Reclamation Towards the Futurity of Central Albina: *Dreamworld Urbanism*

Portland State University

Master of Urban and Regional Planning 2021 Workshop

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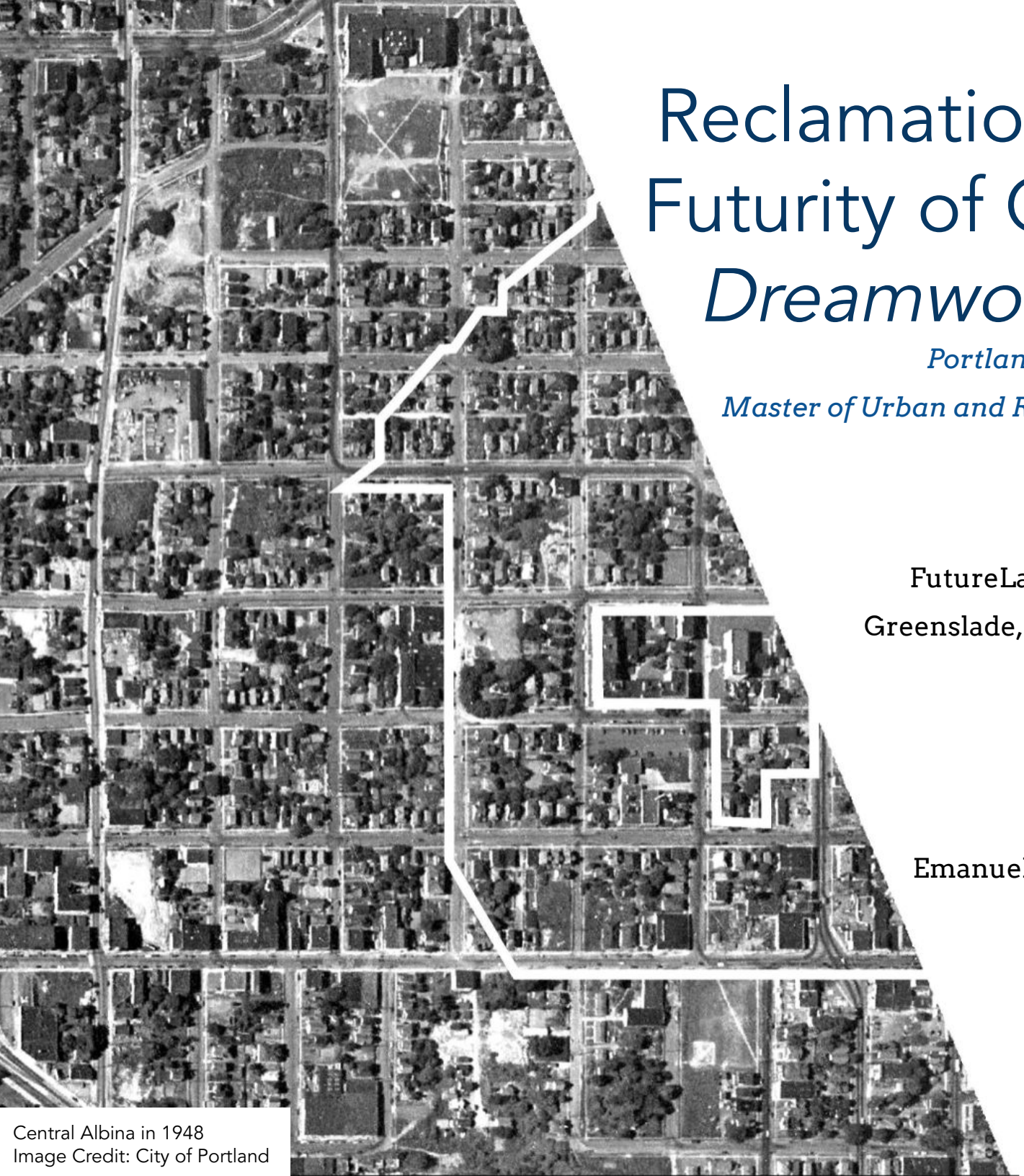
In collaboration with

Emanuel Displaced Persons Association 2 (EDPA2)



Central Albina in 1948
Image Credit: City of Portland

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Land Recognition

Portland rests on the traditional village sites of the Multnomah, Kathlamet, Clackamas, Chinook, Tualatin Kalapuya, Molalla and many other Tribes who made their homes along the Columbia River. Indigenous people, who have inhabited this land from time immemorial, were the first to be displaced by white settlers. Forced removal has long been a primary strategy used to extract wealth and power in white supremacist society. We hold this in our minds as we examine the forced removal of a vibrant Black community from Central Albina.

FutureLab Statement

FutureLab is a team of graduate students from Portland State University. Each of us is white. We can in no way speak to the loss and trauma experienced by Black people in Portland as a result of racist planning and forced removal from their former homes. We have been cognizant from the beginning that it is not our place to speak for anyone from this platform, and have reflected extensively on what our role ought to be.

As students we have been given the tremendous opportunity to be trained with technical skills in urban planning. For better or worse, this training endows us with the power to influence the institutions that shape our cities. In this moment in history wherein a massive resurgence of organizing and action for racial justice across the country faces down a resurgence in racist violence, it is our privilege and moral obligation to put this platform to work in service to the people and communities who continue to be targeted, imprisoned, murdered, displaced, belittled, and silenced by the forces of white supremacism.

But denouncing outright violence is not enough. The lasting, compounding impacts of centuries of racist targeting of Black communities in this country have yet to be addressed. The Emanuel Displaced Persons Association 2 (EDPA2) formed in part to bring attention to the fact that Portland's Black community continues to face major obstacles to basic wellbeing that are directly related to actions the City of Portland has taken over the decades. For this project, we sought to support and learn from EDPA2 in their effort to secure recognition and restitution. This project is fundamentally a result of their vision and effort, and we only hope that we have done it justice.

Ariel Kane, Aubrey Carlsen, Stephen Greenslade, Jude Thaddaeus, Zachary Mettler

EDPA2 Statement

This project is a dream come true conceived over 4 years ago now realized. And while EDPA2 and FurtureLab rejoice in our relief of successfully completing this task, it was not without real life obstacles that threatened its completion. For the past 6 months we worked under the strain of a pandemic, death—lots of death, the caregiving to aging and ailing parents, sick family members, broken down wheelchairs and other personal challenges that were not mentioned. We grappled with the subject matter while creating some form of commonality without which this project could not have been done.

It's important for me to state the obvious. EDPA2's membership is made up of Black survivors and descendants of Central Albina. FutureLab is made up of white graduate level college students...

Personally, the past 6 months presented one of the most challenging undertakings I've experienced. I knew it would be hard and extremely difficult, what in life isn't? It was a Spiritual journey beyond a mere social justice commitment and in many ways an experiment. This project was deeply spiritual and invaded my physical appearance. It was a sacrifice that drained my spirit. I had to be available. I could not afford to block or otherwise hinder what was designed for me to receive and for me to give. I don't expect most to understand.

I want to thank my undergrad alma mater, Portland State University. I was born and raised in the City of Portland, Oregon and I've invested deeply in this city. I await my return. I want to thank Professor Megan Horst and the Master's of Urban and Regional Planning Program. I need to thank each and every member of EDPA2. What can I say?

EDPA2 Statement (cont.)

Lastly, a heartfelt thank you to the sensitive, considerate and focused students that make up FutureLab. Now that you know the truth, you are obligated to share this truth. Otherwise, what was it all for? But what I really want to know is, how does it feel to be a dream maker?

WE aren't telling the story but rather the consequences of an incomplete and unresolved history.

City of Portland, Home Forward, Emanuel Hospital and Prosper Portland, it's on you.

Byrd/
EDPA2
6/11/2021
Portland, Oregon

Introduction

Legacy Emanuel Hospital in Context to the City of Portland, Oregon

LEGEND

- Legacy Emanuel Hospital
- Portland Neighborhood boundaries
- Portland City Boundary

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Layer Data Source: Portland Maps

Introduction

In recent years the City of Portland has announced a number of new programs and initiatives aimed at moving the city, with a sordid history of racist violence and exclusion, toward greater racial equity. "Urban Renewal" in Portland has a particularly ugly history of racialized neighborhood destruction, which has been discussed in a number of studies, reports, and documentaries. But this history is alive in the present. There are many people today who still remember the neighborhoods that were taken from them, and there are many more descendants who have grown up hearing stories about Central Albina as it was before bulldozers arrived. So long as the impacts caused by structural racist practices go unaddressed, Black people will continue to face disproportionate challenges to wellbeing and prosperity in Portland.

The Emanuel Displaced Persons Association 2 (EDPA2) is an ad hoc community organization made up of survivors and descendants of one particularly devastating urban renewal project—the expansion of Emanuel Hospital in the early 1970s.

For members of EDPA2, the City's policies for racial justice appear hollow in the absence of any reckoning with and restitution for the harm that was done.

In partnership with EDPA2, the FutureLab team has sought to recreate the neighborhood at the heart of Albina that was destroyed half a century ago, to illustrate the impacts of the Emanuel Hospital project, and to put forth recommendations that may help move toward justice for the displaced persons and their descendants. To that end, we have produced this report along with an interactive ESRI StoryMap to:

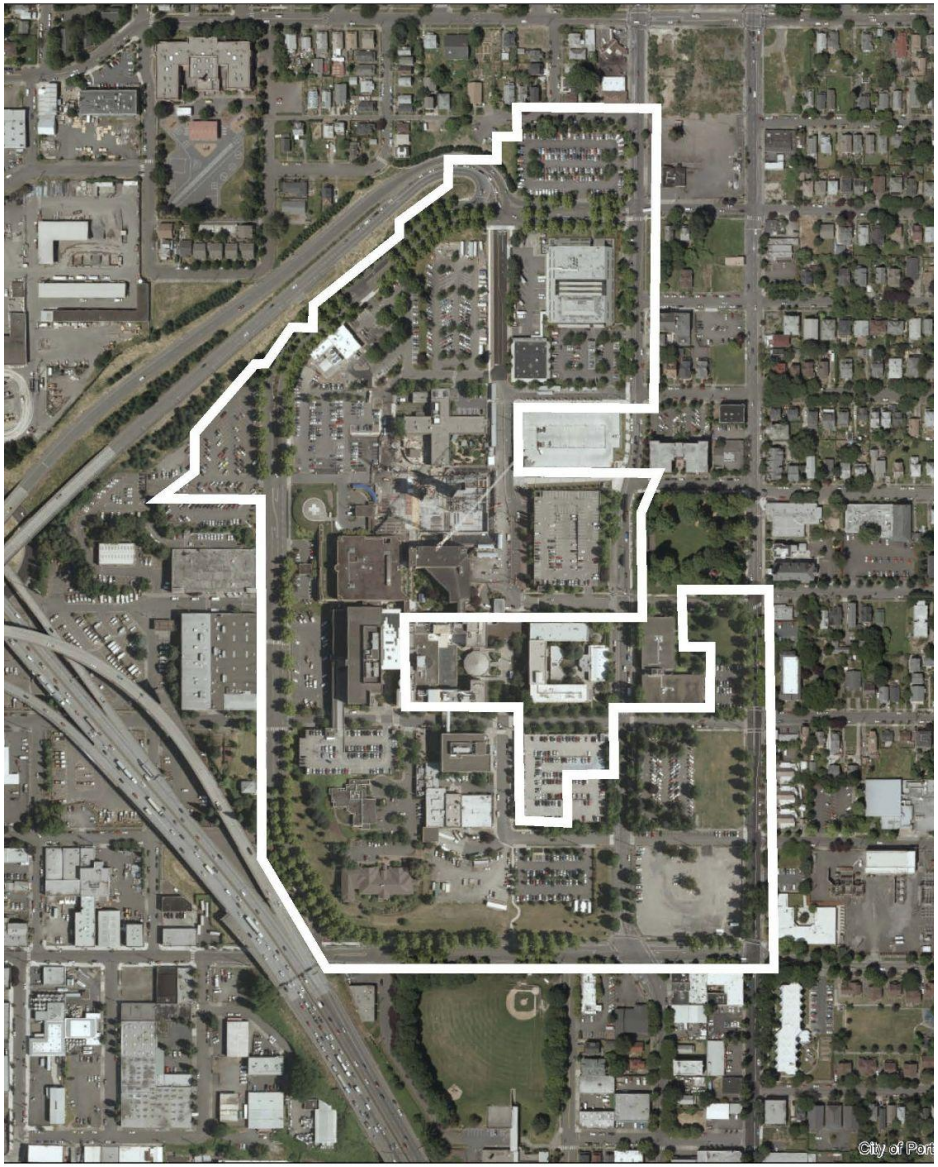
- ➔ Examine the history of compounding racist actions and policies as they pertain to Portland's Black community in Central Albina;
- ➔ Connect with the impacted community of survivors and descendants whose homes and businesses were destroyed to make way for the failed Emanuel Hospital expansion;
- ➔ Describe impacts on the community as told by the survivors and descendants, as well as producing an estimate of the lost property wealth resulting from the demolition of Central Albina for the Emanuel Hospital expansion;
- ➔ Develop a set of recommendations for restitution.

Introduction

As part of this process, we engaged in conversations with EDPA2 members and other stakeholders; examined historical and policy documents spanning the last century; performed GIS and data analyses to understand and highlight impacts; examined case studies and policies, and compiled key principles and recommendations.

Working on a community-driven project in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic has been challenging, and has affected our ability to gather data, speak with community members, and even to connect with one another as a team, to give comfort and support, and to help one another stay focused and positive throughout this process. We are not meant to face complex, emotional challenges in isolation. Yet that is what so many members of Portland's Black community have been forced to do, repeatedly removed from their homes and communities. We offer this platform to amplify the voices of a group of dedicated survivors and descendants impacted by Portland's racist actions in calling for the City to take responsibility for the harm it has caused, and to start taking action to make it right.

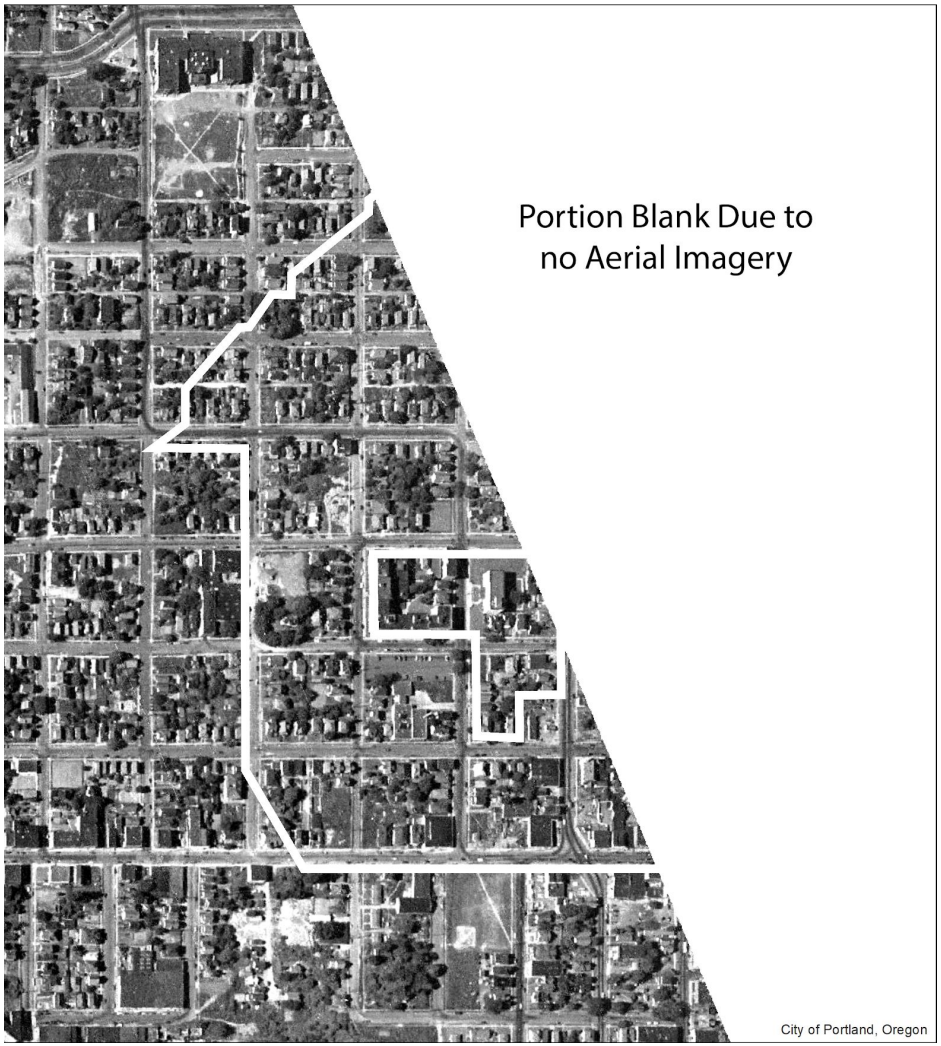
Boundary of Emanuel Hospital Urban Renewal Project



Source: Authors approximation, PortlandMaps aerial image

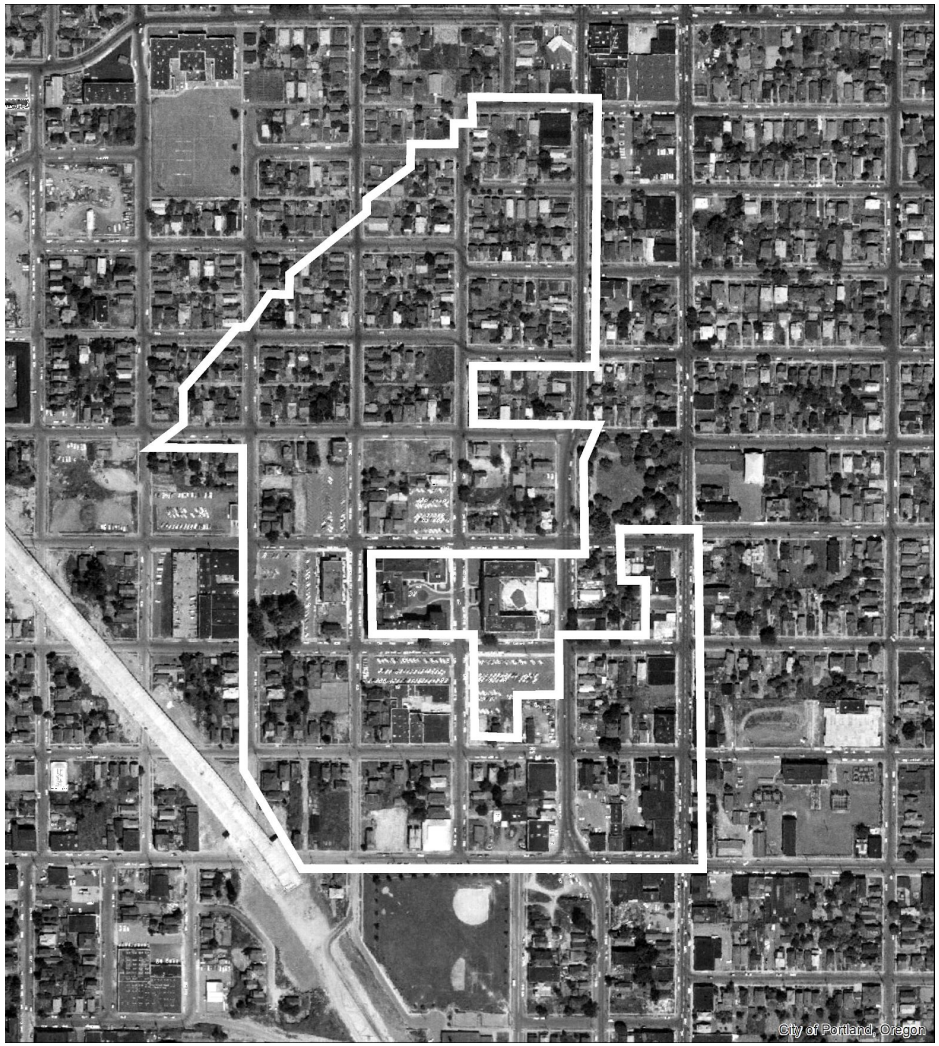
Aerial Imagery Time Series

1948



Source: Authors approximation, PortlandMaps aerial image

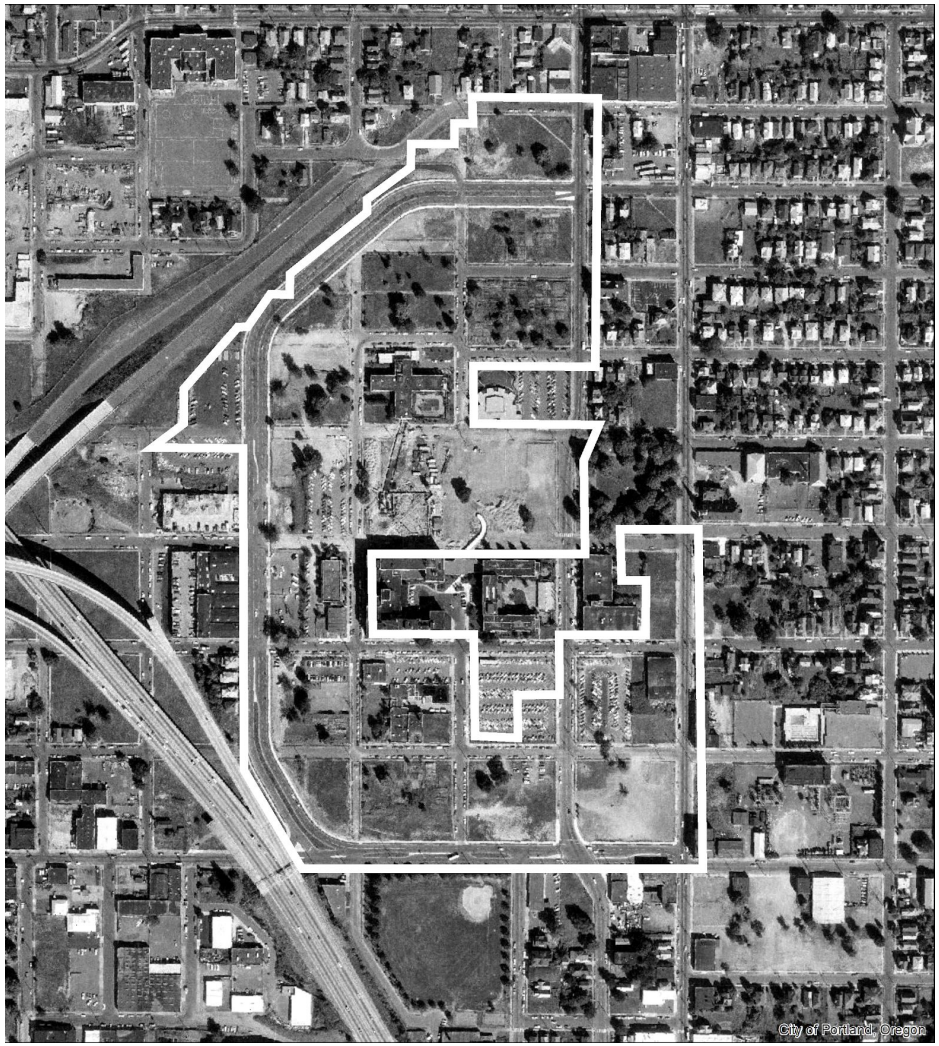
1960



Source: Authors approximation, PortlandMaps aerial image

Aerial Imagery Time Series

1975



Source: Authors approximation, PortlandMaps aerial image

1990

Source: Authors approximation, PortlandMaps aerial image

Aerial Imagery Time Series

1996

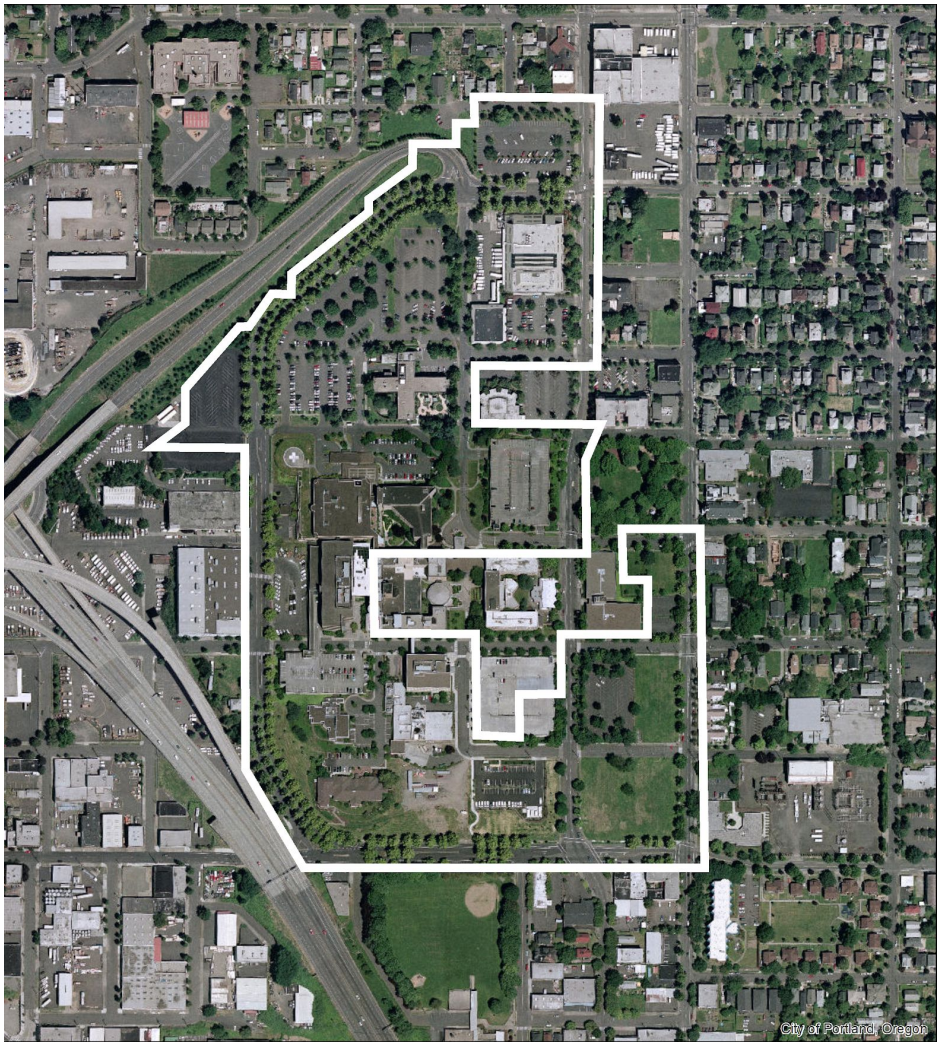
Source: Authors approximation, PortlandMaps aerial image

2000

Source: Authors approximation, PortlandMaps aerial image

Aerial Imagery Time Series

2005



Source: Authors approximation, PortlandMaps aerial image

2010

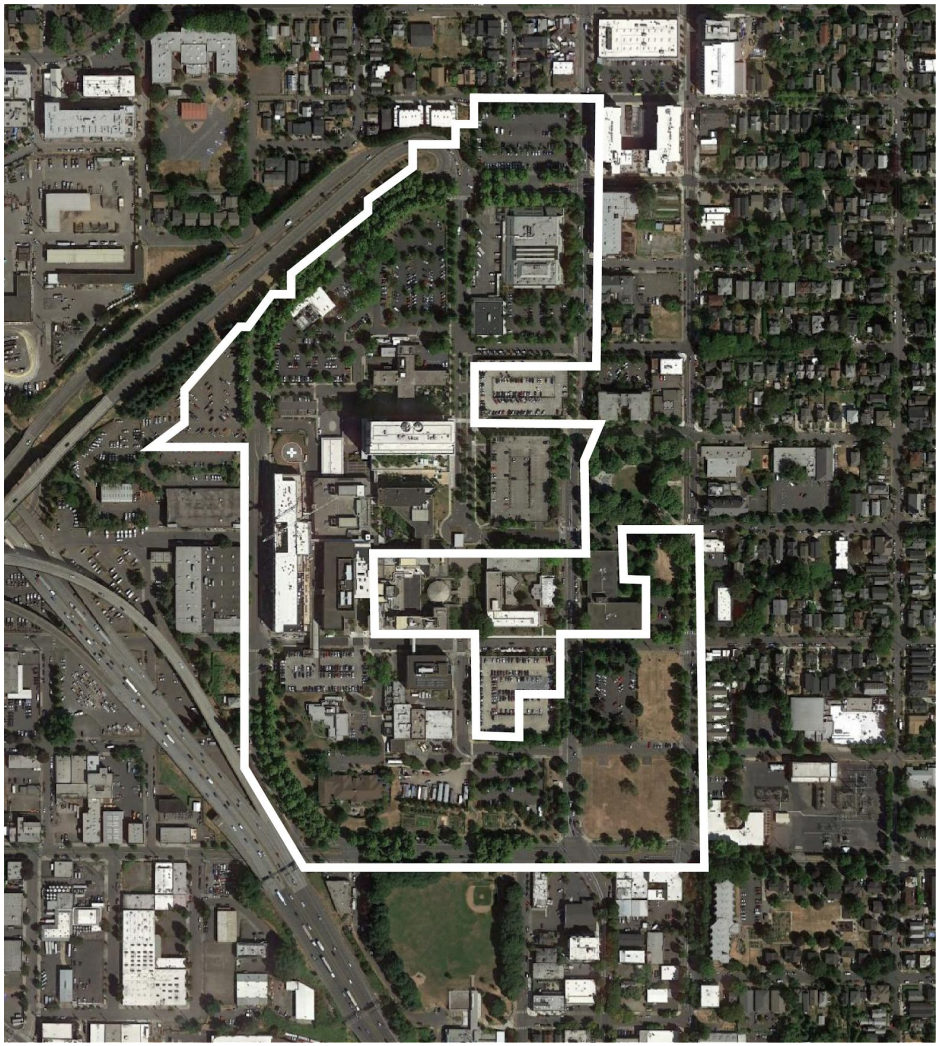
Source: Authors approximation, PortlandMaps aerial image

Aerial Imagery Time Series

2015

Source: Authors approximation, PortlandMaps aerial image

2020



Source: Authors approximation, PortlandMaps aerial image

Executive Summary

Historical Context

Starting at least in the early 1960s, Emanuel Hospital (now Legacy Emanuel Medical Center) and the Portland Development Commission (now Prosper Portland) began planning for an urban renewal project that would enable the expansion of the hospital facilities into surrounding residential areas in Central Albina, the heart of Portland's Black community at the time. The plan entailed the removal of hundreds of Black families and the demolition of 300 homes and businesses in the vicinity of the hospital. In the early 1970s, community members organized against the destruction of the neighborhood, and advocated for fair treatment by the City. They formed the Emanuel Displaced Persons Association, and through their activism they secured a replacement housing agreement to guarantee restitution for their taken homes and businesses. However, in the wake of the agreement the City determined that there was enough existing housing stock to absorb the community removed from the Emanuel Hospital Project area, and no replacement housing was provided at the time.

In the ensuing decades, much of the expansion area remained vacant, and disinvestment by the City blighted the neighborhood. Then in the late 1990s, in the midst of a major population boom, the City developed plans for the Interstate Corridor Urban Renewal Area, which leveraged tax-increment financing for major infrastructure and development projects. The ensuing wave of gentrification has earned nationwide attention, and the area that was once the heart of Portland's Black community has become whiter than Portland overall.

In 2017, Mayor Ted Wheeler announced that the City would be "returning" the Hill Block parcel at the corner of N Williams and N Russell, a 1.7 acre city block that was once the center of the Albina business district, to the community. This announcement sparked several survivors and descendants impacted by the Emanuel Hospital Project to organize Emanuel Displaced Persons Association 2 in order to advocate for justice and restitution for those who have been locked out of the cycle of wealth creation that has occurred over the sites of their former homes.

Executive Summary:

Decades of Compounding Harms

Racist planning and urban renewal practices carried out by the City of Portland, the State of Oregon, and other institutions, has caused a range of harms against Portland's Black residents. In some instances, these harms may be very specific and quantifiable, such as the loss of property wealth resulting from forced removal from a family home. In many more instances, to borrow the words of EDPA2 members, these harms are distributed throughout the Black community in the form of broken social networks and loss of ownership and control over neighborhood institutions and assets. These distributed harms represent loss as well. Again, borrowing from EDPA2, losses for which specific monetary compensation can be estimated are "Curable Losses," whereas losses that are at least as significant but more difficult to quantify and apportion are "Incurable Losses."

What Are Curable Losses?

For the purposes of this report, curable losses are limited to the property wealth loss resulting directly from the Emanuel Hospital Project. While racist planning and real estate practices affected all Black Portlanders in one way or another, the impacts of forced removal are specific and they can be traced to individuals and families. Impacted individuals do not see their voices and needs reflected in the City's recent policies reportedly intended to support racial equity. They struggle to make their stories heard and wonder how the City can claim to address these harms without an accurate assessment of the damage it has caused.

The impacts of multiple rounds of forced removal under the name of "urban renewal," especially the Emanuel Hospital Project, destabilized Central Albina, paving the way for the severe gentrification experienced more recently along the Interstate Corridor Urban Renewal Area, particularly in the vicinity of Central Albina. Property values and rents in Central Albina have risen faster over the last 25 years than anywhere else in Portland, driven by a population boom that has been disproportionately white.

Executive Summary:

What Are Curable Losses? (cont.)

Meanwhile, former Black residents are left out of accruing any of those benefits and disproportionately bear the burdens.

To estimate the value of properties destroyed for "urban renewal" in Central Albina, we developed straightforward methods using assessor data, housing market data, and historical property assessment documents from the Portland Development Commission. All else being equal, if displaced residents owned their homes in Central Albina today, they would likely control close to $100 million in residential property wealth, excluding the value of commercial properties taken by the City. These impacts can be disaggregated to the level of individual properties, as they are for many PDC taken residences on our accompanying StoryMap.

What Are Incurable Losses?

In the words of EDPA2, incurable losses are the fundamental elements that sustain a neighborhood. By nature, they are intangible, but are instrumental to the long-term wellbeing and prosperity of a community. Incurable losses cannot be made whole, in that the assets that they represent are irrevocably lost. These losses include:

- ➔ The loss of collective strength resulting from fragmentation of the community.
- ➔ The loss of cultural and social identity due to not having a geographic center of gravity.
- ➔ The intangible losses associated with the destruction of community institutions: neighborhood businesses, churches, mason's lodges, the YWCA, etc.
- ➔ The loss of ownership and control over housing and economic development

EDPA2 members state that incurable losses are at least as valuable as curable losses, but are harder to quantify, and that the impacts leave an indelible pain and memory that accompanies the survivors of forced removal for the rest of their lives.

Executive Summary:

What Are Incurable Losses? (cont.)

In considering incurable losses, the focus cannot be on recreating something that was destroyed, but in memorializing the impacted community and removing barriers for Black Portlanders to create new community wealth and institutions.

What Can Be Done?

Past injustices live on in the survivors and descendants, and in order to begin mending the harm the City has caused over generations, the City must prioritize restitution.

- ➔ As indicated in the reparations case study from Evanston Illinois, restitution should follow three key principles:
  - ◆ Initiatives must be determined by the injured
  - ◆ Resources must be administered or approved by the injured
  - ◆ Policy must be specifically targeted to address past harms

EDPA2 members we have spoken to have stated that at a bare minimum, the City must prioritize restitution for curable losses, i.e., payment for the value of property taken for the Emanuel Hospital expansion. To address incurable losses, the City should take steps to memorialize Central Albina as what was once the heart of Portland's Black community and should empower survivors and descendants to explore ways to support Black ownership and control of land, homes, businesses, and neighborhood institutions. Among the opportunities to do this are direct return of land, either in Central Albina or in the neighborhoods where the majority of Black Portlanders live today, or both, but a true assessment of potential policies and opportunities must be led by the impacted community.

History and Policy Context

It is not our intention to rewrite the story of Black people in Portland, or the people of Albina, or the long history of displacement activities enacted by the federal, state and local government. Many great planners, community members, students and researchers have already gone to great lengths to document the experience and lives of Black Portlanders, the residents and planners of the Central Albina area as we know it today.

For the last several decades, much work has been done to tell the story of Portland's Black population and the history of the Albina neighborhood. The Coalition of Communities of Color released "The African American Community in Multnomah County: An Unsettling Profile" report in 2014 that did a masterful job telling the broader story of Black Portlanders through time up to the date of the report itself.[1] Dr. Karen Gibson's 2007 work, "Bleeding Albina, A History of Community Disinvestment, 1940-2000," expertly chronicled the history of the neighborhoods that comprise the whole of Albina and the communities that lived in each.

Many other organizations and publications have collected histories and documentation that describe the personal, institutional, and systemic racism that Portland's white residents, private sector, and state and local governments have aimed at Black residents. Others still have chronicled the stories of oppressed Albina communities in resistance, taking agency over their lives in spite of the hostile city around them, fighting to be given full and equal rights and recognition—a fight that continues on multiple fronts to this day.

This analysis uses some of their source material to help tell a more focused story on the area of North Portland that the city and its agents targeted for the most drastic and impactful urban renewal projects, often with tragic consequences for the Black community that city, state, and federal policies had confined to the area. Focusing on the history of this particular area puts the Emanuel Displaced Persons Association 2's cause for restitution into a more specific geographic context.

