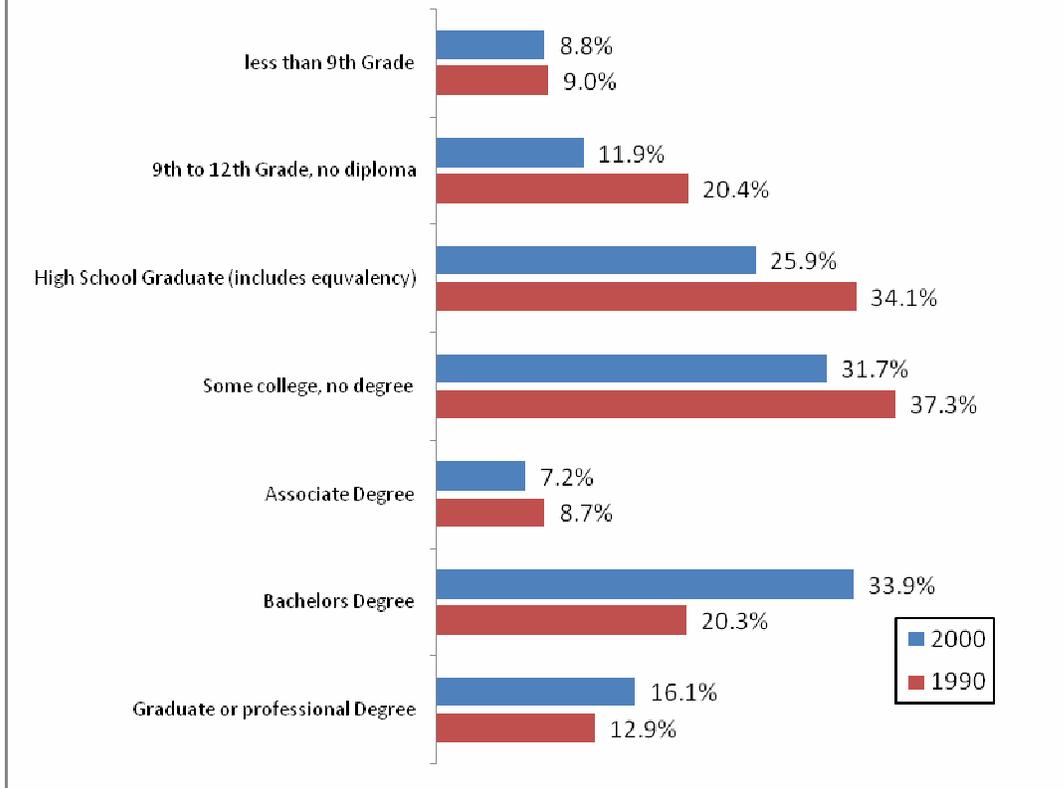
Between 1990 and 2000, the percentage of people reporting some college education or less decreased from 37.3% in 1990 to 31.7% in 2000. Also, the percentage of people having earned an Associate degree or more decreased from 8.7% to 7.2%. The number reporting a bachelor's degree, however, increased from 20.3% in 1990 to 33.9% in 2000. While no noticeable patterns are identifiable at the block group level, a cross-tabulation of educational attainment by race reveals a trend. As shown in Table 8, the percentage of the black population earning a Bachelor's or higher degree increased—from 8.3% in 1990 to 105% in 2000. In fact, the proportion of blacks acquiring a graduate or professional degree nearly doubled between 1990 and 2000. Among whites, the most noticeable change is the rise in the percentage of people earning

Bachelor's degrees—from 32.5% in 1990 to 54.8% in 2000. Also, notice the considerable decrease in the percentage of whites acquiring a high school diploma (or an equivalent).

Table 9, contrasts blacks and whites and provides the proportion within each educational attainment group. In examining this table, it is evident that blacks constitute a disproportionate amount of the Albina Area residents in the lower educational attainment groups. Also, blacks constitute a meager percentage of the higher educational attainment groups. Please note, though, that the actual number of blacks with graduate or professional degrees actually increased between 1990 and 2000.

In marked contrast, whites progressively make up a larger percentage of the college-level educational group and dominate the educational attainment categories for Bachelor's degrees, graduate degrees, and professional degrees. Taken together, one may conclude that when it comes to educational attainment, whites progressively dominate the higher educational attainment groups and that the educational attainment gap between blacks and whites is widening. Informed by previous findings related to population trends, however, it is likely that this educational gap is primarily attributable to the growing number of educated whites moving into the Albina Area.

## Proportion of Education Attainment, 1990-2000



\*United States Census Bureau, 2000 Census (follow “Decennial Census: get data” hyperlink; then follow “2000 Summary Tape File 3: Detailed Tables” hyperlink; then select block group: Select State: Oregon: Select County: Multnomah County: select censuses tracts and block groups 22.01, 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02: Add; next, select educational attainment: persons 25 years and over: Add: “show results” hyperlink.) \*\*United States Census Bureau, 1990 Census (follow “Decennial Census: get data” hyperlink; then follow “1990 Summary Tape File 3: Detailed Tables” hyperlink; then select block group: Select State: Oregon: Select County: Multnomah County: select censuses tracts and block groups 22.01, 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02: Add; next, select educational attainment: persons 25 years and over: Add: “show results” hyperlink.)

**Table 8: Frequency Distribution of Whites and Blacks Within Each Educational Attainment Grouping**

	1990				2000			
	White		Black		White		Black	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Total	15072	100.0%	9782	119.3%	17888	100.0%	8345	113.7%
less than 9th Grade	616	6.9%	926	11.3%	520	4.7%	568	7.7%
9th to 12th Grade, no diploma	1414	15.8%	1978	24.1%	937	8.5%	1457	19.9%
High School Graduate (includes equivalency)	3257	36.5%	2785	34.0%	2410	21.8%	2578	35.1%
Some college, no degree	3797	42.5%	2701	32.9%	3953	35.8%	2177	29.7%
Associate Degree	1010	11.3%	476	5.8%	978	8.8%	440	6.0%
Bachelors Degree	2904	32.5%	683	8.3%	6061	54.8%	768	10.5%
Graduate or professional Degree	2074	23.2%	233	2.8%	3029	27.4%	357	4.9%

\*United States Census Bureau, 1990 Census (follow "Decennial Census: get data" hyperlink; then follow "1990 Summary Tape File 3: Detailed Tables" hyperlink; then select block group: Select State: Oregon: Select County: Multnomah County: select censuses tracts and block groups 22.01, 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02: Add; next, select race by educational attainment: Add: "show results" hyperlink.) \*\*United States Census Bureau, 2000 Census (follow "Decennial Census: get data" hyperlink; then follow "2000 Summary Tape File 3: Detailed Tables" hyperlink; then select block group: Select State: Oregon: Select County: Multnomah County: select censuses tracts and block groups 22.01, 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02: Add; next, select sex by educational attainment for population 25 and over (white alone) (black alone): Add: "show results" hyperlink.)

**Table 9: Proportion of Whites and Blacks Within Each Educational Attainment Grouping Excluding All Other Racial Groups**