History and Policy Context: *Segregation and Exclusion*

Before the annexation of Albina into the City of Portland in **1891**, during the era of manifest destiny, white settlers colonized what would become the Oregon Territory, violently removing Native populations from much of their ancestral territory. Indigenous people were the first to be displaced by the colonialist government of the United States, and still face ongoing dispossession.[2] White settlers of the Oregon Territory excluded people of color, specifically Black people, from access to land and wealth through the Oregon Donation Land Act of **1850** and the Oregon Exclusion Act of **1857**. The Exclusion Act would not be voted on for removal until **1926**, and the language would loiter in the Oregon constitution **until 2002**.[3]

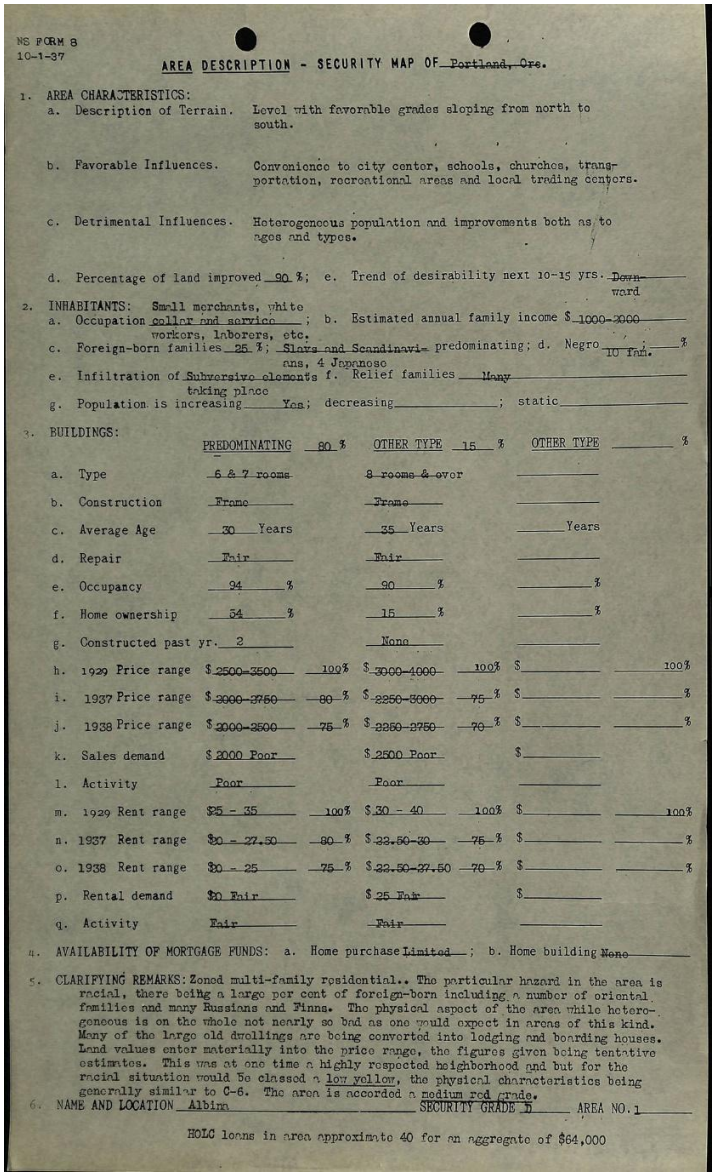
Such exclusionary policies set the stage for systematic and principled exclusion in a number of arenas, including home ownership. Before World War II, Portland's Black population was fairly small and dispersed between Old Town in NW Portland and Albina. Both neighborhoods were in close proximity to freight rail yards and to passenger rail at Union Station, which were among the few sources of permanent employment available to Black men in segregated Portland at the time.[4]

Such exclusionary policies set the stage for systematic and principled exclusion in a number of arenas, including home ownership. Before World War II, Portland's Black population was fairly small and dispersed between Old Town in NW Portland and Albina. Both neighborhoods were in close proximity to freight rail yards and to passenger rail at Union Station, which were among the few sources of permanent employment available to Black men in segregated Portland at the time.

In the **early to mid-1900's** it was well-known that the Portland Realty Board determined it "unethical to sell to nonwhites in predominantly white neighborhoods."[5] This severely restricted housing options to the Albina neighborhood because of the racist misperception that the presence of Black and Chinese households had a negative impact on surrounding property values (this language can be seen in Exhibit 1 on the following page).[6]

History and Policy Context: *Segregation and Exclusion*

Exhibit 1. HOLC Area Description



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AREA DESCRIPTION - SECURITY MAP OF ~~Portland, Ore.~~

1. AREA CHARACTERISTICS:
   a. Description of Terrain. Level with favorable grades sloping from north to south.
   b. Favorable Influences. Convenience to city center, schools, churches, transportation, recreational areas and local trading centers.
   c. Detrimental Influences. Heterogeneous population and improvements both as to ages and types.
   d. Percentage of land improved 90 %; e. Trend of desirability next 10-15 yrs. ~~Down~~ ward
2. INHABITANTS: ~~Small merchants, white~~
   a. Occupation collar and service workers, laborers, etc.; b. Estimated annual family income $ ~~1000-3000~~
   c. Foreign-born families 25 %; ~~Slavs and Scandinavians~~, 4 Japanese predominating; d. Negro 10 fam. ; %
   e. Infiltration of ~~Subversive elements~~ taking place f. Relief families ~~Many~~
   g. Population is increasing Yes; decreasing ; static
3. BUILDINGS:

	PREDOMINATING 80 %		OTHER TYPE 15 %		OTHER TYPE %	
a. Type	~~6 & 7 rooms~~		~~8 rooms & over~~			
b. Construction	~~Frame~~		~~Frame~~			
c. Average Age	~~30~~ Years		~~35~~ Years		Years	
d. Repair	~~Fair~~		~~Fair~~			
e. Occupancy	~~94~~ %		~~90~~ %		%	
f. Home ownership	~~54~~ %		~~15~~ %		%	
g. Constructed past yr.	~~2~~		~~None~~			
h. 1929 Price range	$ ~~2500-3500~~	~~100~~%	$ ~~3000-4000~~	~~100~~%	$	100%
i. 1937 Price range	$ ~~2000-3750~~	~~80~~ %	$ ~~2250-3000~~	~~75~~ %	$	%
j. 1938 Price range	$ ~~2000-3500~~	~~75~~ %	$ ~~2250-2750~~	~~70~~ %	$	%
k. Sales demand	$ ~~2000 Poor~~		$ ~~2500 Poor~~		$	
l. Activity	~~Poor~~		~~Poor~~			
m. 1929 Rent range	$ ~~25 - 35~~	~~100~~%	$ ~~30 - 40~~	~~100~~%	$	100%
n. 1937 Rent range	$ ~~20 - 27.50~~	~~80~~ %	$ ~~23.50-30~~	~~75~~ %	$	%
o. 1938 Rent range	$ ~~20 - 25~~	~~75~~ %	$ ~~23.50-27.50~~	~~70~~ %	$	%
p. Rental demand	$ ~~20 Fair~~		$ ~~25 Fair~~		$	
q. Activity	~~Fair~~		~~Fair~~			

4. AVAILABILITY OF MORTGAGE FUNDS: a. Home purchase ~~Limited~~; b. Home building ~~None~~
5. CLARIFYING REMARKS: ~~Zoned multi-family residential.~~ The particular hazard in the area is racial, there being a large per cent of foreign-born including a number of oriental families and many Russians and Finns. The physical aspect of the area while heterogeneous is on the whole not nearly so bad as one would expect in areas of this kind. Many of the large old dwellings are being converted into lodging and boarding houses. Land values enter materially into the price range, the figures given being tentative estimates. This was at one time a highly respected neighborhood and but for the racial situation would be classed a low yellow, the physical characteristics being generally similar to C-6. The area is accorded a medium red grade.
6. NAME AND LOCATION ~~Albina~~ SECURITY GRADE ~~D~~ AREA NO. 1

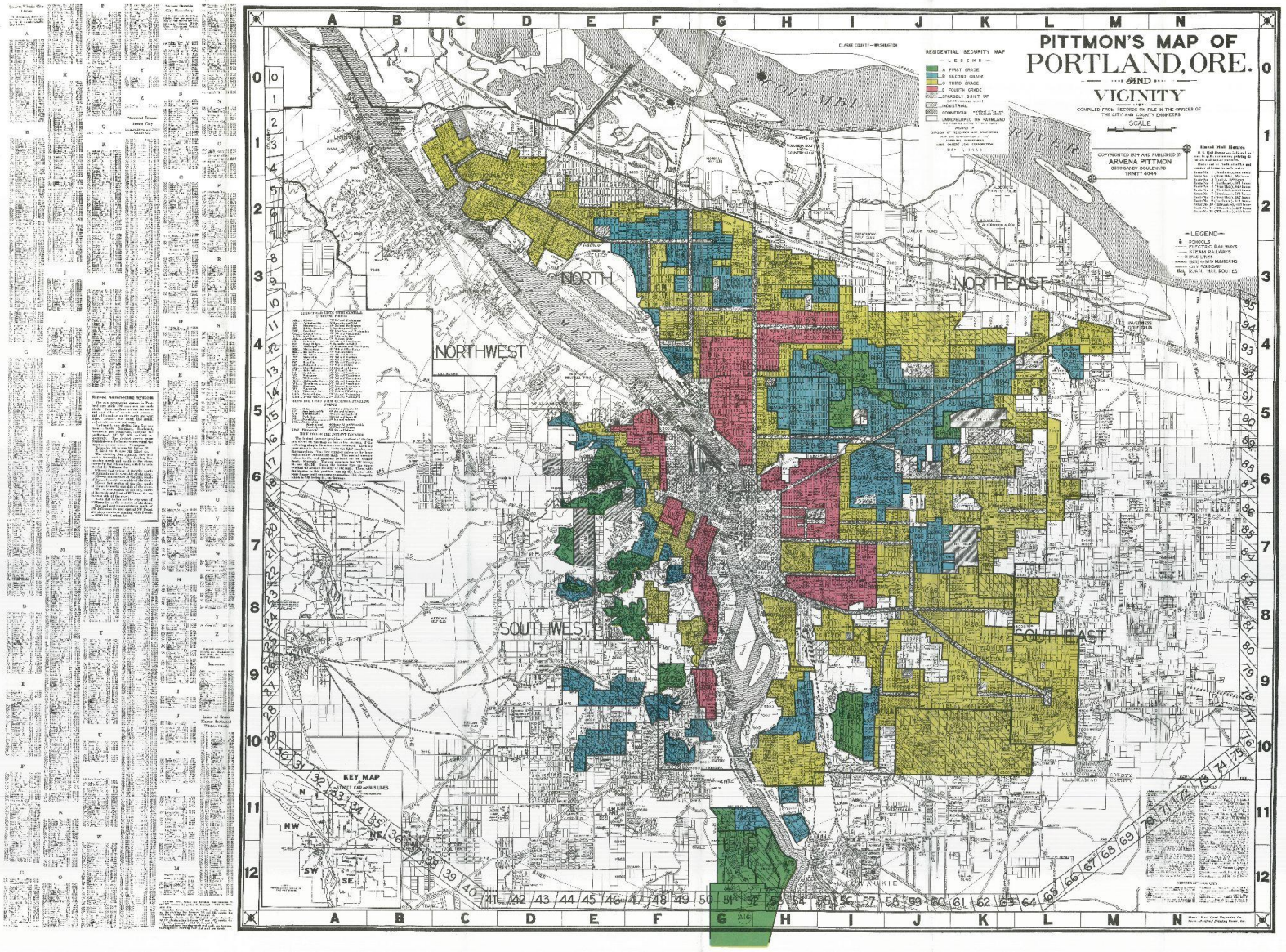
HOLC loans in area approximate 40 for an aggregate of $64,000

Source: "Mapping Inequality", University of Richmond

Meanwhile, on the national level, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) in **1934** was labelling and rating neighborhoods, categorizing neighborhoods such as Albina as 'risky investments', due to their multiracial demographic makeup. Albina was one of several Portland neighborhoods to be categorized as "hazardous." The map of Portland (Exhibit 2), color-coded each neighborhood into categories from lowest-risk investment (level A, or green), to highest-risk investment (level D, or red). "Lower Albina," bounded on the HOLC map by NE Fremont to the north, N Mississippi Ave and the Willamette River to the west, N Oregon St to the south, and N Williams Ave to the east, was outlined in red and given a D investment, or "low red grade."

History and Policy Context: *Segregation and Exclusion*

Exhibit 2. Home Owners' Loan Corporation Redlining Map, Portland Oregon



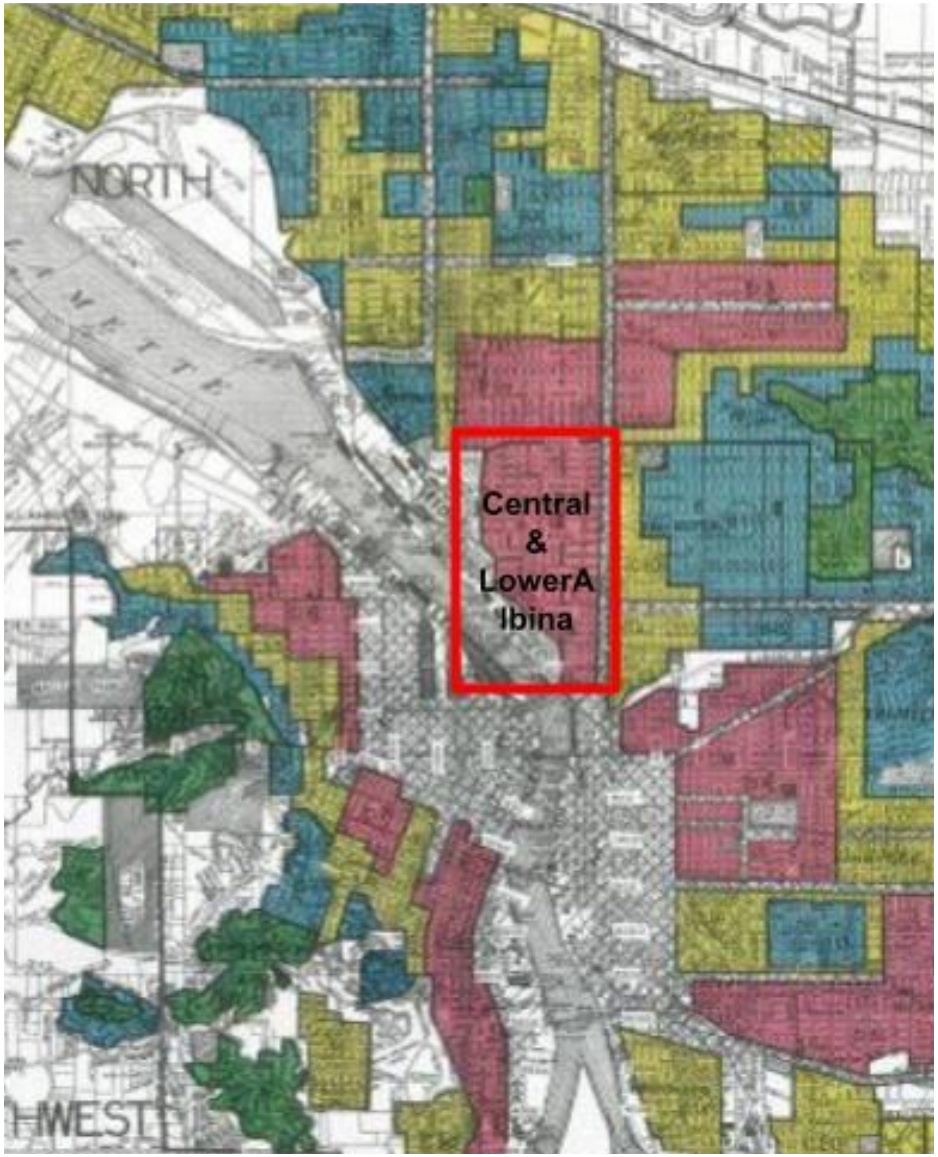
Source: "Mapping Inequality, Richmond University[7]

History and Policy Context: *Segregation and Exclusion*

In the HOLC map's description of Albina, the neighborhood was identified as high-risk due to its status as Portland's "Melting Pot" and its general conditions as that of a "slum district,"with about 75% of Portland's Black population, 300 Asian households, and 1,000 Eastern European residents calling the neighborhood home.[7] HOLC noted only 61 active owner-occupied home loans in the neighborhood at the time, with some higher-quality properties located in the northern portion of the neighborhood. This northern portion would come to be known as Central Albina. Central and Lower Albina shared a census tract **until 1960**, so for comparative purposes, this area will be referred to as Central & Lower Albina going forward (Exhibit 3)

Between the Portland Realty Board's racial ethics decision and HOLC's policy redlining Albina so that financial institutions could "avoid risk" by refusing to lend to the residents within, the bulk of Portland's Black population had little choice but to abide substandard housing in Albina with little or no traditional (i.e., mortgage or home improvement loan-based) recourse for purchasing their homes and improving them except predatory lenders, or cash purchase.[8]

Exhibit 3. 1934 HOLC Albina Redlining Map



Source: "Mapping Inequality, University of Richmond

History and Policy Context: *World War II & Vanport*

Starting in the latter half of the **1930s**, several rounds of Federal housing policy began reshaping the way that housing was built and managed in Portland. The **1937** Housing Act (Also known as the Wagner-Steagall Housing Act) allowed "low-rent public housing projects to be managed by local housing authorities, additionally promoting slum clearance and establishing 'decent, safe and sanitary' dwellings as a goal of the Federal Government."[9] Soon after, **in 1941**, the Housing Authority of Portland (now known as Home Forward) was established.[10]

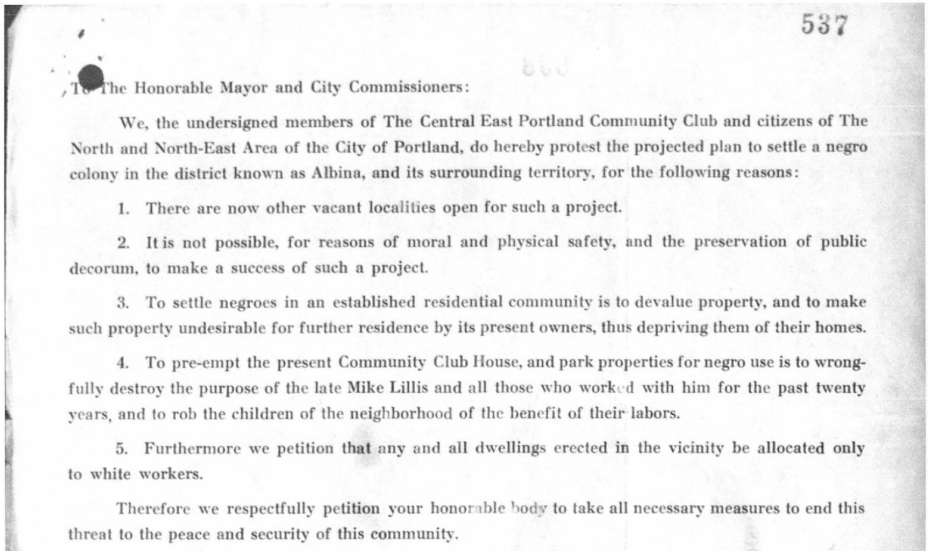
Before the outbreak of World War II, the **1940** Census reported 2,735 housing units (619 owner-occupied) in the Lower/Central Albina census tract, housing 6,951 residents, 653 (9.4%) of which were listed as Black, and 139 as "Other Race," with no further racial/ethnic breakdown available).[11]

Shortly after the beginning of WWII, the Housing Authority of Portland (HAP) quickly began wartime housing construction, most notably Vanport, a predominately Black housing development that was later destroyed in catastrophic floods. During the war, approximately 23,000 Black residents moved to the Portland area to work in the Kaiser Shipyards. In **1942**, the HAP constructed temporary and racially segregated worker housing at Guild's Lake, Parkside, and Vanport rather than building new and permanent worker housing within the city limits.[12] In **1943,** hundreds of white residents petitioned against increasing housing options for Black people in Albina (Exhibit 4.)

White residents, editors and politicians expressed concerns about the growing number of Black residents moving to the city for wartime work. Dr. DeNorval Unthank, one of the first Black physicians in Oregon and a prominent community leader, was a prominent voice appealing to the people of Portland to accept and treat fairly the incoming residents, and to offer them housing that is fair and suitable, acknowledging the unfair practices of the Housing Authority as well as private market actors (Exhibit 5).

History and Policy Context: *World War II & Vanport*

Exhibit 4. Petition by White Residents



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To The Honorable Mayor and City Commissioners:

We, the undersigned members of The Central East Portland Community Club and citizens of The North and North-East Area of the City of Portland, do hereby protest the projected plan to settle a negro colony in the district known as Albina, and its surrounding territory, for the following reasons:

1. There are now other vacant localities open for such a project.

2. It is not possible, for reasons of moral and physical safety, and the preservation of public decorum, to make a success of such a project.

3. To settle negroes in an established residential community is to devalue property, and to make such property undesirable for further residence by its present owners, thus depriving them of their homes.

4. To pre-empt the present Community Club House, and park properties for negro use is to wrongfully destroy the purpose of the late Mike Lillis and all those who worked with him for the past twenty years, and to rob the children of the neighborhood of the benefit of their labors.

5. Furthermore we petition that any and all dwellings erected in the vicinity be allocated only to white workers.

Therefore we respectfully petition your honorable body to take all necessary measures to end this threat to the peace and security of this community.

Source: City of Portland Archives, 1941

Exhibit 5. Dr. Unthank Letter to the Oregonian

For the Negroes

To the Editor: Your article, "New Negro Migrants Worry City," in the September 23d issue of The Oregonian is very interesting. I am afraid it tends to purport the alarmist attitude which is certainly not too good in times when everyone is interested in doing his part in our war effort.

I see from 35 to 50 of these so-called migrants each day. I find them no better nor no worse than the average run of individuals. Some of these people are good. Some of them are bad and will truly be of doubtful asset to our community. If the principles for which we are all fighting do nothing more than teach us to live with our brother—regardless of this race, creed or color—it will have accomplished something.

Let us see some of the facts that lead to this alarmist attitude.

There is a well-organized plan—long in planning—to set aside the Albina district for Negroes. It is difficult for a Negro to buy in any other district than this one. The majority of real estate dealers in Portland refuse to rent houses to Negroes at the present time. They must buy, and buy in specified districts.

The Portland Realty Board is not helping in this matter; instead it is encouraging and advocating this policy of discrimination and segregation. The local housing authority office admits that it did not take into consideration the housing of Negroes. The few units they are building are, naturally, in the Albina district only.

No, the worry to the city is the prejudice in its heart, the unfairness to a group of people who are coming to Portland to do their part, however small.

We are fighting a war that democracy might live. When, I ask you, are we going to make an honest, fair and manly beginning at home?

Our police department is not completely above criticism. It has been proven in many eastern and southern cities that some Negro police on a police force tend to handle the misdemeanor problems much more effectively than an all-white force. The department's policy of quietly and secretly deputizing one or two Negroes with partial and not definitely-defined police authority is a sad state of affairs. If our police department is not fair enough to appoint Negro police officers and let the world know that they have them and that they are proud of them, our situation in Portland is certainly to be pitied. Secretly-deputized officers have caused the death of one individual and the serious injuring of two others in the last year. This situation does not help the morale of our group.

My appeal is to all of the fair-minded citizens of Portland.

1. I ask that we stop creating a black belt in Portland. Rent and sell these people homes where they can afford to buy them.

2. Accept these people as citizens of Portland, worthy of the same respect as any other group of incoming people. Do this until they prove themselves otherwise. This is the only time they become a problem.

3. Begin to practice here in Portland some of the principles we all claim to be fighting for.

4. Do not discourage these people. They want to help win this war, too.

5. Let us all begin to help provide clean, healthy recreation for these people. Let us build a constructive program, not a destructive, demoralizing one.

6. Do not magnify the petty crimes and misdemeanors. These occur in certain proportions in any group of people.

Instead of the alarmist attitude, let us have a co-operative one, for these people, too, are our new citizens.

DE NORVAL UNTHANK, M. D.,
Arata building.

Source: Oregonian, 1942

History and Policy Context: *World War II & Vanport*

Following the redlining and segregationist policy and placemaking, Albina was already being discussed as a strategic location for development while being considered a 'decayed' residential area, priming it for the local and federal 'urban renewal' policies that would soon follow.'[13]

At roughly the same time, Emanuel Hospital, which had opened a location in Albina in **1916** and expanded several times in the prior decades, sought further expansion opportunities. In **1946** the Hospital Survey and Construction Act (also known as the Hill-Burton Act) passed and enabled a large number of hospitals in Oregon and across the USA to apply for funding to expand facilities and services. In exchange, they were to provide a certain number of free or reduced services to community members, including what was called at that time, 'separate but equal' services for nonwhite populations. Emanuel Hospital was a recipient of these funds, which enabled several expansions.[14]

After the war ended in 1945, Kaiser Industries closed its shipyards in Portland, leaving thousands of Vanport residents living in temporary housing and looking for work. In **1948**, a railroad dike near Vanport collapsed, bringing flood stage waters from the Columbia River into the low-lying area and destroying the temporary housing built there six years prior. Official figures note that 15 residents died, but all of Vanport's residents were displaced.

Many Black residents lived in barracks at Guild's Lake and Swan Island until the **early 1950s** when both facilities were closed by HAP, and they were forced to either move into the Albina neighborhood , or leave the Portland area entirely (Exhibit 6).[15]

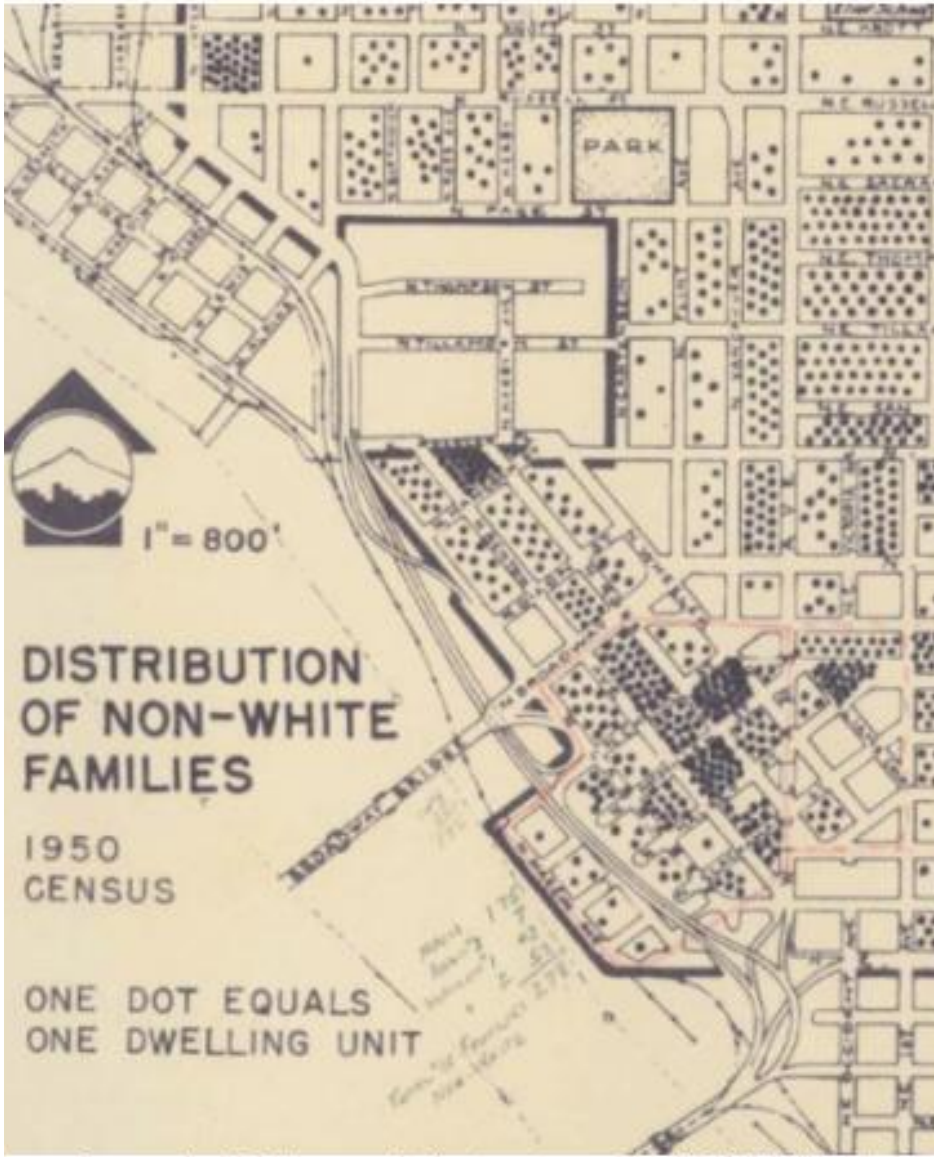
The effects of Vanport resettlement of Black residents into Albina were partially reflected in the **1950** Census data, with Lower & Central Albina's tract registering 7,215 residents (+3.8% from 1940). As more Black residents moved into Lower & Central Albina, Black population quadrupled to 2,711 residents by **1950**.[16]

History and Policy Context: *World War II & Vanport*

Meanwhile, white residents fled to newly-expanding suburbs, as Lower/Central Albina's white population dropped 28.6% from **1940**, to 4,395. This placed downward pressure on home values in an already disinvested neighborhood, which showed a median value of $4,901 for **1950** ($53,534 in 2020 dollars) against median household incomes of $1,931 ($21,136 in 2020 dollars). But, with the influx of Black residents from Vanport to Albina, new Black-owned and operated businesses flourished, with the Vancouver-Williams corridor serving as a particular hotspot of Black-owned and frequented jazz clubs, colloquially called "Jumptown."[17]

This flourishing was short-lived, however, as the City of Portland, Oregon Highway Department, and other interests gained access to emerging urban renewal grants that would enable them to clear Lower & Central Albina of homes and businesses even as its burgeoning Black population was denied mortgage and home improvement loans by both banks and the Federal Government to make more livable.

Exhibit 6. Non-White Families, Lower Albina, 1950



Source: Josh Gates

History and Policy Context: *Urban Renewal Era*

The Federal Housing Act of **1949** was enacted and cited many times as the basis of urban renewal, allowing the use of federal loans and grants for local authorities to clear "slums" and plan redevelopment.[18] This was expanded upon by the Housing Acts of **1954** and **1956** which included details for rehabilitation, conservation, and comprehensive planning.

These laws prohibited any federal funds for urban renewal until a plan was developed by the community to "overcome the problem of slums and urban blight," and further stipulated relocation payments for displaced families and businesses.[19] The **1950's** were a time of study and preparation with numerous city and state-sponsored studies and plans citing areas for redevelopment or renewal at the local level.

The City of Portland's Mayor's Advisory Committee on Urban Renewal (MACOUR) was appointed in **1955**. Then in **1957**, the State Legislature enacted urban renewal laws—ORS 457.130 and 457.140—which are still active today.[20] Some of those resulting urban renewal projects included:[21]

- The expansion of Interstate Avenue as Hwy 99W in 1952 that destroyed 80 dwelling units on the western edge of Lower/Central Albina.
- Construction of Harriet Tubman Middle School (opened in 1954), which cleared 15 dwelling units just southwest of N Vancouver Ave & Russell St.
- Construction of Memorial Coliseum (opened in 1960) in Lower Albina, which saw the demolition of 235 dwellings.[22]
- Interstate 5 - (opened in 1962) through the center of Lower Albina and the western third of Central Albina, destroying 275 dwellings.
- Emanuel Hospital Expansion Project (1962-73), demolishing approximately 300 dwelling units in Central Albina surrounding the Hill Block at N Russell St and Williams Ave, known as the "Heart of Black Albina." Demolitions continued even after the project ran out of funding in April 1973, and Emanuel Hospital has left several blocks undeveloped to this day.[23]
- Interstate 405 (opened November 11, 1973), which saw 95 homes demolished to make way for the Kerby Ave Fremont Bridge approaches immediately north of Emanuel Hospital.
- Portland Public Schools' Blanchard Education Service Center (opened 1980), which demolished a further 65 dwellings between N Broadway and N Russell, west of N Flint Ave.

Urban Renewal Projects Across Albina

LEGEND

PROJECT

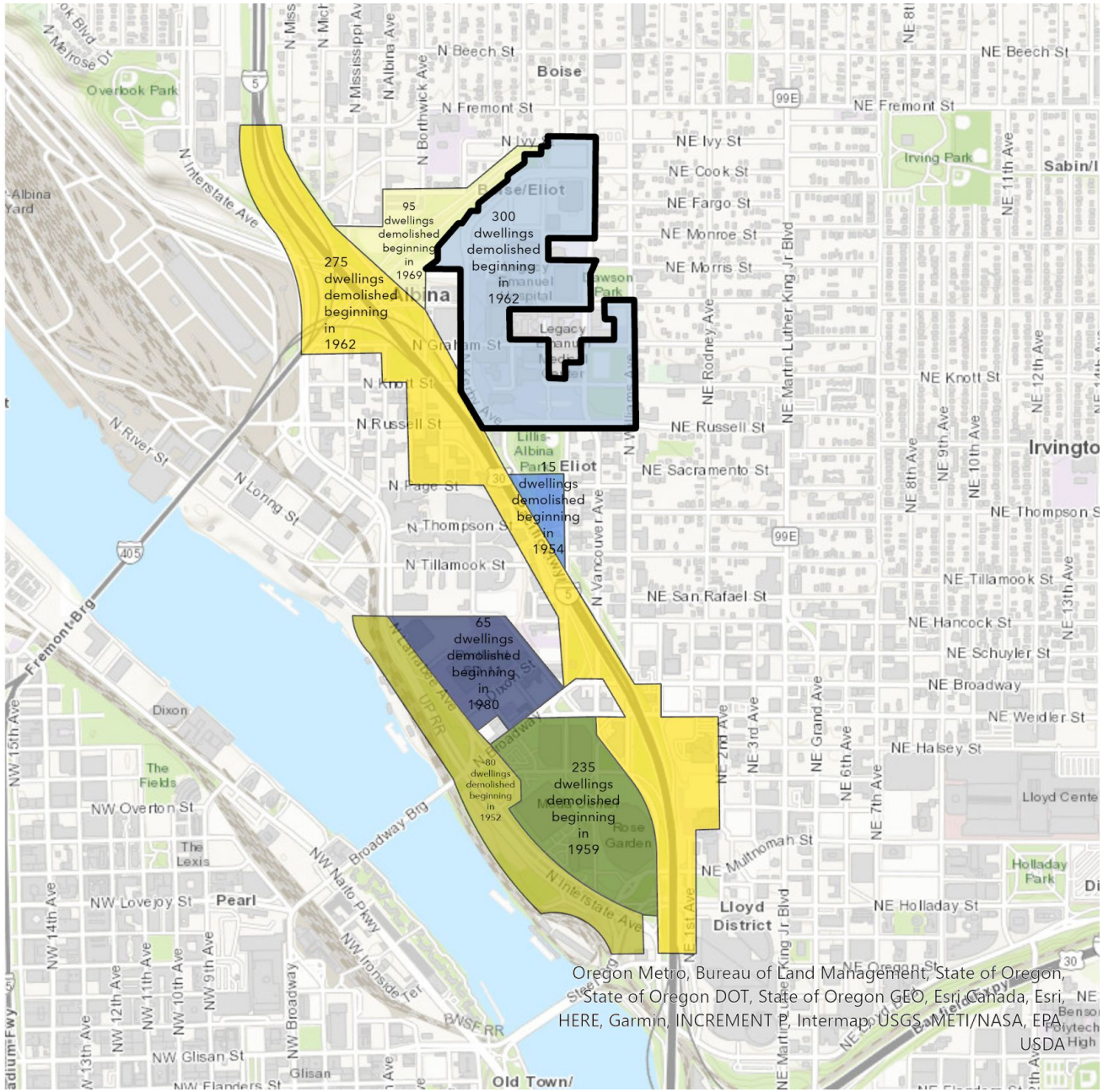
- Blanchard Education Service Center
- Emanuel Hospital Expansion Area
- Harriet Tubman Middle School
- Interstate-405 and Kerby Avenue approaches
- Interstate-5
- Interstate-99W
- Memorial Coliseum
- PDC Impact Area Boundary

0 1,000 2,000 4,000

Feet

N

Layer Data Source: Authors' approximations



History and Policy Context: *Urban Renewal Era*

Exhibit 7.

PDC Names Keller Chief

The newly created Portland Development Commission named Ira C. Keller chairman Monday at its first organized meeting.

Keller, member of the City Planning Commission, was the unanimous choice of his four fellow members.

The five-man commission, the city's newest autonomous advisory body, was appointed last week to take over urban renewal responsibility.

Keller, an engineer and business executive, is president of Western Kraft Corp., and an ex-member of the Washington, D.C., and Philadelphia planning groups.

Fonder Named Secretary

The five-member commission elected Albert V. Fonder, who had been chairman of the mayor's advisory council on U.R., secretary and vice chairman.

The three other commission members were appointed chairmen of sub-committees as follows:

Roy C. Hill, business representative of the painters' union, relocation of displaced persons; Vincent Raschio, vice president of Portland Home Builders, demolition and utilities; Jack R. Caufield, ex-U.S. marshal, costs of properties and acquisition.

The commission will assume responsibility for development of the 83.5-acre South Auditorium area which will be rehabilitated with federal aid.

CITATION (TURABIAN STYLE)

Oregonian (Portland, Oregon), July 15, 1958: 8. *NewsBank: America's News – Historical and Current.* https://infi newsbank-com.proxy.lib.pdx.edu/apps/news/document-view?p=AMNEWS&docref=image/v2%3A11A73E5827618330%40EANX-12C2C3BFFA468458%402436400-12BC607533449D2B%407-12BC607533449D2B%40.

Source: The Oregonian, 1958

As the list of urban renewal projects grew, impacted people and civic observers began sounding the alarm. The City Club of Portland reported the following:

> *In 1957, Joy O'Brien, then Chief Relocation Adviser for the Urban Renewal Division of the Portland City Planning Commission, warned the City Club against the dangers of unplanned relocation activities, pointing out that people displaced by government action may be moved into the path of another government clearance project or into already overcrowded low-income neighborhoods.*[24]

Oregon's Fair Housing Act (**1957**) passed the same year, making it illegal for publicly funded developers, realtors and landlords to discriminate, removing obstacles for People of Color to move into predominantly white neighborhoods. However, many of those displaced by urban renewal and highway/freeway construction remained in Albina, by choice or necessity, while further urban renewal projects were being planned. In **1958**, the City Council chartered into existence the Portland Development Commission (PDC), now known as Prosper Portland (Exhibit 7). Ira Keller was announced as chief and PDC got to work taking over a number of existing renewal projects and facilitating new ones.

The impacts of these policies showed up in significant ways in the **1960** Census. Lower & Central Albina's population recorded at 3,870 residents, a drop of 46.4% since **1950**. However, Black population within the tract actually rose 0.5% to 2,725 residents and comprised 70.4% of the tract's population compared to 37.6% in 1950. White residents continued to leave the area in droves, with 1,097 left (28.4% of total population) by **1960**. Housing unit count fell to 1,695, a drop of 933 units (-35.5%). Owner-occupied units also dropped to 534 (-42.2%), comprising 31.5% of all housing units in the tract. Household income rose 22% against inflation, to $2,908, or $25,812 in 2020 dollars. Median home values also rose 22% against inflation, to $7,332, or $61,416 in 2020 dollars.

History and Policy Context: *Urban Renewal Era*

However, those numbers compare to **1940** and **1950** Census Tract 22. For **1960**, the US Census Bureau split Tract 22 into 22A and 22B, with the dividing line being N Russell Street. Thus, the Emanuel Hospital Expansion Project would fall almost entirely within Tract 22A, coterminous with Central Albina, and will therefore be the standard by which demographic change will be judged going forward. As such, Central Albina was home to 2,877 residents, 68.5% of which (1,971 total) were Black, 30.2% (868 total) white, and 1.3% "Other Race" (38 total), making Central Albina slightly whiter than Lower Albina at the time. Central Albina was home to 1,179 housing units, of which 417 were owner-occupied and 247 of those (59.2%) were non-white owner-occupied (The **1960** Census did not break down owner occupation by race beyond "white" and "non-white."). Central Albina had higher non-white home ownership rates than Lower Albina, as well. Median household income was $26,907 in 2020 dollars, about 10% higher than in Lower Albina. However, median home values were about 20% lower than a post-Memorial Coliseum Lower Albina, at the equivalent of $62,258 in 2020 dollars.