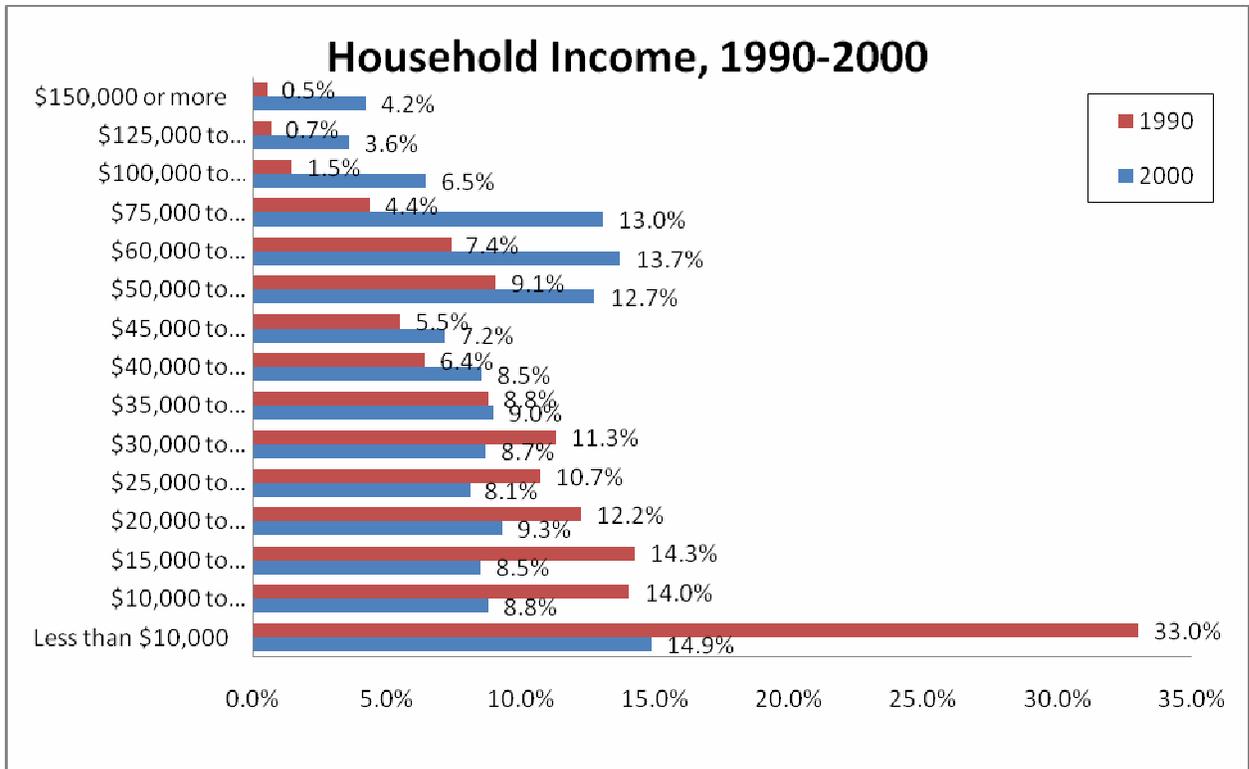
	1990					2000				
	Total	White		Black		Total	White		Black	
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
	26333	15072	57.2%	9782	37.1%	29575	17888	60.5%	8345	28.2%
less than 9th Grade	1663	616	37.0%	926	55.7%	1912	520	27.2%	568	29.7%
9th to 12th Grade, no diploma	3763	1414	37.6%	1978	52.6%	2602	937	36.0%	1457	56.0%
High School Graduate (includes equivalency)	6284	3257	51.8%	2785	44.3%	5656	2410	42.6%	2578	45.6%
Some college, no degree	6886	3797	55.1%	2701	39.2%	6925	3953	57.1%	2177	31.4%
Associate Degree	1613	1010	62.6%	476	29.5%	1568	978	62.4%	440	28.1%
Bachelors Degree	3751	2904	77.4%	683	18.2%	7395	6061	82.0%	768	10.4%
Graduate or professional Degree	2373	2074	87.4%	233	9.8%	3517	3029	86.1%	357	10.2%

\*United States Census Bureau, 1990 Census (follow "Decennial Census: get data" hyperlink; then follow "1990 Summary Tape File 3: Detailed Tables" hyperlink; then select block group: Select State: Oregon: Select County: Multnomah County: select censuses tracts and block groups 22.01, 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02: Add; next, select race by educational attainment: Add: "show results" hyperlink.) \*\*United States Census Bureau, 2000 Census (follow "Decennial Census: get data" hyperlink; then follow "2000 Summary Tape File 3: Detailed Tables" hyperlink; then select block group: Select State: Oregon: Select County: Multnomah County: select censuses tracts and block groups 22.01, 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02: Add; next, select sex by educational attainment for population 25 and over (white alone) (black alone): Add: "show results" hyperlink.)

## 5. HOUSEHOLD INCOME

The graph below contrasts the percentage of households within each income grouping for the Ablina Area in 1990 and 2000. Another indication of the disparity between the Black and white populations is reflected in the increase in income in the percentage of households reporting incomes of \$50,000 between 1990 and 2000. A concomitant decline in income is indicated by the much lower percentage of households that reported an income of \$20,000 or less in the 2000 census compared with the census in 1990.

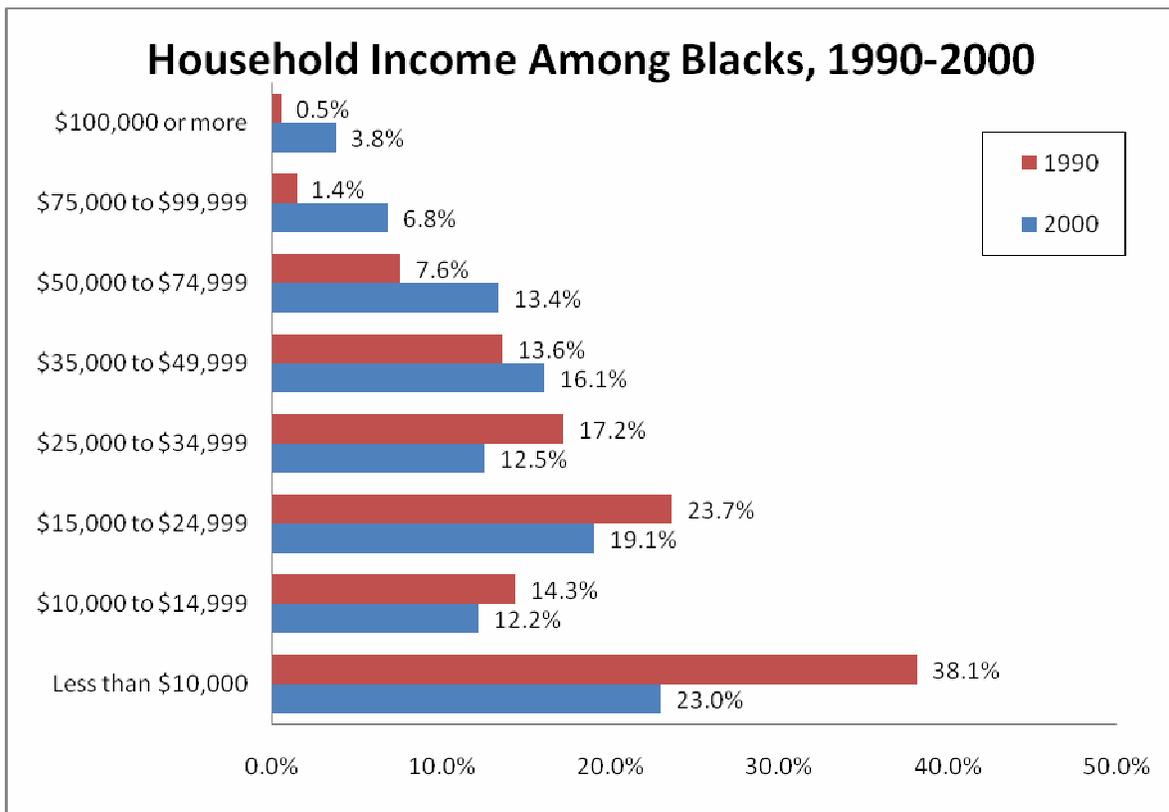
The reported household income among blacks only, as presented in the next graph, provides a similar, though less dramatic, pattern. Essentially, the percentage of black households in the higher income groups is growing.



\*United States Census Bureau, 2000 Census (follow “Decennial Census: get data” hyperlink; then follow “2000 Summary Tape File 3: Detailed Tables” hyperlink; then select block group: Select State: Oregon: Select County: Multnomah County: select censuses tracts and block groups 22.01, 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02: Add; next, select household income in 1989: Add: “show results” hyperlink.) \*\*United States Census Bureau, 1990 Census (follow “Decennial Census: get data” hyperlink; then follow “1990 Summary Tape File 3: Detailed Tables” hyperlink; then select block group: Select State: Oregon: Select County: Multnomah County: select censuses tracts and block groups 22.01, 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02: Add; next, select household income in 1999: Add: “show results” hyperlink.)

That black households are increasing in the higher income grouping is further supported by comparing the number of black households to the total number of households within each income grouping. Table 10 shows that while the percentage of black households in the lower income groupings is increasing, the number of black households reporting lower incomes is decreasing. This table further shows that while the percentage of black households in the higher income grouping is remained relatively stable, the number of black households reporting higher incomes increased.

At the very least, it seems indisputable that Blacks no longer constitute a majority of the population in the heart of what had been, by any measure, a Black section of Portland. Moreover, Blacks persist as a solid majority of the less affluent households. A marked difference, reflected in Table 11, is that whites continue to make up a larger proportion of the higher income groups. In fact, by 2000 white households comprised 50% or more of those households reporting an income of \$25,000 or more. This is a remarkable increase, especially given that it is consistent with the findings elaborated on earlier concerning race differences in educational attainment among residents of the Albina Area.



United States Census Bureau, 2000 Census (follow “Decennial Census: get data” hyperlink; then follow “2000 Summary Tape File 3: Detailed Tables” hyperlink; then select block group: Select State: Oregon: Select County: Multnomah County: select censuses tracts and block groups 22.01, 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02: Add; next, select race of householder by household income in 1989: Add: “show results” hyperlink.) \*\*United States Census Bureau, 1990 Census (follow “Decennial Census: get data” hyperlink; then follow “1990 Summary Tape File 3: Detailed Tables” hyperlink; then select block group: Select State: Oregon: Select County: Multnomah County: select censuses tracts and block groups 22.01, 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02: Add; next, select race of householder by household income in 1999: Add: “show results” hyperlink.)