In **1961**, the Albina Neighborhood Improvement Project (ANIP) was initiated, as the first urban renewal plan to be coordinated in this area. In **1967**, the community petitioned the PDC to expand this zone and this was granted in 1969. The project is lauded as one with heavy community engagement and commitment to success.

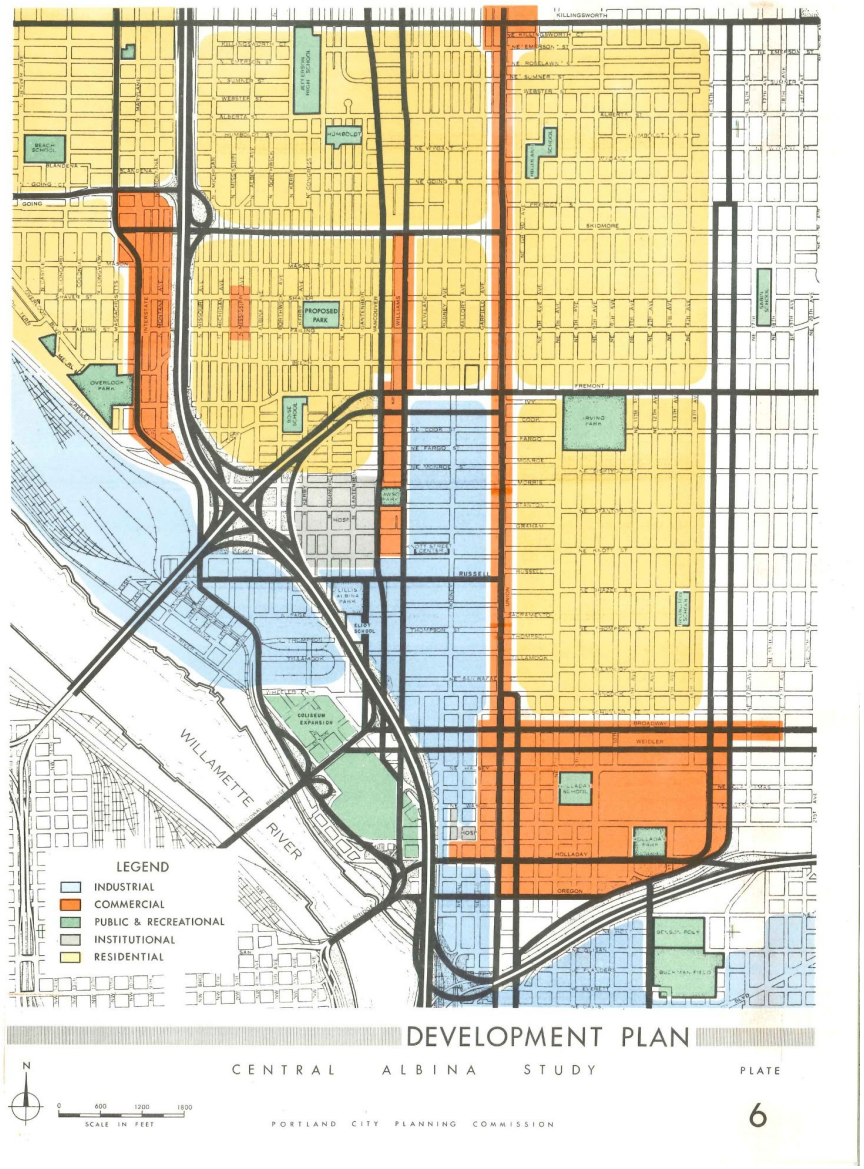
The Central Albina Study, coordinated with HAP, was conducted and published in **1962** as well, suggesting that the Albina area should be cleared for industrial use and was beyond rehabilitation. This was not ok with many people in the community. The PDC and HAP earmarked programs for home rehabilitation as well as public housing projects to take place in the area. The PDC also published the Albina Relocation Plan in **1964**, reflecting the number of people and housing units to be removed from the area or relocated within the area. However, this plan came 2 years after both PDC and Emanuel Hospital began purchasing property and planning for extensive expansion and PDC had identified potential for further urban renewal to their benefit:

History and Policy Context: *Urban Renewal Era*

PDC minutes noted that Emanuel Hospital had, by that date, purchased $ 170,000 worth of land "which would be used as a pool credit in lieu of cash if there were an urban renewal project in that area." According to PDC, studies by the Planning Commission in 1962 revealed that structural and environmental conditions in the area surrounding Emanuel Hospital were substandard to a substantial degree.[25]

Congress Established the Model Cities Program through Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of **1966** and supported additional funding for combatting the problems of "troubled neighborhoods," emphasizing strong city control and citizen participation.[26] The Model Cities Demonstration area in Albina excluded the existing and proposed urban renewal areas within the Albina Neighborhood Improvement Project and Emanuel Hospital expansion. This had the effect of excluding those residents from using the programmatic mechanisms for home improvements. The Model Cities Program facilitated civic engagement efforts and led to the creation of the Northeast Coalition of Neighborhoods (NECN) in **1974**, affiliated with Portland's Office of Community and Civic Life.

Exhibit 8. Central Albina Study Plan Area



Source: City Planning Commission, 1962, Central Albina Study

History and Policy Context: *Emanuel Hospital Urban Renewal Project*

In **1964**, Emanuel Hospital published a feasibility study by independent consultant firm Hamilton and Associates that declared a "proposed increase of 147,900 gross square feet is required to meet needs of development of Emanuel," and recommended for Emanuel to, "[S]wiftly purchase as much property as possible in the 23-block area."[27] This study was the foundation of the application for Housing and Urban Development (HUD) funding for the Emanuel Hospital Urban Renewal project. In **1967**, the PDC and Emanuel Hospital first revealed their plans to the public, though planning had been in the works for years. The HUD grant application approval came in **1970**.

In **1968**, the Fair Housing Act, a component of the Civil Rights Act, was enacted to prohibit housing discrimination against buyers and renters for housing. Initially, race, color, religion, and national origin were protected classes. Soon after, the Housing and Urban Development Act of **1969** would follow and add a one-for-one requirement for replacement of housing eliminated by urban renewal which had previously been occupied by low- and moderate-income families.

In these years the City Club's Problems of Racial Justice Report was published, urging the City and private market to fill in the housing gaps without discriminatory practice. The report documented that real estate brokers continued to discriminate for fear of losing "future business by dealing or listing with Negroes."[28]

Also in **1968**, Viviane Barnett founded the Green Fingers community garden program on open land eventually taken in **1970** for the Kerby Avenue approaches to the Fremont Bridge. This effort was designed to provide freshly-grown produce to the local community and found 250 volunteers for its first season. Robert Kennedy visited the site during his **1968** presidential campaign, in May and First Lady Pat Nixon visited in **1969** (Exhibit 9).[29]

History and Policy Context: *Emanuel Hospital Urban Renewal Project*

Exhibit 9. Viviane Barnett and Pat Nixon, 1969

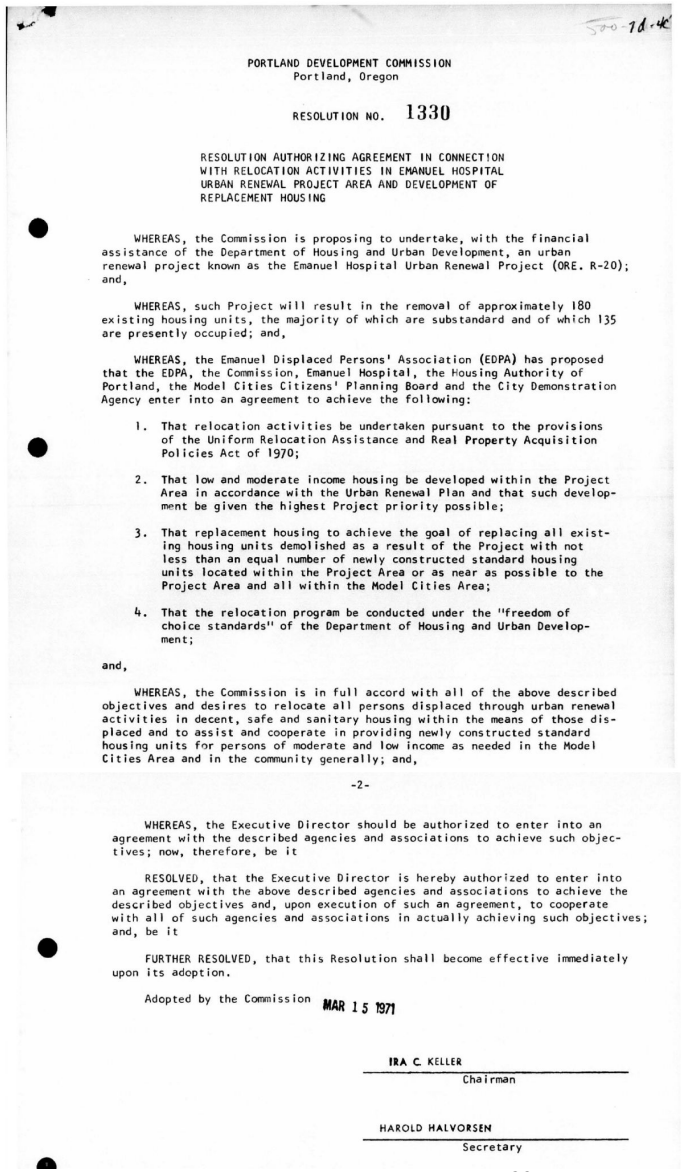
Source: Richard M. Nixon Presidential Library, 1969.

On the Federal policy side, Urban Renewal Financing was defined and determined in the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act of 1970. Urban Renewal Relocation Assistance took the following forms:[30]

- All displaced individuals, families, and businesses were reimbursed for "reasonable" moving expenses and had access to dislocation allowances.
- Homeowners were entitled to up to a $15,000 housing replacement payment based on the assessed value of the home they were vacating. This included closing costs and increased interest costs for a replacement home of comparable value.
- Renters were entitled to up to $4,000 in rental assistance spread over 4 years, or $2,000 to assist in the purchase of a "suitable dwelling."
- Businesses were entitled to a reimbursement of the value of direct losses of personal property, relocation expenses, or a flat payment in the event a business owner chose to shut down rather than relocate their business.

History and Policy Context: *Emanuel Hospital Urban Renewal Project*

Exhibit 10. Resolution No. 1330



PORTLAND DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION
Portland, Oregon

RESOLUTION NO. 1330

RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING AGREEMENT IN CONNECTION WITH RELOCATION ACTIVITIES IN EMANUEL HOSPITAL URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT AREA AND DEVELOPMENT OF REPLACEMENT HOUSING

WHEREAS, the Commission is proposing to undertake, with the financial assistance of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, an urban renewal project known as the Emanuel Hospital Urban Renewal Project (ORE. R-20); and,

WHEREAS, such Project will result in the removal of approximately 180 existing housing units, the majority of which are substandard and of which 135 are presently occupied; and,

WHEREAS, the Emanuel Displaced Persons' Association (EDPA) has proposed that the EDPA, the Commission, Emanuel Hospital, the Housing Authority of Portland, the Model Cities Citizens' Planning Board and the City Demonstration Agency enter into an agreement to achieve the following:

1. That relocation activities be undertaken pursuant to the provisions of the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act of 1970;
2. That low and moderate income housing be developed within the Project Area in accordance with the Urban Renewal Plan and that such development be given the highest Project priority possible;
3. That replacement housing to achieve the goal of replacing all existing housing units demolished as a result of the Project with not less than an equal number of newly constructed standard housing units located within the Project Area or as near as possible to the Project Area and all within the Model Cities Area;
4. That the relocation program be conducted under the "freedom of choice standards" of the Department of Housing and Urban Development;

and,

WHEREAS, the Commission is in full accord with all of the above described objectives and desires to relocate all persons displaced through urban renewal activities in decent, safe and sanitary housing within the means of those displaced and to assist and cooperate in providing newly constructed standard housing units for persons of moderate and low income as needed in the Model Cities Area and in the community generally; and,

-2-

WHEREAS, the Executive Director should be authorized to enter into an agreement with the described agencies and associations to achieve such objectives; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the Executive Director is hereby authorized to enter into an agreement with the above described agencies and associations to achieve the described objectives and, upon execution of such an agreement, to cooperate with all of such agencies and associations in actually achieving such objectives; and, be it

FURTHER RESOLVED, that this Resolution shall become effective immediately upon its adoption.

Adopted by the Commission MAR 15 1971

IRA C. KELLER
Chairman

HAROLD HALVORSEN
Secretary

Source: City of Portland Archives [20]

In **1970**, the Emanuel Hospital Urban Renewal plan, a 55.3-acre hospital expansion, was approved by the city council with little public input. As a result of months and years of community displeasure and disenfranchisement of the neighborhood, several protests emerged and community members organized (Exhibit 10). Emanuel Displaced Persons Association (EDPA), with the Legal Aid Service of the Multnomah Bar Association, challenged PDC the PDC's "Albina Relocation Plan" for failing to comply with statutory relocation requirements.[31]

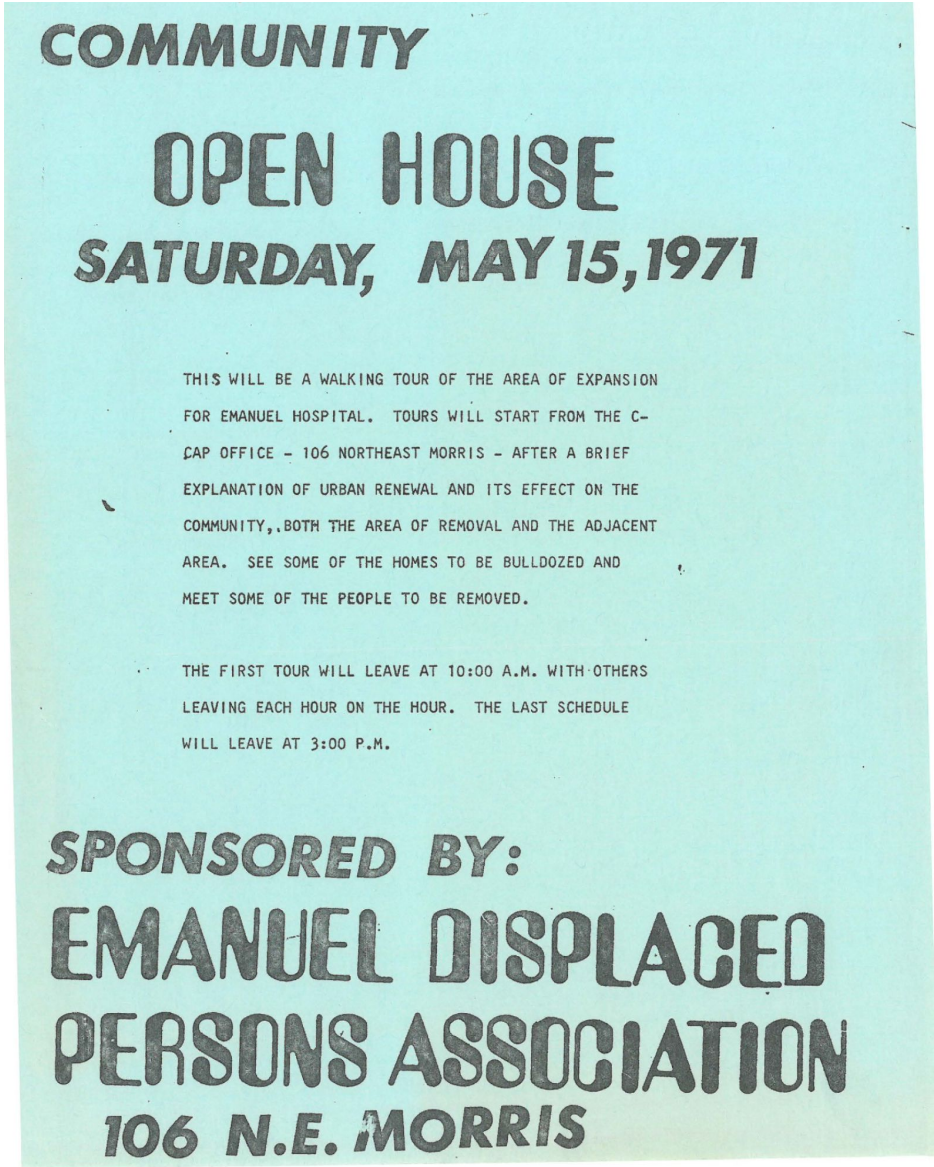
In response to the challenge, HUD withheld approval for the project. EDPA and the City negotiated through a series of meetings that resulted in Resolution No. 1330: Resolution Authorizing Agreement In Connection With Relocation Activities In Emanuel Hospital Urban Renewal Project Area And Development Of Replacement Housing in March **1971**. This agreement was signed by PDC, the Hospital Board, HAP, the Model Cities Citizens' Planning Board, the City's Demonstration Agency, and EDPA. The agreement stipulated "180-300 units of federally assisted low-moderate income housing within the urban renewal area as replacement for all of the housing units that were demolished."

The same year, the main Green Fingers community garden relocated to land taken by the Emanuel Hospital Expansion Project, on lots located at N Knott & Kerby Ave.[32]

EDPA continued to be active throughout the relocation process and individual negotiations. They watched as they were removed from the community and held meetings and walking tours that highlighted in real time, the effects of the demolitions and removals in the name of renewal on the community (Exhibit 11).

In April **1973**, Emanuel Hospital announced that it would not complete the Expansion Project that provided the impetus to demolish property at N Russell & Williams among other places. Hill-Burton funding was denied the project due to the fact that Emanuel Hospital's board applied for this phase of project financing after the Federal deadline.[33] By then, it was estimated that Emanuel Hospital had already purchased and demolished 101 properties and that PDC had purchased and demolished 188 more.[34] The reason why Emanuel Hospital missed the deadline, despite having met it for past expansion projects, is unclear (Exhibit 12).

Exhibit 11. EDPA Open House Flyer



Source: American Friends Service Committee, 1971 [2]

History and Policy Context: *Emanuel Hospital Urban Renewal Project*

Exhibit 12. Emanuel Expansion Dead

No homes, no hospital

'Expansion' leaves wasteland

By PAUL PINTARICH
of The Oregonian staff

Return a victim of urban renewal to the scene of gleaming redevelopment, and nearly always he will comment nostalgically: "Strange how hard it is to remember what the old neighborhood looked like."

But when bulldozers are still at work and redevelopment is postponed, bitterness replaces nostalgia and is sharpened by vacant lots and crumbling steps to nowhere.

Understandably, former residents of the Emanuel Hospital expansion area —22 blocks emptied by demolition— are bitterly disappointed over the hospital's recent decision not to expand now.

Their homes are gone; trees and shrubs they planted bloom without people in a neighborhood destroyed.

Walking through dirt clods of her former yard at 312 N. Cook St., Mrs. Leo Warren, president of the Emanuel Displaced Persons Association (EDPA), stops beneath a praying mant's scoop shovel and frowns.

'Didn't they know?'

"All these things—rushing, rushing, rushing and now they decide not to do anything. Why didn't they know in advance what was going on?"

An elderly former schoolteacher who once walked the neighborhood visiting invalids, friends, the church down the street, Mrs. Warren was moved a year ago and complains because now she must use her car.

"This community is destroyed forever," she said. "And what's maddening is the people could have stayed here. I just wonder what they really plan and how long this is going to go on?"

Since the first home was removed by the Portland Development Commission (PDC) in August, 1971, 162 families have been relocated by PDC at a cost of $788,214 and the commission has spent nearly $3 million in land acquisition.

The Emanuel project, a three-phase expansion began in 1967 when the Portland City Council approved a planning grant application from PDC to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

Phase I, including an outpatient building and offices, was completed in 1968 at a cost of $1.8 million.

Phase II, a $2.5 million extended care facility for the aged, was completed in 1970.

Phase III, a $17 million major hospital expansion to provide 274 more beds and a low and middle-income housing project (180 to 300 units) was canceled April 6, a result, according to Emanuel officials, of administrative curtailment of the 25-year-old federal Hill-Burton Hospital Construction Grant and Loan Program.

The funds are expected to be phased out during the next two years, with Oregon losing $3.9 million of a $4 million budget.

Emanuel President Roger Larsen has said that hospital costs also have increased, especially free care mandated under the Hill-Burton program, and he attributes postponement to a combination of factors.

"Our decision was not influenced primarily by neighborhood conflicts," Larsen said, "but it was a factor in delays which raised construction costs."

"The thing that bothers me," said Robert Nelson, EDPA community advocate, "is the city and the PDC got relocation approval when they didn't know where funds were coming from."

PDC, which began clearing the area in 1971 after receiving federal approval, earlier in the same year had signed an agreement on the project with EDPA, Emanuel, the Model Cities Planning Board and the City Demon-

Use of Thais said weighed

SAIGON (AP) — Deposed Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia said Sunday that U.S. presidential envoy Alexander Haig discussed with Southeast Asia leaders last week the possibility of sending Thai soldiers into Cambodia.

"President Nixon knows that it wouldn't be of much help to use only air power...in Cambodian battles, so the United States has had to think about using the Thailand troops," Sihanouk said in an interview monitored over Radio Hanoi.

Source: The Oregonian, 1973

What is clear is that, despite the fact that the project had been halted due to lack of funds, Emanuel Hospital continued demolitions of remaining homes and businesses in the project area.[35] In May **1973**, Emanuel Hospital demolished the Hill Building at 1 Russell St, as well as the Fred Hampton People's Free Health Clinic site located at 109 N Russell. Residents of Albina protested (Exhibit 13).

Exhibit 13. Albina Residents Protesting

Source: Oregon History Project, 1973

The cupola roof of the Hill Building was then relocated to Dawson Park and repurposed as a gazebo roof (Exhibit 14).

In November **1973**, the Oregon Department of Transportation (ODOT) opened Interstate 405, whose Kerby Ave. approaches linking Central Albina to the Fremont Bridge were built on land that was taken from local residents From **1969-73**, ODOT demolished 95 Central Albina homes for these approaches, which terminated immediately north of the Emanuel Hospital Expansion Project area. These approaches, however, were initially designed to connect Interstate 405 to the planned Fremont/Rose City/Prescott Freeway connecting the I-5 corridor to the planned path of I-205 through North and Northeast Portland along Fremont and Prescott streets. Members of the Albina neighborhood protested the planned freeway's construction, and once that project had been scrapped, also protested the opening of the Kerby Avenue ramps that remained, wishing them to be removed so that housing taken for the scrapped interchange would be restored.[36]

Exhibit 14. Cupola Roof of the Hill Building

Source: Portland Archive, 1973

In the years to follow, much of the land that PDC and Emanuel Hospital cleared remained undeveloped while lenders, realtors, and landlords continued to skirt fair housing laws to discriminate against the Albina community. The Community Reinvestment Act passed in **1977**, requiring commercial banks to report their lending practices in neighborhoods. In **1977**, the Housing Authority of Portland opened Unthank Plaza, public housing for low-income seniors where ⅓ of the units are set aside for displaced persons, built on land that was cleared during the Emanuel Hospital Urban Renewal Project.[37] It is reported that in this year, PDC also sold a ten-block parcel to Emanuel Hospital.[38] In **1978**, the city determined that the Emanuel Hospital Urban Renewal Area was completed and in **1980** a closeout agreement for the project was signed by PDC and Emanuel Lutheran, Charity Board. [39]

As noted above, ODOT opened the Kerby Avenue I-405 approaches into Central Albina in **1979**, which lay unused atop 60 demolished former homes for most of the decade as they were initially planned to form an interchange with the since-scrapped Prescott Freeway.

ODOT went against Albina residents' wishes to prevent freeway traffic through their neighborhoods and to regain access to land taken for the approaches earlier in the decade. The ramps were opened at the behest of Emanuel Hospital, which contended that the freeway exit and its ramps were necessary for emergency vehicle access.[40]

History and Policy Context: *Perpetual Disinvestment*

By the **1980's**, Albina was in full decline. Blockbusting had led to widespread home abandonment. Collapse in home values led traditional banking institutions to continue refusing to grant mortgages and home improvement loans to remaining Albina residents years after the passage of the Fair Housing Act in 1968 ended redlining practices at the Federal level.

US Census Data for **1980** reflected this decline in Central Albina. Whereas 1,218 residents called Central Albina home in **1970**, only 414 were left in **1980**, a decline of 65.8%. 145 Black residents were recorded in **1980**, a 75.8% drop from 1970's level. and a 92.6% decline from **1960**. Black residents comprised 34.9% of the area's population, a decline from 49.1% in 1970 and 68.5% in **1960**. Housing unit count dropped to 234 units, down 57.9% from **1970**. Owner-occupied units remained flat at 61, up from 60 in 1970. Median household income was $13,004, or $41,411 in 2020 dollars. Median family income had risen 45.5% against inflation to $42,284 (2020 dollars) against $29,052 (2020 dollars) in 1970.

Home values were not available through the **1980** Census, but Central Albina's average rent as a percentage of income dropped 14.1 points to 20.1%, well under the citywide average of 30.5% that year. Rapid depopulation of the area may have contributed to lower rents of remaining rental stock.

That same year, a Disposition and Development Agreement was signed by PDC and Emanuel Lutheran, Charity Board on behalf of Emanuel Hospital where it states that "the Commission has now completed all acquisition, relocation, demolition and site improvement work to be performed by it under the approved Urban Renewal Plan and pursuant to the Cooperation Agreement and is now prepared to sell and convey to the Hospital Board all of the real Property to be acquired by it.[41]

History and Policy Context: *Perpetual Disinvestment*

Also in **1980**, Portland Public Schools (PPS) opened its Blanchard Education Service Center at 501 N Dixon Street, a project area that required the demolition of 65 housing units in the area between the Memorial Coliseum and the Emanuel Hospital Expansion Project area. With the opening of Blanchard Education Service Center, urban renewal-based housing demolitions that began with the **1952** widening of Interstate Avenue, surpassed the 1,000-unit mark in Lower & Central Albina.

Households and businesses were not the only community assets demolished. Just 2 years after PPS destroyed homes to build the Blanchard Center, the board of Portland Public Schools voted in March **1982** to close the Harriet Tubman Middle School site - built at the border of Lower and Central Albina in **1954** atop 15 demolished homes - and relocate it to the existing Boise Elementary School site further north, at N Kerby & Fremont. Due to racial school integration policies at the time, this decision required that the 350 children attending the Black community's only elementary school would have to be dispersed and bused to 5 predominantly white elementary schools in the Portland area.[42]

Ronald Herndon, who led the Black United Front, led sustained protests through the Spring of **1982** to attempt to dissuade the school board. Despite their efforts, in May, the school board finalized their decision when they voted again to close and relocate Harriet Tubman Middle School.

The Green Fingers Community Garden sites that had once attracted visits from First Ladies and presidential candidates alike, were additional community assets that ODOT and PDC/Emanuel Hospital perpetually displaced and until Viviane Barnett, its community activist founder, shut down operations in **1982**.[43] Throughout the 1980's in Albina, two themes emerged: Increased drug and gang activity, and increased predatory lending. As Gibson notes,

"Gang members from the Los Angeles area had maintained a quiet presence in Albina since the early 1980's, but that changed during the summer of 1987, when competition intensified between the Crips and the Bloods over crack cocaine. Dozens of dealers from the Los Angeles area had begun streaming into Portland in search of new markets. It helped that they could sell crack for two to three times the price it fetched in southern California, and that the local police were unprepared for them."[44]

History and Policy Context: *Perpetual Disinvestment*

Black residents in Albina who wished to purchase homes rather than rent, had a new option in Dominion Capital, Inc. a private mortgage lender that began operations in Oregon in 1986.[45] Due to decades of disinvestment, slum lording, blockbusting, broken windows policing, and large urban renewal projects that destroyed swathes of Lower & Central Albina's small business employment base, home values sank well below what larger banking institutions deemed a worthwhile investment.

Years after the Fair Housing Act of **1968** passed and ended the de jure practice of redlining for home loans, Lower & Central Albina's residents found that they were still unable to secure home loans, even if the mortgage payments were significantly less than what they were paying to rent their homes. Dominion Capital (and Lincoln Loan) seized on the opportunity to attract these would-be homeowners by buying up properties in the neighborhood, issuing loans at exorbitant interest rates, requiring massive balloon payment early in the mortgage cycle, and repossessing the homes if their customers couldn't come up with those balloon payments.

Many of those who sought home loans through Dominion and Lincoln discovered that the contracts they'd signed for what they believed to be mortgages, gave them no rights to retain the equity they'd built through their mortgage payments. Dominion Capital, Inc. alone bought more than 100 properties throughout Albina. The company would then inflate the value of the properties they owned by selling them between corporate officers and employees for ever-rising prices. By **1990**, Dominion Capital was besieged by lawsuits alleging that the organization had acted fraudulently. State Attorney General Dave Frohnmeyer's office investigated Dominion Capital and successfully charged its officers with 32 counts of fraud and racketeering. [46] While the predatory lenders were brought to justice, many members of the Albina community still had no facilities to purchase their homes, and little recourse to recover any investments they'd made through companies like Dominion. De facto redlining by established mortgage lenders continued apace, contributing to the freefall in home values in the Albina neighborhood throughout the late '80s and early '90s.

History and Policy Context: *Albina Rising? Gentrification Policies*

In **1988**, the Vacant and Abandoned Buildings Task Force Final Report was released and documents a monumental gap in the Albina area including "The King and Boise neighborhoods, which comprised 1% of the city's land and contained 26% of the city's abandoned housing units. The banking industry had left a vacuum in the community when it decided not to lend money on properties below $40,000." [47]

Soon after, a resurgence in community participation in planning began. The N/NE Economic Development Task Force formed in **1989** and led the way for development and adoption of the Albina Community Plan. In a similar spirit as the Model Cities program, the plan relied heavily on citizen participation. It was a "comprehensive district action plan that intended to provide a policy framework and long-term certainty to those who own property or that may wish to invest in Albina."[48]

The need for new action in Central Albina was made clear when the US Census Bureau published its data for Central Albina for **1990**, and decline continued to be the theme. Central Albina recorded a new low of 290 residents, down 30% from **1980**. Black residents numbered just 110, a smaller decline of 24.1%, now comprising 37.9% of area population. Housing unit count continued to decline to 163, a 30% drop from 1980, with 49 being owner-occupied (-19.7% from 1980), now comprising 30.1% of Central Albina's housing stock. Median household income, however, had collapsed against inflation (down 38.5% from 1980 to just $25,642 in 2020 dollars), while median home values continued to drop, down 18.4% from **1970** inflation-adjusted dollars, the latest comparative survey with available home values. Neighborhood average rent-to-income ratios nearly doubled to 37.8%, well above the citywide average of 29.4%.

In **1991**, Resolution 34830 directed the Commissioner of Public Utilities to oversee formation of a nonprofit organization to undertake a public/private partnership effort to acquire real property from a bankruptcy proceeding. This led to the creation of the Portland Community Reinvestment Initiative, in which the City of Portland acquired the approximately 350 homes controlled by Dominion Capital (a predatory lending company) and gave them to be administered in **1992**.[49]

History and Policy Context: *Albina Rising? Gentrification Policies*

Faced with new investment and renewed community and City interest in the **1990s**, the Albina area saw the beginning of a new phase of urban renewal initiatives and gentrification. In **1999**, TriMet (the regional public transportation authority) and the PDC created the Interstate Corridor Urban Renewal Advisory Committee to oversee the development of an urban renewal plan and Tax Increment Financing (TIF) district for the Interstate Corridor. Four working committees were set up to create action plans related to economic development, community livability, housing, and transportation. In **2000** the Interstate Corridor Urban Renewal Area Plan (ICURA) designated much of Inner North and Northeast Portland as an area for major reinvestment following the area's long history of disinvestment from the public and private sectors. The resulting TIF District targeted $335 million in economic development investments for the area between **2000** and **2021**. The Plan was also created in preparation for the construction of the Yellow Line along Interstate Avenue. In **2002**, the Interstate Alliance to End Displacement organized and encouraged adherence to the Albina Community Plan and the Interstate Corridor Urban Renewal Area plan (Exhibit 15). [50]

Exhibit 15. Interstate Alliance to End Displacement

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

May 22, 2002

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MAKE PORTLAND THE CITY THAT WORKS FOR ALL

The Interstate Alliance to End Displacement will make it's case at the Portland City Council budget hearing on Thursday, May 23, at City Hall 6:00–8:00 PM. Testifying on behalf of the alliance will be Teresa Huntsinger of the Coalition for a Livable Future and Michael Anderson of the Fair Housing Council of Oregon. The message: revitalizing neighborhoods without displacing long-time residents—primarily people of color—requires the mayor, city council, and housing authority to:

❶ Dedicate budget resources to create an emergency displacement prevention program to provide assistance to renters in N/NE Portland whose ability to maintain their homes is threatened by rent increases, lost jobs, increases in health expenses, or no cause evictions. One million dollars in a rent assistance program could assist more than 280 families at risk of homelessness or displacement. In addition, the city must continue to fund rehab loans to preserve and improve small rental properties, and initiatives to protect existing low-income homeowners, such as mortgage foreclosure prevention and predatory lending education. These programs must be part of the budget for FY 2002-2003.

❷ Develop light rail transportation and its station areas in a manner that contributes to long-term community stability. All public investments into station areas must adhere to the Interstate Urban Renewal Area Plan, ensuring neighborhood-serving businesses, local hiring agreements, living wage jobs, and minority contracting.

❸ Create new revenue sources for affordable housing. Current revenue streams provide for less than half of the people in Portland who cannot afford market rate housing. Real estate transfer taxes, new bonds for affordable homeownership and rental housing, and other new dedicated funding streams must accompany other investments to sustain housing continuity for the greater Portland community.

The Interstate Alliance to End Displacement Includes:

Community Alliance of Tenants– Community Development Network– Coalition for a Livable Future – Fair Housing Council of Oregon-Portland Community Land Trust – Elders in Action – Park Terrace Tenants Council - Augustana Lutheran Church - Democratic Socialists of America, Orego - Peninsula CDC - Rondel Court Residence Council - Portland Community Reinvestment Initiatives Inc. - Environmental Justice Action Group – League of Women Voters – Open Hand Portland New Party – Portland Radical Women – Growing Gardens - People's Food Co-op Hayden Island Mobile Home Owners and Renters Association – POWER! – Portland Jobs with Justice Portland Industrial Workers of the World – Sisters In Action For Power – Oregon Food Bank – Poverty Action Team Hacienda CDC – Workers' Organizing Committee – Northwest Housing Alternatives - the Latino Network - 1000 Friends of Oregon - Black Youth Political Action Committee - Better People - Bicycle Transportation Alliance - Laughing Horse Books-City RepairProject – Portland Gray Panthers-Seattle Tenants Union and the Mission Anti-Displacement Coalition (San Francisco, CA)

Source: Interstate Alliance to End Displacement, 2002

History and Policy Context: *Albina Rising? Gentrification Policies*

As a result of ICURA, this area's new reinvestment made the area ripe for gentrification. ICURA called for extensive measures for benefiting existing residents, but many elements (particularly those related to affordable housing) were relegated to an afterthought in favor of providing funding for the local match for federal funds that supported the light rail line construction, which opened in **2005**.

In the mid-1990s, the City of Portland began to target Albina for more urban renewal efforts in the form of the Interstate Corridor Tax Increment Financing (TIF) District. Started in **2000** with an initial plan to invest $335 million in Albina and surrounding disinvested neighborhoods, the PDC's Interstate Corridor TIF District attracted critically needed funding into economic development and new housing for the area.[51] However, the creation of the TIF district itself served as a declaration that five decades after the city began removing Black residents and destroying their homes in the name of "blight clearance," the area was still blighted despite the expensive mega-projects the city had constructed on top of Central Albina. [52]

This TIF district attracted new development without the need to plan new mega-projects subject to Federal funding and therefore Federal oversight.

Combined, these efforts produced some results that began to show in Census **2000** data. For the first time in 50 years, Central Albina's population rose, this time to 350 residents. That figure was up 20.7% from **1990**, but still down 82.2% from 1960. Black population rose slightly more (59.1%), to 50% of the area's population, or 175 residents. Housing unit count remained relatively stable, up to 172 units (up 5.5%), as did owner-occupied units , which were up 8.1% to 53, good for 30.8% of the area's housing stock. Median household incomes dropped 6% against 1990 inflation adjustments, falling to $22,898 in 2020 dollars. Median home values, however, nearly quadrupled from $49,002 inflation-adjusted 2020 dollars in 1990, to $191,829 inflation-adjusted 2020 dollars in 2000. In parallel, Central Albina's average rent-to-income ratio rose 1.5 points to 39.3%, nearly 12 points above the Portland average of 27.4%, which had actually dropped 2 points over the previous decade.

History and Policy Context: *Albina Rising? Gentrification Policies*

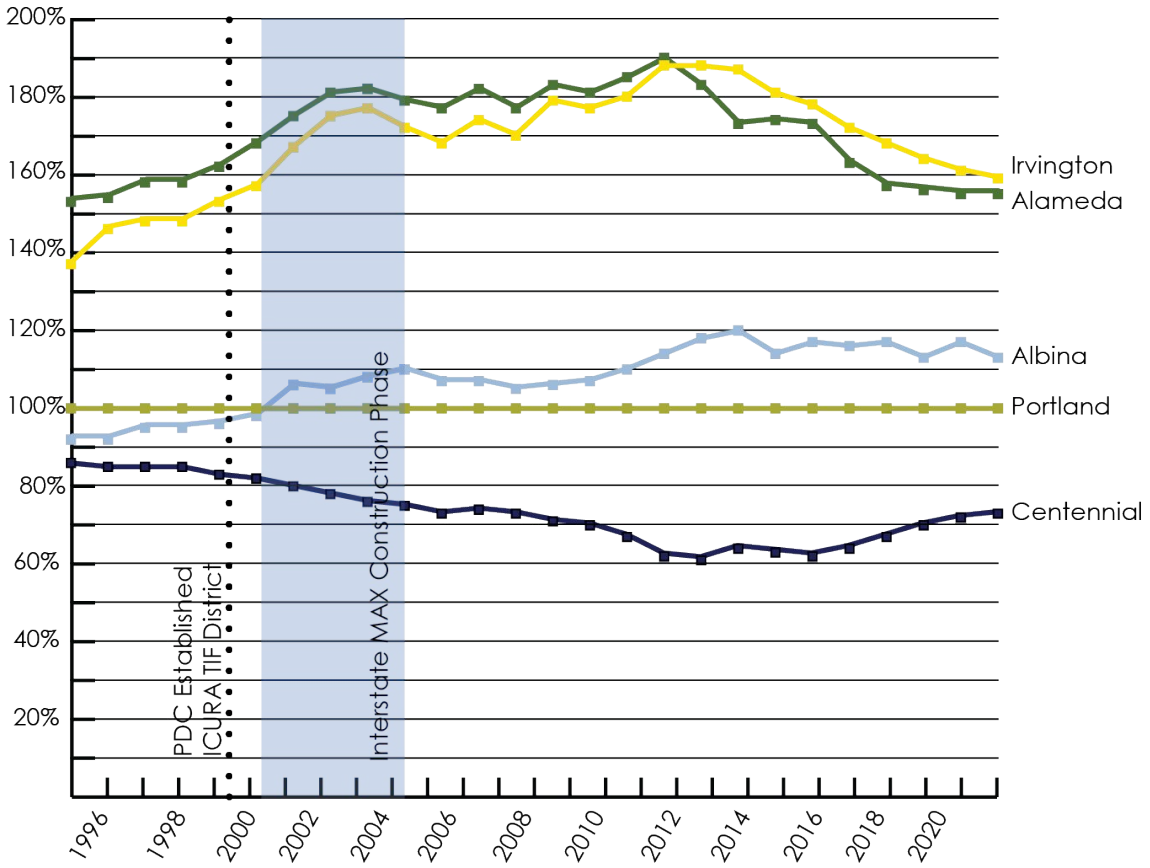
By **2001**, construction began on a light rail line that bordered Albina to the west along Interstate Ave. Opened in 2005, the construction phase of the MAX Yellow Line brought with it rapid appreciation in property values (Exhibit 16).