**Table 10: Frequency of Black Households per Total Number of Households Within Each Income Group**

	1990*			2000**		
	Total Households	Black Households	Percentage of Total Households	Total Households	Black Households	Percentage of Total Households
Less than \$10,000	3725	2026	54.4%	1887	1182	62.6%
\$10,000 to \$14,999	1582	762	48.2%	1115	626	56.1%
\$15,000 to \$24,999	2988	1258	42.1%	2262	980	43.3%
\$25,000 to \$34,999	2486	914	36.8%	2131	644	30.2%
\$35,000 to \$49,999	2331	724	31.1%	3133	828	26.4%
\$50,000 to \$74,999	1856	402	21.7%	3358	686	20.4%
\$75,000 to \$99,999	491	76	15.5%	1656	351	21.2%
\$100,000 or more	299	27	9.0%	1810	193	10.7%

\*United States Census Bureau, 1990 Census (follow “Decennial Census: get data” hyperlink; then follow “1990 Summary Tape File 3: Detailed Tables” hyperlink; then select block group: Select State: Oregon: Select County: Multnomah County: select censuses tracts and block groups 22.01, 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02: Add; next, select tenure by race of householder by household income in 1989: Add: “show results” hyperlink.) \*\*United States Census Bureau, 2000 Census (follow “Decennial Census: get data” hyperlink; then follow “2000 Summary Tape File 3: Detailed Tables” hyperlink; then select block group: Select State: Oregon: Select County: Multnomah County: select censuses tracts and block groups 22.01, 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02: Add; next, select household income in 1999 (black alone householder): Add: “show results” hyperlink.)

**Table 11: Frequency of White Households per Total Number of Households Within Each Income Group**

	1990*			2000**		
	Total Households	White Households	Percentage of Total Households	Total Households	White Households	Percentage of Total Households
Less than \$10,000	3725	1538	41.3%	1887	736	39.0%
\$10,000 to \$14,999	1582	765	48.4%	1115	355	31.8%
\$15,000 to \$24,999	2988	1579	52.8%	2262	1095	48.4%
\$25,000 to \$34,999	2486	1443	58.0%	2131	1199	56.3%
\$35,000 to \$49,999	2331	1539	66.0%	3133	2038	65.0%
\$50,000 to \$74,999	1856	1435	77.3%	3358	2223	66.2%
\$75,000 to \$99,999	491	386	78.6%	1656	1233	74.5%
\$100,000 or more	299	245	81.9%	1810	1534	84.8%

\*United States Census Bureau, 1990 Census (follow “Decennial Census: get data” hyperlink; then follow “1990 Summary Tape File 3: Detailed Tables” hyperlink; then select block group: Select State: Oregon: Select County: Multnomah County: select censuses tracts and block groups 22.01, 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02: Add; next, select tenure by race of householder by household income in 1989: Add: “show results” hyperlink.) \*\*United States Census Bureau, 2000 Census (follow “Decennial Census: get data” hyperlink; then follow “2000 Summary Tape File 3: Detailed Tables” hyperlink; then select block group: Select State: Oregon: Select County: Multnomah County: select censuses tracts and block groups 22.01, 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02: Add; next, select household income in 1999(white alone householder): Add: “show results” hyperlink.)

## 6. AFFORDABILITY OF HOUSING STOCK

A commonly used indicator for affordability of housing units is the estimated gross rent as a percentage of the gross household income. According to both federal and state agencies, if the gross rent of a housing unit is 30% or more of the households gross income, that household is considered cost-burdened.

The gross rent as a percentage of the gross household income for renter-occupied housing units in 1990 is shown in Table 12. That the largest percentage of cost-burdened households would be found in income groupings below \$20,000 is intuitive. For example, roughly 72.5% of the 2637 households with less than \$10,000 in gross household income are cost-burdened. In marked contrast, the percentage of cost-burdened households with a gross income of more than \$34,999 is less than 5.2% of the 1366 households.

As shown in Table 13, the 2000 census presents a different pattern; the proportion of cost-burdened households increased for all households reporting a gross income of more than \$10,000. In particular, households with gross incomes ranging from \$10,000 to \$49,999 experienced a rise in the percentage of cost-burdened households in 2000.

**Table 12: Gross Rent as a Percentage of Gross Household Income 1990\***

1990**	1990	
	Count	Frequency
<b>Less than \$10,000:</b>	2637	100.0%
Less than 20 percent	100	3.8%
20 to 24 percent	120	4.6%
25 to 29 percent	166	6.3%
30 to 34 percent	134	5.1%
35 percent or more	1911	72.5%
Not computed	206	7.8%
<b>\$10,000 to \$19,999:</b>	1569	100.0%
Less than 20 percent	123	7.7%
20 to 24 percent	233	14.6%
25 to 29 percent	197	12.3%
30 to 34 percent	271	17.0%
35 percent or more	722	45.2%
Not computed	23	1.4%
<b>\$20,000 to \$34,999:</b>	1366	100.0%
Less than 20 percent	569	41.7%
20 to 24 percent	370	27.1%
25 to 29 percent	213	15.6%
30 to 34 percent	137	10.0%
35 percent or more	71	5.2%
Not computed	6	0.4%
<b>\$35,000 to \$49,999:</b>	525	100.0%
Less than 20 percent	427	81.3%
20 to 24 percent	49	9.3%
25 to 29 percent	32	6.1%
30 to 34 percent	0	0.0%
35 percent or more	0	0.0%
Not computed	17	3.2%
<b>\$50,000 or more:</b>	284	1.0%
Less than 20 percent	269	94.7%
20 to 24 percent	0	0.0%
25 to 29 percent	0	0.0%
30 to 34 percent	0	0.0%
35 percent or more	0	0.0%
Not computed	15	5.3%

\*United States Census Bureau, 1990 Census (follow "Decennial Census: get data" hyperlink; then follow "1990 Summary Tape File 3: Detailed Tables" hyperlink; then select block group: Select State: Oregon: Select County: Multnomah County: select censuses tracts and block groups 22.01, 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02: Add; next, select Household Income in 1989 by Gross Rent as Percentage of Household income: Add: "show results" hyperlink.)

**Table 13: Gross Rent as a Percentage of Gross Household Income 2000\*\***

2000	2000	
	Count	Frequency
<b>Less than \$10,000:</b>	1405	100.00%
Less than 20 percent	28	1.99%
20 to 24 percent	78	5.55%
25 to 29 percent	141	10.04%
30 to 34 percent	67	4.77%
35 percent or more	851	60.57%
Not computed	240	17.08%
<b>\$10,000 to \$19,999:</b>	2143	1.00%
Less than 20 percent	998	71.03%
20 to 24 percent	44	3.13%
25 to 29 percent	133	9.47%
30 to 34 percent	132	9.40%
35 percent or more	812	57.79%
Not computed	24	1.71%
<b>\$20,000 to \$34,999:</b>	1596	100.0%
Less than 20 percent	220	13.8%
20 to 24 percent	212	13.3%
25 to 29 percent	359	22.5%
30 to 34 percent	241	15.1%
35 percent or more	499	31.3%
Not computed	65	4.1%
<b>\$35,000 to \$49,999:</b>	970	100.0%
Less than 20 percent	415	42.8%
20 to 24 percent	278	28.7%
25 to 29 percent	84	8.7%
30 to 34 percent	87	9.0%
35 percent or more	57	5.9%
Not computed	49	5.1%
<b>\$50,000 or more:</b>	1098	100.0%
Less than 20 percent	473	43.1%
20 to 24 percent	155	14.1%
25 to 29 percent	30	2.7%
30 to 34 percent	5	0.5%
35 percent or more	435	39.6%
Not computed	418	38.1%

\*United States Census Bureau, 1990 Census (follow "Decennial Census: get data" hyperlink; then follow "1990 Summary Tape File 3: Detailed Tables" hyperlink; then select block group: Select State: Oregon: Select County: Multnomah County: select censuses tracts and block groups 22.01, 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02: Add; next, select Household Income in 1999 by Gross Rent as Percentage of Household income: Add: "show results" hyperlink.)

7. AGE

Table 14 presents the age distribution of the Central Area population in 1990 and 2000. The only noticeable pattern in this Table is that age groups 22-59 are increasing and all other age groups are decreasing.

**Table14: Age Distribution: Albina Area 1990-2000**

	1990*		2000**	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Under 22	15368	37.0%	13659	30.4%
22-29	4643	11.2%	5878	13.1%
30-39	7473	18.0%	8404	18.7%
40-49	6012	14.5%	7186	16.0%
50-59	2931	7.1%	4907	10.9%
60-69	2085	5.0%	2028	4.5%
70-79	2056	5.0%	1827	4.1%
80 years and over	923	2.2%	992	2.2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>41491</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>44881</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

\*United States Census Bureau, 1990 Census (follow "Decennial Census: get data" hyperlink; then follow "1990 Summary Tape File 3: Detailed Tables" hyperlink; then select block group: Select State: Oregon: Select County: Multnomah County: select censuses tracts and block groups 22.01, 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02: Add; next, select age: Add: "show results" hyperlink.) \*\*United States Census Bureau, 2000 Census (follow "Decennial Census: get data" hyperlink; then follow "2000 Summary Tape File 3: Detailed Tables" hyperlink; then select block group: Select State: Oregon: Select County: Multnomah County: select censuses tracts and block groups 22.01, 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02: Add; next, select sex by age: Add: "show results" hyperlink.)

Table 15 provides the age distribution among blacks within Northeast Portland. . This Table reveals that the percentage of blacks in the age group 40-59, and 80 years and over, increased, while all other age groups decreased. That is, the black population in the study area seems to be older in 2000 than in 1990.

The age distribution among whites, as presented in Table 16, experienced little change between 1990 and 2000. If anything, this Table shows that the white population in the Albina area was younger in 2000 than in 1990. In fact, the age groups 22-59 increased in 2000, while age groups 60 and older decreased. A much higher proportion of whites in 2000 reported being 22-39 years of age (36.4%) in comparison to blacks (22.8%).

Additionally, a considerably lower proportion of whites reported being “under 22 years of age” (23.1%) or 60 years or older (9.7%) as compared with blacks at 33.1% and 15.9%, respectively. Though not conclusive, it is suggestive of the fact that younger whites are both racially tolerant, and of equal consequence, economically compelled to look for housing in less affluent areas in a city notable for housing costs.

**Table15: Age Distribution: Blacks 1990-2000**

	1990*		2000**	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Under 22	7390	41.5%	4967	36.1%
22-29	2056	11.5%	1251	9.1%
30-39	2655	14.9%	1897	13.8%
40-49	2073	11.6%	2017	14.6%
50-59	1352	7.6%	1443	10.5%
60-69	1181	6.6%	970	7.0%
70-79	846	4.7%	832	6.0%
80 years and over	264	1.5%	396	2.9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>17817</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>13773</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

\*United States Census Bureau, 1990 Census (follow “Decennial Census: get data” hyperlink; then follow “1990 Summary Tape File 3: Detailed Tables” hyperlink: then select block group: Select State: Oregon: Select County: Multnomah County: select censuses tracts and block groups 22.01, 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02: Add; next, select Race by Sex by Age-Black Males & Race by Sex by Age-Black Females: Add: “show results” hyperlink.) \*\*United States Census Bureau, 2000 Census (follow “Decennial Census: get data” hyperlink; then follow “2000 Summary Tape File 3: Detailed Tables” hyperlink: then select block group: Select State: Oregon: Select County: Multnomah County: select censuses tracts and block groups 22.01, 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02: Add; next, select Sex by Age (black alone): Add: “show results” hyperlink.)

**Table16: Age Distribution: Whites 1990-2000**

	1990*		2000**	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Under 22	6565	29.5%	5622	23.1%
22-29	2494	11.2%	3563	14.6%
30-39	4670	21.0%	5314	21.8%
40-49	3865	17.4%	4428	18.2%
50-59	1601	7.2%	3018	12.4%
60-69	977	4.4%	974	4.0%
70-79	1350	6.1%	857	3.5%
80 years and over	696	3.1%	545	2.2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>22218</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>24321</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

\*United States Census Bureau, 1990 Census (follow "Decennial Census: get data" hyperlink; then follow "1990 Summary Tape File 3: Detailed Tables" hyperlink; then select block group: Select State: Oregon: Select County: Multnomah County: select censuses tracts and block groups 22.01, 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02: Add; next, select Race by Sex by Age-White Males & Race by Sex by Age-White Females: Add: "show results" hyperlink.) \*\*United States Census Bureau, 2000 Census (follow "Decennial Census: get data" hyperlink; then follow "2000 Summary Tape File 3: Detailed Tables" hyperlink; then select block group: Select State: Oregon: Select County: Multnomah County: select censuses tracts and block groups 22.01, 23.01, 24.01, 25.01, 31.0, 32.0, 33.01, 33.02, 34.01, 34.02, 36.01 Groups 2-5, 36.02, 37.01 Groups 2-3, and 37.02: Add; next, select Sex by Age (white alone): Add: "show results" hyperlink.)

### III

#### Black Portland

"I've been really upset by what I perceive to be Portland's blind spot in its progressivism," said Khaela Maricich, a local artist and musician. "They think they live in the best city in the country, but it's all about saving the environment and things like that. It's not really about social issues. It's upper-middle-class progressivism, really."<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Khaela Maricich, *Racial Shift in a Progressive City Spurs Talks*, N.Y. Times, May 29, 2008.

Until the Second World War, Portland's Black community survived through the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century under what can only be described as suffering grave disadvantages on account of racial bias.<sup>32</sup> One scholar, Karen J. Gibson, has persuasively argued in a 2008 paper that the Black/White social/economic indicators indicate that the city's African Americans were worse off in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century than they were in the 1960s.<sup>33</sup> Widely referred in current parlance in shorthand as "Albina" (possibly derived from an early sixties Albina Neighborhood Improvement Project, or more likely from a city incorporated in 1887 in roughly the same area that was later incorporated into Portland as well as a 1994 Portland City Albina Community Plan Commission), African American Portland is actually a network of different neighborhood among them Alberta, Albina, Boise, Eliot, Humboldt, King, and Piedmont.<sup>34</sup> More recently reference is also made to the Mississippi district, itself a textbook case of a thoroughly gentrified (and largely) white neighborhood.<sup>35</sup> A prominent African American banker noted that in the 1960s Black businessmen, with city aid, constructed a bowling alley that quickly morphed into a

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<sup>32</sup> The hostility to Blacks/colored/Negroes/African Americans was enshrined in the first Oregon Constitution, which contained the provision which declared: "No free Negro or mulatto, not residing in the state at the time of adoption of this constitution, shall come reside or be within the state or hold any real estate, or make any contract, or maintain any suit therein, and the legislative assembly shall provide by penal law for removal by public officer of all such Negroes and mulattos, and for their effectual exclusion from the state, and for the punishment of persons who shall bring them into the state, or employ or harbor them." H. Casey, *Portland's Compromise: the Colored School/1897-1972* (Portland, 1980). At least one black was expelled, the owner of a saloon and boarding house in Salem, now the state capital of Oregon. Two other attempts were unsuccessful. However, "[a]nti-black laws were successful in deterring early black migration and residence in the Oregon Territory. . . . Despite Oregon's exclusion laws and anti-black sentiment, a small community of blacks did settle in Portland." *The History of Portland's African American Community (1805 to the Present)* (Portland Bureau of Planning), February, 1993, at 8-9. See also, R. Pearson, *A Menace to the Neighborhood: Housing and African Americans in Portland, 1941-1945*, Oregon Historical Quarterly, (Summer 2001). The author discussed the War years which resulted in the largest influx of blacks in the history of the state, many of them the children of those migrants who now live in which is arguable a desegregated Portland, at least not segregated on the basis of race.

<sup>33</sup> K.J. Gibson, *Problems of Racial Justice in Portland, 1968-2008: Revisiting The City's "Kerner Report,"* June 1, 2007 at 3.

<sup>34</sup> Interviews by Angela Romius with Allyson Spencer and Jeana Woolley, President J.M. Wooley & Associates (Nov. 7 and 8, 2008) (on file with author).

<sup>35</sup> For a similar fate shared by a nearby neighborhood, See J. Hodges, *Saved by Design in Portland*, N.Y. TIMES, Feb. 1, 2009, Travel at 4.

factory that led eventually to the manufacture of munitions boxes for the military.<sup>36</sup> Nonetheless, other businesses closed or else relocated, and the area's downward spiral continued until the 1990s when it emerged at the end of a decade mostly white, though some blacks had earlier purchased homes in the area, it was by 2009 essentially all white.<sup>37</sup> Indeed, Portland's Black population as recently as 2008 was but two percent black.

The 2001 Oregon Historical Quarterly article declared that before the Second World War, "African American men . . . were limited to employment by the railroad as redcaps and porters while other Black men and women struggled to find work as domestics and janitors. Younger African Americans understood they would have to leave Portland if they intended to pursue professional employment opportunities."<sup>38</sup> Indeed, it was the challenge of wartime industrial production that served as a national magnet attracting thousand of African Americans to migrate from South as well as North. The migrants settled in a bog known as Vanport, adjacent to one of North American's great waterways – the Columbia River well-situated to the development of wartime industry.

They arrived to find segregation deeply engrained.<sup>39</sup> One grim and sardonic example of the racism with which blacks endured was a restaurant named the Coon-

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<sup>36</sup> Interview with Paul Cook, Sept. 2008.

<sup>37</sup> Email from Paul Cook, Northeast Portland resident, to author (June 2008).