However, these increases in investments and home values came just as Central Albina's Black population collapsed from a high of 68.5% of total neighborhood population at the 1960 Census, to just 35% by the 2009 American Community 5-Year Survey period. As construction on the MAX Yellow line (and, later, the Portland Streetcar) was in full swing, the neighborhood's Black population had fallen from 1,971 residents in 1950 to just 47 by 2005, a collapse of 97.6%. Total residents fell by 62%, to just 133. Housing unit counts dropped 45% to 95, and owner-occupied units declined to just 38, down 91% from 1960. As a sign of gentrification pressures, median household income rose 34% in inflation-adjusted 2020 dollars to $30,759 against 2000 values.

Home values, which had nearly quadrupled from 1990-2000, nearly tripled again between 2000 and 2009, and now sat at $535,419 in inflation-adjusted 2020 dollars, beating Portland's median home values for the first time, and by 56%. Rent-to-income ratios reflected this meteoric rise in property values, also increasing to 43.4%, up 4.1 points from 2000, and 7.7 points above Portland's 35.7% average.

Exhibit 16

Neighborhood Mean Zillow Home Values 1996-2020 as a % of Portland Overall



History and Policy Context: *Pursuit of Future Equity or Past Restitution?*

Early in the new millennium, profound research ignited political interest in the planning processes that shaped the City of Portland. Dr. Karen Gibson's research, "Bleeding Albina: A History of Community Disinvestment, 1940-2000" was published in 2007 and still serves as a seminal reference for many studies, including ours.

In September 2008, the collapse of the housing market led to steep declines in real estate values, a trend that also affected a gentrifying Lower & Central Albina in Portland. This showed up in 2006-10 American Community Survey Data, rather than 2010 Census data, where median home values reportedly fell to $389,700, a drop of 9.2% from inflation-adjusted 2009 American Community Survey 5-year data. Median household income for the neighborhood dropped 6.2% against inflation, now down to $28,864 in 2020 dollars. The average rent-to-income ratio remained flat at 43.1%, while the citywide figure was much lower, having fallen 4 points to 31.7%. The collapse in the housing market increased demand for rental housing that was predominant in Central Albina by this point.

Decreased median household incomes accompanying decreased home values likely contributed to still-high average rent-to-income ratios in the area relative to the city overall.[53]

The 2010 Census recorded a 521.8% increase in total population in Central Albina, rising to levels not seen since the 1970s residents were recorded, 178 of which are Black (a nearly fourfold rise). However, the Black population's overall share declined further to 25.6%, its lowest share since the 1940 Census. 338 housing units were listed in the area, a rise of 350%, while owner-occupied unit count more than doubled up to 89 (up 234%) albeit comprising just 26.3% of overall housing stock.[54]

In 2010, Portland Bureau of Transportation (PBOT) began the planning stages for the North Williams Traffic Safety Operations Project, a bike infrastructure project that ran into considerable controversy when its approval and engagement processes left the historic Black community from the neighborhood out of the decision-making stages.

History and Policy Context: *Pursuit of Future Equity or Past Restitution?*

By Summer **2011**, PBOT decided to slow the project down to provide more time and opportunity for the Black community to contribute their voices and concerns over the project. As a result of these efforts, the group determined that the North Williams project process needed to address historical and planning project injustices that city and state officials had visited upon the community, with disastrous results. The project's Stakeholder Advisory Committee was also expanded to 27 members, of which 12 were people of color, with PBOT noting that more creative efforts than they'd previously been using were needed to include stakeholders that were more fully representative of the community for which this project was designed.[55]

2015 American Community Survey 5-year Data: Central Albina population remained flat, showing 693 residents against the 2010 Census's 694. Housing unit count dropped 16% to 284 units, while owner-occupied unit count rose 4.5% to 93. The area's Black population rose 18%, good for 30.3% of Central Albina's overall population.

Median household income again outpaced inflation from 2006-10 ACS, this time by 46.5%, to $42,292 in inflation-adjusted 2020 dollars. Median home values continued to fall in the wake of the Global Financial Crisis, down 30% against inflation to $272,100 in 2020 inflation-adjusted dollars. Perhaps relatedly, as incomes rose due to gentrification and property values dropped due to the crisis, the neighborhood's average rent-to-income ratio dropped 7.3 points to 35.8%, which was closer in line with Portland's 32.1% average.[56]

From **2011 to 2012,** Emanuel Hospital officials held listening sessions to hear from area residents and those displaced by the original expansion project. The listening sessions culminated in an event and a permanent exhibit in the hospital, in a symbolic display of acknowledging and memorializing those displaced (Exhibit 17).[57]

History and Policy Context: *Pursuit of Future Equity or Past Restitution?*

Exhibit 17. Emanuel Hospital Exhibit

Source: Legacy Emanuel Medical Center, 2012

The Federal Fair Housing Act was amended in **2015,** the "Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing Rule (AFFH)" that "sets out a framework for local governments, States, and public housing agencies to take meaningful actions to overcome historic patterns of segregation, promote fair housing choice, and foster inclusive communities that are free from discrimination."[58]

In **2015,** Portland developed its Right to Return policy, also known as North/Northeast Housing Strategy Preference Policy, the goal of which is "To address the legacy of displacement in North and Northeast Portland through investments in new affordable rental housing, opportunities for first-time homebuyers, and home retention programs for longtime residents."[59]

The policy gives priority status for available public housing units to households displaced by city actions in Portland's history, including the Memorial Coliseum construction and Legacy Emanuel urban renewal. The 13-member oversight committee is led by community members, researchers and topic experts.

History and Policy Context: *Pursuit of Future Equity or Past Restitution?*

Some have questioned the pace of progress and level of success achieved since its creation.[60] However, since inception 638 households have been issued home repair grants and another 140 home repair loans have been made. An additional 75 New Home Buyers were Identified through the N/NE Preference Policy.[61]

The same year, **2015**, the Anti-Displacement PDX campaign formed in response to the City of Portland's 2035 Comprehensive Plan development:

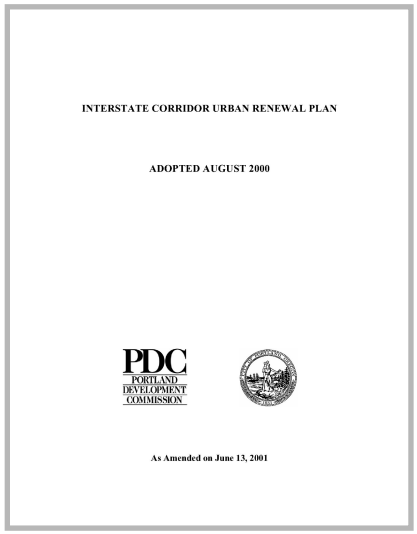
"The Coalition evolved as a voice for communities that have experienced and continue to be vulnerable to gentrification and displacement, and united together in order to shape the Comprehensive Plan. The Coalition contributed to the inclusion of over 30 policies in the final Comprehensive Plan that advance our goals of preventing displacement, ensuring equitable benefits from development, redressing the harms of gentrification and expanding Portland's affordable housing infrastructure. It is now titled the Anti-Displacement Coalition."[62]

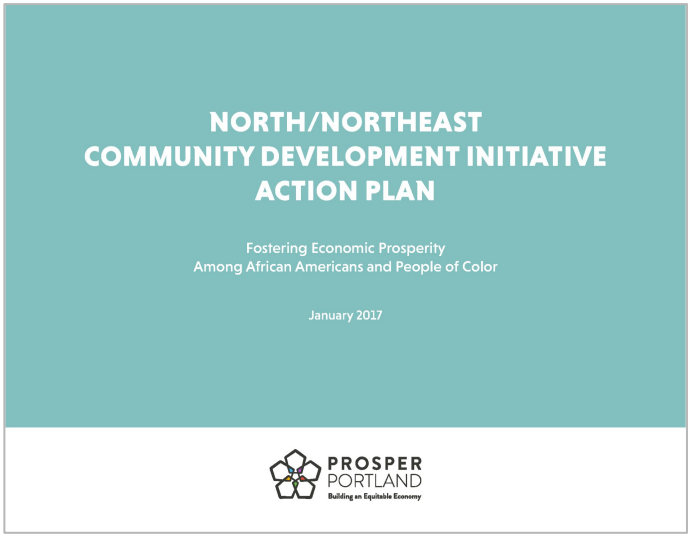
EDPA2 questions why these anti-displacement campaigns are happening now that the majority of the Black community no longer lives there. These efforts have now been incorporated into city policy and have done little to benefit communities that have already been pushed out of their former neighborhoods. The Black community has largely been removed from Central Albina, and EDPA2 questions why anti-displacement programs have only been implemented in the last few years, long after it first became apparent that gentrification was dispersing Central Albina's Black community.

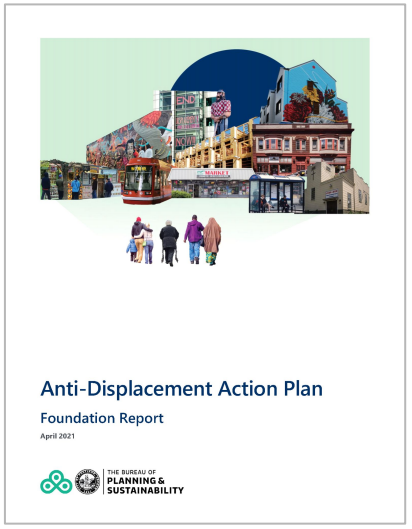
2017 was another busy year, as Portland Development Commission changed their name to Prosper Portland in order to "reflect the agency's shift toward more inclusive economic development."[63] Prosper Portland then initiated and published the "North/Northeast Community Development Initiative Action Plan: Fostering Economic Prosperity Among African Americans and People of Color with leadership from N/NE community members."[64]

History and Policy Context: *Pursuit of Future Equity or Past Restitution?*

Exhibit 18. Select Current Policies and Plans, linked







Controversially, they also announced a new project initiative with the City of Portland and Legacy Health (previously known and referred to as Emanuel Hospital) the redevelopment of 1.7 acres of a vacant block at North Russell Street and North Williams Avenue.[65] The stated purpose of the development is to "honor Portland's African-American community, contribute to the neighborhood's vibrancy, and further Legacy Health's mission of promoting health and wellness for children and families." The project included a community visioning process, a project working group and call for proposals.[66] EDPA2 has shared that engaging with the project working group has been difficult, and the process has been unclear. Membership in the working group has seen significant turnover, leaving us to question if it has been an effective and representative engagement process.

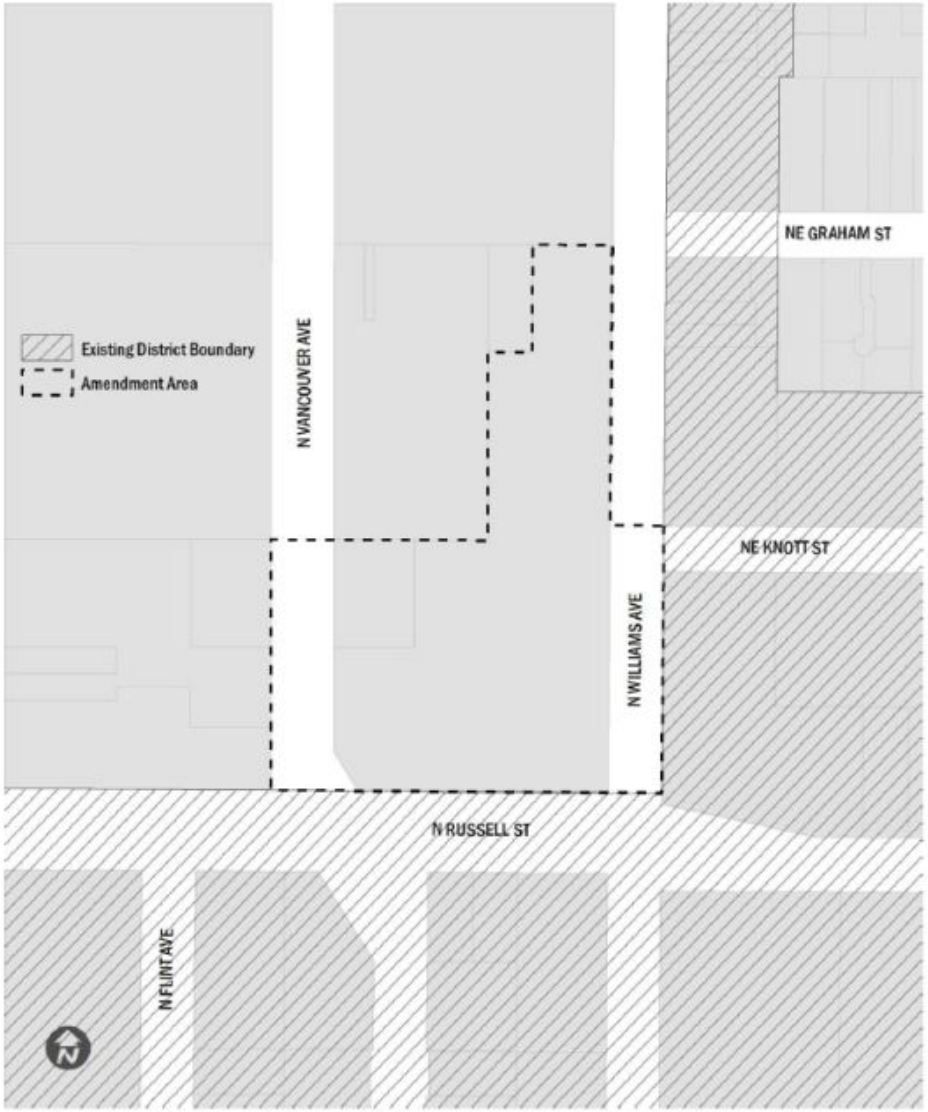
Other apparent inconsistencies raise more questions. Though 1.7 acres of land is slated to be "returned," a total of 3.74 acres was included in the recent amendment of the ICURA, including two lots totaling 2.87 acres of land and .87 acres of right of way on N Williams and N Vancouver.

The lot area in the expansion is still owned by Emanuel Hospital (Legacy Health), an area that was deemed blighted in the 1960s and 1970s to justify the demolition of the Black community, reclassified again as blight. It is not clear why Prosper hasn't included the entire 2.87-acre lot area with the Williams and Russell site for "return." Presumably, all of that land should have been developed by January 1, 1990, to fulfil the requirements of the initial transfer as indicated in the Williams and Russell site Request for Interest as these parcels appear to have been acquired by the Hospital under the same agreement as the Williams and Russell site.[67] In any case, the City has leverage and capacity to press for more land to be turned over for restitution and community benefit. In the absence of transparency and a clear explanation for the discrepancies, EDPA2 remains highly skeptical of the City's plans and wonders if the hospital will benefit in some way from the ICURA expansion or TIF funding.

In response, **2017** also marked the resurgence of the Emanuel Displaced Persons Association (2).

History and Policy Context: *Pursuit of Future Equity or Past Restitution?*

Exhibit 19. Williams and Russell ICURA Amendment



Source: Prosper Portland

Exhibit 20. Williams and Russell, 2021

Source: Jude Thaddaeus, 2021.

History and Policy Context: *Where We Are Now?*

The **2019** ACS 5-year survey showed that, for a full decade, Central Albina has grown in population, showing 1,227 residents, a 77% rise from the 2015 American Community 5-Year Survey and the highest total population since the 1960 Census, which was taken prior to Emanuel Hospital Expansion Area demolitions. Similarly, housing unit counts have more than doubled, to 613 units. Compared to 2015 ACS 5-year data, total owner-occupied units also rose 56% to 145 units, but as a share of overall housing units, ownership shrank to 23.7%, its lowest rate since the 1970 Census, which was taken in the midst of Emanuel Hospital-driven mass home demolitions. In that same 2015-19 survey, Central Albina's Black population declined 52% to just 101 residents, 8.2% of Central Albina's total. This is the lowest share on record, lower than the area's pre-Vanport 1940 levels. Despite still being a rental-heavy neighborhood, the symptoms of gentrification have shown up in both median incomes and home values. Median household income in Central Albina rose a whopping 74.5% to $73,789 from the 2015 ACS 5-year estimate, in inflation-adjusted 2020 dollars.

At the same time, median home values skyrocketed 67% from 2011-15, now up to $520,123, 26% above the citywide average. Average rent-to-income ratios dropped to 26.1%, now 3.7 points lower than the citywide average of 29.8%.[68]

In **2020 a**nd **2021,** at the recommendation and request of the N/NE Housing Strategy Oversight Committee, Prosper Portland and the City Council increased the ICURA's maximum indebtedness, prioritizing investment in housing. "According to Housing Bureau Director Shannon Callahan and Prosper Portland Executive Director Kimberly Branam, the money will go toward creating 350 homes in the area and developing a block along North Williams Avenue and Russell Street."[69]

In **2021,** the Anti-Displacement Action Plan and coalition, with support and guidance from the Bureau of Planning and Sustainability continue to do work to study the effects of displacement and policy for future displacement prevention as a documented shift toward more 'equitable planning' is made.[70]

History and Policy Context: *Where We Are Now?*

In the last year (2020-2021) the Emanuel Hospital Urban Renewal project's impact has been a topic of conversation among City Council, Prosper Portland Commissioners and a number of city agencies. In 2020, Prosper Portland posted a public memo responding to EDPA2 espousing that the restitution agreement has been fulfilled, under the belief that the coordination of HAP (Home Forward), PDC (Prosper Portland), and Emanuel Hospital (Legacy Health) have sufficiently addressed the housing requirement of the original and subsequent agreements.[71] However, in the election cycle, news organizations interviewed new commissioners, and they expressed in various ways that more could be done to right historical wrongs.

The City of Portland has a long history of controlling the movements of its Black residents—those who moved here prior to WWII and those displaced by the Vanport Floods alike—eventually driving many of them further and further from the core of the city, from the neighborhoods they once took refuge and built community in.

Through redlining, disinvestment, refusal to build new worker housing, full embrace of major urban renewal projects (particularly the Emanuel Hospital Expansion Project), broken windows policing, and gentrifying reinvestment that did not accrue to its Black residents, the City of Portland and its project partners systematically decimated, dispossessed, and dispersed Black Albinans in service of whiter, wealthier gentrifiers who now desire to live in an area their forebears deserted and avoided. Studies have been published time and time again documenting these harms and evaluating how to move forward without making the same mistakes, but the people impacted by the redevelopment projects—including the Emanuel Urban Renewal Expansion project—have not yet received justice.

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The Hill Building at N Russell and Williams over time

1960

Source: Portland Archive, 1960.

1973

Source: Portland Archive, 1973.

2021

Source: Jude Thaddaeus, 2021.

Demographic Analysis

"Urban renewal" efforts like the Emanuel Hospital Expansion Project had a great impact on those who lived in Central Albina, their homes, and their wealth-building opportunities. This demographic analysis will draw on the policy history and examine its demographic impacts from 1940 to present in Central Albina, in particular, along two main trends - population change, and housing-based financial change.

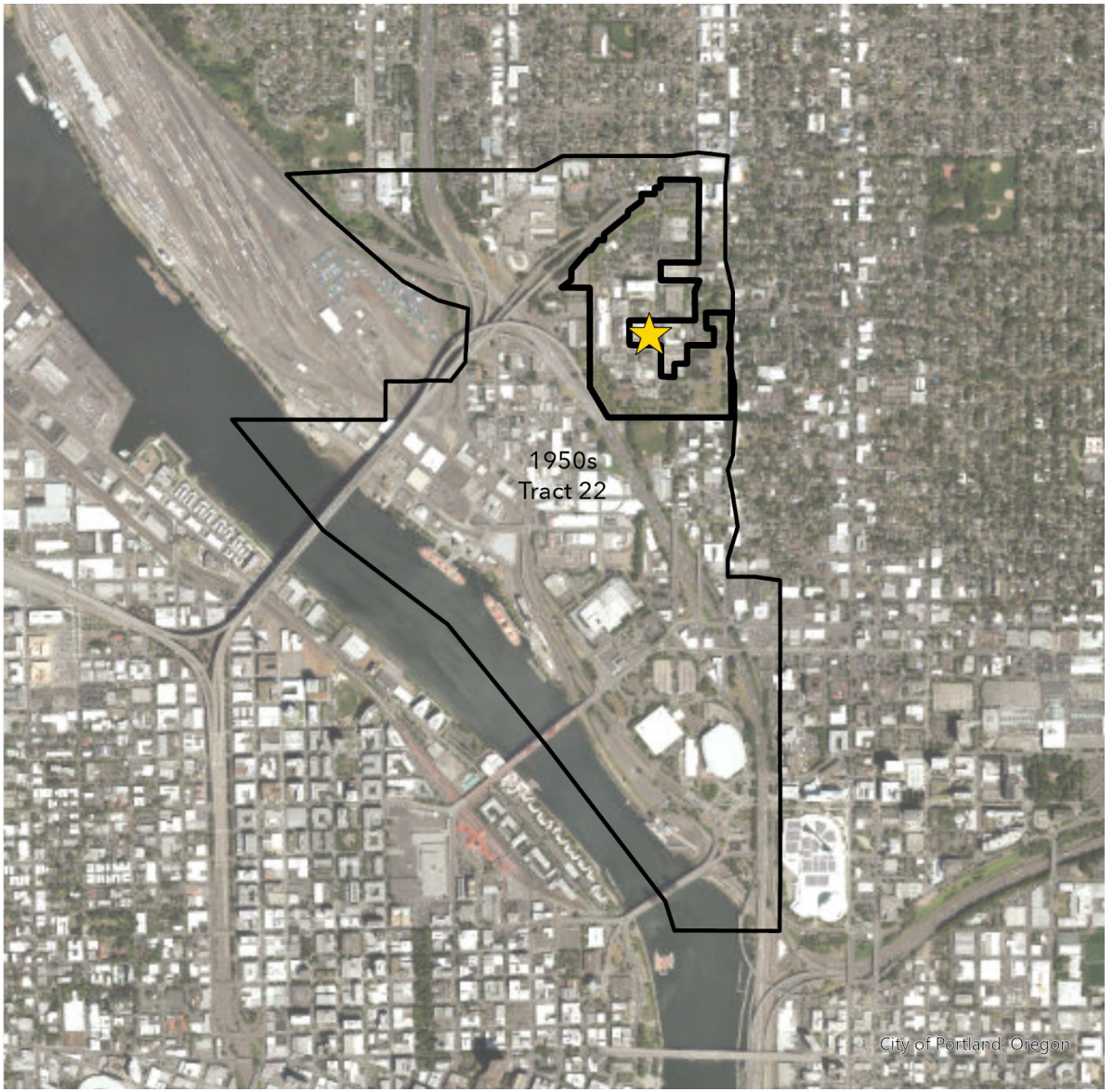
Population data will tell the story of how many people lived in the area in each decade, and what the racial composition of the community was over time. It will demonstrate that urban renewal in Central Albina had a disproportionate effect on Black community members living there. Housing data will tell the story of the number of housing units available in the area, how many owned their homes, and the racial composition of home ownership, when available. Financial data will tell the story of wealth-building and wealth loss with household income, home value, and rent-to-income ratio data, as well.

These trends will be connected to the historical events and policies that put them in greater context to tell a fuller story of the people of Central Albina, what they built over time, and what the city took from them through disinvestment, forced removal, and heretofore denial of due compensation.

In 1940, the US Census Bureau divided Multnomah County into Census Tracts for the first time and grouped Central Albina in the same Tract 22 as Lower Albina. Lower & Central Albina covered the area north of Oregon St, south of Fremont St., east of the Willamette River, and west of N Williams Ave. In 1960, the Census Bureau then split Tract 22 along N Russell St, separating Central Albina to the north from Lower Albina to the south. The 1940 and 1950 Censuses do not break down information based on the 1960 area split but paint the picture of the entire area, which was all redlined by HOLC beginning in 1934, and by the Portland Realty Board before then.

Demographic Analysis

Census Tract 22 boundary from the 1950 census.



LEGEND

- PDC Impact Area Boundary
- Legacy Emanuel Hospital
- Photo

0 1,250 2,500 5,000

Feet

N

Layer Data Source: Queried NHGIS historic tract data

Demographic Analysis

However, they are also extremely important data points to include in an assessment of Central Albina demographics because they establish the conditions of the area, albeit imperfectly, before the period of "urban renewal," forced removal, and dispossession began. They show a time period where Black people who were forced into this area through redlining built a robust and vibrant community that enabled them to build wealth in spite of the open and racist hostility to their presence in Portland.

This demographic analysis will show 2 sets of data, the first being of the entire Lower & Central Albina area covered by 1940 and 1950 Census Tract 22. The second trend set will focus specifically on Central Albina from 1960 to present, which was the specific area devastated by the Emanuel Hospital Expansion Project. This was the area that our clients, Emanuel Displaced Persons Association 2, called home, built community, and once thrived. While Lower and Central Albina were once closely connected, developments over the last 80 years caused their characteristics to diverge dramatically, to the point where it's necessary for the purposes of this analysis to focus on Central Albina

Demographic Analysis: *Population Trends: Four waves of forced Black resident removal*

According to Dr. Karen Gibson's "Bleeding Albina," about 1,900 Black residents had moved to Portland before World War II.[72] According to the 1934 Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) redlining map, about "three quarters" of Portland's Black population lived in the neighborhood called "Lower Albina,"which included what is now commonly called "Lower and Central Albina."[73] About 300 people of Asian descent were also reportedly residing in the area at the time. If these rough HOLC figures are correct, about 1,500 Black residents would have lived in this area at the time. However, US Census data prior to 1940 did not break down demographics by census tract, making disaggregated data difficult to confirm.

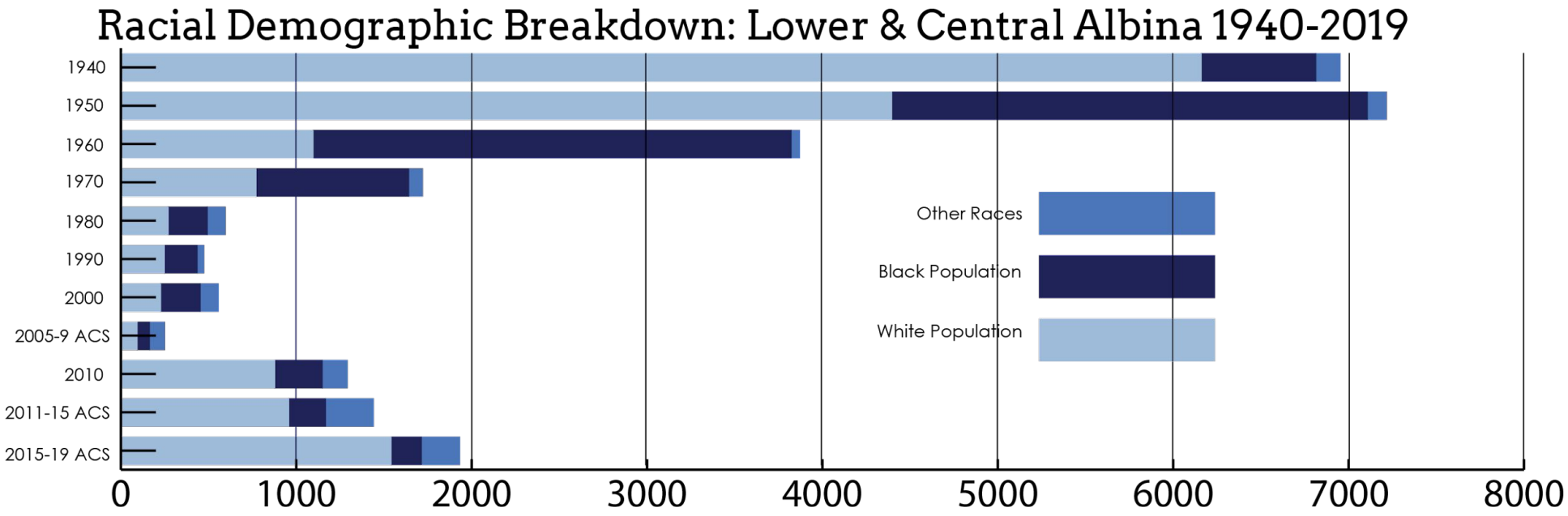
According to the 1940 Census, 6,951 residents lived in Tract 22, of which 653 were identified as Black (9.4%) and 139 (2%) were identified as "Other Race."[74] No further racial breakdown was available among the census data for 1940.

As the decade wore on, a significant portion of the Asian population that reportedly lived in Albina in 1934 may have been Japanese and was thus likely dispossessed when the Federal Government forced Japanese residents into internment camps beginning in 1942. How many camp survivors, if any, returned to Lower Albina in time for the 1950 Census is difficult to say, as the census didn't disaggregate by race other than white, Black, and "Other Races," the latter of which numbered 109 (-28.6% over 1940) in 1950.

Also in the 1940's, the Second Great Migration brought about 23,000 additional Black residents to the Portland area.[75] Most worked in the Kaiser shipyards and lived in segregated housing constructed by the Housing Authority of Portland (HAP) at Vanport. The war ended, the Kaiser Shipyards closed, and in May 1948, Vanport flooded, displacing about 6,000 remaining Black residents, who were eventually resettled in Albina's redlined neighborhoods.

Demographic Analysis: *Population Trends: Four waves of forced Black resident removal*

Exhibit 21



Demographic Analysis: *Population Trends: Four waves of forced Black resident removal*

The Vanport Flood resettlement process was the first of four major waves of forced removal of Black Portland residents.[76] The chart above (Exhibit 21), shows the effect of each of these waves on the combined Lower & Central Albina, which began in 1940 with a small, but significant Black population, and surged in 1950 and 1960. By 1970, the city's forced removal of Black Portlanders from the area was undeniable and continued well into the 21st Century.

In 1950, the Lower & Central Albina's Census reflected the influx of resettled Black Vanport residents. The tract's Black population quadrupled from 653 in 1940 to 2,711 in 1950, good for 37.6% of overall population. National trends of white flight to expanding suburbs thanks to racist fears about Black residents driving down property values, combined with whites-only postwar Federal housing incentives were both likely factors, as the area's white population dropped from 6,159 in 1940 to 4,395 in 1950, a decline of 28.6% despite the tract's 3.8% overall population gain, to 7,215 residents.

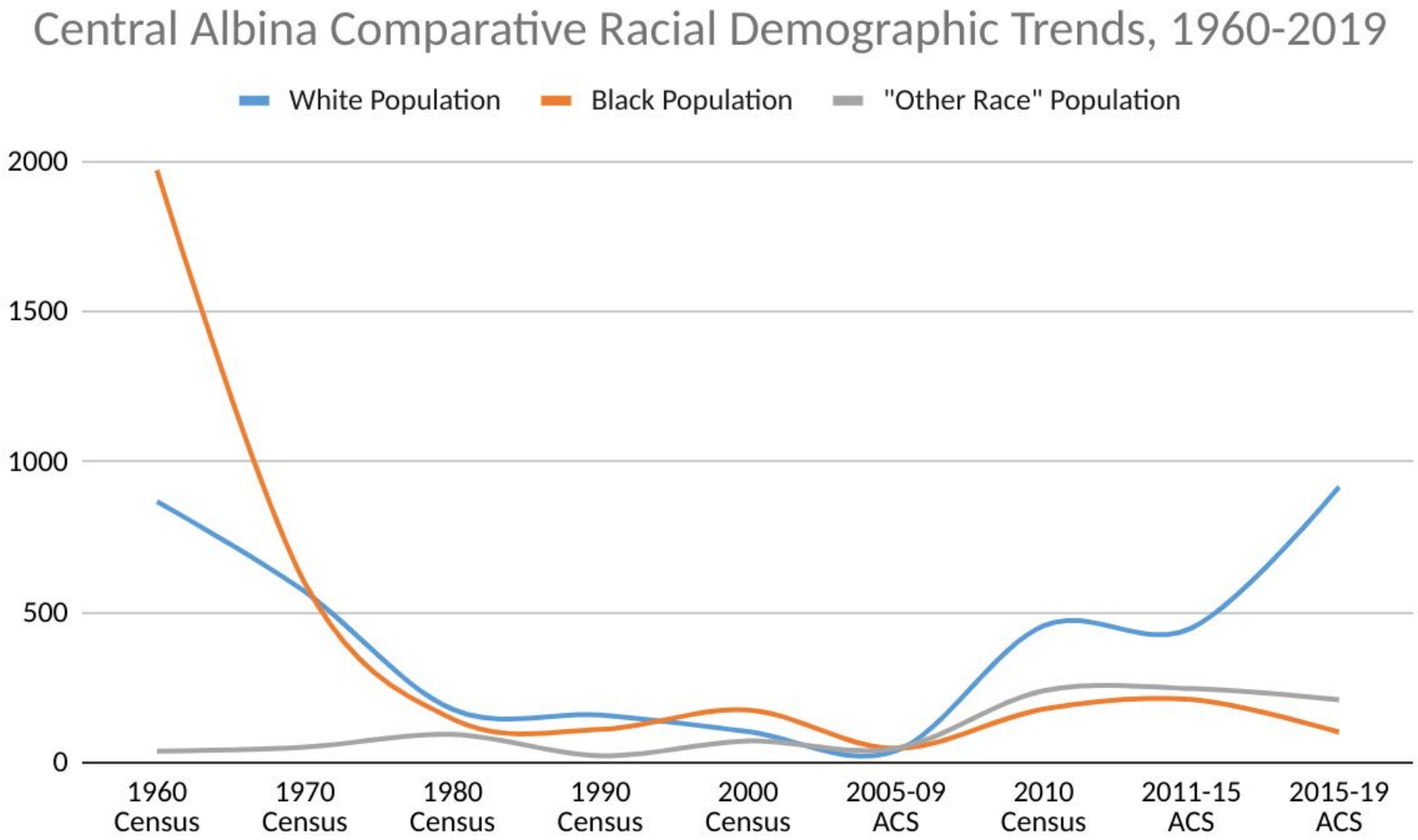
However, 1950 would prove to be the peak of population in Lower & Central Albina, as the city had "urban renewal" plans for the area that set up much of the area's Black population for a second wave of forced displacement, this time from Lower Albina to redlined Albina neighborhoods north of Broadway.

This phenomenon was evident in 1960 Census data.[77] Overall population was down to 3,870 residents, a drop of 46.4% from 1950. The Black population, however, rose slightly overall (0.5%) to 2,725 residents, as white flight accounted for most of the net population decline. Only 1,097 white residents remained in the area, just 25% of the total that resided there in 1950. Thus, for the first time, Black residents formed a 70% majority in the Lower & Central Albina Census tracts, up from 37.6% in 1950.

Central Albina had its own tract for 1960, as well, and was home to 2,877 residents - about ¾ the formerly combined area's population. Of that population, 68.5% (1,971 total) were Black, 30.2% (868 total) white, and 1.3% "Other Race" (38 total).

Demographic Analysis: *Population Trends: Four waves of forced Black resident removal*

Exhibit 22



Demographic Analysis: *Population Trends: Four waves of forced Black resident removal*

As Exhibit 22 shows, Black population in Central Albina would hit its peak at around 1960. However, as in 1950 in Lower Albina, the city had urban renewal plans for Central Albina. From 1960-62, the Oregon Highway Department constructed Interstate 5 through Central Albina, which forced hundreds of its community residents out of their homes. Also in 1962, Emanuel Hospital and the Portland Development Commission (PDC) began buying up homes and forcibly removing community members in a 26-block area later dedicated to the Emanuel Hospital Expansion Project. According to the chart above, these projects had an immediate and profound effect on the Black population that was a strong majority in 1960's Central Albina.

By the time the 1970 Census was released, Central Albina was in drastic population decline, having dropped 57.7% to 1,218 residents relative to 1960's 2,877 total.[78] The neighborhood's Black population fell the most drastically, to 598 (-70%), now comprising 49.1% of the tracts' overall population, good for a plurality of the population, but not a majority.

White population dipped another 34.4% to 569. Total population between the two tracts dropped 55.5% to 1,218. However, the urban renewal projects that the city inflicted upon Central Albina were, at this point, mostly removing Black residents from Central Albina and the community they'd been building there for decades.

The most disruptive urban project of all was Emanuel Hospital's Expansion Project, which continued demolishing homes into 1973, many well after the hospital announced that the expansion project was scrapped due to the denial of Federal grant funding. Emanuel Hospital's board had been late in applying for Hill-Burton funding for its latest expansion phase, which was the basis for their claims on the Hill Block and its surrounding homes and businesses.[79] The result was continued forced removal of Black residents, depopulating Central Albina and destroying long established and vital institutions and community connections.

Demographic Analysis: *Population Trends: Four waves of forced Black resident removal*

The 3rd wave of forced community removal from a once-vibrant Central Albina crested in the 1980 Census, which showed only 414 residents left in Central Albina, a decline of 65.8% from 1970.[80] 145 Black residents were recorded in 1980, a 75.8% drop from 1970's figure, and a 92.6% decline from 1960. Black residents comprised just 34.9% of the area's 1980 population, a decline from 49.1% in 1970 and 68.5% in 1960 and were once again a minority in Central Albina.

For 1990, the Census showed that decline continued to be the theme in Central Albina, which recorded a new low of 290 residents, down a further 30% from 1980.[81] Black residents now numbered just 110, down from 2,877 in 1960. Central Albina continued to hollow out into the 1990's. However, as the city began to make economic redevelopment plans, changes for the neighborhood were afoot. Years after Black residents had requested economic development funding, and as Black population in Central Albina reached a low ebb, the city finally crafted plans for economic redevelopment.

Census 2000 data showed some small signs of these efforts as, for the first time in 50 years, Central Albina's population rose, this time to 350 residents.[82] That number was up 20.7% from 1990, but still down 15.5% from 1980. Black population rose to 50% of the area's population, or 175 residents, as well. However, these gains would prove short-lived.

By the time the 2009 American Community 5-Year Survey data was released, construction on the MAX Yellow line at the western edge of Central Albina had been completed. The neighborhood's population in that period fell 62% from 2000, to a new low of just 133 total residents.[83] Black population had fallen 73.1% from 175 residents in 2000, to just 47. The PDC's economic redevelopment plans, with their engineered-in gentrification goals, were pricing the few remaining Black residents in Central Albina out to less expensive, less central, less accessible neighborhoods.[84]

Demographic Analysis: *Population Trends: Four waves of forced Black resident removal*

The 2010 Census merged Central Albina's census Tract 22.01 with Tract 23.01 immediately east to form Tract 22.03.[85] This new tract now incorporated a significant amount of housing to the east of its former borders. However, in order to provide more direct comparisons, 2010 Census, 2006-10 ACS, 2011-15 ACS, and 2015-19 ACS information will reference data from tract 22.03 Block Group 1, which stays faithful enough to the historic borders of Census Tract 22.01 to make comparisons between previous censuses more direct.

The 2010 Census recorded a 521.8% increase in total population in Central Albina, rising to levels not seen since the 1970's.[86] 694 residents now called Central Albina home, 178 which were Black (a nearly fourfold rise). However, the Black population's overall share declined further to 25.6%, its lowest share since the 1940 Census. Central Albina was, once again, about as white as it had been in 1940.

In the 2015 American Community 5-year Survey Data, Central Albina's population remained flat, showing 693 residents against the 2010 Census's 694 residents. The area's Black population rose 18%, good for 30.3% of Central Albina's overall population, however this trend would not continue into the latter half of the decade.

During the 2019 American Community 5-Year Survey period, Central Albina has grown significantly in population, now showing 1,227 residents.[87] That equates to a 77% rise from the previous survey and the highest total population since the 1960 Census, which was taken prior to Emanuel Hospital Expansion Area demolitions. Central Albina's Black population, however, declined 52% from 2015 estimates to just 101 residents, 8.2% of Central Albina's total. This is the lowest share on record, lower than the area's pre-Vanport 1940 totals.

Demographic Analysis: *Population Trends: Four waves of forced Black resident removal*

In 1960, Central Albina had nearly 3,000 residents, most of them Black. Through waves of forced removal policies driven by unrealized narratives promising a "model city" defined by "urban renewal," the tract would only be home to 133 residents five decades later, only 47 of which were Black. The city's economic development-based urban renewal policies of the last 3 decades emptied Central Albina of its Black population as the City attracted new development and white gentrifiers. Central Albina's population has grown tenfold in just the last decade since its population low point, but the once vibrant, majority Black community that thrived there, is now a smaller minority than lived there in 1940.

Wealth Loss Trends

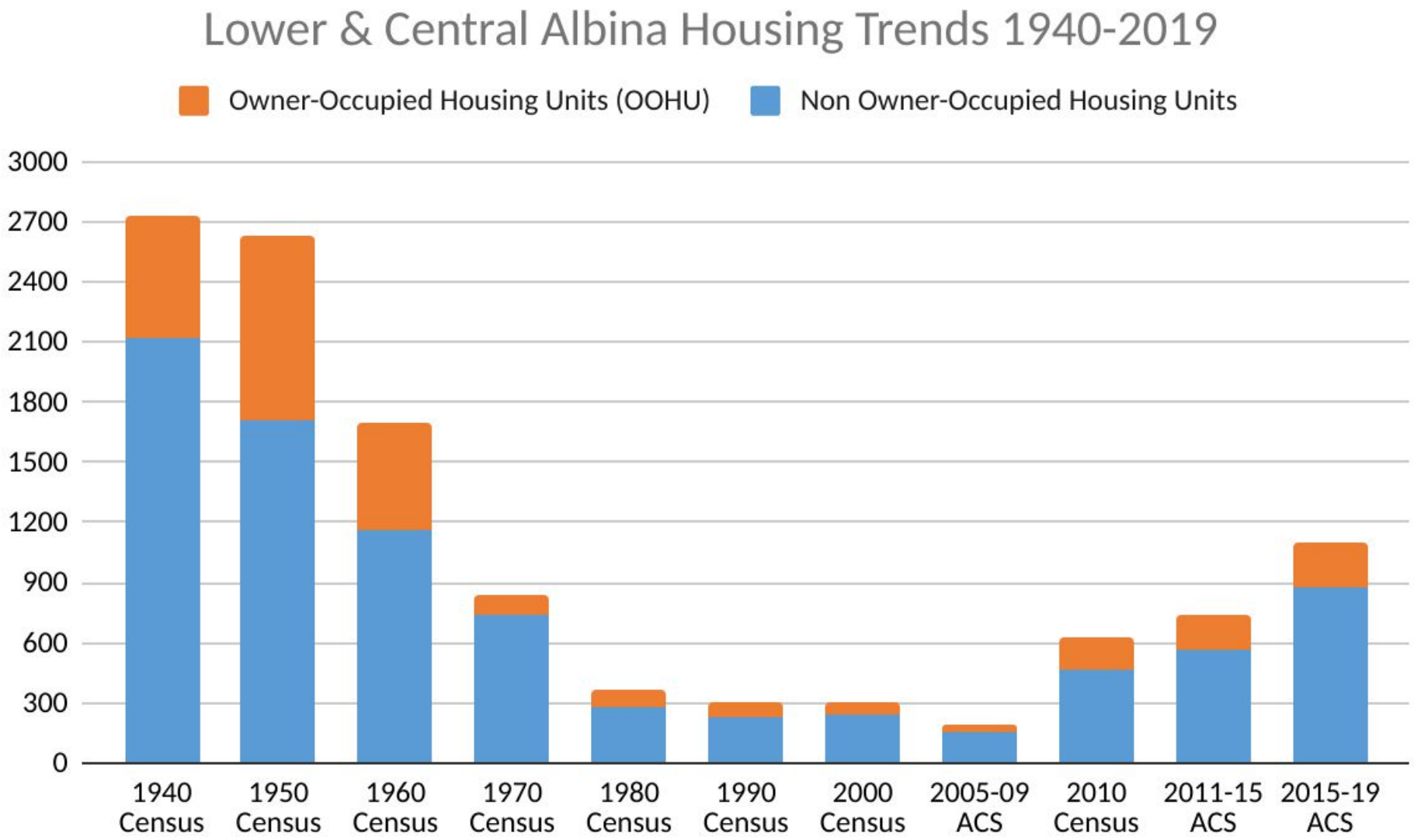
The story of forced removal, depopulation, and gentrification can't just be told in hard population figures. Housing unit data, owner occupation rates, home values, household incomes, and rent-to-income ratios are needed to tell a more complete story. This story identifies some of the nature of the community that grew and thrived in Central Albina before the city removed it, destroyed its residents' institutions and wealth, and ignored it until it could put policies in place to attract white gentrifiers back to the city core.

To set a baseline, the 1940 census counted 2,735 housing units in Lower & Central Albina, with 619 owner-occupied units (22.6%). 37 of those owner-occupied units were owned by "non-white" people, good for only 6% of the total. 1940 Census data did not disaggregate owner-occupied units by race, specifically. However, this initial 6% "non-white" ownership rate shows how little access Portland's still-small Black community had to the wealth-building opportunities that were provided to white residents through home ownership.

Median home value in the tract in 1940 was $1,570 ($29,431 in 2020 dollars), almost exactly half the citywide 1940 median of $3,168, and just over one third of neighboring Irvington's median home value of $4,502.[88] The 1940 Census estimates paint a picture of Lower Albina as a low-income neighborhood with a significant non-white population living in homes well below the city's median home value.

Demographic Analysis: *Wealth Loss Trends*

Exhibit 23



Demographic Analysis: *Wealth Loss Trends*

Exhibit 23 shows the trend in housing unit counts in Lower & Central Albina from 1940 to date. The area's housing stock declined drastically between 1950 and 1980, remained depressed until reaching its lowest point in 2009, and began to come back slowly beginning in 2010. However, even though Lower & Central Albina stock was always oriented toward renters, not since the 1960s have homeownership rates been significant in the area.

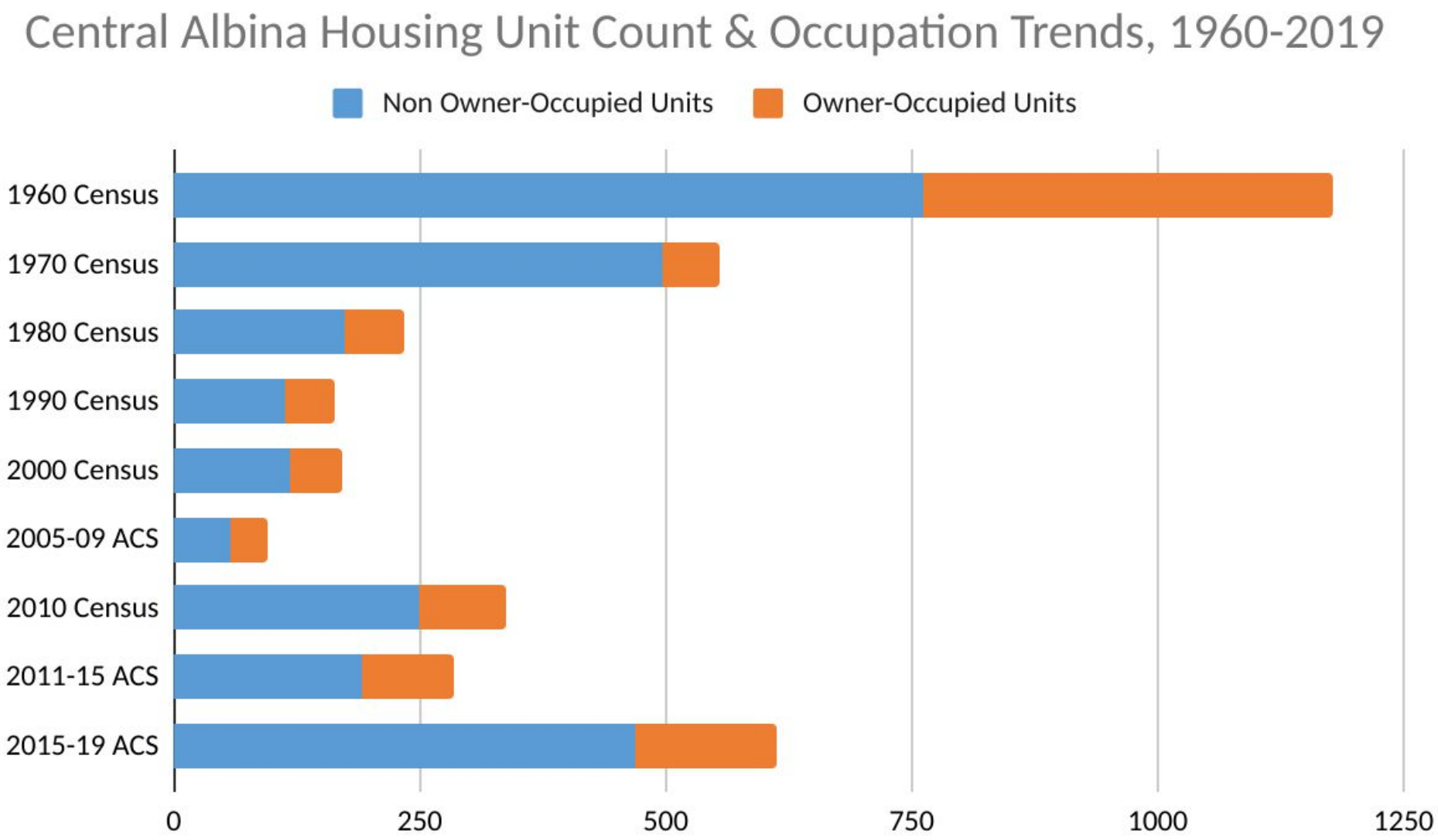
In 1950, after the HAP had resettled most of the Vanport Flood refugees in Lower & Central Albina, the total housing unit count was basically flat, dropping just 3.9% to 2,628 units. "Non-white" owner-occupied housing unit count jumped more than ninefold, however, from 37 in 1940 to 349 in 1950, comprising 37.8% of the 924 reported owner-occupied units, up from 6% in 1940. Thus, the non-white share of owner-occupied housing units was now proportional to their share of the overall 1950 tract population.

The 1950 census also recorded median household income for the first time, and Lower & Central Albina's was about $1,935 ($21,136 in 2020 dollars).[89] Median home values were $4,901 ($53,534 in 2020 dollars), an increase of 82% against inflation over 1940. Relative to citywide estimates, Albina's median household earned 63% of Portland's median, while median home values were 62% of the citywide. In other words, with the influx of Black residents to Lower & Central Albina in 1950 also came a meteoric rise in Black homeownership rates, a rise in household income, and a rise in home values. Black residents were beginning to build wealth in Lower & Central Albina.

However, the city had set its urban renewal sights on Lower Albina by 1950. The Oregon Highway Department planned an Interstate Avenue/Highway 99W widening project that claimed 80 homes in 1952, Harriet Tubman Middle School claimed 15 more in 1954, and the Memorial Coliseum project claimed another 235 between 1958 and 1960 (neither total includes businesses).[90]

Demographic Analysis: *Wealth Loss Trends*

Exhibit 24



Demographic Analysis: *Wealth Loss Trends*

For 1960, combined Lower & Central Albina housing units totaled 1,695, a drop of 35.5% from 1950.[91] Owner-occupied housing unit count dropped 42.2% to 534, but non-white owner-occupied unit count dropped just 10.9% to 311. Thus, non-white owner-occupied homes jumped again, up to 58.2% of the full owner-occupied total. Median home values rose 22% against inflation, to $7,332, or $61,416 in 2020 dollars. Household income also rose 22% against inflation, to $2,908, or $25,812 in 2020 dollars.

Above, Exhibit 24 shows the housing unit and ownership trends that were about to unfold in Central Albina in the wake of planned urban renewal projects. Rapid home demolitions would also usher in a significant decline in homeownership rates in Central Albina. While housing unit count has risen since 2009, home ownership rates in Central Albina remain nowhere near 1960 levels.

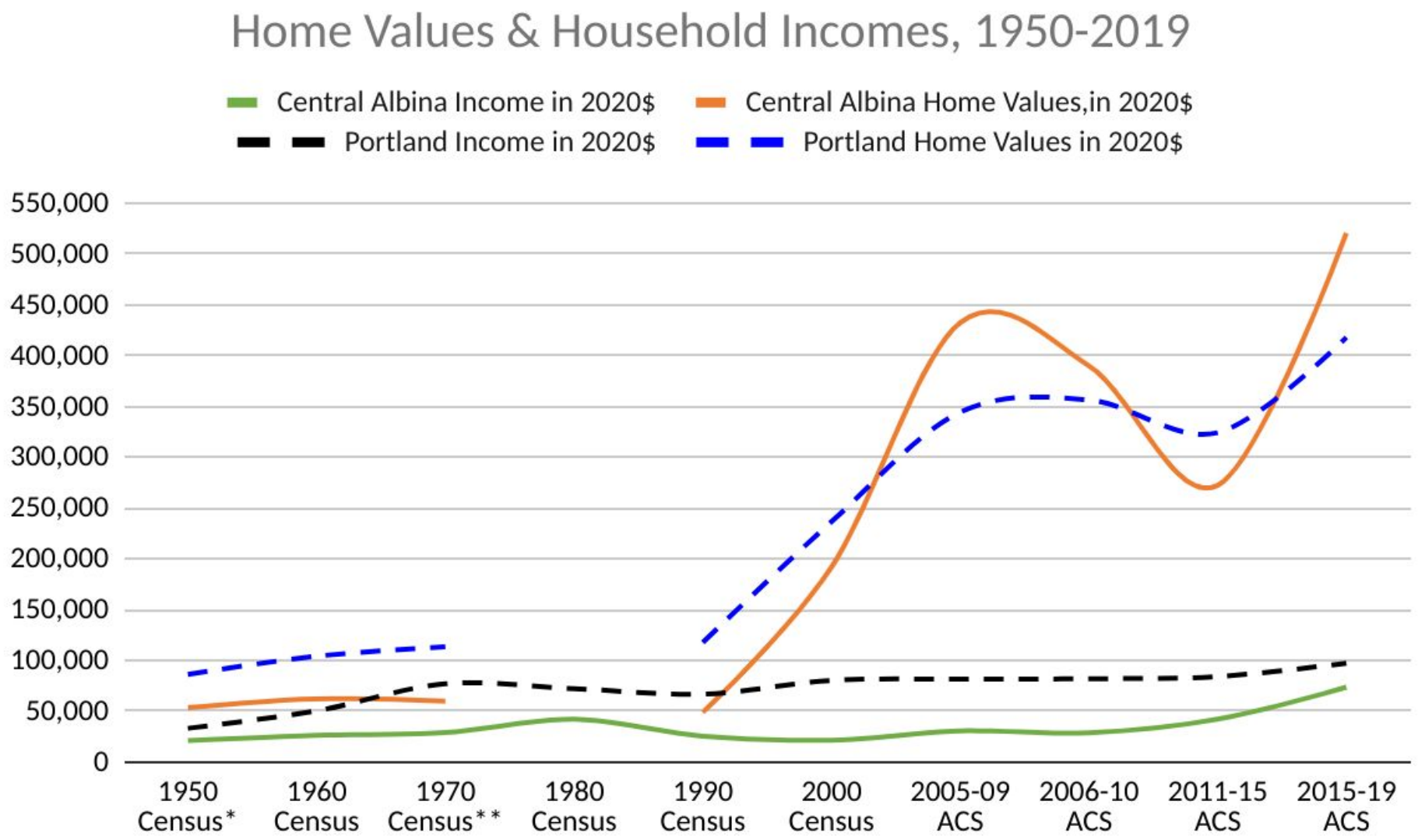
In Central Albina specifically, there were 1,179 housing units in 1960, of which 417 were owner-occupied and 247 of those (59.2%) were non-white owner-occupied.[92]

Median household income was $26,907 in 2020 dollars, about 10% higher than in Lower Albina. However, median home values were about 20% lower than a post-Memorial Coliseum Lower Albina, at the equivalent of $62,258 in 2020 dollars.

By 1960, Black households in Lower & Central Albina were bringing in nearly 1/3 more income than their white neighbors, however. Home values continued to rise even as the population declined, as white households fled, and as the city bulldozed hundreds of homes and businesses in the neighborhood. Lower & Central Albina's Black community continued to build wealth relative to the city as a whole nonetheless. All 1960 Census estimates show a predominantly Black (about 70% of total area population) community continuing to grow in homeownership rates, home values, and household incomes. However, this trend would not last.

Demographic Analysis: *Wealth Loss Trends*

Exhibit 25



Demographic Analysis: *Wealth Loss Trends*

In Exhibit 25: "Central Albina Housing Unit Count & Occupation Trends 1960-2019", the relationship between Central Albina incomes and home values is demonstrated. Whereas homes were much more attainable near Albinans' incomes in the 1950s-1990s, rapid gentrification through home value increases pushed homeownership well out of reach for Albina residents by 2000. Home values had risen steadily from 1940-60, flattened out by 1970, and remained stagnant through 1990. Central Albina household incomes steadily rose through 1980 before they flattened out. Only since 2011 has gentrification brought a significant increase in Central Albina incomes.

Between 1960 and 1970, the area's Black population declined the most sharply, while the owner-occupied housing unit type also declined the most sharply, indicating that the city's urban renewal projects were disproportionately removing Black people and disproportionately dispossessing homeowners. Between 1960 and 1962, the Oregon Highway Department built Interstate 5 in the path of 275 homes, mostly in the western third of Central Albina, as commercial buildings were largely in the new freeway's path in Lower Albina.

Beginning in 1962, Emanuel Hospital and the Portland Development Commission began buying up homes in the 26 blocks that sat in the heart of Central Albina between N Russell St, N Williams Ave, N Ivy St, and N Borthwick Ave as part of the Emanuel Hospital Urban Renewal Area. Over the next 11 years, 300 homes would be demolished, and their owners removed and compensated at cents on the dollar for their value, if at all.

According to the 1970 Census, Central Albina's housing unit count dropped 52.8% from 1960 totals to 556 units.[93] Only 60 of those homes were now owner-occupied, a staggering decline of 85.6% from 1960, comprising only 10.8% of all housing in the area. For the first time since 1940, median home values fell, to an inflation-adjusted $60,087, representing a 3.5% drop against inflation since 1960. Median household income data were replaced in the 1970 Census by median family income figures. Later censuses offered both measures, which came within 2% of one another. Therefore, it's likely that incomes rose in Central Albina between 8 and 10% against inflation between 1960's median household income and the equivalent of 1970's calculation.

Demographic Analysis: *Wealth Loss Trends*

1970 Census Data also included rent-to-income ratios for the first time. Central Albina's average was 34.2%, 5 points higher than Portland's overall average of 29.2%, and well within rent-burdened territory. While median home values dropped only slightly, they applied to the few homes that remained standing in 1970. By then, the City had removed 76% of the people who had lived in Lower & Central Albina in 1950, sometimes twice. Thus, with the loss in home values and the rent-burdened nature of the majority of housing stock, Central Albina began to show wealth loss in the wake of Emanuel Hospital and PDC-based forced removals.

Those forced removals continued well into the 1970's. Only after Emanuel Hospital announced that they'd failed to secure funding for their expansion project did they demolish the last homes and businesses they'd bought up for the ostensible sake of the project itself. The Oregon Highway Department also removed many Central Albinans and demolished 60 of their homes to construct the Kerby Ave approaches to Interstate 405, which were meant to serve as an interchange to a planned Prescott Freeway that, like the Emanuel Hospital expansions, was also never built.

While Interstate 405 opened in November 1973, the Kerby Avenue ramps themselves would not actually open to freeway traffic until 1979, leaving the land where 60 homes once stood unused for 6 years.[94,95]

For 1980, Central Albina housing unit count dropped even further, to 234 units, down 57.9% from 1970.[96]
Owner-occupied units remained flat from 1970 totals. Median household income was $13,004, or $41,411 in 2020 dollars. Median family income had risen 45.5% against inflation to $42,284 (2020 dollars) against $29,052 (2020 dollars) in 1970. Home values were not available through the 1980 Census, but Central Albina's average rent as a percentage of income dropped 14.1 points to 20.1%, well under the citywide average of 30.5% that year. Rapid depopulation of the area may have contributed to the lower rents of remaining rental stock.

Demographic Analysis: *Wealth Loss Trends*

The 1980's in Central Albina were marked by gang activity, police brutality, and the rise of predatory mortgage lenders seeking to take advantage of a housing market so depressed that traditional banks would not write loans for properties in the neighborhood.[97] The City began to set up economic development task forces by the end of the decade. However, for all of the City's efforts in the 1950's and '60s toward urban renewal in the name of blight clearance, Central Albina was now full of empty lots, freeways, and surface parking lots where businesses and family homes once stood.

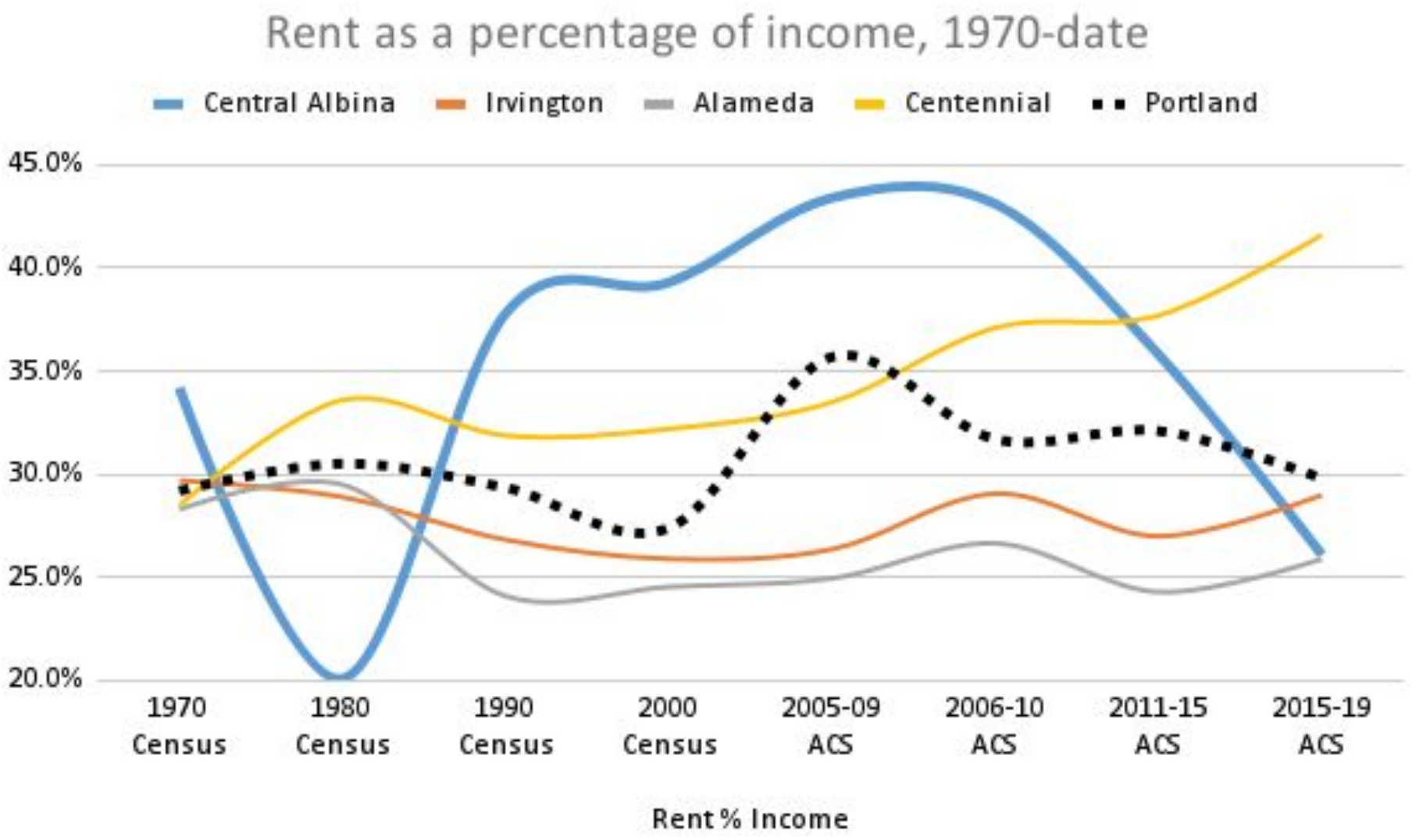
For the 1990 Census, housing unit count continued to decline to 163, a 30% drop from 1980, with 49 being owner-occupied (-19.7% from 1980), now comprising 30.1% of Central Albina's housing stock.[98] Median household income, however, had collapsed against inflation (down 38.5% from 1980 to just $25,642 in 2020 dollars), while median home values continued to drop, down 18.4% from 1970 inflation-adjusted dollars, the latest comparative survey with available home values.

Neighborhood average rent-to-income ratios nearly doubled to 37.8%, well above the citywide average of 29.4%. Residents continued to vacate the neighborhood, home values continued to decline, and housing units, this time from abandonment, continued to disappear, while renters remained burdened.

In 2000, after a decade of community advocacy and planning to improve conditions in the neighborhood, the City approved creation of the Interstate Corridor Urban Renewal Area (ICURA), a tax increment financing (TIF) district designed to attract $335 million in economic development funding to a historically disinvested area of Portland.[99] This area included parts of Central Albina but excluded the Emanuel Hospital Project area.

Demographic Analysis: *Wealth Loss Trends*

Exhibit 26



Demographic Analysis: *Wealth Loss Trends*

The 2000 Census showed that housing unit count remained relatively stable from 1990, with 172 units (up 5.5%).[100] Owner-occupied units, which were up 8.1% to 53, were good for 30.8% of the area's housing stock. Median household incomes, however, dropped 6% against 1990 inflation adjusted figures, falling to $22,898 in 2020 dollars (Exhibit 26). Median home values at the same time nearly quadrupled from $49,002 inflation-adjusted 2020 dollars in 1990, to $191,829 inflation-adjusted 2020 dollars in 2000. In parallel, Central Albina's average rent-to-income ratio rose 1.5 points to 39.3%, nearly 12 points above the Portland average of 27.4%, which had actually dropped 2 points over the previous decade (Exhibit 26).

With the exceptions of the 1980 Census and 2019 ACS 5-year surveys, Central Albina has traditionally been among the most rent-burdened neighborhoods in the city (Table Home Values and Household Incomes). The 1980 Census anomaly may be related to a collapse in housing values, while the 2019 levels appear to be partially explained by gentrification, as incomes have risen rapidly.

From 2001-05 TriMet constructed a Light Rail Transit (LRT) line along the western edge of both Lower & Central Albina as an accompaniment to the PDC's ICURA TIF district program. The gentrifying effects of this transportation infrastructure improvement were further reflected in the 2009 ACS 5-Year Data showing that median household income rose 34% in inflation-adjusted 2020 dollars to $30,759 against 2000 levels.[101] Housing unit counts dropped 45% to 95, and owner-occupied units declined to just 38, down 91% from 1960. Home values, which had nearly quadrupled from 1990-2000, nearly tripled again between 2000 and 2009, and now sat at $432,200 in inflation-adjusted 2020 dollars, beating Portland's median home values for the first time. Rent-to-income ratios reflected the meteoric rise in property values, increasing to 43.4%, up 4.1 points from 2000, and 7.7 points above Portland's 35.7% average.

The 2010 Census was greatly simplified, with many questions deleted and moved to the ACS process. While population, race, and housing data remained in the 2010 dataset, household incomes and home values moved to the ACS.

Demographic Analysis: *Wealth Loss Trends*

The 2010 ACS 5-year survey and 2010 Census were also released in the midst of an economic crisis due to the collapse of the nationwide housing bubble. This greatly impacted real estate values, and its effects showed in 2010 ACS 5-year data for Central Albina, as well.

For the 2010 Census, 338 housing units were listed in Central Albina, a rise of 350%. Owner-occupied unit count more than doubled, to 89 (up 234%), albeit comprising just 26.3% of overall housing stock.[102] 2010 ACS 5-Year data showed median home values falling to $389,700, a drop of 9.2% from inflation-adjusted 2009 American Community Survey 5-year data. Still, these home values were far higher than they'd been prior to the ICURA TIF district economic development campaign. Median household income for the neighborhood dropped 6.2% against inflation, down to $28,864 in 2020 dollars. The average rent-to-income ratio remained flat at 43.1%, while the citywide figure was much lower, having fallen 4 points to 31.7%. The collapse in the housing market likely increased demand for the rental housing that was predominant in Central Albina by this point.

Decreased median household incomes accompanying decreased home values likely contributed to still-high average rent-to-income ratios in the area relative to the city overall.[95]

Five years later, more gentrification indicators became clear in Central Albina. The 2015 ACS 5-year data showed a Central Albina housing unit count down 16% to 284 units, while owner-occupied unit count rose 4.5% to 93. Median household income rose by 46.5% against inflation, to $42,292 in inflation-adjusted 2020 dollars. Median home values continued to fall, however, down 30% against inflation to $272,100 in 2020 inflation-adjusted dollars. Perhaps relatedly, as incomes rose due to gentrification and property values dropped due to the crisis, the neighborhood's average rent-to-income ratio dropped 7.3 points to 35.8%, which was closer in line with Portland's 32.1% average.[103]

Demographic Analysis: *Wealth Loss Trends*

The latest ACS 5-year data is from 2019. Housing unit counts have more than doubled since 2015, to 613 units. Total owner-occupied units also rose 56% to 145 units, but as a share of overall housing units, ownership shrank to 23.7%, its lowest rate since the 1970 Census, which was taken in the midst of Emanuel Hospital-driven mass home demolitions. Despite still being a rental-heavy neighborhood, the symptoms of gentrification have shown up in both median incomes and home values. Median household income in Central Albina rose a whopping 74.5% to $73,789 from the 2015 ACS 5-year estimate, in inflation-adjusted 2020 dollars. At the same time, median home values skyrocketed 67% from 2011-15 totals, now up to $520,123, 26% above the citywide average. Average rent-to-income ratios dropped to 26.1%, now 3.7 points lower than the citywide average of 29.8%.[104]

All income and home value indicators from recent years point to gentrification in full swing in Central Albina. However, if Black residents had not been dispossessed of their property and forcibly removed to other areas of the city, perhaps the effects of investment-driven gentrification would have accrued to their community. As it's actually happened, new waves of gentrification follow waves of Black community depopulation in Central Albina.

Demographic Analysis: *Broader Demographic Trends*

Central Albina reflected a larger overall trend within the City of Portland. Wherever Black residents settled in Portland, Federal, state, and local policies systematically dispossessed them of wealth they were building, failed to protect their wealth from the adverse effects of urban renewal, and hindered Black residents from building wealth in the first place. According to Tom Cusack's observations, the Black homeownership rate in Portland has fallen 18.5 percentage points between 1970 (46.9%) and 2017 (28.4%).[105] In the 1970-2017 period, Portland has added only 757 Black homeowners compared to 6,236 Black renting households. Portland's record on this aspect is worse than comparable statewide rates that include a 12.5-point drop in Black homeownership over the same period. The state added Black homeowners at a rate much closer to renters (albeit still approximately 3:1 favoring renters), and since 2010 has a higher overall percentage of Black homeowners than Portland, itself (32.2% vs. 28.4% in 2017).[106] As in Central Albina, Black homeowner and rental households in all North and Northeast neighborhoods declined by 30% between 2000 and 2010.[107]

While specific urban renewal projects like the Emanuel Hospital Expansion Project had a direct impact on the community that lived there, the city's urban renewal, disinvestment, and economic development policies have driven significant reductions in Black residents' access to the primary wealth building tool available in the US economy: homeownership. As Portland's rental rates have risen over time, and more communities fall into the category of rent burdened (i.e., households with > 30% rent-to-income ratios), Portland's policies have supported serial dispossession, removal, and wealth loss, while keeping homeownership out of reach for the overwhelming majority of Black Portland households.[108]

Demographic Analysis: *Assessing Demographic Changes in Central Albina*

The demographic data, when examined closely, tells quite a story. In the last 20 years, a fourth wave of forced displacement swept a historic Black community from the neighborhood it called home, survived in, and at one time, built wealth in. The City replaced their Black-owned and occupied homes and businesses with high-end rental units and retail spaces, attracting white gentrifiers allured by Central Albina's proximity to high-quality transit infrastructure and the city core. The City has transformed Central Albina from an arena in which Black residents once built wealth from their homes, businesses, and growing incomes, to one that priced out and removed its Black population as soon as the improvements they'd been demanding from the city for decades were finally made.

Specifically, the residents and homeowners that the PDC and Emanuel Hospital removed from the Expansion Project area have endured an even greater insult and injury.

Demographic statistic bear out in part the way their lives were disrupted, their homes demolished, their wealth lost, their educations interrupted, their community dispersed, their traditions and generational wisdom disrupted, their political power diluted, their right to be considered experts on their own experiences denied, and so much more, only for Emanuel Hospital to build comparatively nothing of value in place of their homes and businesses. In some cases, Emanuel continued removing families, community assets, and businesses after they announced that the expansion project failed.

It is therefore not unreasonable to interpret through the city's actions that "blight clearance" served as a fig leaf, and that the forced removal of the Black community from the central city was an underlying policy goal. After all, that is the only aspect in which the Emanuel Hospital project actually succeeded.

Demographic Analysis: *Assessing Demographic Changes in Central Albina*

Emanuel Hospital, with the help of the PDC, called a vibrant, growing, wealth-building Black community in 1950 and 1960 "blighted." They hindered predominantly Black residents from making improvements to their community through traditional means, yet many community members stepped up to make private funds available for home improvements. Despite these obstacles, household incomes improved against inflation in 1950 and 1960. Black home ownership rates skyrocketed. So did home values. But the PDC, Oregon Highway Department, and Emanuel Hospital were undeterred in their mission to condemn a lively and burgeoning neighborhood as "blighted" to justify demolishing its homes and businesses for their "urban renewal" projects.

Emanuel Hospital and the PDC removed the Central Albina community, destroyed their homes and businesses, and created a barren, blighted wasteland of empty lots and surface parking of their own, in the same place. The blight that Emanuel Hospital and the city created has housed no one in the midst of an ongoing housing supply and affordability crisis.

It sells no groceries to nearby families from the market that once thrived there. It employs no one at jazz clubs and cafes whose signs once lit the bustling streets below. It treats no one at free clinics that once served the community there. It clothes no one at the charities that local residents once donated to, volunteered at, or sought help from.

It's been 48 years since Emanuel Hospital demolished its last homes and businesses in the Expansion Project area. In that time, the same city that tolerated "blight" until the Black community made up the majority of Lower & Central Albina, would not tolerate blight once the Black community had created a rich, vibrant, and prospering neighborhood there, against all obstacles. That same city has tolerated the blight it since created when they removed the Black community from the Emanuel Hospital Expansion Project area. Portland's Black residents continue to be pushed out of the city core to disinvested areas and lose ground on home ownership rates. Many also fight for full accountability from a city that admits it has done wrong, insists it has learned from its mistakes, but denies that it owes them any restitution.

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Then And Now

Looking south from 523 N Knott St in 1953, and the same area today.

Source: Portland Archives, 1953.

Source: Jude Thaddaeus, 2001.

A residential street on a hill across from an ice cream truck. Today, the hill is all that remains, with unusable green space creating a buffer between Kerby Ave and the Ronald McDonald House, built in 1984 atop homes taken and demolished by Emanuel Hospital in the early 1970's.

Community Discussions

Overview: Vibrant, Not Blighted.

Survivors and descendants of the expansion of Emanuel Hospital shared many personal experiences rooted on both ends of the emotional spectrum. Individuals collectively discussed the vibrancy of Central Albina and the deep sense of community and networks that existed before and even while PDC and Emanuel Hospital began purchasing and demolishing the neighborhood. That vibrancy was often replaced with experiences of root shock, of culture shock, and of feeling isolated and losing meaningful support systems and networks. We acknowledge the importance in recognizing that those removed from Central Albina by the actions of PDC and Emanuel Hospital did not do so passively, many stayed as long as they could, some sought legal actions, and others held strong in the face of new and potentially unwelcoming living situations.

When discussing more present- and future-oriented questions, discussions of restitution, and acknowledgement varied depending on what some considered to be most feasible and the bare minimum, while discussing more aspirational and ideal scenarios as well.