<sup>38</sup> R. Pearson, *A Menace to the Neighborhood: Housing and African Americans in Portland, 1941-1945*, 102 OR. HISTORICAL QUARTERLY, 159 (2001).

<sup>39</sup> For a gripping account of what it was like to be Black in Vanport, See J. Harvey, *Living With Vanport*, THE PORTLAND OREGONIAN, May 25, 2008, "African Americans in Portland were restricted at the time to Albina, which couldn't hold the war-time influx, so they were sent to Vanport, carefully segregated to its least desirable and more dangerous area. . . . I remember rats as a constant problem, even though we lived in a second-floor apartment. That summer we were already covered with mosquito bites, despite heavy applications of DDT to our apartment. Vanport was noisy and violent."

Chicken Inn, whose entrance was “dominated” by a gigantic Black Sambo Caricature,” echoed by interior derogatory decoration references which extended also to plates and cups devoted to the demeaning racial stereotype.<sup>40</sup> A Portland State University Workshop paper reported in 1990 that in 1942, “[h]ousing was at the core of racial tensions. . . [w]hite workers complained about sharing shipyard dormitories with Blacks. Neighborhood groups were up in arms at every suggestion or rumor that Blacks might be moving to their areas. After the destruction of Vanport which submerged the area and claimed many lives, those black workers found, that in segregated Portland, the close-in area of Albina was virtually the only housing area open to them.”<sup>41</sup>

Kaiser Shipbuilding Company, a dominant employer (if not the dominant employer) chartered trains, called “Magic Carpet Specials,” to bring recruits from “Idaho, Montana, Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, and Minnesota and along the railroad connections from Iowa to Pennsylvania.”<sup>42</sup> By early 1942, Portland grew by some 160,000 person, a population explosion of more than fifty percent. As *The History of Portland’s African American Community* represents:

Portland was unprepared for mass influx of people. The settlement of these workers was not accomplished smoothly. There was evidence of racial backlash; the war period saw a proliferation of “White Trade Only” signs. Housing was segregated. Unions barred blacks. Black migrants met open hostility. Former city commissioner J.E. Bennett suggested that the city should actively discourage

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<sup>40</sup> R. Pearson, *supra* note 35, at 161.

<sup>41</sup> *History of the Albina Plan Area*, (Comprehensive Planning Workshop Portland State University Dept. of Urban Studies and Planning) Winter, 1990, at 44.

<sup>42</sup> *Supra* note 29, at 59.

the recruitment of black workers. During this time there were no public accommodation laws in place to protect African Americans from discrimination. Most of the hotels, restaurants, motels, skating rinks, amusement parks, bowling alleys and night clubs refused service to blacks. Edward Merchant, a retired Merchant Seaman, who came to Portland in 1943 to work in the shipyard remembers the “White Trade Only signs, and the absence of public accommodations and racial segregation laws.”<sup>43</sup>

Nonetheless, an Urban League report in 1945 estimated twenty-three thousand African Americans in Portland, well over a thousand percent increase in the Black population.<sup>44</sup> When a catastrophic flood swept away settlements in Vanport with a massive loss of life, Blacks moved to the adjacent and segregated areas known today collectively as “Albina.”

Needless to say, this community was faced with rampant racism, institutionally reinforced with African Americans confined to the area in which they were consigned after the Vanport disaster.

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<sup>43</sup> *The History of Portland's African American Community (1805 to the Present)* (Portland Bureau of Planning), February, 1993, at 60. See also, Rudy Pearson, “A Menace to the Neighborhood,” *Housing and African Americans in Portland, 1941-1945*, OREGON HISTORICAL QUARTERLY, (Summer 2001) at 171. “Many White citizens were concerned about the potential spread of the Black population. In September 1942, the rumor that dormitories were planned on Northeast Flint Street to house Black war industry workers created a firestorm of hostile activity. The Central East Portland Community Club called a meeting to protest the ‘further influx of negroes into the area’ and attracted over five hundred people representing other community clubs and parent-teacher groups from North and Northeast Portland. The crowd protested that the African American population ‘already constituted a menace to the neighborhood,’ and, according to the September 30, 1942, *Oregonian*, ‘a motion to instigate injunction proceedings against the dormitory passed easily.’ Several of those in attendance expressed their concern that ‘if more Blacks moved into the neighborhood, crime would increase and property values would depreciate.’”

<sup>44</sup> *The State of Black Oregon*, (Urban League of Portland).

Not until the urban riots of the sixties did areas of Portland begin to emerge from the separate and racially segregated cocoons, becoming a City widely-lauded for its urban light-rail grid connecting the city to the airport east of the African American neighborhoods. Indeed, Portland yielded to the national civil rights movement and became a city in which racial barriers began to fall. One should note that as in Seattle, the Black neighborhoods contained a white population, some whites living adjacent to “Negroes.” As one resident put it, “Whites could live in Albina, but no Blacks could live in the rest of Portland.”<sup>45</sup> Segregation cut one way --- in every sector of civic and social life – against African Americans.

In a 1957 report, the City Club of Portland State University could report that fifty percent of Portland’s 11,000 “Negroes” were concentrated in two census tracts, but had been moving for some time into adjacent tracts so that “over half of them were concentrated in one small area of the city which is about two miles long and one mile wide.” The report declared that 4400 of the 5500 homes in the Williams Avenue area of Albina “were built before World War I. . . . Responsible public officials have made little effort to publicize the presence of segregated housing and general slum conditions which we have found do exist. . . . Furthermore, little or no new homes construction is taking place within the confines of what has become literally Negro ghetto. There has been a noticeable lack of available funds for home construction . . . .”<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Interview by author and Angela Romius with Allyson Spencer (Nov. 7, 2009).

<sup>46</sup> *Report on The Negro in Portland: A Progress Report 1945-1957*, (City Club), June 16, 2008, at 1-2.

As Blacks crowded into Albina, by 1960, the white population declined by 23,000 or 54%. In an unpublished paper, Professor Gibson reported that through the 1970s, “the Portland Development Commission’s urban renewal bulldozer chased black residents from their homes several times in preparation for construction the Memorial Coliseum, Emmanuel Hospital, the I-5 freeway, and various city government buildings such as a school and water district headquarters.”<sup>47</sup> An example Professor Gibson describes is the “clearance of 76 acres, or 22 blocks, for the redevelopment of Emanuel Hospital destroyed the heart of the black community in the early 1970s.”<sup>48</sup> Professor Gibson’s research was corroborated by a real estate developer who said that there were different kinds of Black businesses in the African American neighborhood, but “When the Urban Renewal Zone was put in place they cleared an entire area. I think they bulldozed around 200 homes and they bulldozed that entire commercial district.”<sup>49</sup>

Simultaneous with redevelopment, the beleaguered African American community suffered through disinvestment through redlining. Unlike Seattle, neither Portland nor Oregon ever conducted official inquiries into the national extending them on unfavorable, even onerous terms. Despite official silence on the practice, the City Club of Portland determined in a study that Blacks could not get housing loans unless they had higher qualifications than whites similarly situated.<sup>50</sup> Indeed, one author has argued that banks

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<sup>47</sup> Gibson, *supra* note 30, at 13.

<sup>48</sup> *Id.* at 14

<sup>49</sup> Interview by Angila Romius with Jeana Wooley, President J.M. Wooley & Associates (Nov. 8, 2009) (on file with author).

<sup>50</sup> Report on Problems of Racial Justice in Portland, 49 Portland City Club Bulletin 2, 32 (June 14 1968).

limited the size of Black business enterprises by imposing discriminatory lending terms, and thus exacerbated an already high Black unemployment rate.<sup>51</sup>

Despite widespread suspicions of redlining, the entire matter remained murky<sup>52</sup>, and difficult to prove. In arguing that “Redlining may be out of date here,” the author of the newspaper article conceded that at least one prominent public figure, Kalman Szekeley of the Metropolitan Human Relations Office thought that discriminatory lending practices were common, if difficult to prove.<sup>53</sup>

To understate the case, interviews for the project that led to this paper suggest that from the point of view of African Americans, Portland and its numerous redevelopment arms used its neighborhoods to situate a variety of civic improvement projects with little or no direct benefit to Blacks. Efforts to “improve” the area seemed to accompany a growing interest in whites to move into the area, particular after the City either rehabilitated what it could, and cleared what it could not, though some infrastructure improvement plans dated back to the Model Cities Programs of the 1960s, in tandem perhaps with Urban Renewal’s clearance agenda.

Among the many official and unofficial plans were the North/Northeast Economic Development Task Force Economic Development Action Plan of May, 1989, a Qualitative

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<sup>51</sup> Elizabeth McLagan and Mason Tillman Associates, *Ethnic and Gender Discrimination in Portland, 1844-1980*, (Metropolitan Human Rights Center), at 45.

<sup>52</sup> The Oregonian has periodically run a series of articles documenting bias in bank investment in NE Portland, See Dee Lane, *Buyers Say Home Loans Refused for Some NE Sites*, THE OREGONIAN, September, 10, 1990; Dee Lane, *Major Lenders Aid Decline of NE Portland*, THE OREGONIAN, September 10, 1990; Dee Lane, *Neighborhood Activists Blame Blight on Lenders*, THE OREGONIAN, September 11, 1990; Dee Lane, *Coalition Accuses Security Pacific Banks of Redlining*, THE OREGONIAN, October 17, 1990; Dee Lane, *Statistics Show Few Loans to Minority Neighborhoods*, THE OREGONIAN, October 29, 1991; Editorial, *Revisit Portland Redlining*, THE OREGONIAN, November 14, 1993.

<sup>53</sup> Xerpha Borunda, *Redlining May be Out of Date Here*, THE WILLAMETTE WEEK, June 28, 1976, at C1.

and Spatial Analysis Techniques for Analyzing Gentrification Patterns of September 2000 by Portland State, and a paper entitled Civic Life Portland Oregon of 2008, an exhaustive study of the area's traditional as well as new civic groups. Add to the list are a plethora of organizations and plans directly or indirectly launched by the Portland Planning Commission which spurred gentrification with construction of the Interstate light rail while freezing other urban renewal projects.

Widely regarded as a progressive and liberal city, Portland is nationally noted for the transformation of its downtown and its mixed use development accompanied by a transportation system which minimizes automobile traffic in the city's core. Density is compelled by the establishment of an Urban Growth Boundary.<sup>54</sup> One paradox is that the reservation of open space surrounding the city reinforced what was a national trend, heralded by the Wall Street Journal as, "The End of White Flight," noting however that "Black Populations Lose Ground," citing a national trend in which cities were gaining whites but losing Blacks. The mayor of San Francisco lamented that, "The city is experiencing growth, yet we're losing African American disproportionately. When that happens we lose part of our soul."<sup>55</sup>

It is thus no surprise that many of the city's Black residents have a cynical view of the change in Portland as more of the same. While acknowledging the development in the city, the primary view is that at the least, in the process of change the interests of African Americans was ignored in the redevelopment of their community. Professor Gibson notes in her paper of 2008 that the Portland Bureau of Housing and Community Development

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<sup>54</sup> Abbot, *Supra* note 8.

<sup>55</sup> Conor Dougherty, *The End of White Flight*, WALL ST. J., July 19, 2008, at A1.

and the Mississippi Target Area Designation Plan were responsible for policies in which “white businesses and homeowners were the major beneficiaries, while many low-income and older residents were forced out by rising housing prices.”<sup>56</sup>

It should be noted that Blacks were not alone in questioning the change in their formally segregated community. The Portland Journal reported a white artist and musician Khaela Maricich as protesting “Portland’s blind spot as its progressivism. They think they live in the best city in the country, but it’s all about saving the environment and things like that. It’s not really about social issues. It’s upper-middle-class progressivism, really.”<sup>57</sup> The Journal also quotes an 84 year old African American resident, as rhetorically asking, “Well, what happened to all the black people that were in this area? You don’t see any. It is a white world now. They’re sitting around with their bikes and out on the sidewalks and all that. It’s rough to imagine.”<sup>58</sup> Such prices are well out of reach for nearly all the remaining African Americans in the area.<sup>59</sup>

#### IV

### **Black Reaction to Displacement by Whites**

In the 1980’s Alberta Street used to be the heart of the “hood” thriving with African-American businesses. There were restaurants, corner stores, thrift shops, fashion shops, beauty salons, barber shops, churches, taverns, and

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<sup>56</sup> Gibson, *supra* note 30, at 16.

<sup>57</sup> W. Yardley, *Racial Shift in a Progressive City Spurs Talks*, PORTLAND JOURNAL, May 29, 2009.

<sup>58</sup> *Id.* The author in a casual walk through the Mississippi district discovered speculator condos priced at \$475,000 got 1,850 square feet. (on file with author).

<sup>59</sup> See *Supra* note 50.

social clubs. You name it, it was there. Community togetherness was tight. Then city officials started closing down the nightclubs. That's when the conflicts began. Certain types of people went to certain bars and clubs. When a bar was closed down, those who frequented that bar, went to a bar/club where they didn't mingle too well. There was fussing and fighting all the time until all of the places were closed except Joe's Place; a tavern once on the northeast corner of 18<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Alberta Street. "Legalized Genocide" is what I called it. The neighborhood was dead. Grant money would be available to fix up property on Alberta Street is what a white co-worker informed me several years later. Around 1990, for very low prices, the whites started buying the property that the city had forced the black folk out of or had shut down. Don't make me go there. Excerpt from Portland Community College class writing assignment by Blenda Ryles submitted to Instructor Rachel Stevens, May 17, 2007.

The next wave of people who came here have been a real pain in the ass. Because what's happened is that these people feel like this is their neighborhood now because it looks more like them than like us. They came here because they wanted to be close in. They basically wanted to live in a neighborhood. . . There's no tolerance. There's a sort of arrogance, a sense of self righteousness, a sense that whatever makes them comfortable they should be able to implement. Anything that doesn't make them comfortable leads them to want to get rid of it." -- Jenna Wooley, Black real estate developer.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Interview with Jeana Woolley, President of J.M. Wooley and Associates a real estate development and investment firm (Nov. 7, 2008) (on file with author).

“W]hite people living in this area are not going to patronize Black owned]businesses So I am concerned about my beauty and barbershop. Paul Knauls, owner of Geneva’s Sheer Perfections and several other businesses.”<sup>61</sup>

Resources were not sufficient to do traditional survey research on the attitudes of African Americans to the dramatic and rapid influx of whites into to the Black areas of Northeast Portland. While certainly no substitute for scientific inquiry, the author and a research associate did interview selected residents of the “Albina” neighborhoods, all of who had resided in Northeast Portland well before the racial transformation of the area. Upon one aspect all agreed – white home purchases in Black neighborhoods did not signal the eradication of racial prejudice in Portland, though it was certainly nowhere near as aggressive and blatant as in times past. Indeed, most thought racial bias, though present, was subtle with real life consequences for the African Americans remaining in the area. However, while in agreement on much, in some cases they assigned different factors to explain the exodus of Blacks from Northeast Portland to areas more than 150 blocks from the city limits of Portland, beyond the city’s airport, “. . . to [inner-suburb] Gresham.”<sup>62</sup>

For example, Allyson Spencer, real estate consultant, aide to a County Commissioner and former staff of the Portland Redevelopment Commission, mentioned earlier in this study, argued that code enforcement was used to pressure Blacks to sell their homes to whites. According to Ms. Spencer,

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<sup>61</sup> Paul Knauls, Sr., At present time, owner of Geneva’s Sheer Perfections, among other business interests (on file with author).

<sup>62</sup> See *infra* remarks of Lela Triplet-Roberts, teacher in Jesuit school.

[Whites] moved in here because there was money available for them to fix the houses up and then move in. So you had young whites moving into the area and then you had speculators that . . . fixed up the houses [for sale]. Where there was a home occupied by black folk next door or nearby and not fixed up, then the code enforcement would be called. One developer was in cahoots with the code enforcers and he would offer to buy the house that [had code violations]. So actually the code enforcers got busted for what they were doing.<sup>63</sup>

However, a school teacher who had lived in the area more than four decades, and taught at an essentially predominantly African American tuition free high school, noted for the success of its graduates, argued instead that:

“It was not just white folks coming in taking advantage of an improved neighborhood and great housing sold at cheap prices in the middle of the City. And all of those things were more attractive to the young families . . . . But a lot of us helped change the color of northeast Portland by selling and it wasn’t the mothers and the fathers and grandparents that really valued their opportunity to be able to buy a house back in the 50s or in the 60s, it was the kids who don’t really care about the community who basically saw an opportunity to make some money. So there is an element of participation from us that has changed the neighborhood.”<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Interview with Allyson Spencer (Nov. 2008).

<sup>64</sup> Lela Triplet-Roberts, St. Andrew Nativity School School (Nov. 6, 2008).

She also ascribed as factors in racial change to the inability of Blacks to get financing, unemployment, and impoverished families without fathers but with children.

As for racial issues, Paul Knauls, a multiple business owner, including a barber shop and rental properties, in his late seventies, had a more pessimistic and grimmer view of the neighborhood change underway by white in-movers, declaring, “The houses in the area are all overpriced with half million dollar homes” [which] meant that we can’t afford to move back into[Northeast Portland] . . . And now we’re all out in the East County, William, Gresham, and Southeast Portland.”<sup>65</sup>

Knauls thought there was no political solution favorable to Blacks, because “. . . We’re two to five percent in the whole state. At the Barrack Obama rally it as 35,000 people, with probably 200 African Americans, so our vote really wouldn’t make a significant difference.”<sup>66</sup>

Knauls pointed out that whites moved into the area because of the proximity of the Black neighborhoods in Northeast Portland.