Many survivors and descendants feel the bare minimum is to pay people who owned homes, businesses, and properties what they would be worth in real dollars today. Many folks who were reached out to discuss these topics declined to respond or were unable in the given time. We recognize these discussions can be difficult to reopen, especially after they have continually been rehashed over sixty years. Being rooted in the pragmatism and sensitivity of these discussions over the past nine months was a key starting place when reopening discussions of the past and asking for insights into future desires.

Community Discussions: *Overview: Vibrant, Not Blighted.*

For those who were able to meet with us, we hosted and were invited into a variety of contexts. We held twelve weekly meetings with our clients who were very clearly experts not only in their own lives but in the political and historical context of this work. We went on a walking tour and listened to stories of survivors and descendants and were able to get a better sense of the scale of the space and how discombobulating it is to revisit it now that it's completely transformed by the Emanuel Hospital. We were also able to hold one individual interview ourselves from the list of individuals who were reached out to in a variety of ways.

There were various limitations which affected FutureLab's community engagement strategy. As much of this work displays, there is a lot of trauma and fatigue wrapped up in this work, and for some, continually dredging up memories and emotions and re-explaining their positions isn't worth the energy. For others, they simply do not wish to be involved in this work further than they have been previously. Beyond the personal fatigue and frustration, there is also the political aspect of not believing that a new round of stories and engagement will lead to results. That is a dilemma we have been facing throughout this project when discussing deliverables, proposals, and outcomes. Many others did not respond to several attempts to reach out personally.

Methodology: Power-Sharing and Consent-Based.

Some of the content shared here comes from a previous Masters in Urban and Regional Planning Course, Planning Methods 1, which held discussions with members of EDPA2 in the Fall of 2020. We want to recognize the invaluable work done not only by those students but by members of EDPA2 who participated in those discussions as well. Their content has helped shape this report just as much as our own community discussions have as well.

Finding ways to reach out and connect with individuals around topics like eminent domain, institutional racism, trauma, and lost networks was only exacerbated by Covid-19's need for virtual discussions. Some members discussed that there are those who do not wish to share memories or memorabilia, for a variety of reasons. At the onset of this process, we routinely asked ourselves several key questions.

Community Discussions: *Methodology: Power-Sharing and Consent-Based.*

What is the purpose of this process and these questions? How are we intending to hold space for folks during these community discussions?

This component of understanding how to hold space led us down the route of moving away from formal terms like "Community Engagement" and "Interview" and more towards "Community Discussions", because at the end of the day that's what we were hoping to have, discussions.

How do we intend to use this content and who are the varying audiences?

Not only is this report for EDPA2, but we recognize the audience being greater Portland and having implications for City departments. Those power dynamics and the political nature of this work prioritized the need to anonymize content and give power to those FutureLab met with to ensure their voice and phrasing was correctly referenced and applied. All quotes in this section are by survivors and EDPA2 members.

How do we prioritize power-sharing, in that we give full ownership of any unedited and compiled content over to those who met with, and use their preferences and recommendations to alter how we share out to the final report and story map?

This power-sharing piece was at the heart of the work we did. Much of these discussions orient around power dynamics and politician environments, so we focused on giving those we met with complete control over how we used, altered, and represented their discussions. All content produced will be given back to the respective individuals met with and to EDPA2.

We organized community engagement into an active method of holding virtual discussions over Zoom, and into a passive method where we emailed individuals a simple map of the Central Albina area with its original street grid before PDC and Emanuel Hospital demolished and altered it. The hopes for the map were for folks to be able to tap into any memories and feelings they had about Central Albina in a different way from a discussion. Some individuals used these maps, others did not.

Community Discussions: *Major Themes: Reliving the Past and Thinking the Future.*

There was a dense fabric of support networks, institutions, entrepreneurship, and shared community thriving in Central Albina.

One of the most often repeated points through all the discussions was how alive Central Albina was. Everybody knew everybody, and there was a rich fabric of community. Families supported each other; community centers, churches, and businesses were bustling and often gave back to the community. There is a stark and intentional contrast between the City's official labeling of blight versus the experiences of survivors and descendants.

There was also a rich entrepreneurial aspect to Central Albina that is just as important as the rich residential aspect. Several of the commercial thoroughfares were bustling Main Streets with Black-owned and immigrant-owned businesses. The architecture of the buildings allowed ongoing interactions between those living, working, and simply passing through Central Albina.

"I really saw the whole Albina neighborhood as being able to be a Main Street neighborhood. That would have given historic preservation to the Black community as well."

"We really did not have to go out of the area, you know, I mean, to try to find things because everything we needed was within arm's reach."

Community Discussions: *Major Themes: Reliving the Past and Thinking the Future.*

The neighborhood was multi-generational and multi-national, a place where generational knowledge could be passed from elder to child as it had in Black communities for centuries.

Many folks discussed the role older relatives and neighbors played in supporting each other. Watching each others' kids, attending community events, and helping to build that neighborhood fabric. Not only was the importance of family prevalent, but the value that came from being a multi-racial community as well. Some discussed the opportunities immigrants offered in the way of selling buildings to Black individuals or organizations where it was often hard to find White sellers. Others discussed the value they felt having those with leadership roles such as teachers, doctors, and lawyers, living in Central Albina as well.

The small street grid and dense blocks of residential homes and Main Streets allowed for constant interactions and relationship building between everyone in Central Albina. And that slowly began to fade as PDC and Emanuel Hospital continued to purchase and demolish properties and alter the street grid.

"[...] the teachers, most of them were from the neighborhood, everybody knew each other. Being a Black kid dealing with shockingly enough any kind of racism when I was that young, no, I don't remember any, I don't remember anybody calling me any names. And yet the neighborhood was very very integrated."

"We had resources. There wasn't anything really lacking, you know what I mean? Everybody was just happy."

Community Discussions: *Major Themes: Reliving the Past and Thinking the Future.*

Being forced out of Central Albina was traumatic and not always apparent until later in life

Many folks discussed the way they began to understand what occurred to their homes and their families as they got older. Some described, as children, that their parents would hide the reality of what PDC was doing, and described it more so as simply selling the house and moving. As individuals got older and began to be told more and learned more, they began to understand what had actually occurred.

All the meanwhile, the reality of being forced by PDC and Emanuel Hospital to move had different ramifications for different folks. Some moved immediately, trying to find new places to live and work in sometimes unwelcoming and racist neighborhoods. Some stayed or fought back, watching the blocks disappear and the community diffuse as homes continued to be bought and demolished.

"So, transition between the time that we moved and our great aunt had to move, pretty much just tore our family apart because we were just too far apart to come together."

"we didn't really realize that we were actually being traumatized, and that trauma has stuck."

"They threatened, PDC threatened the families who didn't leave that they would charge them rent to live in their own homes [...] Those who wasn't forced to pay rent was just forced to move out of they home. I mean they was, they were literally pushed out."

Being forced out of Central Albina was traumatic and not always apparent until later in life (cont.)

It destroyed community bonds and support systems and made it more difficult for those daily interactions to occur as individuals lived further apart and had less immediate support systems to rely on. Not only was the relocation itself traumatic for some families, but it was compounded by the factor of living in new or newly created school districts, which some described as being the places they realized they experienced racism for the first time.

Folks moved to Central Albina for many reasons, but many expressed the fact that their family had moved to try to get away from other explicit experiences and examples of institutional racism in other cities, and that this was just another slap in the face for the Black community thriving in Central Albina.

"It seems like every Black community that has been formed has been dismantled."

"But I asked my dad one day, I said 'Ok dad, why do we have to move?' and he said that Emanuel Hospital needed the property to build on and they were I think he used the term 'the house was being 'abolished.'

Members wonder how the City can claim to address these harms without an accurate assessment damage done.

It's important to recognize that this discussion around Central Albina is not new, and this is not the first time it has been brought up in civic or public discussion. It has been going on since the very beginning, over sixty years. Many folks discussed their distrust in Portland ever doing the right thing, or ever doing anything meaningful beyond the bare minimum.

Not only is this frustration not new, but it is still present today. Some individuals expressed frustrations working in various other committees and groups in partnership with various agencies in the city and state, and felt a certain level of tokenization and being led to a prescribed answer. That false sense of power sharing has only increased distrust and frustration for those continually aiming to do this work.

That component of the feasibility and political nature is the crux of this work. Many simply do not believe statements by the City and feel that anything short of direct restitution is unacceptable.

"I was on a committee [...] and about two meetings in I figured out, oh they're really kind of just tokenizing Black folks. They just want us here to be like "yeah, ok, widen the freeway." without us having any voice in what was really being said. [...] we turned in a formal resignation. All ODOT did was start another Black community group."

"You know, because on the bottom line, you can't keep saying this is what you're doing and lying to folks and making it sound like you did it when you didn't for one."

Community Discussions: *Major Themes: Reliving the Past and Thinking the Future.*

That there are many ideas of how restitution could be fulfilled, but they are mired by questions of feasibility and ownership. But Restitution is the bare minimum required.

The number one priority described by individuals was the need to repay those whose houses and businesses were taken or bought at extremely low prices for what those properties would be worth today. More aspirational ideas were generated, but they all were given with varying caveats that they do not believe the City will do more than the bare minimum to be able to say they right the wrongs.

Many mentioned that simply having discussions around the wrongs the City did and discussing that history is not enough, and that creating programs to better the situation and prevent future harms is a misguided step and does not solve the root problem EDPA2 is addressing.

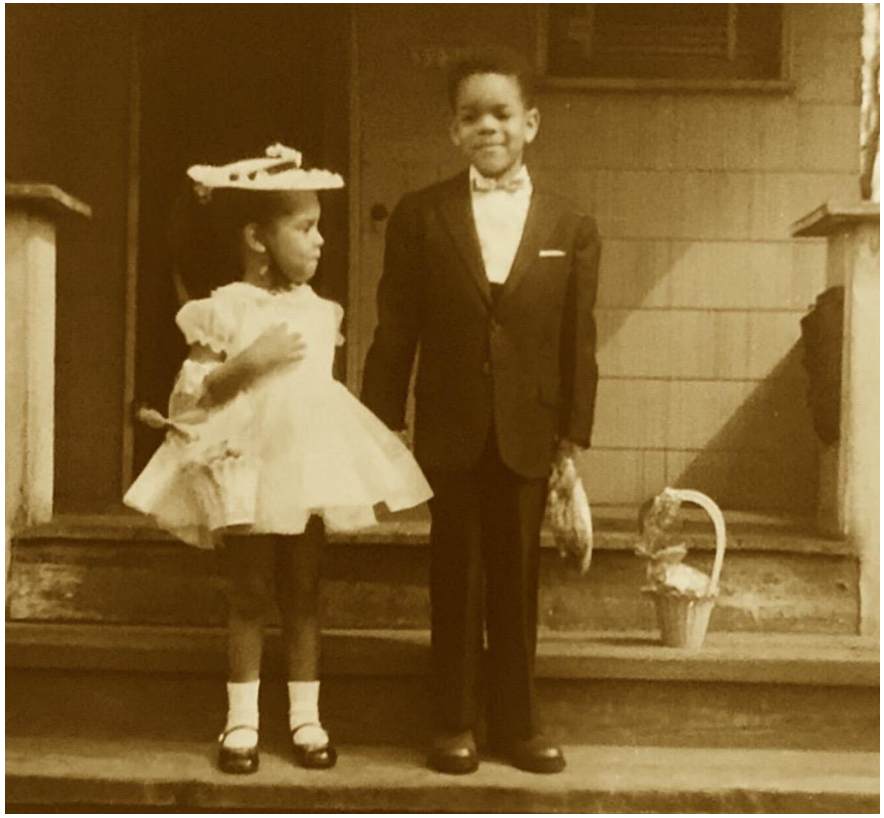
The aspirational ideas ranged from an African American Museum, which focused on the history of Central Albina and acted as an ongoing revenue generating program and focused on Black employment and entrepreneurship.

"For me, restitution looks like, at this point, it can be as basic as, you actually give restitution to people who lost their property and their businesses."

"[...] give my family back what would be today's rate for that house that they lost [...].That would be restitution, at its basic level."

"If they lost two businesses and a house, then that's what they should be paid. If you lost a house and can prove it, that's what should be paid. Portland should break its neck to find everyone that lost housing and pay them for it. Because I don't see too many different ways it could be done and done in good faith."

Bobby & Liz Fouther, shown in the same spot 60 years apart



Source: Bobby Fouther

Source: Ariel Kane

PDC demolished their home at 3222 N Gantenbein Ave. Emanuel hospital built a parking lot in its place and so thoroughly erased the former street grid that many EDPA survivors struggle to find where their homes once stood.

Impact Analysis

Overview

What does it mean to quantify impact for a community that has been subjected to forced removal? How do we account for the multiple compounding adverse effects on a community? The FutureLab team could not quantify every aspect of loss and damage that the City of Portland and its agents and collaborators in the private sector have perpetrated on Portland's Black community over the decades, and any such estimate will ultimately be insufficient.

However, to attempt to examine the breadth of loss experienced by survivors and descendants, this section is broken into an examination of curable loss and incurable loss, which are the terms used by EDPA2.

Curable loss: Curable loss in this report refers to the direct quantifiable loss of property wealth resulting from the destruction of homes and businesses in the Emanuel Hospital expansion area. This report is not an exhaustive nor authoritative list of potentially quantifiable harms.

Instead, we have isolated a narrow metric of financial loss for quantitative analysis—the loss of property wealth directly resulting from forced displacement—as the target for our economic impact analysis. This is the beginning of a conversation, not the end of the story.

Incurable loss: Incurable loss refers to the destruction of the fundamental elements that sustain, anchor, and enhance a neighborhood. These elements may be intangible, relational, or emergent aspects of community life, but are nonetheless critical to long-term quality, health and prosperity. The loss of these elements generates lasting impacts that are difficult to quantify. Some larger scale data like demographic changes, homeownership rates, etc., hint at the incurable losses experienced by Portland's Black community, as do the stories and conversations gathered in the community engagement process.

Impact Analysis: *Overview*

Incurable losses represent aspects of community wellbeing that cannot be restored to how they were because they were situated in the geography and relationships within a specific community at a specific time. As EDPA2 says, these elements cannot be replicated because they are part of the soul, essence, and identity of a specific geographic location, and as such these losses represent the death of a community in its former home. An examination of incurable loss is critical to understanding the full toll of urban renewal on its victims, and it offers insights into how the City can move toward just restitution for past harms. This section begins with a discussion of incurable losses as identified by EDPA2 before moving into the quantitative analysis.

Incurable losses identified by EDPA2

To remove confusion, we want to be clear that FutureLab does not, and has no intention to, speak for Black people in Portland or elsewhere. This section on incurable loss speaks to the trauma of survivors and descendants of racist planning and urban renewal practices. It is the brainchild of EDPA2, to whom we are deeply grateful for their collaboration and support on this project.

Incurable Loss is vast. For this report, we have divided Incurable Loss into 4 categories:

- ➔ Rearrangements
- ➔ Emotional Disruptions
- ➔ Destabilization
- ➔ Rerouting and Reclamation

Indeed, many items listed within a category could occupy more than one classification.

Impact Analysis: *Incurable losses identified by EDPA2*

Rearrangements

The word rearrangement is defined as a process or action to change the position, time or order of something. Many people who experience forced removal describe its impacts and consequences as multiple rearrangements, too many to capture here. EDPA2 member Bobby Fouther describes this as "being forced to live in a way you didn't plan to be." The "rearrangements" that occur come in many forms. EDPA2 has developed a list of rearrangements that includes the following:

- ***Cultural Identity***- Who we are is intrinsically connected to where we are. When the place identified as home is destroyed, it rearranges the cultural identity of the people who once occupied the demolished area. Cultural Identity is most powerful and useful when it has a place, community/neighborhood, to ground cultural beliefs and practice cultural traditions and rituals.
- ***Political Power***- Central to building Political Power is the ability to organize; organization often begins in an identified area and builds outward. The intentional "scattering" of Portland's Black community presents particular obstacles when organizing for Political Power.
- ***Economic Strangulation***- "Many people think of gentrification as the movement of people—gentrification is about the movement of money. If you aren't reversing economic conditions, you aren't reversing gentrification," says Byrd, a founding member of EDPA2. By 1956, there were more than 100 businesses on Williams avenue. In fact, the current model of "mixed use" in the Albina Business Area reflects the Williams avenue that was. In Byrd's words, "The destruction of Central Albina was an intentional Economic Strangulation that we have yet to recover from. In terms of home ownership, Black people in Central Albina owned more homes then than now. The truth is, the economic status and projections for Portland's Black collective community is dismal."
- ***Permanent Dependency***- Ownership and control are fundamental to community and neighborhoods. Central Albina had both and as a result it was a self-contained and self-sustaining community. As a former resident states, "Everything I needed was right there, we didn't have to go outside of our neighborhood for anything we needed." When you demolish an entire neighborhood you remove community ownership and control. You take self-sufficient people and rearrange them to the status of permanent dependency. That is to say, you are now forced to look outside of your immediate community for your needs.

Impact Analysis: *Incurable losses identified by EDPA2*

Rearrangements (cont.)

- ***Geographic Community***- Geographic Community is the basis for establishing, maintaining, innovating and growing community, culture, economic prosperity, political clout, ownership and control and a bevy of elements that identify neighborhoods. EDPA2 states that the lack of a significant, Black Geographic Community in Portland compromises quality of life, cultural identity, the ability to unite, and causes a host of other issues. Perhaps, most importantly, Geographic Community anchors institutions, culture, and identity. "If you don't have an identifiable Geographic Community, you don't have anything; this is where community sprouts roots and grows." - Byrd

- ***Inhabitant versus Citizen***- Byrd says, "The United States has always struggled with the full acceptance of Black people as citizens." The multiple "rearrangements" of Black community in Portland raises this tension. An inhabitant merely occupies or lives in an area whereby a citizen is fully engaged and granted all the rights, activities and obligations that define citizenship including land ownership. The question EDPA2 asks is whether the City of Portland recognizes its Black residents as inhabitants or citizens?

Emotional Disruptions

The explanation of Emotional Disruptions is based upon the experiences of those who experienced the demolition of Central Albina as a child. Emotional Disruptions occurred when the sense of security that was prevalent in Central Albina was interrupted or disrupted to accommodate the demolition of homes and businesses to accommodate the Emanuel Hospital expansion.

- ***Friendships***- Friendships are of critical importance in every stage of life. Establishing friendships at a young age is particularly special because it can set the foundation for lifelong bonds. Many EDPA2 members were children when Emanuel Hospital demolished their family home and/or business. A common theme that surfaces when their families were forced to move is the loss of friendships and the inevitable sadness of loss that followed. In some cases, the best friend who lived next door was gone. Research for and prior to the project reveals a lasting emotional effect this has had on members of EDPA2.

Impact Analysis: *Incurable losses identified by EDPA2*

Emotional Disruptions (cont.)

- ***Security-*** Byrd says, "Black people in Central Albina felt safe because everybody knew everybody!" However, the sense of security ran deeper. The community shared commonalities that established an identifiable culture and united the residents of Central Albina. From religious practices and social/political organizations, to child rearing and behavioral etiquette; shared expectations were known, practiced and respected—this brought about a profound sense of security.

- ***Love Decline-*** In short, when families left the security and shared expectations of Central Albina to relocate, in some cases to unknown parts of the city, they simply did not feel the love they felt in Central Albina. This Love Decline appeared in many facets of their "rearranged" life and new communities. "The best example to highlight this Love Decline is moving from attending a majority Black school to being the only Black student in your class where your white counterparts weren't accepting of your presence."

  - Byrd

- ***Networks-*** Central Albina was one big, interwoven network. As previously stated, "Everything I needed was right there…" The networks of Central Albina were ingenious, with the fortitude to withstand and overcome redlining, exclusion, loan denials, discriminatory taxation, bigoted covenants, targeted disinvestment, poverty, racism, multiple forced removals, intentional property devaluation and more. One of the most beneficial elements of these networks is it allowed community to look inside itself to solve its own problems. The destruction of these networks is an incalculable loss.

- ***Collective Strength-*** There is strength in numbers. The loss of collective strength resulting from the forced fragmentation of the Central Albina's Black community prevented other activities from happening. When member families of EDPA2 relocated to majority white areas, the collective strength of cultural identity, security, economic prosperity and other aforementioned elements that make up a self-sufficient neighborhood were gone. In exchange, members of EDPA2 report feeling isolated and alone at their new locations.

Impact Analysis: *Incurable losses identified by EDPA2*

Destabilization

Destabilization is the process or actions that lead to upsetting the stability of a person, place or thing. It may be the most damaging result of urban renewal. It disrupts normal routines and erodes any sense of security, predictability, comfort and reassurance, evoking fear and extreme uncertainty. It forces unintended rearrangements. According to EDPA2, this destabilization creates an urge to redefine, reidentify and relocate against a vast and persistent unknown. It is an arduous ordeal that residents of Central Albina know too well

- ***Ownership and Control***- Ownership and Control are fundamental to a community. Ownership and Control determines the growth, identity, strength, perception and activities of a neighborhood. The impacts of multiple urban renewal projects, especially the hospital expansion, destabilized Central Albina, paving the way for the severe gentrification experienced more recently along the Interstate Corridor Urban Renewal Area, particularly in the vicinity of Central Albina.

- ***Self-Expertise***- Central Albina was filled with its own experts and there was no limit to the area of expertise. Central Albina experts often possessed the knowledge base in lieu of the official title. That does not in any way suggest that Central Albina was void of professionals, indeed the opposite is true. These experts were known and easily located either in their place of business or their home. They were rooted in the community and therefore shared the same cultural identity and standards of expectations. The demolition of Central Albina eroded this network of community-based experts and culturally relevant responses to issues.

- ***Systems for Checks and Balances***- "As anyone who grew up in Central Albina will attest, everybody knew everybody." - Byrd. Because it was a close-knit and well networked neighborhood, it was self-governed in many ways. Central Albina had no shortage of neighborhood and community-based publications, newspapers and newsletters. These publications debated civic issues, covered social events, informed the community of political happenings and highlighted events in the lives of its residents. The actively engaged exchange of information created a sort of system for checks and balances that kept residents informed and involved.

Impact Analysis: *Incurable losses identified by EDPA2*

Destabilization (cont.)

- ***Organization-*** "The ability to organize for political, social, economic, educational and other issues is now destabilized—though not impossible—due to the fact that a significant Black geographic community hub no longer exists in N/NE Portland—Central Albina." - Byrd

- ***Reliance on other cultures/systems-*** The erasure of a whole community forced a reliance on other cultures and systems. Byrd says that in time, the entire Black culture that built and sustained Central Albina will be gone if there aren't substantial changes of conditions in the city. The culture and identity is carried in the people of Central Albina. "If there is no geographic community to institutionalize and exercise the beliefs and rituals of that culture, inevitably you become reliant upon people and systems outside of who you are." – Byrd. According to EDPA2, this reliance includes the food you eat, where you live, employment, transportation, political access, the accurate capture of historical record and knowledge of Black contributions to the City of Portland, etc.

Rerouting and Reclamation

Every member of EDPA2 describes the profound loss resulting from the total and complete erasure of Central Albina. Byrd says, "It's hard to explain but this feeling of loss, of being kicked out and disregarded never leaves." The question of "what if" Central Albina was never destroyed cannot be answered, and lofty talks of reimagining only add salt to an open wound for EDPA2. Reclamation, described as the act of claiming something back or reasserting a right, at its best, is an attempt to answer "what if." For close to 50 years, various people and organizations have made attempts to "reclaim" Central Albina and put an end to the nagging "what if." Byrd states, "For more than 50 years, Portland's Black community has had to reroute their very existence. Land ownership has been weaponized against our very survival."

Impact Analysis: *Incurable losses identified by EDPA2*

Rerouting and Reclamation (cont.)

- ***Continuity of success*** - Success builds on prior success. This is most prevalent in family structure and the progress of each generation. Older generations inform the younger generations of the secrets of success and how to confront obstacles that would hinder that success. Often, property ownership is tied to this success by way of investments, ownership and/or ownership transfer. Living in a well-established and identified neighborhood aids in the Continuity of Success. It allows for the generational transfer of property as well as participation in neighborhood organizations, clubs and committees. Every time the City of Portland decides to destroy a Black community, the Continuity of Success is interrupted and "rerouted" potentially to the loss of previous success whereas neighboring areas like Hollywood, Irvington, Laurelhurst and Alameda remain relatively untouched.

- ***Transfer of Generational Knowledge*** - Generational Knowledge extends beyond the "secrets to success" to include historical, anecdotal and forward-facing information. It includes tips for life and advice for living. The uniform transfer of this knowledge becomes extremely difficult when Black families are now forced to live in various parts of the city that aren't always closely located.

- ***School Routines*** - EDPA2 members note the impact on children as gentrification pressures forced multiple moves and school changes. "It was not unusual for Black children to attend two or three different schools within the same school year as entire apartment buildings were sold to out-of-town developers," says Byrd. During the demolition of Central Albina, Black children faced a new reality including where they attended school. "During this time, schools didn't serve lunch. Children in Central Albina walked home or to a nearby relative's house to eat lunch and return to school. When they got sick at school they walked across the street to their aunt's house or down two or three blocks to Grandma's house," Byrd says. At their new schools, these networks did not exist. One member of EDPA2 recalls taking a "cold bag lunch" to school. This memory stands out because the cold lunch didn't compare to the hot lunch he got at his grandma's house.

Impact Analysis: *Incurable losses identified by EDPA2*

Rerouting and Reclamation (cont.)

- ***Social disconnection-*** The erasure of Central Albina resulted in the erasure of many of the social and civic clubs that once enhanced Central Albina. These organizations were important because they were where plans were drafted, decisions were made, where people met and fell in love, married and had children. They introduced new neighbors to the social fiber of the neighborhood, engaged community members of all ages, and provided aspiration and motivation for the youth. They provided young people with a vision for the future and the roles they would one day occupy. This strong social connection was lost with the demolitions of Central Albina.

"One of the incurable losses for me would be the vibrancy of the neighborhood and the loss of business and industry, the loss of the entertainment district, we lost unique buildings and housing stock, structures that are very Albina [...]."

- Survivor, EDPA2 Member

Impact Analysis: *Incurable losses identified by EDPA2*

Many of these incurable losses identified by EDPA2 relate to the geographical and social strength of the community. Much of Portland's Black community lived in very close proximity. Tight-knit, walkable neighborhoods had stores offering most everything people needed to live and thrive. In this environment, people were able to take care of one another.

As indicated in the historical and demographic analyses, the Black community in Central Albina thrived in spite of the suite of racist policies and sentiments that segregated the city. Despite having limited access to bank loans, the Black homeownership rate in Central Albina was strong—peaking at 44.5% around 1970—and a renowned art and cultural scene grew up in the area. Civic organizations like the Urban League and the Black Panthers organized for fair treatment and an end to police brutality.[102] We do not have the resources to comprehensively detail the compounding community impacts, nor would we do them justice. But, when thinking about the relatively simple and small step of paying restitution, it is critical to hold on to the numerous extensive impacts that Portland's Black community has endured.

"If we were poor, we didn't know it. You know, because we had so much vitality going on in the community. And that's what I remember is the community being really vibrant, stuff going on all the time, things for kids to do [...]."

-Survivor, EDPA2 Member

Impact Analysis: *Curable loss: The value of demolished properties if they were standing today*

As mentioned, curable losses are those that are easily converted into a dollar value and which can be resolved through monetary compensation. In this report, the primary curable loss for which we have ventured an estimate is the loss of property wealth resulting from forced removal from Central Albina.

Note: Commercial Properties Omitted

For the purposes of this assessment, we have only made estimates for residential properties. Commercial properties were also destroyed for the hospital expansion, but the FutureLab team did not have the resources to attempt a defensible estimate of commercial properties, largely because the change in land and building value is more complicated to unwind for commercial/industrial properties than for homes. That said, properties taken by the Portland Development Commission are represented in the property identification files, and those properties can be found on the accompanying StoryMap. Further analysis could be undertaken to estimate the value of those properties.

Exhibit 27. Business Firms to be Displaced and Relocation Space Requirements from Albina Relocation Plan

BUSINESS FIRMS TO BE DISPLACED IN THE EMANUEL HOSPITAL PROJECT
WITH RELOCATION SPACE REQUIREMENTS

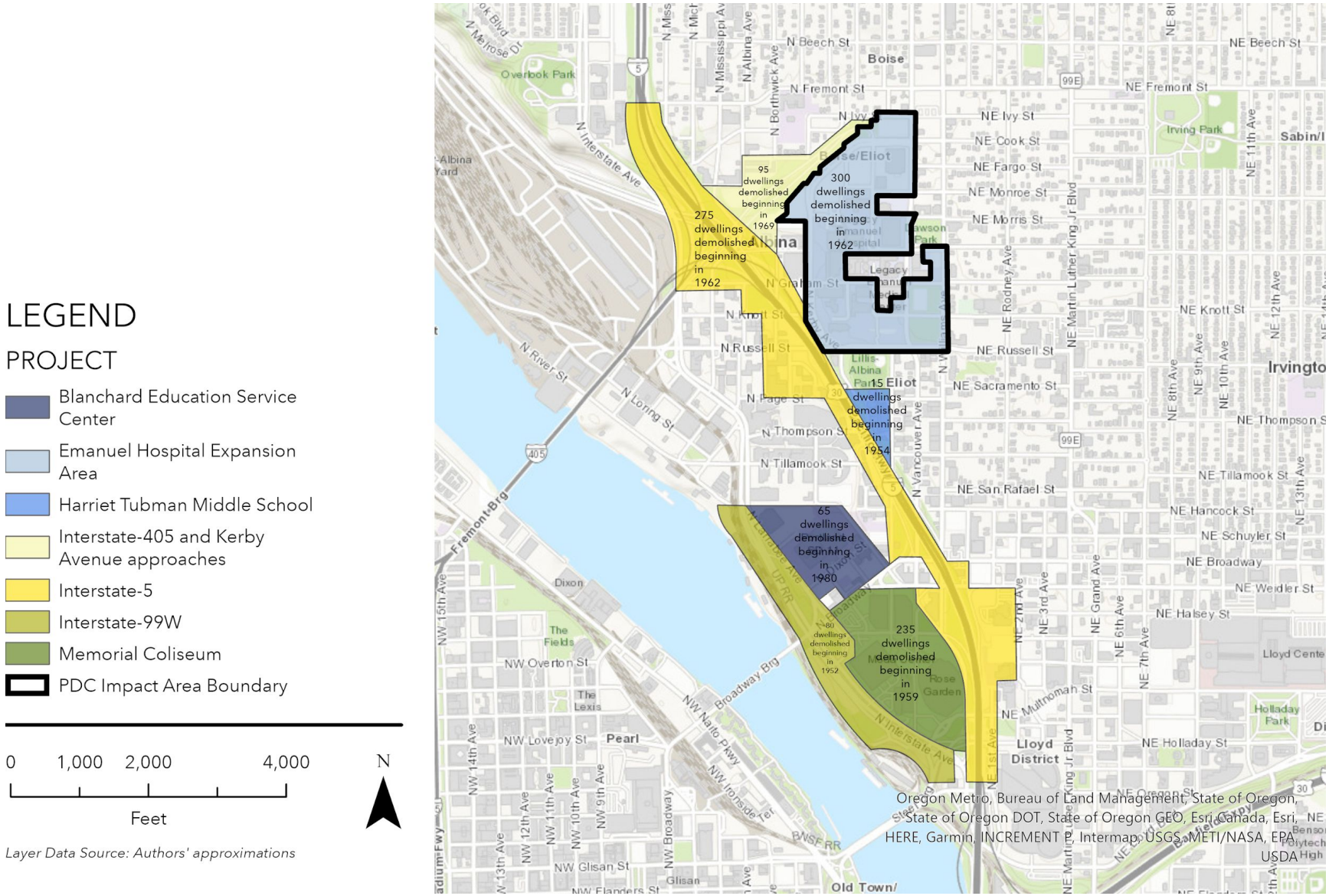
NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS	NUMBER	SQ.FT. NEEDED
Churches	6	6,000
Day Nursery	1	10,000
Teen Club	1	10,000
	8	

BUSINESSES	NUMBER	SQ.FT. NEEDED
Apartments	6	14,400
Battery Charger Repair	1	1,600
Bicycle Shop	1	2,000
Body Shop	3	14,800
Clothing Store	1	1,050
Food Store	1	5,000
Garage & Service Station	1	10,000
Glass	1	10,000
Paint Store	1	5,600
Pipe Bender	1	4,800
Plating	1	10,000
Pool Room	1	1,500
Restaurant	1	7,500
Rug Cleaner	1	8,100
Tavern	1	1,000
Trailer Rental	1	10,000
TOTAL	23	

Source: PDC, 1964, "Albina Neighborhood Relocation Plan"

Impact Analysis: *Context - Spatial Impact*

Exhibit 28. Map of Central Albina Showing Urban Renewal Projects and Destroyed Homes

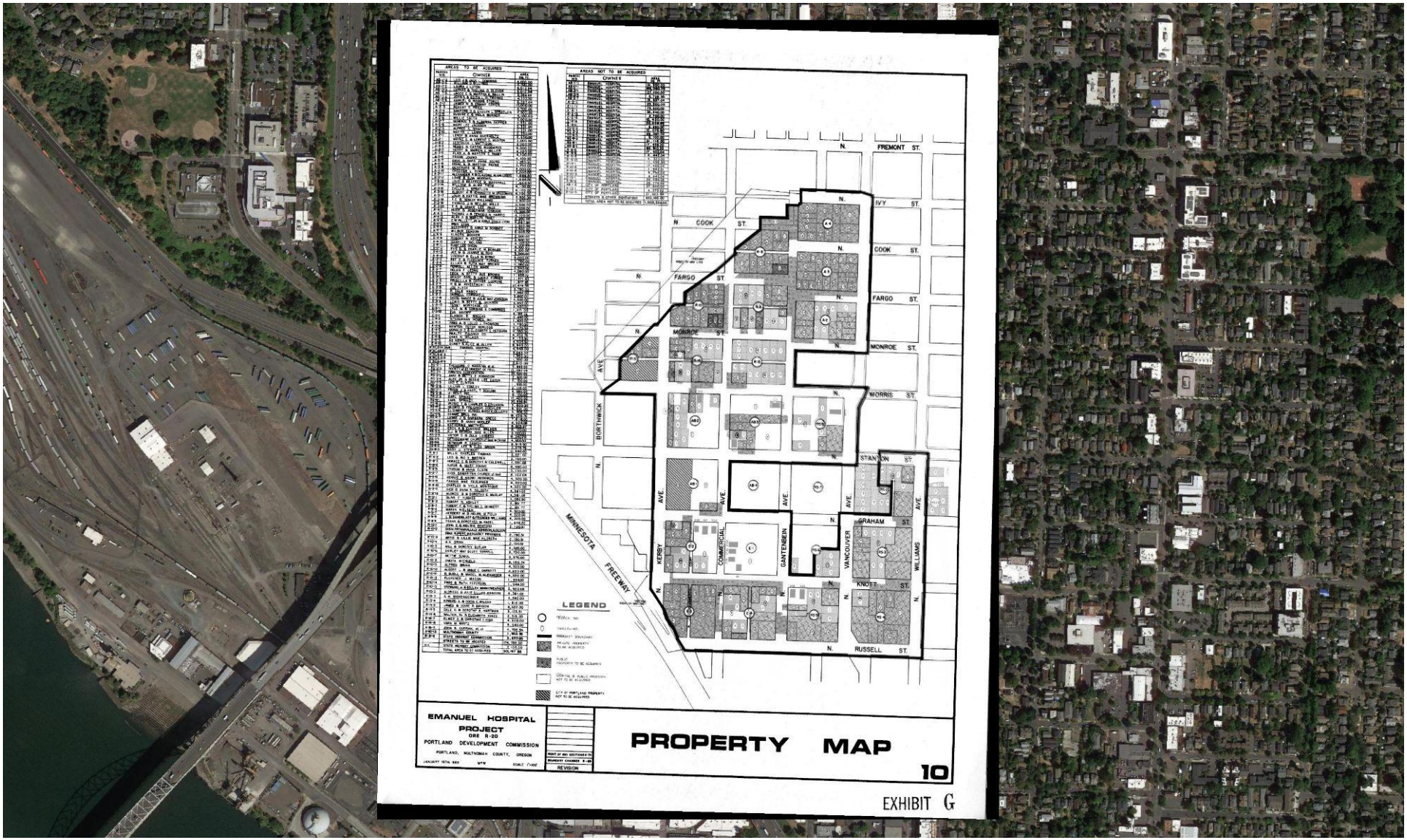


Impact Analysis: *Context - Spatial Impact*

Multiple rounds of "urban renewal" destroyed over 1000 homes from the early 1950s to the early 1970s (see Exhibit 28). Of those, around 670 homes were destroyed in Central Albina alone between 1962 and 1974. This is an astounding loss of homes relative to the neighborhood population, and it supports the argument that urban renewal in these areas was designed to clear out the existing predominantly Black population more than to "renew" the neighborhood.

Looking more closely at the Emanuel Hospital Expansion area, the following map overlays the homes taken by the Portland Development Commission with those cleared by Emanuel Hospital. The gray areas are lots that were cleared of homes or businesses to make way for the hospital expansion. Essentially all the gray areas were homes or businesses in 1960. By 1975, the land was cleared.