“. . . because now with the light rail that we have you can ride the bus downtown, you can ride the train downtown, leave your car at home without any problems whatsoever. . . .that’s basically why they moved

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<sup>65</sup> Interview with Paul Knauls (Nov. 7, 2008) (on file with author).

<sup>66</sup> *Id.*

back in to the area. This is a prime area where we are in. You know you can be downtown in seven minutes, its just easy, easy, you know.”<sup>67</sup>

Knauls went on to fill out his prediction of what he saw as the decline of a once predominantly African American area:

“I don’t think you’ll see many African-Americans moving into the neighborhood. There are few that will stay They’ll eventually sell or move to move to a warmer climate, especially if they are older – either to Arizona or back South.. I went home to my class reunion this year and there were eight of my classmates, all 77 or 78, and they had moved back to their hometown where they were born.”<sup>68</sup>

Knauls asserted that one of his class mates had “bought his house in 1972, and paid only \$37,000, but was able to sell it to a white purchaser for \$250,000. Knauls’ friend took the quarter of a million dollars and “went back to Mississippi where he lives like a King.”<sup>69</sup> Of greater concern to Knauls was:

“. . . [W]hite people living in this area are not going to patronize [Black owned] businesses. So I am concerned about my beauty and barbershop. If everyone Moves southeast, where am I going to get my clientele?”<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> *Id.*

<sup>68</sup> *Id.*

<sup>69</sup> *Id.*

<sup>70</sup> *Id.*

Angeline Roslyn Hill, real estate owner, also predicted that Northeast Portland would become increasing white because of the African American demographics. “[Blacks] either will get old and move into nursing homes or move in with their families.”<sup>71</sup> She declared that “Blacks will not reinvest into the area, [while] a majority of their homes were sold to Whites.”<sup>72</sup> She also had reservations overall about white attitudes towards African Americans, and decried the difficulty of Blacks getting loans, asserting that: “If you inherited, let’s say your mother’s house, your aunt’s house, your grandmother’s house, it was difficult to get a loan to rent that house because of the redline. . . .Portland pretends like there’s no racial issue. There is a very, very, very, strong racial issue.”<sup>73</sup>

“[Whites] moved in ‘cause there’s cheap housing. They would not live here if they could afford to live across the river. Now, some of them will claim that it’s trendy. Then there are those who move in because this is all they can afford. But what they do is, they bring in all their friends, they bring in all their neighbors, they bring in their aunts and uncles and everybody else to buy up property with them. So that’s why you see what people call gentrification.”<sup>74</sup>

Ms. Jeana Woolley (November 7, 2008) shared the generally held view of Black residents that African American exit from Northeast Portland was grounded in an ironic but welcome opportunity—the chance to make some change in their low-income

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<sup>71</sup> Interview with Roslyn Hill (Nov. 7, 2008) (on file with author).

<sup>72</sup> *Id.*

<sup>73</sup> *Id.*

<sup>74</sup> *Id.*

situations.<sup>75</sup> “It was the kids who don’t really care about the community, who basically saw an opportunity to make some money . . . ”<sup>76</sup> She no longer viewed the area as predominantly African American, declaring:

“Oh no, most of us don’t live here anymore. But there’s probably a third that still live here. You know, we’re scattered. You know, you don’t have a sense of a community, we’re not dominant any place anymore so to us it doesn’t feel like our community anymore because we’re not the majority anyways.”<sup>77</sup>

Woolley faulted Urban Renewal for clearing some “two hundred Black homes, an entire area which was . . . full of different kinds of Black businesses.”<sup>78</sup> She conceded however that,

“most of the people in this neighborhood owned their homes so we have voluntarily sold our homes, or our kids or grand kids have taken the money thinking it was a lot of money, but not realizing . . . you can’t buy anything with that money, you can’t buy another house in this market [although] Northeast is one of the best locations in the entire city. It’s close to downtown. I mean you have to realize that this is a treasure in terms of location. It’s close to everything. It’s got freeway access to any direction within minutes. It’s one of the most central neighborhoods, if

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<sup>75</sup> Interview with Jeana Woolley, President of J.M. Wooley and Associates a real estate development and investment firm (Nov. 7, 2008) (on file with author).

<sup>76</sup> *Id.*

<sup>77</sup> *Id.*

<sup>78</sup> *Id.*

not the most central residential neighborhood other than downtown now.”<sup>79</sup>

Ms. Wooley lamented that,

“Now on Alberta you can’t buy property for under a million dollars. Because what happens is that once this stuff rises in value and it becomes a sexy place to live, you’ve got to have money to play. Most of us didn’t have the money. Even those who have the know-how don’t have deep pockets, or are partners with people who have some money. And so these whites started coming in. The kids are coming. [Many of the] young white business people that are coming in are lawyers. They’re people who’ve gone to college, got college buddies with money . . . They’re guys that are restaurateurs who work elsewhere. This is the kind of new wave for a number of young kids [who] can’t get into a couple of sexy places in the South East . . . It’s the way of the world. I mean this is an economic turn where you’ve got young people who are entrepreneurial and have skills.”<sup>80</sup>

Lela Triplet-Roberts Portland Jesuit high school teacher, expressed the bitterness of some of the residents:

“Urban renewal [was used to build the Emmanuel Hospital] and they tricked and forced those people to sell their homes. And of course, once you sell it they didn’t give them enough to really move any place else

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<sup>79</sup> *Id.*

<sup>80</sup> *Id.*

except farther up north into Albina. [From there], many folks moved to Gresham and [out] the Interstate to Rodney between Stanton and Gresham. . . .They cannot get the financing [to stay in Northeast Portland]. We have high black unemployment, and a big number of our blacks are women without husbands and so that makes it difficult, you know. They have four or five kids and it's difficult, even if they have fairly decent jobs, to get a loan or buy . . . I'm gonna tell you: I live right here over here on 13<sup>th</sup>. I can spit at all my houses from here. Now the house directly across the street from me which is less than 2000 square feet sold for \$479,000 . My house which is about 2700 square feet [has] two full baths. I have [multiple] bedrooms, and then a bonus room, a finished basement. I paid \$550,000, that's what I paid property tax on. I bought that house for \$37,000.<sup>81</sup> [The property is valuable because it's close to downtown, shopping malls, and mass transit.]

Lela Triplett-Roberts asserted that the city “ took away all of the public housing [in Northeast Portland] and all these poor black people live in Troutdale, Fairview, and Gresham [where they] are far and very isolated.”<sup>82</sup>

She added,

“If you don't have \$80 to buy a bus ticket or bus pass, you have to depend on somebody else to come pick you and take you where you [need to go].

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<sup>81</sup> Interview with Lela Triplett-Roberts (November 6, 2008) (on file with author).

<sup>82</sup> *Id.*

I mean we even had some kids and do you know what time they leave for school in the morning?”<sup>83</sup>

Another resident, Gloria McMurtry, decried the racial prejudice that in times past characterized Portland, declaring that, “Black people that had lived here before told me that it used to be just like down south, that there were signs, ‘No Negroes allowed.’”<sup>84</sup> She also agreed with Ms. Triplett-Roberts that white in-movers were economically motivated:

“When I was sitting on my porch one day a young white man came and asked me if he could talk to me. He says, ‘Well, you know, I’m thinking about moving into the neighborhood and my father told me that if I want to make a real good investment then Northeast Portland is the best place because what I can buy a house here I can’t buy it for the same house anywhere else.’ And he ended up moving down the street from me. . . . When I opened in 1991 . . . 80 percent of my customers were blacks, and now it’s the reverse. And I see it’s gonna be a hundred percent. .Some Blacks moved to Vancouver in Washington State. Real estate taxes are lower there. So a lot of people when they sold their homes here they moved there [north of the Columbia River].”<sup>85</sup>

Gloria McMurtry who owns the Reflections Coffee House (which is a coffee and bookstore) also had a cynical view of Portland officials, declaring:

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<sup>83</sup> *Id.*

<sup>84</sup> Interview by Angila Romius with Gloria McMurtry, owner Reflections Coffee House (November 7, 2008) (on file with author).

<sup>85</sup> *Id.*

“The politicians are very interested in the Albina neighborhood now. Now the City let it run down until it was nothing. Now the emphasis [on the area] is because the whites moved in, now we got to build it up. . .So I think it’s a neighborhood and an area that’s in transition most definitely, but it’s moving very fast. And pretty soon there will be only white people in there. [The change in Northeast Portland has occurred] in less than ten years ago, so it’s a very attractive area to live in especially [as Portland residents have] moved more towards public transportation as opposed to traveling in cars. So it’s not just the real estate value, it’s the convenience of the goods and services that are available.”<sup>86</sup>

One can safely conclude from the interviews that there was unanimity among the residents on the reason for the transformation of interest in African American neighborhoods. Its historic isolation as the “Negro” section of Portland kept estate prices depressed. With the advent of public transportation, with much of the area cleared by Urban Renewal for a hospital, a shopping center, as well as a sports stadium on its southern boundary, and given its proximity to downtown, the comparatively accessible real estate values in Northeast Portland were an irresistible magnet for whites who no longer regarded African American neighborhoods as taboo neighbors.