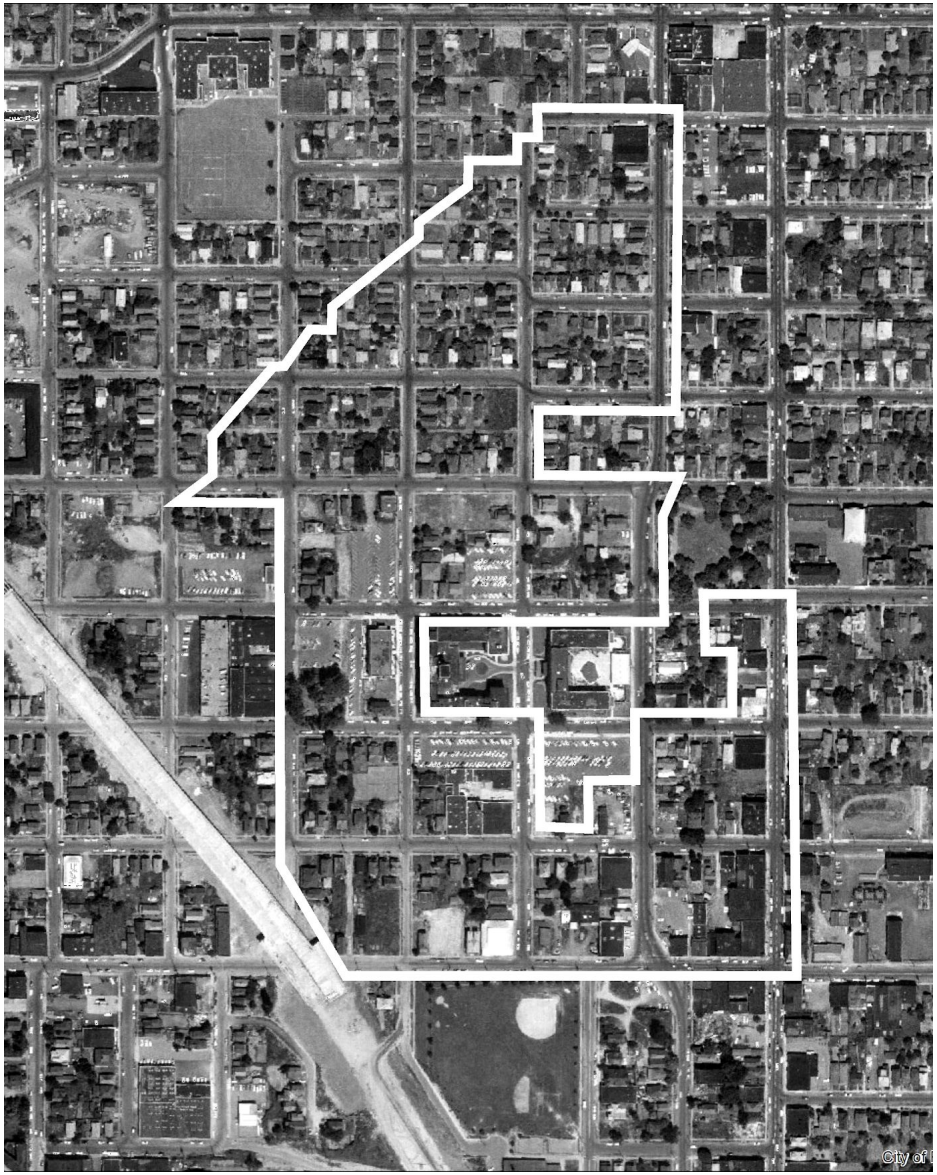
Exhibit 29. Overlay of the combined area of Central Albina taken by PDC and Emanuel Hospital



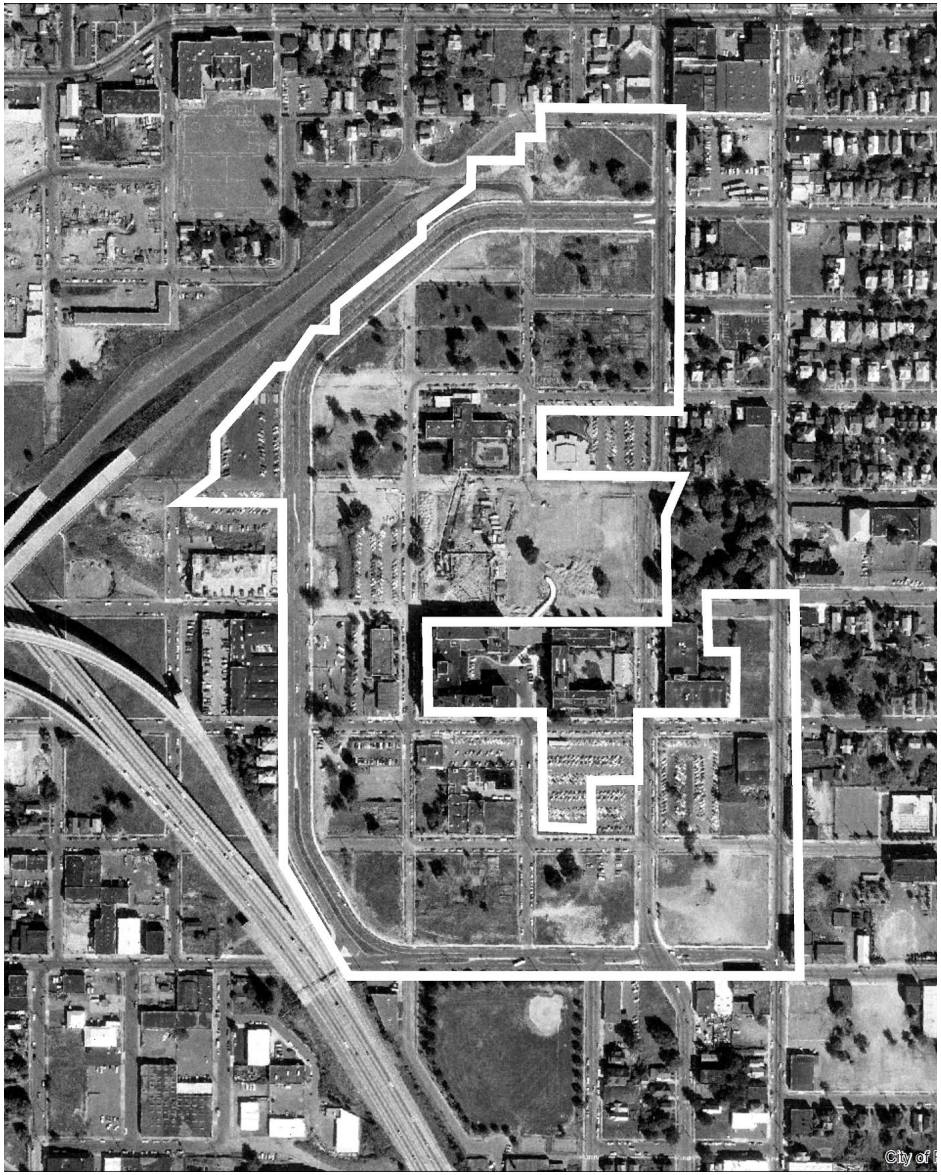
Source: Data from Metro RLIS. Image from Portland Archives. Map created by authors

Impact Analysis: *Context - Spatial Impact*

Exhibit 30 – Aerial photos from 1960 (left) and 1970 (right)



Source: Authors approximation, PortlandMaps aerial image



Source: Authors approximation, PortlandMaps aerial image

Impact Analysis: *Context - Gentrification Effect on Property Values, 1996 to 2021*

Zillow provides real estate market data for Portland going back to 1996. For this section, zip codes were used as the unit of geographical analysis because 1) the 97227 zip code corresponds closely with the project area and surrounding areas of Albina that were impacted by urban renewal projects, and 2) zip codes were a relatively straightforward and logical geographical match for the Interstate Corridor Urban Renewal Area (ICURA) overall. Though the zip code boundaries encompass more than just the ICURA, they capture the broader capitalization of public investment in home values.

The available time series data show a period of rapid property value appreciation in the Albina area beginning just as the ICURA was being conceived by the City. In 1996, the Central Albina zip code showed the second lowest property values in the city, second only to its neighbor to the north, 97217, the Kenton, Arbor Lodge, Overlook areas (see Exhibit 31).

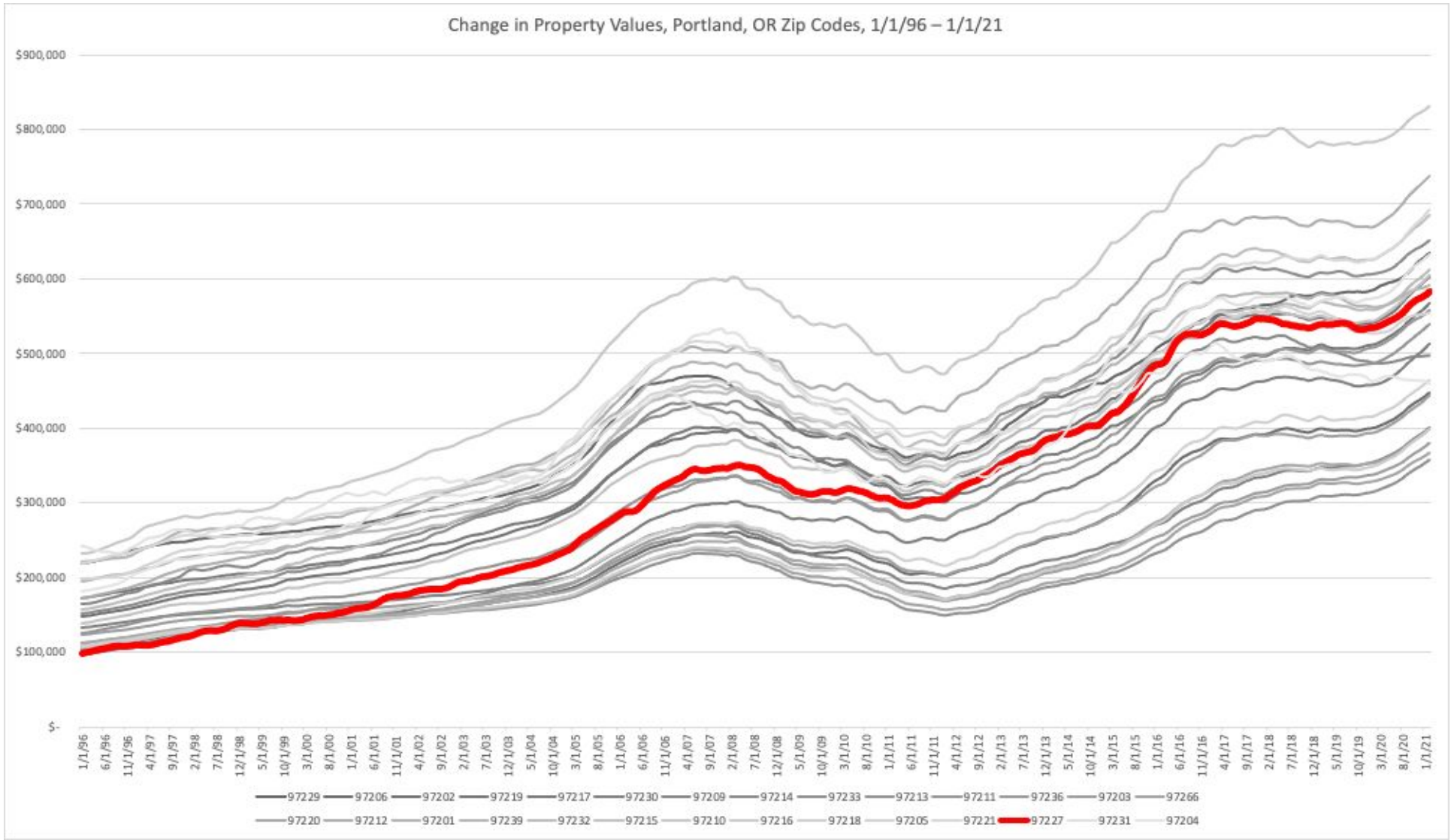
Clearly, as of the mid 1990s, the City's attempts at urban renewal had been unsuccessful. But, come 2000 and the implementation of the Interstate Corridor Urban Renewal area, inner North Portland neighborhoods saw accelerating property value appreciation which continues to this day. In fact, of the Portland Metro area zip codes in Oregon, 97227 (Central Albina) saw the most rapid price growth since 1996 by a strong margin, 497%, followed in second place by 97211 (featuring the Alberta Arts District) and 97217 (Kenton, Arbor Lodge, Overlook) and 97203 (St. Johns area). All of these zip codes are part of the ICURA, and they have all historically been home to significant portions of Portland's Black population and other communities of color.

Urban Renewed?

"Blight" in Central Albina appears to have been a self-fulfilled prophecy by the City as a result of systemic racism and "Urban Renewal," which likely only prolonged and exacerbated the languishing of the Central Albina neighborhood, setting the stage for the devastating effects of Gentrification starting the in the 1990's.

Impact Analysis: *Context - Gentrification Effect on Property Values, 1996 to 2021*

Exhibit 31. Property value growth in Portland Metro Area zip codes (Oregon only). 97227, which covers the entire project area, is highlighted in red.



Source: Zillow Home Value Index, All Homes, Time Series, Smoothed, Seasonally Adjusted($).

Impact Analysis: *Context - Gentrification Effect on Property Values, 1996 to 2021*

Looking uncritically at the numbers, one could conclude that the ICURA is the most successful urban renewal project in Portland, and perhaps one of the more successful such projects in the country considering the extraordinary rise in property values in the area. From a tax-increment financing perspective, such dramatic and broad property value appreciation has generated significant funding for a range of infrastructure and development projects, one of the last of which may be the Williams and Russell redevelopment site in the heart of Central Albina, a parcel of land that has lain vacant since it was bulldozed in the early 1970s.

The reality, however, is far more complex. Portland had purportedly been trying with limited success to renew the Albina area since at least the 1960s, though from 1960 to 1980, Portland's population growth stagnated.[109] This dynamic changed rapidly in the 1980s, which saw the start of a population boom that accelerated into the 1990s.[110] By the year 2000, this well-connected area adjacent to downtown was primed for explosive growth, as decades of "urban renewal" and neglect had left the area severely depopulated (see Demographic Analysis).

The stage was set for one of the most iconic examples of gentrification in Portland.

Though it scarcely needs to be pointed out, the Albina area, once home to by far the greatest concentration of Black people in the city, was also the target of an exceptional concentration of urban renewal projects (see Exhibit 28 *map of Central Albina Urban Renewal Projects)*, with the majority of those projects resulting in the wholescale demolition of homes and businesses, destabilizing and depopulating the areas that the City was supposedly attempting to renew. In 2000, after population had started ticking up around Central Albina and it appears that the first wave of gentrifiers had begun moving in, urban renewal returned.[111,112]

Impact Analysis: *Context - A Note on Tax-Increment Financing*

To understand the impacts on Central Albina, it is helpful to examine tax-increment financing (TIF) as a development finance tool. TIF districts are a special tax district used for urban renewal. The way this works is that property tax levies to local government, schools, etc. are frozen at a base level when the TIF district is formed. Then, if property values in the area rise as they are intended to, all additional tax revenues from the increased tax base (more valuable homes and commercial properties) are funneled into the TIF district, which can use those funds to pay for a range of projects in the district.[113] From a tax efficiency perspective, tax-increment financing is best used to spark private-sector investment in areas that would not see it otherwise.[114] Even though Oregon's TIF authorization law does not have a "but for" clause determining that TIF should only be applied to spur development that would not have happened "but for" the creation of the TIF district, it could be considered a poor, inefficient, or inequitable outcome if TIF is used to capture local government revenues for development that would have happened without government intervention.[115]

While it is never possible to say for certain how things would have gone under different circumstances, hindsight gives us a clear view of what happened in Albina after the institution of the Interstate Corridor Urban Renewal Area—hypercharged gentrification spread as the City poured massive investment into the neighborhoods. Today, typical home values in Central Albina are nearing $600,000.

Impact Analysis: *Context - Central Albina Today*

Today, much of N Williams Ave is lined with mid-rise apartments and condo buildings, and the street level is rich with restaurants and boutiques. But the census tracts encompassing Central Albina (tracts 22.03 and 23.03) are both over 75% non-Hispanic white alone, which is less diverse than Portland as whole.[116] The City cleared the Black community out of Central Albina, and many have not returned.

But some of those who were forced out of Albina and their descendants want to know what the homes they and their parents grew up in would be worth today if they had been allowed to remain. As noted above, this analysis does not attempt to reassess homes that were demolished decades ago, but simply answers the following question:

All else being equal, if Black residents of Central Albina had not been displaced by the Emanuel Hospital expansion and had maintained ownership and reasonable upkeep on their homes, at what approximate price could those homes be listed today?

Analysis - Lost Property Wealth - Methods

We used a variety of real estate and assessor datasets to estimate what the homes and properties taken by the Emanuel Hospital expansion project would be worth today, and we digitized property identification information both in order to perform the analysis and so that survivors and descendants of those impacted can find information on their former family homes. To come to our estimate of current real market value, we determined the average price per square foot for land and homes for single-family residences in the 97227 zip code using 2020 taxlot assessment data, which closely aligns with our core project area and other related urban renewal sites. We then applied these prices to land area and estimated square footage for the residential properties represented in PDC property identification files. To account for rapid price appreciation in the last year, we measured price increases in the Zillow Home Value Index data for single-family homes in the 97227 zip code from January 2020 to April 2021, which indicated a 12.6% increase over that time period. We applied this multiplier to the property estimates.

Analysis - Lost Property Wealth - Methods

Finally, to ascertain uncompensated loss, we adjust the 1969 assessed values for inflation using Consumer Price Index data and subtracted that value from the total. Though we have put together some aggregate estimates, it is important to recognize that not everyone displaced by the Emanuel project received compensation, and each family should be considered a unique case. Results for each estimated parcel can be found on the accompanying StoryMap, and full methodology is listed in the appendix.

A Demonstration of Magnitude with Specificity

These estimates show the magnitude of lost property wealth accumulation that can be traced to the City's forced removal of the Black community in Central Albina. The details relevant to each property may require more investigation, but in many cases the records are available. For this analysis, averages and aggregates can be separated out by individual properties. On the StoryMap, these properties can be searched visually. For these properties, a range of relevant data is known, including the property owners at the time of the project, tax IDs, assessed property values and property descriptions, and more. The chain of ownership can be determined relatively easily. For homes that are left out of this initial analysis, follow-up data collection from historical tax rolls can likely fill the information gaps and enable this estimate to be expanded.

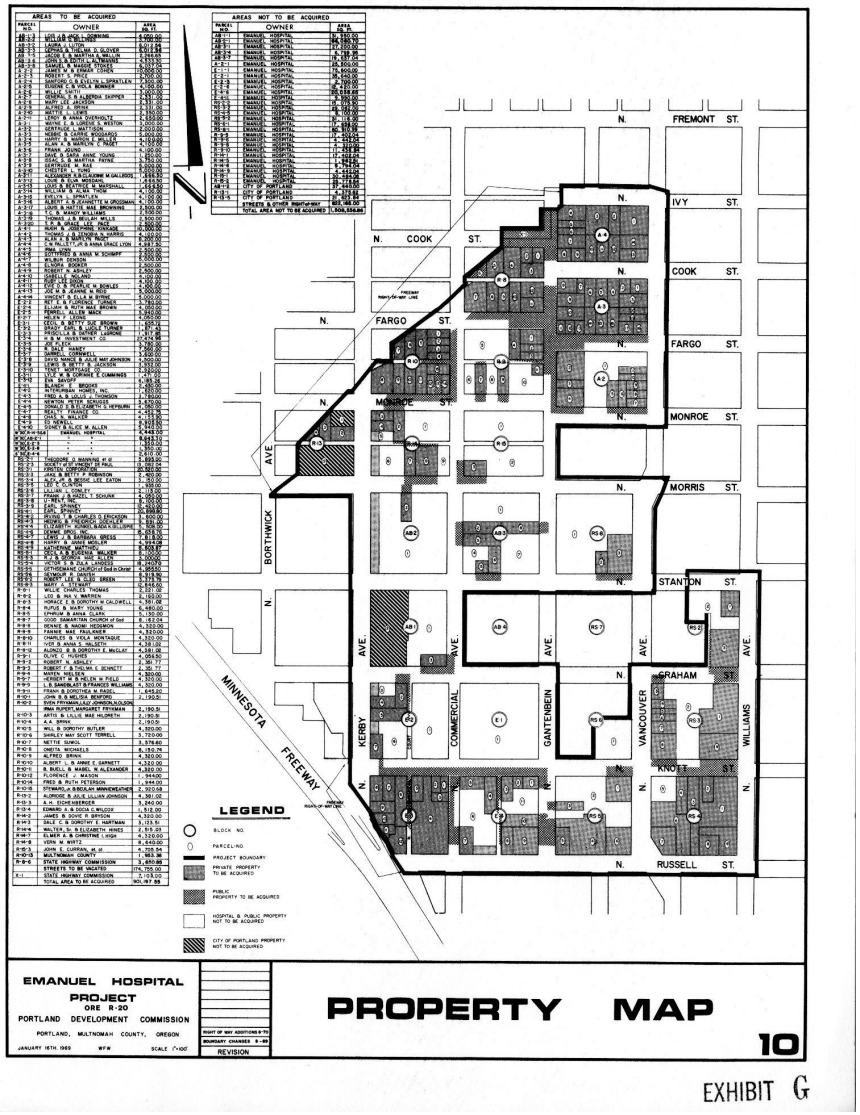
In short, there is a great deal of information about who exactly was harmed, and figuring out to whom restitution is owed is, in many cases, a simple problem of following the paper trail.

Impact Analysis: *Disclaimer and Limitations*

The property value estimates made for this project are current as of April, 2021. Home values in the Portland Metro have been rising rapidly, and as such, these estimates may be outdated in as little as a few months. Additionally, home and lot sizes are smaller in the property ID files than what is common today, resulting in lower value estimates than some homes currently listed in the area.

While we are confident that these estimates are reasonably reflective of current real market value, we also want to be clear that this isn't the only way to estimate these values. We have taken pains to make these estimates defensible, and the full methodology is available in the appendices. However, there is so much that isn't contained in these numbers or the underlying data. Some Central Albina residents might have become homeowners if it weren't for redlining and other racist practices, and others may have been renters at the time of the Emanuel Hospital Project but were working toward home ownership—they are not reflected in these estimates. This is to say that we have not captured the full economic impact by far, but we hope that these estimates can begin a productive discussion on how to fairly compensate those impacted by urban renewal.

Exhibit 32. PDC Map showing properties to be taken by the City for the Emanuel Project.



Source: City of Portland Archives

Historical property identification files were a primary source of data for this analysis. These files, created for the Portland Development Commission in 1969 to document the characteristics and value of the properties taken for the Emanuel Hospital Project, contain a range of details including current and prior owner, lot size, a description of the property, assessed value of land and improvements, and tax ID among other things.

Exhibit 33. First Page of Property Identification File for 223 North Cook Street

EMANUEL HOSPITAL PROJECT

(ORE. R-20)

PROPERTY IDENTIFICATION

PARCEL NO. A-4-12 ADDRESS 223 N. Cook Street

LEGAL DESCRIPTION Lot 12, Block 4, ALBINA ADDITION

OWNER DOWLES, Evie D. and Pearlie M. LOT AREA 4,100 SQ.FT.

PROPERTY DESCRIPTION:

Site is an inside, level, partially landscaped 41'x100' lot with a slight front bank. Onsite improvements include landscaping, fencing, and flat concrete work. Yard is in only fair condition. All public utilities are connected.

Improvements consist of a 1½-story dwelling built in 1906 with 682 sq.ft. on main floor area. There is a living room, large dining room, kitchen with pantry, entry hall and old style bath on the main floor. Attic area contains 3 bedrooms. The interior is of lath and plaster, oak and linoleum floors throughout. There is a full basement with concrete floor, concrete and frame walls; old style oil conversion furnace. Basement area is ceiled. Exterior is of lap siding, composition roof, GI gutters. Interior of the dwelling is in fair condition. Linoleum in bath should be replaced. Exterior is in fair to average condition. There is a large front covered wood porch. There is no garage.

ZONING: A-2.5

Source: City of Portland Archives

Exhibit 34. 3222 North Gantenbein Ave, Liz and Bobby Fouther's childhood home, 1969, as shown in a property identification file

Bobby Fouther, a renowned Portland artist, grew up in the house at 3222 N. Gantenbein Avenue with his sister, Liz, also an artist and educator. The 3-bedroom home was built on a 5,000 square foot (sf) lot and it had a detached garage and full concrete basement. The land and home were assessed at $6,500 in 1969, which would be about $45,838 in 2020 dollars. As has already been shown, property values in Albina have appreciated dramatically over the last several decades. If the land and home were valued at the average of assessed values for single-family homes in the Central Albina zip code (97227), the Fouthers' childhood home would be worth $508,876 ($526,573), an appreciation of over 1000% after adjusting for inflation.

Source: City of Portland Archives

Exhibit 35. Real Market Value Metrics from Multnomah County Assessor data for the 97227 zip code

Zip code 97227 (Central Albina) 2020 Assessors Details		
Average Land value/SF (2020 $s)	$	51.16
Avg Value of Imporovements/SF (2020 $s)	$	182.97
Average Assessed SF of Land		4,701.15
Average Assessed SF of Improvements		1,755.70
Average Total Value of Land and Improvements, Single-family	$	561,779.77
Median Total Value of Land and Improvements, Single-family	$	526,610.00

Source: Metro Regional Government, RLIS, 2020 Taxlots

Exhibit 36. Inflation-adjusted appreciation of land and improvement value per square foot for PDC taken residential properties.

Central Albina, Residential, 1969			% Change 1969 – 2020
Average Land value/SF (2020 $s)	$	5.86	773%
Avg Value of Imporovements/SF (2020 $s)	$	13.34	1271%

Sources: Property ID Files, Consumer Price Index

To account for the rapid price appreciation Portland has experienced since the 2020 property assessments (which are current as of January 1st, 2020), we applied a 12.6% value increase which was calculated from Zillow Home Value Index data for 97227.

Estimated Market Value of PDC-Taken Homes

For the 105 properties we made estimates for, the total combined property value amounts to $49,659,413, or approximately $473,000 per taken home on average. This value is slightly less than the assessor details listed in Exhibit 35.4 above because these properties tended to be on smaller lots (just over 3,900 SF on average) with less building square footage based on our estimates. However, our estimates of building square footage may be conservative.

Uncompensated Loss

After adjusting the 1969 assessment values for inflation, we subtracted those numbers from the estimated assessed values for each property. The total compensation for these homes in 1969 is estimated to be $4,277,340 in today's dollars, meaning that on the order of $46.4 million in property value appreciation was withheld from Central Albina residents as a result of PDC's taking of homes for the Emanuel Hospital expansion.

Impact Analysis: *Analysis*

PDC Taken Properties		
Number of Properties We Made Estimates For		105
Average Estimated Value Per Unit	**$**	**472,947**
1969 Compensation for 106 units, Inflation Adjusted	$	4,224,262
Estimated Total minus Inflation Adjusted Compensation	**$**	**45,435,152**
Uncompensated Value Per Property (Average)	**$**	**432,716**
Emanuel Taken Properties		
Total Grant-in-Aid Properties indicated in Resolution 1218		101
Estimated Uncompensated Value Based On PDC Results	**$**	**43,704,289**
All Estimated Properties		
Count		206
Estimated Uncompensated Value, PDC taken residential plus Emanuel taken properties	**$**	**89,139,440**

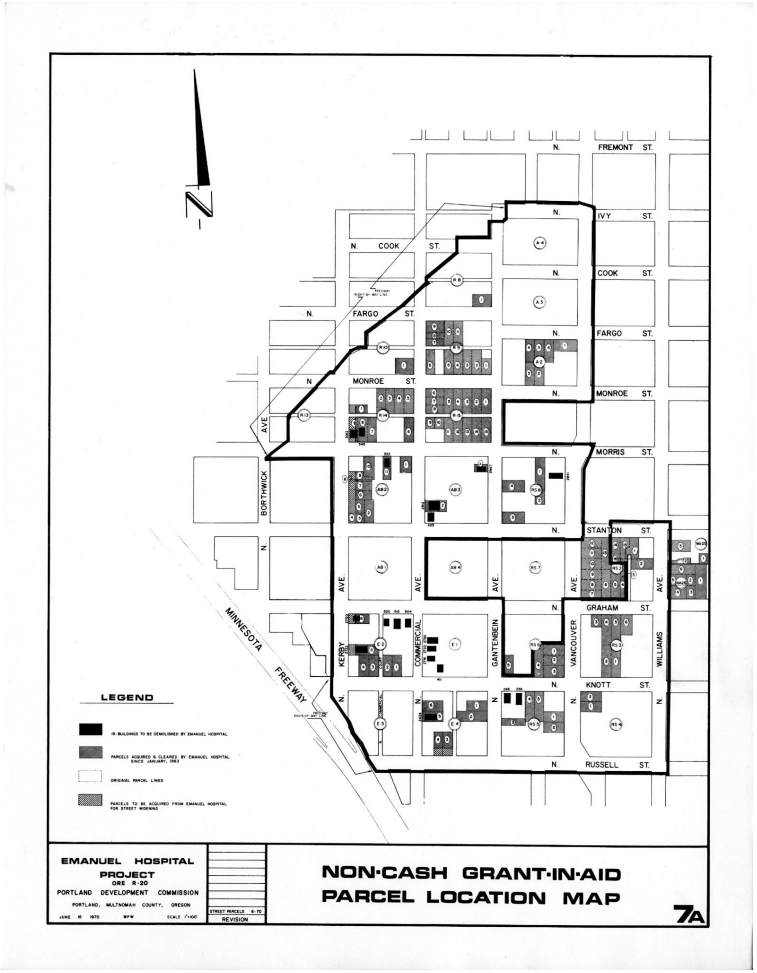
Impact Analysis: *Analysis*

Given data collection constraints resulting from the COVID-19 lockdowns, the majority of homes we have analyzed are those taken directly by the Portland Development Commission, for which Property Identification Files are available. However, many other homes were taken by Emanuel Hospital, as indicated in the map to the right.

Less is known about homes taken by Emanuel Hospital, but one EDPA2 member, Miss Gloria Cash, says that her childhood home was purchased as a result of predatory real estate practices for only $10 in the early 1960s. The home was then listed as being purchased by Emanuel Hospital for $4,332.06 in March of 1965 and was demolished for an additional $612.00. The demolition contractor apparently received more than 61 times more compensation than Miss Cash's family.[117]

Miss Cash lived in a two-story home at 523 N Knott Street with a large, covered front porch. Inferring from nearby properties, it is likely that Miss Cash's property would be worth close to $580,000 today.[117]

Exhibit 37. Non-cash grant-in-aid parcels. These parcels were purchased and cleared by Emanuel Hospital throughout the 1960s in preparation for expansion



Source: City of Portland Archives

Impact Analysis: *Analysis*

In order to make a broader estimate of aggregate property wealth lost as a result of the homes purchased by Emanuel Hospital, we have multiplied the average uncompensated value per home by 101, which is the number of grant-in-aid properties listed in Resolution 1218 that were an approved replacement for a required cash contribution to the project by Emanuel Hospital.

All told, we estimate that at least $89 million in property wealth appreciation has been denied to former residents of Central Albina as a result of the expansion project.

Exhibit 38. Miss Cash and her brothers in front of their childhood home at 523 N Knott St.

Source: Miss Cash

Impact Analysis: *Citations Referenced*

109. US Census Bureau, Decennial Census data, 1950–2010
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116. American Community Survey 5-year estimates, 2019, tracts 22.03 and 23.03, via Social Explorer.
117. Portland Development Commission. August, 20, 1970. "Resolution Authorizing Project Financing Agreement with Emanuel Lutheran Charity Board On Behalf of the Emanuel Hospital Providing for the Financing of the Local Share of Project Costs for Emanuel Hospital Project (ORE. R-20)." City of Portland, Oregon.

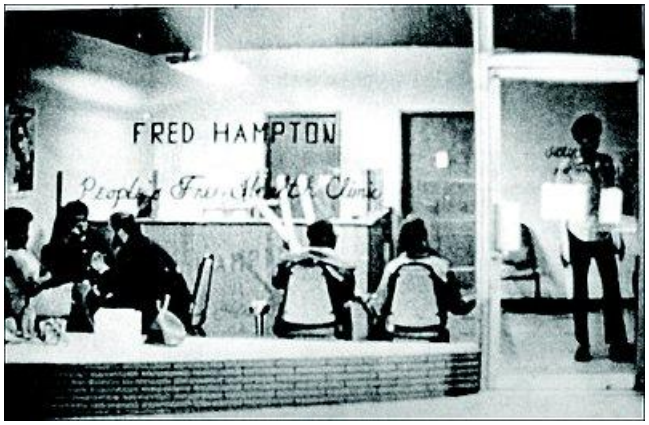
Community Spaces No Longer

Source: Nixon Library, 1969.

Green Fingers Gardens

Founder & community activist Viviane Barnett tours community gardens with First Lady Pat Nixon, 1969.

Demolished 1970



Source: The Oregonian, 1968.

Fred Hampton Free Health Clinic

Portland Black Panthers founded this clinic in 1970 at 109 N Russell St.

Demolished 1973

Source: The Oregonian, 1968.

St. Vincent de Paul, 1968

Eugene McCarthy campaigns with Tom McCall at 2703 N Williams. An empty lot stands in its place.

Demolished 1973

Policy Analysis

The following interview summary and case studies build off the history and policy context as well as the community engagement to provide insight into what is possible for future restitution policy in Portland.

Policymakers and Implementers Interviews

Our project, which attempts to document the history of Central Albina, the policy that impacted the people, and the ongoing challenges faced by fierce advocates, also aims to include a perspective of the future shape of policy as it impacts the people dispossessed by the Emanuel Urban Renewal Project and Central Albina. We've documented the engagement with our clients and the community and we additionally sought to include the perspectives of policy makers and implementers. Through our client, as well as planners who participated in our kickoff event, we were able to gather a long list of supporters, implementers and stakeholders in the local government. We were able to reach 6 current and former staff from Prosper Portland and the Bureau of Planning and Sustainability through video interviews, interviewing 2 as individuals and one group of 3. We additionally reached out to Commissioners Mapps and Rubio, two commissioners who had expressed interest in the possibility of restitution for EDPA2 members. However, Commissioner Rubio was unable to make time before the completion of this project, and Commissioner Mapps office declined our invitation indefinitely.

Policy Analysis: *Policy Makers and Implementers Interviews*

Questions

We realize that the topic of restitution and one's employer (past or present) and its culpability is not an easy topic to broach. We prioritized asking questions that helped build up our understanding of current implementers perspectives of restitution and displacement as well as our understanding of government limitations and priorities. The questions that follow were our guiding questions for discussion, sent in advance when asked:

1. *How do bureaus coordinate on anti-displacement projects?*
    a. *What, if any, coordination has taken place between the Housing Strategy program and Prosper Portland's N/NE CDI Action Plan for returning Black-owned businesses?*
2. *How is the policy implementation going compared to expectation?*
    a. *What is the take rate on the N/NE Housing Strategy?*
    b. *How many renters and homebuyers have returned as a result of the program?*
    c. *How much funding is the program using? Is it enough, or is expansion necessary?*
3. *Can you talk about BPS/Prosper Portland's efforts to stabilize communities with economic development and redevelopment work? Can you give us an idea of the current strengths and limits of urban renewal/department policy and general policy regarding displacement?*
4. *What is available to assist those who have been displaced from N/NE to outer areas of the Metro, who wish to stay where they currently live?*
5. *Many policies of the City of Portland refer to broad historic harm, but are there any policies you think we should look at when we consider specific historic harm and restoration aided by the city as an institution*
6. *What policy considerations do you think we could or should be making as a MURP workshop group?*
7. *Who else do you think we should talk to/if anyone? Where else should we be looking for examples of good inclusive and equitable policy?*

Policy Analysis: *Policy Makers and Implementers Interviews*

Key Takeaways

Those we spoke with seemed to be thinking critically about public agencies' roles in historic and ongoing harms to the public, specifically the Black community. They broadly expressed interest in bettering their work to be more community-driven and to have a more broad and positive impact. They were aware of our project at a high level going into the interviews and expressed interest in learning about the results afterwards. While we did not get clear answers on potential policies and their implementability for restitution, we got more detail on what they are working on, what shortcomings they believe exist in their toolbox and departments and where there might be support for restitution and further engagement.

Equity is a priority. Within the two bureaus, Bureau of Planning and Sustainability and Prosper Portland, that we spoke with, they have conducted multiple reports on the city's role in harming the Black community. Each has adopted independently and as a city, an equity lens for future project work.

The anti-displacement action team within BPS has staff dedicated to preventing the same harm endured by the Emanuel Displaced Persons Association happening again in the future.

However, the community has been outspoken, and our analysis shows: these forward-looking policies do not aim to repair or address the specific harm already experienced. In just the last year, EDPA2 has been told ‘now is not the time’ and that it is ‘long overdue,’ but if equity is the priority, time must be made.

Meaningful engagement is a challenge. There was reflection by those interviewed that while some of these efforts are community-driven (internally defined and not cohesively) that there are challenges to meaningfully engaging with the community. Some of it is logistical, it can be difficult to get everyone in a room that needs to be or wants to be -- only to be exacerbated during COVID19.

Another logistical challenge is about power-- ensuring that working groups have the power to provide recommendations that will be implemented is not a small matter. It is one of both money (where will the funding come from to implement the idea) and organization (who will implement, when, who approves it). The Anti-Displacement Action team acknowledged that different and siloed approaches to implementation across city bureaus affects this as well.

The law has unclear boundaries. While the City of Portland and its bureaus have a racial equity lens developed, there are unclear boundaries on how funding and projects can be implemented to address specific racist harms. The Fair Housing Laws, the Equal Rights Act and many other laws intend to protect individuals from racialized discrimination and it is the perception of some staff that these same laws would work to prevent restitution policies. Where projects and policies have been implemented, they have not been racially exclusive, and other criteria were established. This was particularly highlighted by the N/E Preference Policy, said to work in part because it is geographically based- not just anywhere in the city- and because additional criteria are laid out.

Appropriate funding for restitution has not been made available. This was in particular a reference to urban renewal Tax Increment Financing in the ICURA district not being an appropriate application for restitution funds. The community has not necessarily argued that it was, but rather, the prioritization of maximum indebtedness increases and continued TIF districts in this area before restitution or reparations are made is misguided. However, it addresses an ongoing question of the willingness of the City to engage on the topic of reparations and engage the community to identify potential solutions without having all the answers about where funding will come from. It is understandable that agencies don't want to promise more than they feel they can do with the resources they have available. However, the conversations are needed.

Policy Analysis: *Case Studies*

The following case studies aim to explore examples of restitution initiatives that are ongoing and could serve as potential models or starting points for moving toward restitution in the case of the Emanuel Urban Renewal Expansion Project and the community harmed in its failure to provide just restitution at the time, and to this day. The case studies address the question of timing- when should restitutions take place, by who- who should initiate or lead restitution initiatives, and lastly how- how to fund and how to implement.

These case studies do not represent perfect solutions, but they address concerns of the community around the specificity of the harms they address, the timeliness of restitution amidst ongoing racist policy making, and the scope of local government to move beyond symbolism and toward action.

Restitution through Local Government and Housing Initiatives:

In 2021, the City Council of Evanston Illinois passed Resolution 37-R-27, Authorizing the Implementation of the Evanston Local Reparations Restorative Housing Program. Evanston, a town of just over 77,000 people has been in the headlines over the last several months but while it is only now circulating through the national news cycle, it follows years of work, including the 2019 Resolution 126-R-19 for "Establishing the City of Evanston Reparations Fund and the Reparations Subcommittee" and a period of intensive community engagement that led to the eventual adoption of the Local Reparations Restorative Housing Program.[118,119] Funding for these additional subsidies is from Evanston's Cannabis 3% Retailers' Occupation Tax which has been designated for the sole purpose of funding the Local Reparations Program.[120]

The Equity and Empowerment Commission called on the City of Evanston to conduct a feasibility study that addresses the issues of housing and economic development identified through the community engagement. Resolution 37-R-27 created the Local Reparations Restorative Housing Program as just one arm of the Reparations Initiative.

Beneficiaries of the program will include those whom are eligible to receive up to $25,000 in qualified housing subsidies in addition to other housing programs or subsidies:

- ➔ At least 18 years of age;
- ➔ Of Black/African American ancestry;
- ➔ An Ancestor experienced housing discrimination due to the City's policies/practices; or
- ➔ A Direct Descendant of an Ancestor (e.g., child, grandchild, great-grandchild, and so on);
- ➔ An Applicant does not qualify as an Ancestor or Direct Descendant, however, experienced housing discrimination due to City ordinance, policy, or practice after 1969.

Policy Analysis: *Case Studies*

Restitution through Local Government and Housing Initiatives:

The Reparations Initiative meets three basic Minimum Guidelines and tenets identified through studies to be critical to meaningful reparations:[121]

- ➔ Initiatives must be determined by the injured
- ➔ Resources must be administered or approved by the injured
- ➔ Policy must be specifically targeted to address past harms

The Reparations Initiative was assessed by National African American Reparations Commission and the published final assessment marks approval of the program as true to the spirit and practice of a meaningful reparation's initiative.[122]

The Housing Program within the Reparations Initiative is not without its criticisms and these should be considered as well. Local Alderwoman Fleming and community members expressed concern over the incompleteness of the initiative to address harm. As well, concern that the community was not engaged enough. Lastly, that the program's limitations to home improvement, mortgage assistance or as a down payment does not account for the desire or needs of residents who may want to use these funds to address their specific needs. "True reparations should respect Black people's autonomy and allow them to determine how repair will be managed, including cash payments as an option," Fleming said. "They are being denied that in this proposal, which gives money directly to the banks or contractors on their behalf."[123]

Policy Analysis: *Case Studies*

Restitution through Return of Land

"We have the opportunity not only to right a wrong that happened right here in LA County but also to be an example to the rest of the nation on how the government can begin to act now to correct historic injustices," said Supervisor Janice Hahn, who is leading the effort"[124]

In Los Angeles County, the small city of Manhattan Beach established the Bruce's Beach Task Force, to document and evaluate the City's role in discriminatory practices that resulted in the condemnation and removal of property owned by Black residents Willa and Charles Bruce. This Task Force resulted in a history report, task force recommendations, including symbolic gestures and memorialization of historic events on site followed by the disbandment of the task force ultimately without formal apology.[125,126]

The city acquired this historic property through eminent domain, then one of few beachside resorts open to Black community members. A familiar story to many Black Americans, the property remained untouched for decades until ownership was granted to the State of California and then passed back down to Los Angeles County. According to local news and the Board of Supervisors, the transfer of property came with restrictions that can only be lifted through state legislation, which has been introduced into the California Senate in April.[127,128]

Restitution through Return of Land

"Revised recommendation as submitted by Supervisors Hahn and Mitchell: Direct the Chief Executive Officer, County Counsel and the Executive Director of Racial Equity, in consultation with the Fire Chief, to report back to the Board in 60 days with a plan that includes, at a minimum, recommendations regarding the following:

- ➔ A proposed timeline and steps required to transfer the parcels of land originally owned by the Bruce family or equivalent parcels in the portion of land within Manhattan State Beach known as "Peck's Manhattan Beach Tract Block 5" (commonly referred to as "Bruce's Beach") to the descendants of Charles and Willa Bruce;
- ➔ Options to address property tax issues associated with transfer of the property; Continued County occupancy of the site following transfer, or a plan to relocate County facilities; and
- ➔ Appropriate safeguards to ensure that the property is transferred to descendants of the Bruce family, including an opportunity for descendants to come forward and the possibility of naming a third-party trustee to oversee claims of ownership in the property, restoration of title and other necessary procedural steps. (21-1709)"[129]

If the legislation passes in the Senate, the likelihood is high that this property will be returned to the Bruce family. It may set a precedent for counties, and other jurisdictions to follow, that it is indeed possible and timely to return taken land. The topic of land returns becomes more complicated, but also exciting, when we consider the rights and responsibility of and to Native Americans, as well as Black Americans. This opportunity, at the very least, highlights what state and local governments indeed do have the power to do when they want to.

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129. Hall, Louise. 2021. "LA Official Returning Beachfront To Black Family Says 'Whole Country' Should Give Back 'Stolen' Land". Independent, 2021. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-politics/los-angeles-black-land-reparations-b1836953.html.

Recommendations

"Arguably, if left alone, Central Albina would have become the West Coast Black Wall Street"

-Byrd, 2021, EDPA2

As students, researchers and ultimately outsiders to this community, we cannot speak for the community. The following recommendations follow months of conversation and listening but are not a substitute for further engagement and listening. They are not endorsements for further study accompanied by inaction. For decades, research has and will continue to point toward the need for restitution. For any of the actions pursued to matter significantly, it is our belief that the principles of the Evanston Reparations Task Force ring true:[130]

Initiatives must be determined by the injured

Resources must be administered or approved by the injured

Policy must be specifically targeted to address past harms

Recommendations

It is undeniable that in the last decade, the City of Portland and associated bureaus have undergone much in-depth critique of past practices and have looked to the future to see how to avoid making the same mistakes. This is demonstrated by the commission of the Racist History of Planning in Portland, the Gentrification and Displacement Study as well as the many other studies cited in this report.

While these reports address culpability and acknowledge harm, interviews with current and former staff at Prosper Portland and BPS as well as community members who were displaced by the Emanuel Urban Renewal Project indicate that these efforts do not succeed at addressing the ongoing impacts of the specific harms of racist planning and redevelopment policy through the 20th Century. These efforts do not specifically address the harms done by the Emanuel Hospital Urban Renewal Expansion in policy making.

The question remains, is the City interested in understanding, accepting, and righting past wrongs?

These recommendations, while limited to policy, point toward small, tangible, accountable ways that the City and Emanuel Hospital can move beyond symbolism, to meaningful restitution. In brief, we propose policies that not only focus on restitution but on preservation as well:

Acknowledge Harm

Honor the history

Pay Restitution

Reduce Barriers

Create a task force

Conduct feasibility studies

Return Land

Recommendations

Acknowledge the Harm Perpetrated against Black Portlanders

This can happen through A City of Portland Descendants Day Proclamation (EDPA2 would like to identify the date and stipulations). The City of Portland should put into place an official Descendants Day Holiday as a permanent budget item to institutionalize this history with a Day of Remembering of the serial forced removal of Black folks in this city. This recommendation comes directly from EDPA2 after the declaration by the Portland City Council and Mayor that June 1st be declared Black Wall Street Day to honor those killed and forcefully removed by racist mobs in Tulsa Oklahoma, 1921. Those who lost their lives and their community deserve remembrance. So too, do the descendants and community members displaced by racist policies and practices in Central Albina.

We join EDPA2 in asking, "What About Central Albina?"

Honor the History of Central Albina and Black Portlanders

In 2017, the Portland Bureau of Planning and Sustainability began a process in coordination with the Architectural Heritage Center to identify opportunities to preserve Black history in Portland through place-based preservation. They identified that of the over 600 National Historic Registry properties listed in Portland, only 3 were listed as associated with significant African-American Heritage.[131] However, their studies, complemented by the studies of the Black community identified properties of significance to the Black community in Portland - including Central Albina.[132] The Multiple Property Documentation was approved by the National Park Service and is one pathway to preservation of historic places and enables eligibility to some grants and loans.[133] This project was in part initiated to meet the desires expressed by PAALF to preserve historic significance.[134] The Historic Resources Code Project has started to amend code language so as to "elevate underrepresented histories for future designation and, where appropriate, allow for the removal of designations that tell stories that have been over-represented."[135]

Recommendations

Honor the History of Central Albina and Black Portlanders (cont.)

Where EDPA2 sees that there could be more explicit opportunities is to create a specific design overlay or conservation district for Central Albina. This kind of preservation is being done across the nation. The proposed changes in the September 2020 draft mention Lower Albina, but do not explicitly comment on Central Albina.

Where Central Albina has been changed so dramatically beyond recollection or even nod to the place it once was, and throughout the impacted area, street signs with displays and historic names and content should be placed. Because there have been attempts to erase the history of what was once there, does not mean those efforts should prevail simply because the structures are no longer standing.

Provide Direct Payment for Curable Restitution

"They deserve to be paid properly for the property, an apology, public and commemorative, and there can be other things that can be added to a list because you definitely broke up the building of any kind of family wealth for a bunch of people."

Survivor, EDPA2 Member

The most desired restitution act expressed throughout our engagement process was the desire for basic just compensation that truly acknowledges the value of the homes as they were and would be today. Our impact analysis has shown through a basic model that there is a significant difference between the cash payments received from PDC and Emanuel Hospital through eminent domain and their current market value. While properties were seized for 'public good,' the underlying project was a failure, and inadequate public goods were delivered.

Provide Direct Payment for Curable Restitution (cont.)

Decades later, population growth and massive public investment have resulted in enormous gains in value that the public - and specifically the community that was forcefully removed- was not able to benefit from. They have been disproportionately impacted by further harms from rampant gentrification.

There is an estimated $45.4 million in uncompensated value as a result of the Portland Development Commission's part in demolishing the community, around $432,716 on average for the residential properties recorded in the property identification files. If properties taken by Emanuel were roughly equivalent to those taken by the PDC, that represents another $43.7 million in value, or a total of $89.1 million. While this estimate covers most properties taken for the hospital expansion, it offers an incomplete picture of the total impact.

There are yet few models of what direct payments for restitution for eminent domain look like without legal action. Direct payments as mentioned above in the Oregon CARES fund, are one modern example of how the government can address harms through direct payment. Though From Here to Equality authors talk about necessary reparations for Black Americans and those who were enslaved explicitly, they posit that this is likely the least feasible route, particularly for local governments, given the size of the dollar amount.[136] What FutureLab recommends is restitution for the specific harms the City and hospital inflicted on a specific group of people at a specific place, and in a specific time. The specific organizations responsible for inflicting these harms and injustices would be responsible for paying this restitution. Where local governments may say they would fall short in cash, they can fill in the gaps through advocacy and support for higher levels of government involvement at the state and federal level, where policy at this level aided and abetted these harms.

Recommendations

Remove Barriers to Building Black Wealth in Portland

Where descendants and survivors of forced removal may not want to be relegated to affordable housing or townhomes in Central Albina, they still have the desire to rebuild community and wealth. There are ways that the City of Portland can make this easier for those whom they have caused much difficulty. Once such possibility can be in waiving fees for permits or development costs to those families which were impacted by the urban renewal expansion plans and failures. There is such precedent in Oregon and in Portland, for waiving fees for permits for specific types of housing, such as to incentivize additional affordable housing opportunity ADUs.[139]

Most recently, those who had their homes destroyed in the nearby Beachie Creek Fire have had their building permits and certain fees waived in order to rebuild without additional burden, Marion County has gone so far as to make the waiver retroactive and extends over 5 years. [140]

Oregon has also passed a property tax relief measure, House Bill 2341, for property owners to have their real market and maximum assessed value adjusted. Is there such an opportunity for this kind of relief to be provided for displaced Black homeowners and families? While the disasters caused by wildfires and the disasters caused by the forced removal from the expansion zone are not perfectly parallel, they represent external forces creating hardship for homeowners who have wanted to rebuild.[141]

Recommendations

Create A Focused, Restitution Oriented Task Force

Any recommendation that is made should be superseded by the needs and desires of the injured. While we spent time with a small dedicated and passionate group, they and those whom we were not able to engage with, deserve a bigger stage and megaphone in the policy sphere than our report can offer. A dedicated restitution task force specific to restitution for those forcefully removed by urban renewal projects is one of our primary recommendations so that their voices have a tangible and acknowledged role in determining and administering restitution.

In the Evanston Case study, a dedicated reparations task force was created, focusing not on what can be done to prevent displacement or further harm on those who have not yet been removed, but rather focusing explicitly on what can be done to rectify harms caused by City policy and action for those who have already been harmed.

Membership to such a task force must prioritize those impacted by redlining and forcefully removed by these urban renewal projects. By doing so it prioritizes their well-being and wealth building and does not disregard specific harm.

Our interviews have indicated that engagement is challenging for those impacted, but the city needs to be responsive. Impacted community members are vocal and engaged in advocating for justice, and any engagement process devised by the city must ensure that involvement is meaningful, impactful, and produces tangible results. This should not become yet another community engagement process that results in siloed lukewarm policy that does not adequately address the needs of this community and lacks a strong accountability mechanism for implementation.

Recommendations

Conduct Feasibility Studies in Conjunction with Task Force and/or Direct Payment

While many of the losses imposed by the Emanuel Hospital Urban Renewal Project are incurable, programming and investment in restitution will require the identification of potential sources of funding to provide compensation for curable loss.[142]

Where can profits from harm be redirected for restitution?

As demonstrated by Oregon CARES funds and other restitution funds throughout recent history (Post-WWII restitution in Germany to victims of Nazi persecution and in the USA to interned Japanese Americans), it is possible to pay restitution for harms that have been prefaced on race-based harm. While interviews suggested that race-based policy presents a legal challenge given the stipulations of the Equal Rights Act and subsequent housing legislation. We argue that this by itself is not a reason to avoid pursuing restitution.

All of the people forcefully removed and harmed by these policies may not be easily identifiable, but we were able to gather lists of some of the addresses, homes, and households displaced from documents produced by Emanuel Hospital and the Portland Development Commission (Prosper Portland). Emanuel Hospital, in their symbolic efforts to account for the harm they caused, have mounted a wall with the names of people they displaced. The N/NE Preference Policy requests documentation showing connection to eminent domain homes. While the policies that created these harms were violent race-based policies, those impacted are not nameless individuals, and these documents can be the starting point for restitution policy. To state it another way, just because the initial policies were racist, race-based considerations are not strictly necessary for determining just restitution—the City can reverse engineer the policies that caused harm in the first place.

Conduct Feasibility Studies in Conjunction with Task Force and/or Direct Payment (cont.)

Where the City, the hospital, or other private actors have profited from violent policy, such sources of revenue should be considered first. Advocates that participated in community engagement offered System Development Charge (SDC) funds as one potential source. These development funds are profits garnered by the City and therefore have benefitted from the development , particularly in Albina, from these harmful policies. These funds would not be available if the City hadn't removed the residents who lived there in the first place. While state approval for fund usage is required, the State of Oregon has an explicit commitment to racial equity. The Oregon CARES Fund is one such example to address the profound inequities in the State of Oregon. Representatives here in Portland and Multnomah County have an opportunity to advocate for the displaced residents and for how the city and state can make restitution more fiscally feasible.

The City of Evanston example offers another potential source of funding: Cannabis taxes.[143] In Evanston, a portion of these taxes are set aside for programs, such as their housing initiative, recognizing that the Black community was disproportionately harmed by the criminalization of cannabis and systematically left out of the benefits of legalization. This provides a long-term funding source for programs, though it also is dependent on the ramp up of collection in Evanston. Presently, the City of Portland Marijuana Tax revenues are already allocated to drug and alcohol treatment, public safety investments, and support for neighborhood small businesses.[144]

Recommendations

Return Land

Through the takings of property, the city and Emanuel Hospital took away wealth building opportunities from the Black community in Central Albina. As we know, this included not only renters and homeowners, but business and property owners. These policies and practices have disrupted wealth building through ownership and generational wealth in this community. Several organizations have taken a practical real estate approach to community development into their own hands. Albina Vision Trust, since 2015, has been advocating for community renewal — at the hands and will of the community. The most recent announcement being for the Paramount Project, for 120 units of affordable housing and a community theater.[145] Another coordinated effort is through Mercy Corps NW and the Community Investment Trust that aims to build wealth through commercial real estate ownership.[146] These projects are active investments aiming to build wealth both in the place where the Black Community once was and where the Black community now resides.

This recommendation acknowledges that the Black community displaced by the city and Emanuel hospital have built communities elsewhere and the desire to return to Central Albina and the desire to rebuild lost wealth may not go hand in hand.

How can the City provide restitution and complement existing community efforts?

Return all public holdings (including those 'land banked') and Emanuel Hospital properties seized for urban renewal projects that are presently underdeveloped or vacant and place in the hands the community, either through a land trust or using the PCRI model of the 1980s and develop a new nonprofit that is managed by the community.

This recommendation comes with the model of the Los Angeles County return of land in mind. LA County is presently in the middle of ensuring they can return Bruce's Beach back to the family that the City of Manhattan Beach had wrongly seized in the early 1900's. [147]

Return Land (cont.)

That proposal sets precedent for turning land over to direct descendants. This is easier in the case of Bruce's Beach, where the property has not changed hands many times since, and where it is still held by the public. Multiple urban renewal projects, segregation and gentrification have displaced Black residents multiple times, and led to the change in property owners multiples of times. Presently several public and private owners hold developed and underdeveloped properties in the area. The return of vacant and undeveloped/underdeveloped land is a much more modest proposal, one that should not be the end of restitution, but a complement to other strategies.

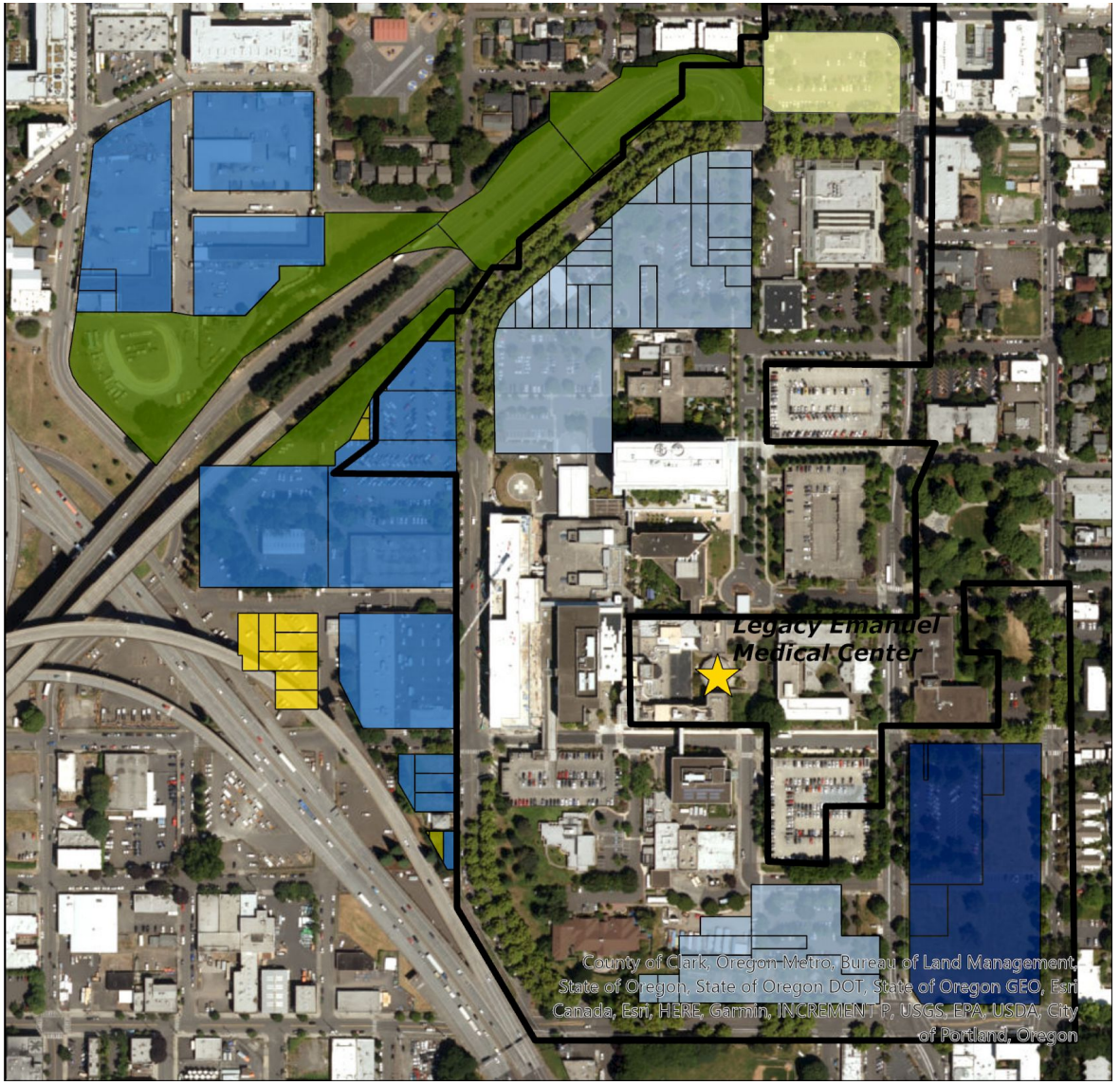
In the immediate vicinity of the Emanuel Hospital area, most of the underutilized land is owned by the City, Legacy Health/Emanuel Hospital, and the Oregon Department of Transportation. City, State and Hospital owned land that is either vacant, surface parking only, or various low-rise City-owned uses, with the addition of a surface parking lot at the North end of the expansion zone owned by the American Red Cross and two privately-owned parcels along N Williams Ave (See the map page 152).

Additionally, there is a large section of roadway approaching Fremont Bridge that serves essentially no purpose since the freeway project it was intended to connect to was defeated decades ago. Excluding the potentially reclaimed roadway, there are almost 27 acres of land in the vicinity of Central Albina that could be considered for return. Some of this area is directly adjacent to I-5 and may or may not be of value to survivors and descendants, but some of it, like the Red Cross parking lot, the excess roadway, the upper lots with frontage on Mississippi Avenue and, of course, the Williams and Russell site and its neighbor to the North between N Graham and N Knott, are areas that may be valuable for return.

In any case, determination of value must lie with those impacted by forced removal, and if land within and adjacent to the expansion area is no longer of interest—several EDPA2 members have commented that they no longer recognize the neighborhood they grew up in—the City should listen to the impacted community to determine if there are other areas where land swaps or acquisitions for survivors and descendants is desired to create new opportunities for ownership and self-determination.

Recommendations

Exhibit 38. Vacant land, surface parking, and other City- or State-owned taxlots within or proximate to the Emanuel Hospital Project area that could be considered for return. Additionally, this map highlights an area of roadway that could potentially be reclaimed. This map is for demonstration purposes only—the impacted community must lead any process of determining land for return.



Layer Data Source: Authors' analysis of Metro RLIS data

Recommendations: *Citations Referenced*

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Closing Statement

As with the work to achieve just reparations across the United States, this project is incomplete. FutureLab set out to recreate through maps, images, and stories, a community destroyed as a result of racist planning and real estate practices half a century ago. It has been an enormous challenge.

How can impact be quantified for a single event a lifetime in the past when that event was inextricably bound with hundreds or thousands of other events, written and unwritten, that have impacted the community in compounding ways? If redlining prevented Black people from purchasing homes in Albina, how can the wealth lost by bulldozing a renter's home be appropriately determined? If predatory realtors coerced Black families into selling their homes before the bulldozers came, how does data show that it is these families whose slice of earth and shelter was unjustly taken and that they should be compensated? And for those Black families who left their homes prior to "urban renewal" because they saw clearly what was coming and wanted to get out on their own terms, how is their loss quantified?

Serious constraints imposed by the COVID-19 lockdowns closed doors that might have otherwise been open as we put this project together. Also, the passage of five decades since Central Albina was demolished has made it difficult to reach people who are willing and able to share their stories. Yet, the passage of time has come to be a key theme in this project. Yes, time has passed, but the legitimate anger and trauma of the displaced persons has not faded away.

Closing Statement

For EDPA2, this is personal. Policies and programs put forth by the City that fail to acknowledge and grapple with the lasting personal impacts of institutional racism will fail to convince many people of their value. For that matter, engagement processes used by the City that do not prioritize empowering the community and building trusting relationships with those who are justifiably skeptical of the City's intentions will continue to result in tacit exclusion of many Black Portlanders.

There are no neat policy solutions for righting all the wrongs done to the families and their descendants displaced from Central Albina. It is appropriate for the City, and for all of us, to change our ways of thinking and doing so that we don't repeat our past offenses, which has so far been the stance that the City has taken. Indeed, this is necessary if we are to break the cycle of injustice that has caused so much harm on Black people and other marginalized communities, but it is insufficient on its own. The hard work—the critical work—is not in saying we won't do it again, it is in looking earnestly into the eyes of those harmed, acknowledging, apologizing, and doing what it takes to make it right.

Appendices: *Methods*

Property Values

The primary source of information on the demolished properties comes from the city archives in the form of property identification files. These files indicate location, ownership, lot size, contemporaneous assessed values, and various other information including photographs of the properties. These files are dated February 1, 1969, so they offer only a narrow snapshot of the neighborhood, but nonetheless serve as the best, most complete picture we had available for this project.

To determine reasonable property values today, we gathered assessor data for every taxlot in the zip codes covering the Interstate Corridor Urban Renewal Area from RLIS, an open data service operated by the Metro Regional Government. Specifically, we downloaded the most recent Metro taxlot shapefile, which has 2020 assessed values for every property in the Portland Metro region on the Oregon side of the Columbia River.

From the RLIS data, we selected all properties listed as a Single-Family Residence (SFR) land use to make inferences about present-day residential property values. We converted assessed acres (A_T_ACRES in the RLIS dataset) into square feet and calculated the average price per square foot of land and buildings in the property subset of the selected geography. We performed this same analysis on zip code 97227 alone and on the zip codes covering the entire Interstate Corridor Urban Renewal Area for comparison. We then used land and building square footage from the property identification files to convert assessed real market values from 1969 to 2020 by multiplying lot area and estimated building square footage by the value per foot multipliers we determined from RLIS data for the 97227 zip code.

Property Values (cont.)

In order to convert 2020 real market value derived from RLIS to current real market value, we measured the property value appreciation multiplier from January 2020 to April 2021 (the most recent data) from the Zillow Home Value Index for single-family homes in the 97227 zip code, which was 12.6%. 2020 estimated values were multiplied by 1.126 in order to estimate current real market value. We assessed the validity of these calculations by looking at comparable homes in the vicinity of our project area. The results do not exceed a reasonable range for listing prices of comparable homes. If anything, our estimates are too conservative.

Uncompensated Loss

To determine the disparity between compensation at the time and present-day property value, we adjusted the assessed values from 1969 to the present using inflation rates from the Consumer Price Index. Present real market value minus the inflation adjusted 1969 assessed value represents the gap between property value appreciation and presumptive payments in 1969. However, we do not presently know if all property owners received the amount indicated on property identification files, and stories from survivors indicate that in some cases, predatory real estate practices prior to 1969 may have deprived a number of Black residents of Central Albina of even the modest payments offered at the time.

Appendices: *Estimates and Assumptions*

Floor Area

Property Identification Files did not have complete floor area numbers for most properties. Generally, only the main floor area was listed, and sometimes not even that. Where main floor area was listed for two story homes, we used what clues we could find to estimate the total size. This was not a particularly nuanced process—where the description listed 1.5 floors, we generally took the main floor area and multiplied it by 1.5. Basements were excluded regardless of the level of finish described in the files simply due to the challenge in finding a defensible multiplier for basement area and the wide range in the level of detail offered on basements in the files.

Condition

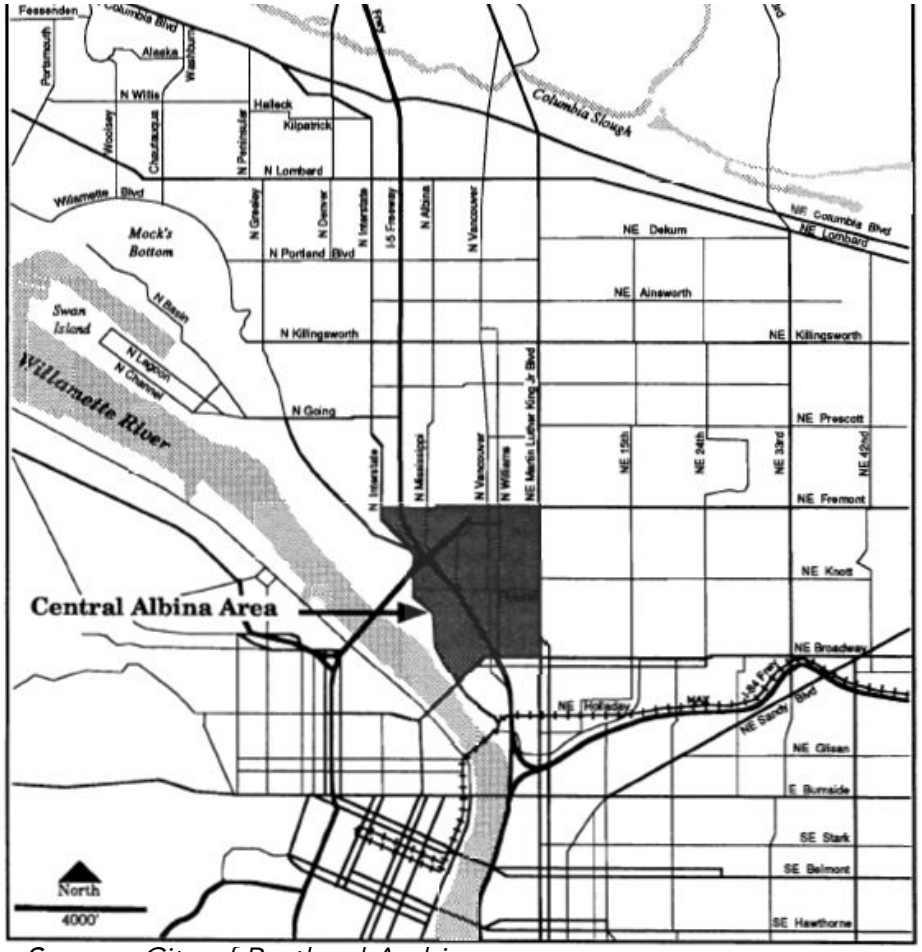
We generally excluded remarks on building condition from this analysis. Though determining a fair multiplier given the inconsistency of reporting in the ID files would have clearly been an enormous challenge, if not an impossibility, our primary justification for leaving this out is simple. For one, Black people in Central Albina were broadly excluded from the financing and economic opportunities that would have supported more extensive home maintenance, so including this consideration ignores the broader impacts of systemic racism on the neighborhood, but also, these files were produced in 1969, after plans for the hospital expansion became public, and well after the hospital had begun demolishing homes. It is unreasonable to expect that everyone in the community would continue to invest in their homes when they knew that it was only a matter of time before the bulldozers arrived.

Albina Plat Map

Source: City of Portland Archives

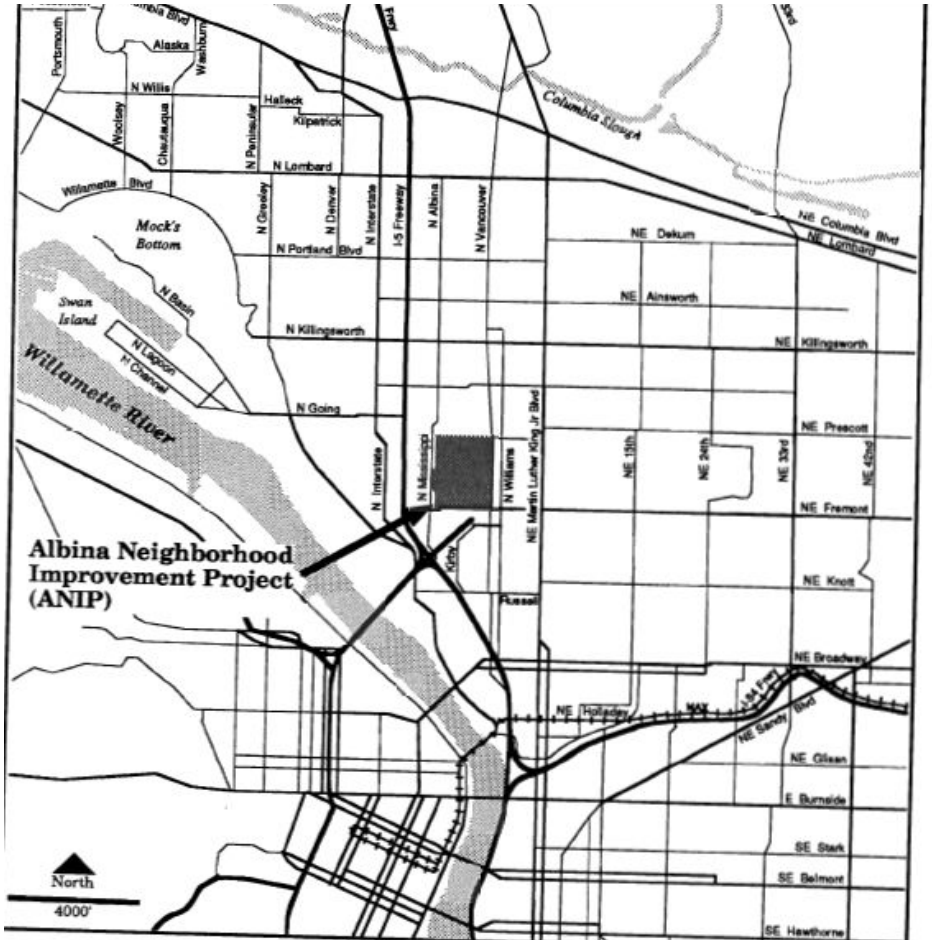
Appendices: *Spatial Context for Policies and Programs*

Central Albina Study Area



Source: City of Portland Archives

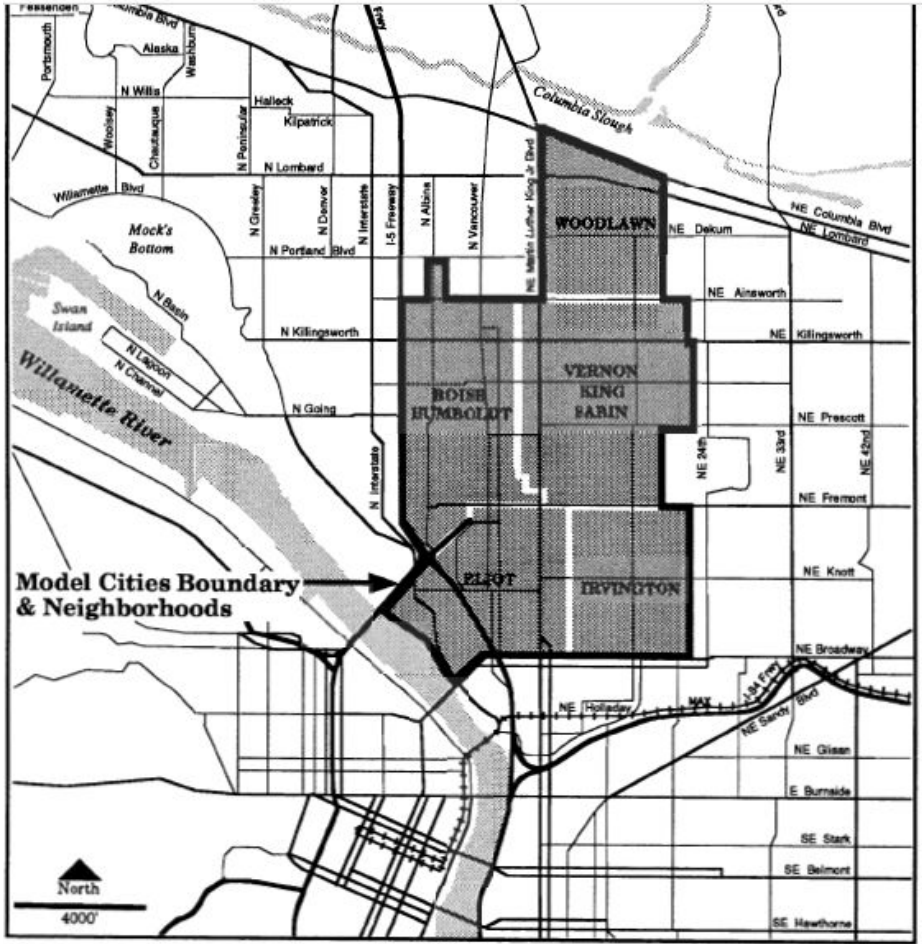
Albina Neighborhood Improvement Project Area



Source: City of Portland Archives

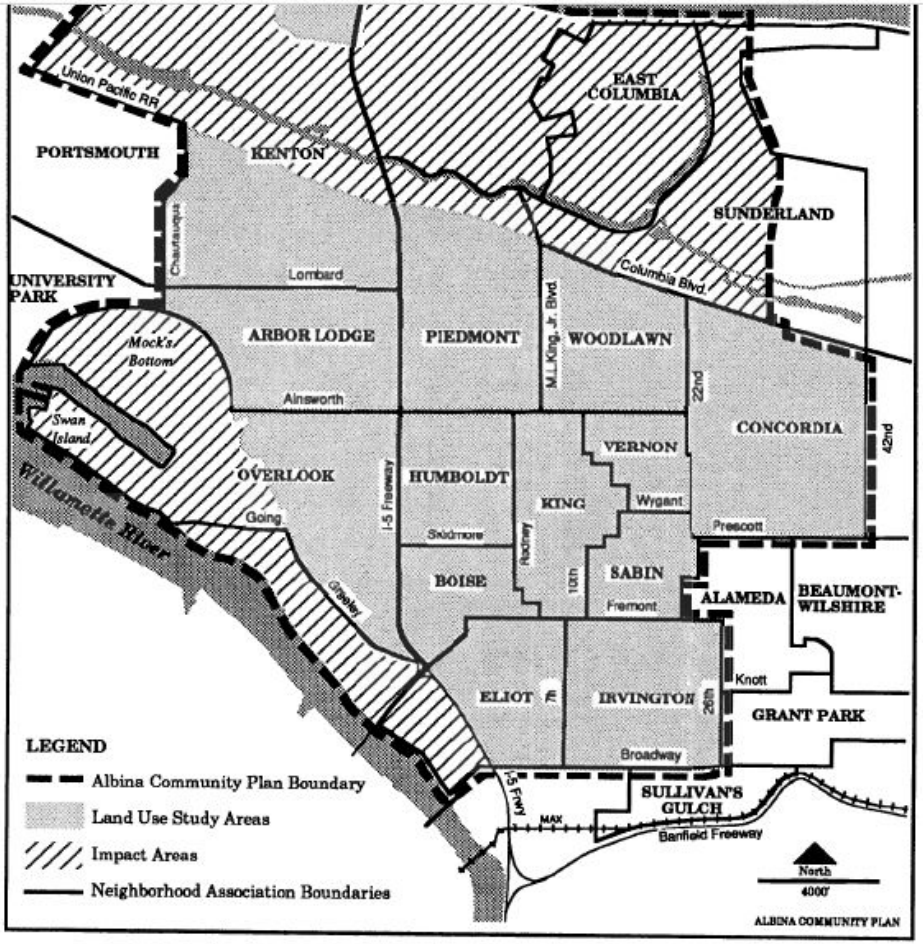
Appendices: *Spatial Context for Policies and Programs*

Model Cities Demonstration Area



Source: City of Portland Archives

Albina Community Plan Project Area



Source: City of Portland Archives