For some African American residents, who were in vocational or occupational positions that did not provide sufficient incentives to remain in the area, the change in the neighborhood was perhaps a mixed blessing. Many of their friends and neighbors left the

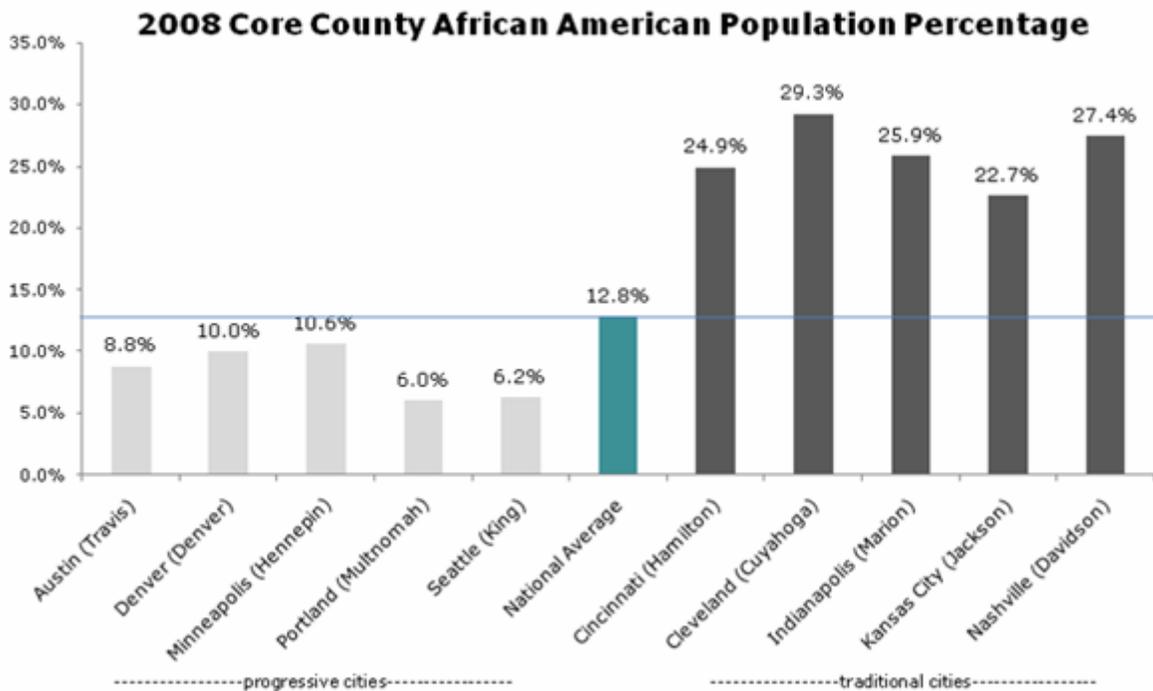
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<sup>86</sup> *Id.*

area, while their real estate rose in value, increasing their net worth far beyond what it was when they lived what was essentially a racial ghetto segregated area of the city. However, for most of the residents, it led to exile to far flung, though arguably inner suburbs.

## V. Conclusion

Portland is considered by many to be one of the most progressive cities in the nation,<sup>87</sup> however, “how can a city define itself as diverse or progressive while lacking in African Americans, the traditional sine qua non of diversity . . . ?”<sup>88</sup>



<sup>87</sup> Along with Seattle, Austin, Minneapolis, and Denver, Aaron M. Renn, *The White City*, New Geography, October 18, 2009, <http://www.newgeography.com/content/001110-the-white-city>.

<sup>88</sup> Aaron M. Renn, *The White City*, New Geography, October 18, 2009, <http://www.newgeography.com/content/001110-the-white-city>.

Statistically (as indicated in the chart above) the whitest city of its size and location, Portland is destined to become white even still – even if the city becomes even more tolerant than it is fabled to be.<sup>90</sup> The displacement of African Americans from Northeast Portland from an area proximate to Portland’s Central Business District represents a prime illustration of racial impact without the racial animus that in years past created racial isolation. But the wealth gap between Blacks and whites, a legacy of racism, continues. Despite conflicting assessments of the extent of the displacement reflected in the interviews in Section IV, the census information set out in Section II reflects the increasing presence of whites in Northeast Portland.

Unfortunately, the rising value of real estate (prior to 2009 and 2010),<sup>91</sup> has had a push-pull effect on the area. As whites have moved in, Blacks have moved out. As whites have moved in, Blacks have moved out. Mike and Paige De Muniz say this shift is widely known in the community, and there are obvious signs of the change in the neighborhood.<sup>92</sup> “We had dinner at Bernie’s Southern Bistro and you would think there would be more blacks there. Instead, the place was full of whites. We were in a Southern

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<sup>89</sup> Aaron M. Renn, *The White City*, *New Geography*, October 18, 2009, <http://www.newgeography.com/content/001110-the-white-city>.

<sup>90</sup> This tolerance extends to swaths, strips clubs, and a plethora of “XXX” activity, including, but not limiting to prostitution. See Allan Brettman, *Wyden: More Needs to be done to combat prostitution in Portland*, *THE OREGONIAN*, July 31, 2010; Nikole Hannah-Jones, *Human trafficking industry thrives in Portland Metro Area*, *THE OREGONIAN*, January 9, 2010; Susan Donaldson James, *Strip Clubs Teases Small Oregon City, In National Capital of Stripping, Residents Say Free Speech has Gone too Far*, *ABC NEWS*, October 22, 2008. Nonetheless, there’s also evidence that Portland is more racially tolerant than it might have once been in the past. *Portland Acts to Bridge its Racial Divides*, *THE OREGONIAN*, July 21, 2008.

<sup>91</sup> See, e.g., David Streitfeld, *Housing Woes Bring New Cry: Let Market Fall*, *N.Y. TIMES*, Sept. 6, 2010, at A12. “As the economy again sputters and potential buyers flee – July housing sales sink 26 percent from July 2009 – there is a growing sense of exhaustion with government Intervention.

<sup>92</sup> Interview by Amy Klind with Mike and Paige De Muniz, a white, married couple who both work as lawyers and live in Northeast Portland (October 9, 2010) (on file with the author).

restaurant with a bunch of white people.”<sup>93</sup> Aside from this experience at Bernie’s Southern Bistro, they notice a difference in the nature of the businesses on Alberta Street. “Obviously if you have a bunch of whites moving into a neighborhood, they open businesses that cater to other whites – like wine bars and boutiques. This changes the culture of neighborhood. Though some blacks will maintain a presence in the area, the trend suggests an abandonment of Northeast Portland by lower/and even lower middle class Blacks because of income disparity. No one has expressed this racial disparity more than Tim White in a recent book.<sup>94</sup>

The most telling evidence of racial inequity . . . is to be found in data on relative net worth and assets. While incomes between similarly educated whites and persons of color have narrowed somewhat in the past two decades, [still] whites at every age level and educational level continue on average about 20 percent more than their black counterparts. – gaps in wealth are truly stunning and have tended to grow over time. At the beginning of the decade of the 2000s, for example, the median net worth for white households was approximately eleven times that of black households. . . . The typical young black couple, though earning about the same as their white counterparts (assuming that they have comparable educations), will start out with a net worth less than one-fifth that of the typical young white couple. . . . For blacks and Latinos, most wealth and assets are bound up with home value. For whites, home value represents only about thirty

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<sup>93</sup> *Id.* Mike De Muniz.

<sup>94</sup> Tim White, *Color Blind: The Rise of Post-Racial Politics and the Retreat from Equality* (2010).

percent of overall wealth, as they are far more likely to possess financial instruments such as stocks, commercial real estate and other more easily liquidated and accessible. Indeed, once home equity is excluded from consideration, median white household wealth is nearly twenty times the median for black households . . . .These gaps manifest at every income level.<sup>95</sup>

Paradoxically, as median incomes and property becomes more valuable, the racial integration of Northeast Portland will lead to an influx of Euro Americans, which will initially lead to increased racial integration, then the decline of the African American population. Subsequently, the area will become more expensive, or too expensive for a significant portion of the Black population within the city limits. As Portland will (or is) more and more integrated, the proportion of Blacks within the city limits will decline. To paraphrase the former Mayor of Seattle, the whitest big city in the Northwest will be whiter still.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> *Id.* at 68 and 69.

<sup>96</sup> Blaine Harden, *Whitest Cities Get Even Whiter; Newcomers are Buying Real Estate in Communities Where Blacks Were Once the Majority*, HOUSTON CHRON., June 25, 2006. See also, Aaron M. Renn, *The White City*, New Geography, October 18, 2009, <http://www.newgeography.com/content/001110-the-white-city>.